

THE MUSICAL PATRONAGE OF THE ZICHY FAMILY IN THE 18TH CENTURY HUNGARY

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Bishop Ferenc Zichy – builder of the castle of Voderady – together with his halfbrother, Miklós were patron of the arts. In addition to the support of 18th century co-artists (painters, sculptors), they also sponsored instrumental and musical life in their residences. Count Miklós set up a cultural center on the family's Óbuda estate, his patronage coincided with the construction of his baroque castle, where he employed composers – like Adalbert Fauner and Ignatz Kunath – with the mediation of Trinitarians and Jesuits, and besides, orders for musical instruments suggest that Óbuda carried the promise of a small aristocratic residence for nearly two decades, with connections in Vienna, Bratislava and Olmutz. Ferenc supported the music life of the bishopric of Győr, representing a peculiar bridge between the courts and the actors of foreign cultural life. The topic of my lecture is the mecenature role of the Óbuda branch of the Zichy family in Baroque music culture, with the potential routes of the contemporary cultural transfer, involving new archival resources and musical iconographic aspects.

1747 was the year of special events in the cultural life of two Baroque settlements dominated by Zichy family: Viennese painter, Paul Troger returned to the city of Győr/Raab (under the bishopric of Ferenc Zichy) to finish the ceiling frescos of the Jesuit Church. Meanwhile, Count Miklós ordered instruments and pieces of music from Vienna for the building of his Manor in Óbuda. Miklós and Ferenc Zichy were half-siblings and met in person after their previous succession trial the same year, as well. In the summer of 1747, they were both present at the solemn blessing of the foundation stone of the Óbuda-Kiscell Trinitarian monastery and church: one as a patron, the other as a celebrant of the solemn Mass.¹

They clearly liked and supported the musical life and it is not by chance. An approximate image of their possible studies can be obtained from the bills and contracts collected by their father, Péter Zichy (who was an amateur poet and artlover)² and from the lists of students of Jesuit grammar schools.³ From these documents it is also clear that the family was in contact with several religious orders besides the Franciscans, Ursulites and Clarisses, with the influential Jesuits. Thus, their education has often taken place in the centers of the Ignatian order: eg. in Győr/Raab, Trnava, Pressburg, Buda, Vienna and in the case of Ferenc, in Rome, as well. The bills were also reflected the expectations of the noble literacy of the time.⁴

¹ Erzsébet HANSKARL, *Budai, óbudai és pesti hírek a „Wienerisches Diarium” első ötven évfolyamában (1703-1752)* (1938), 43.

² MNL OL (HBnml) P 707 Zichy Family Archives XXI. Fasc. 197. 6/15.

³ *A nagyszombati, pozsonyi és győri jezsuita gimnáziumok diáksága (1616-1773) (Anyakönyvi adattár I-III.)* Ed. István FAZEKAS, Zsófia KÁDÁR, Zsolt KÖKÉNYESI, Bálint TERNOVÁCZ.

<https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/iskolai_ertesitok_JezsuitaGimnaziumokDiakjai/> (2022. február 10.).

⁴ MNL OL P 707 Fasc. 197. 6/15. p. 31–36. Furthermore: István FAZEKAS, *A bécsi Pazmaneum magyarországi hallgatói : 1623–1918 (1951)* (Budapest, Az Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2003; Magyarországi diákok

In addition to Latin, German, French languages, sciences and music skills appear in the list of the curriculum completed. With some level of knowledge of dance, instrumental play (violin, flute), literature seems to be a condition of good manner.⁵ Thus, the support and even cultivation of the associated arts and music became the heart of this generation. Ferenc's and Miklós' patronage of the arts served representational purposes and personal interest, at the same time. Their different careers represented two musical spaces: the universe of a high priest and the high nobility. I consider it justified to draw attention to the characteristics and possible common points of the world of the bishop of Győr/Raab and the count of Óbuda, partly from a musical iconographic's perspective.

In the 18th century, Vienna's role as an exclusive model also appears in a different refraction. The musical world of the first half of the century (1690–1740/50) even prioritizes court/aulic taste: *Imperialstil*. A few decades that are partly affected and followed by this era, 1720–1740 can be characterized by the style of *Figuralmusik*.⁶ At the same time, the audience were also changed: to the former Court, monastic and the aristocracy connected to Vienna, the latter was associated with the world of newly founded parishes, noble courts and typically local musicians-composers.⁷ In the case of noble families where the 17th-century predecessors attended the Vienna Court Opera House, the next generations started to introduce this genre locally in their palaces. Secular and church music was integral part of the representation of the nobility and the high priesthood: in Pressburg the Erdődys, Batthyánys and Pálffys had orchestras, while vocal-instrumental repertoire had built in Fertőd and Eisenstadt under mecenatory of Esterházy. Antal Grassalkovich also preferred high theater life in Gödöllő.⁸

Nevertheless, Vienna remained a kind of distribution centre of culture. It is no coincidence that among the accounts of Miklós Zichy, his book- and instrument-orders also came from here. In the *Inventarium* of the Family Library kept in the University Library, Budapest we can see theological, rhetorical and historical works from the 16-18th century and within this corpus-register there are

egyetemjárása az újkorban 8), 202. István BITSKEY, *Hungariából Rómába : A római Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum és a magyarországi barokk művelődés* (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996; Italianistica Debreceniensis Olasz felvilágosodás és Romantika Kutatóközpont Monográfiák 2), 265.

⁵ „Evangeli buch... Rhetorica... Syntaxis, Scripta... Cathecismo, Congregation...” Hubert Willemin 28 April 171[?] MNL OL P 707 Fasc. 197. 6/15. p. 103, 104, 106, 107. Furthermore: „[Eodem] violinist und flauttenist...” Ibid.

⁶ Katalin SZACSVAI KIM, „Hungarian Ecclesiastical Repertoires”, in *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600–1900. A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, ed. Rudolf RASCH, *The Circulation of Music II* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 173–194. Furthermore: Katalin KIM, „Zenei intézmények, zenei repertoár a 18. századi Magyarországon”, in *Haydneum : Magyar Régizenei Központ* (Budapest, 2021), 99–107.

⁷ Ágnes SAS, *Többszólamú zene a magyar városokban, templomokban és főúri udvarokban*, ed. Katalin SZACSVAI KIM, *Műhelytanulmányok a 18. századi zenetörténetéhez 1.* (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Zenetudományi Intézet, 2017), 209.

⁸ Klára RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „Batthyány József hercegprímás pozsonyi és pesti pénztárkönyvének zenei adatai”, *Zenetudományi dolgozatok* Falvy Zoltán 70. születésnapja tiszteletére, ed. GUPCSÓ Ágnes (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 1999): 275–280.

some volumes of works on Italian and French theatre theory – furthermore pieces written by Goldoni and Metastasio. These latter have been printed outside Austria but there is no direct evidence of Nuremberg, Paris, Bruxelles, Venice, etc.⁹ It is much more possible that agents and church acquaintances in the Imperial City were involved in the acquisition of these books.

The plans for the large-scale count residency dreamed in 1746 by Miklós Zichy, regardless of their realization, faithfully reflect their other special ambitions, too. In the second half of the decade, the construction of the high noble castle, the Trinitarian monastery and the newly built local parish church could offer many opportunities for musical services. From this period, there are orders in which Miklós Zichy requested musical works and instruments from Vienna. His court's repertoire grew with the help of the main secretary of the monastic order, namely Pater Severin á S.[to] Josepho,¹⁰ who enjoyed the support of the count's family. The Trinitarian Secretary with a system of connections in Vienna, Pressburg and Trnava created a special bridge among the actors of domestic and foreign cultural life, furthermore he sent musical pieces to Esterházy family, as well.¹¹

In his contracts (*Quittungs*) the name of Adalbert (Adalberto) Fauner (1719–1769), appears from 1746.¹² He was one of the first composers of the Viennese Volkopera. In addition to leading the music of Peterskirche in imperial capital and later Minorite Church, from 1747 he also served as the *regens chori* of the Benedictine Abbey of Melk and the Trinitarians.¹³ Thus, the castle of Óbuda could become a venue for the performance of works by a composer skilled in both secular and ecclesiastical music in Austria. In his *Quittung* dated 28 November, 1747, the composer acknowledged the payment of thirty pieces of music, And around 1750, a list of Zichy court's expenses (managed by a Viennese perhaps Trinitarian minister) – among the portable theater, violin maker and other items – includes Fauner's name (in connection with partijs).¹⁴ The employment is also interesting from the perspective

⁹ *Catalogus librorum, quos excellentissima ac illustrissima domina comitissa Elisabetha Zicsy de Vásonkő, nata comitissa Berényi de Karancs Berény regiae scietarum universitati Hungaricae testamento legavit*, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Levéltár (H-Bu), J 47.

¹⁰ Ferenc FALLENBÜCHL, *A rabváltó trinitárius szerzetesek Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1940).

¹¹ Klára RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI „Az Esterházy grófok pozsonyi udvarának zenei élete a 18. században”, *Magyar Zene* 40, 4. sz. (2002): 443–465. Furthermore: Klára RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „Az óbuda-kiscelli trinitárius templom történetének zenei vonatkozásai”, in *Mariazell és Magyarország. Egy zárándokhely emlékezete*, ed. Péter FARBAKY, Szabolcs SERFÖZŐ (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004), 282–285.

¹² Éva GÁL, „Az óbudai Zichy-kastély”, *Budapest* 15, 12. sz. (1977): 40–43, 41. Mónika LIPP, *Művészet a XVIII. századi Óbudán Szent Ivó oltárképének tükrében* [Budapest: 2002], 27.

¹³ FREEMAN, Robert N., *The Practice of Music at Melk Abbey. Based upon the Documents, 1681–1826* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 271., 296–297., 398. Adalbert Fauner as „praeclarum Viennensem Musicum” in 26 December 1749. Cit. by FREEMAN, *The Practice of Music at Melk Abbey*, 297., 398., Nr. 7491

¹⁴ *Quittung*, ca. 1751. MNL OL P 707 XXX Fasc. 9 NB et C, p. 343.

of Miklós Zichy's report in 1755, which mentioned the „count's stage”,¹⁵ and in its repertoire his own pieces have also been performed.

Fauner's pieces came up in other nobilities' courts, as well: in 1746 and 1747, Imre Esterházy Sr. bought symphonies and concertos from him, but the bishop of Olomutz, Maximilian Hamilton, also had his name in his musical inventory.¹⁶ Adalbert Fauner might have been the brother of Francesco Fauner, who in 1754, sent 12 violin concertos and 7 symphonies from Vienna to Miklós Zichy, also with the help of the Trinitarian pater Severin.¹⁷ Francesco or Franz was also in connection with the Jesuits and the Esterházy orchestra in Pressburg and Eisenstadt.¹⁸ Although the exact titles of the Fauner-pieces composed to count Zichy have not survived, we can infer those genre and the orchestration. Due to his previous violin and viola purchases from Vienna in 1747, it can be guessed that he requested string pieces.¹⁹ However, Miklós Zichy's passion for music is also supported by his portrait made around 1750: an unmistakable musical aspect of which takes on a strikingly personal character.²⁰ Presentation of a musical instrument and concrete notes instead of a decorative role of the depicted figure to the world is a consciously committed attribute of this portrait. Even the inkwell on the table also raises the question: is not an art-loving composer who is looking at us from the painting?

From the mid-1750s a new composer appears at the service of the Zichy family: Ignatz Kunath.²¹ Until 1747 he worked as a musician and composer in and around Győr. In the episcopal city he was the horn player of Ferenc Zichy's orchestra, in his service Kunath could be part of a vibrant musical life: in addition to the service in the church, the bishop also demanded the presence of music in his palace. In the archives of the cathedral in Győr are kept 21 works of the composer and

¹⁵ Géza STAUD, *Adelstheater in Ungarn* (Wien: Verlag Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977; Theatergeschichte Österreichs Band X: Donaumondarche Heft 2), 310. Comp. MNL OL P 707 Fasc. 470, Nr. 319–320.

¹⁶ RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „Az Esterházy grófok pozsonyi udvarának zenei élete a 18. században”, 449. SEHNAL, Jiří, „Die Musikkapelle des Olmützer Bischofs Maximilian Hamilton (1761–1776)”, *Die Musikforschung* 24, 4. sz. (1971): 411–417, 413–414. HAAS, Robert, „Die Musik in der Wiener deutschen Stegreifkomödie”, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1925), 3–64, 58.

¹⁷ MNL OL P 707, 468. cs. 58. cit. by RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „Az óbuda-kiscelli trinitárius templom történetének zenei vonatkozásai”, 283–284.

¹⁸ KAČIC, Ladislav, „Esterházy Imre zenésze gyűjtése (1725–1745)”, transl. István KÄFER, *Magyar Sion Új* X/LII/1 (2016): 59–90, 78., 84. RIEDEL, Friedrich W., *Der Göttweiger thematische Katalog von 1830: I. Faksimile der Originalhandschrift. II. Historisch-quellenkundliche Bemerkungen, Kommentar und Register zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik Gebundenes Buch* – 1. Januar 1979, Nr. 1809 Litaniae laurentianae), 84. SEHNAL, Jiří, *Hudba v olomoucké katedrále v 17. a 18. století* (Brno: Moravské Muzeum, 1988), 100. Furthermore: Janos HARICH, „Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt”, *Das Haydn Jahrbuch* 9 (Wien–Eisenstadt. Universal Edition für den Verein Internationale Joseph Haydn Stiftung) (1975): 5–117., 74., 83. HARICH, „Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt”, 67–76.

¹⁹ STAUD, *Adelstheater in Ungarn*, 310. Furthermore: MAUNDER, Richard, „Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1999): 27–51, 44.

²⁰ Géza GALAVICS, „Művészettörténet, zenetörténet, tánc történet. (Muzsikus- és táncábrázolások 1750–1820 között Magyarországon)”, *Ethnographia* 98 (1987): 160–206.

²¹ More versions of his name: Cunath Ignác, Ignatio Kunath, Ignatius Cunath.

one in Tata.²² All of his surviving pieces here are sacral works: 17 arias, 1 dialogue, a *Dixit Dominus* and 1 *Magnificat*. After 1751 he became *regens chori* of the Jesuits in Komárno.²³ All after this, we can see his name in inventories of Pest, Buda and Óbuda.²⁴ As for pieces available to Miklós Zichy, we have only indirect datas: in his *Quittung* from December 1756 he wrote about 4 recitativos, 4 arias and a *Concertanten Concertans* for violin and violoncello composed for count Miklós Zichy – the summary was 12 fts.²⁵ According to the *Quittungs*, Count Zichy employed him between 1756–57. The completion of the new, now imposing castle of Óbuda in 1757 makes it likely that these pieces are related to the illustrious event. Another 5 symphonies and 4 copies of divertimento under his name have survived in *České muzeum hudby* [National Museum in Prague].²⁶ That the Zichy family came to music through a monastic order, was considered a common practice in the noble circles of the time. In addition to the Trinitarians, the Paulines, Piarists, and Jesuits operated in an even larger system of musical relations. Because Hungarian high priests had the opportunity to take part or celebrate Mass several times in Vienna and Pressburg, these events with more representative church music may also have influenced their tastes and thus the expansion of their own orchestra's repertoire. Thus Ferenc Zichy, in 1751, celebrated Mass on the birthday of Maria Theresa in the crowned city, Pressburg.²⁷

I would like to mention briefly one more musical iconographic aspect. As the portrayal of Miklós Zichy, thus the ceiling fresco of the Jesuit Church in Győr also refers to contemporary instrumental performing practice. The painter Paul Troger (representing mainly Bologna School style), displayed the illusionistic ornamentation typical of the Roman Jesuit spaces, and this representation appeared in his frescos in Pressburg, as well.²⁸ The topos of King David and Saint Cecilia (as symbols of the elevation of Sacred Music) appear on the fresco of the *Angel concert* in

²² Kornél BÁRDOS, *Győr zenéje a 17–18. században*. Tematical list of musical works ed. by Veronika VAVRINECZ (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 430–433. Furthermore: Kornél BÁRDOS, *Tatai Esterházyak zenéje 1727–1846* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 160.

²³ Katalin SZACSVAI KIM, „A jezsuita központok zenei élete a 18. századi Magyarországon”, in *Zenei repertoár és zenei gyakorlat a 18. századi Magyarországon*, ed. Katalin SZACSVAI KIM, Műhelytanulmányok a 18. századi zenetörténetéhez 2 (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Zenetudományi Intézet, 2017), 219–253, 230. Furthermore: Ágnes SAS, „Székesegyházi és főpapi együttesek a XVIII. században”, *Magyar Egyházzene* 22 (2014/2015): 141–194, 163.

²⁴ Klára RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „A pesti belvárosi főplébánia-templom zenei élete a 18. században”, *Zenetudományi dolgozatok* (1992/1994): 23–66, 51., 60. Furthermore: Klára RENNERNÉ VÁRHIDI, „Buda zenei élete a XVIII. században jezsuita források tükrében” (II), *Zenetudományi dolgozatok* (1989): 101–130, 118.

²⁵ „4 Recitativo.../ 4 Arien.../ Ein Concertanten Concertans f[ür] Violin und Bassettl.../ Summa i2 ft”, SAS, *Többszólamú zene a magyar városokban, templomokban és főúri udvarokban*, 210. IV. 4.

²⁶ RISM Národni muzeum – České muzeum hudby hudebně-historické oddělení (CZ-Pnm) XXII B 175–183.

²⁷ András KOLTAI, „Iter musicum hungaricum”, in *Haydneum : Magyar Régizenei Központ* (Budapest, 2021), 145–153, 147–148.

²⁸ Michael KRAPFF, „Paul Troger und sein Zyklus der Refektoriumsbilder im Zisterzienserstift Zwettl”, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 40, 1. sz. (1987): 175–193, 185. Furthermore: Plan of the organ-loft, ca. 1745, MNL OL T 86, VII/9. Comp. *Jezsuita jelenlét Győrben a 17–18. században – Tanulmányok a 375 éves Szent Ignác-templom történetéhez*, ed. István FAZEKAS, Zsófia KÁDÁR, Zsolt KÖKÉNYESI (Győr: Szent Mór Bencés Perjelség, 2017), 242–243., 387.

Győr – regardless of how realistic it is to be the use of a fine-sounding stringed instrument in a festive orchestra that also employs wind instruments. Under the leading of St Cecilia's organ, angels hold viola da gamba, cornetto, harp, cymbals, violin and we can see puttos and singers with notes, as well. Almost all of the instruments show up duplicated with interesting symmetry in the gold sculptures of the real organ's case.

The personalities and space of Miklós and Ferenc Zichy both provide characteristic additions to the representation and the cultural transfer network of the residences. Interestingly, the two seemingly rival half-brothers employed the same composer (Kunath). Thus, based on the Zichy-related data of the Trinitarians in Óbuda-Kiscell (mediators between composers and nobles), it can be assumed that, Óbuda held the promise of a Baroque aristocratic center not only from an architectural, but also from a musical aspect, – and it became a local receiver and cultivator of the musical taste of the time.²⁹ This process, which began in the mid-1740s, was interrupted by the sudden death of the count in 1758. His brother, Bishop Ferenc led the requiem mass and the ceremony was accompanied by professional musicians. The count's body laid to rest into the crypt of the supported Trinitarian church.³⁰

²⁹ SZACSVAI KIM „A jezsuita központok zenei élete a 18. századi Magyarországon”.

³⁰ BÁRDOS, *Győr zenéje a 17–18. században*, 60. Comp.: Plt VII. Nr. 13. Zichy civil list from 1757 and 1758.