THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL COURT
AND LATE RENAISSANCE ART

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As is well known, Renaissance art and architecture in Hungary were, at the outset, predominantly of a courtly nature, and it was also primarily the court which helped the new style take root and become wide-spread in Hungary. This remained the practice even during the period beginning with the 1526 battle of Mohács, when the power and authority of the royal court was already on the decline and the country, whatever was left unoccupied by the Turks, was torn into two separate kingdoms. The Hungarian Royal Court only lost its predominant significance in the continuity of the history of Renaissance art and culture in Hungary when Buda fell to the Turks and the independence of the Hungarian royal court came to an end in 1541. Although the Hungarian crown was worn by the rulers of one of Europe's great powers, the Emperors of the Habsburg Monarchy, who had their residences in Vienna or in Prague, and although the feudal officials of the Hungarian kingdom were also actively present at their court (that is to say, the imperial court also functioned as "the royal court of Hungary"), the imperial seat was nevertheless unable to fulfil the role of an original, independent royal court of Hungary. Yet, since the court of the Habsburg kings of Hungary was one of the regional centres of European art, we may ask: what did the relationship between Hungary and her Habsburg rulers mean for late Renaissance art in Hungary from the second half of the 16th century onwards? More specifically, are there groups of works in the history of Hungarian art that owe their existence to the *Hungarian royal court* and to its demand for artistic representation; are there artistic phenomena that are in any way related to the art of the imperial (royal) court or that were influenced by it? The first part of the question asks what works were created for the Hungarian public by Habsburg emperors as kings of Hungary; the second part of the question concerns itself with the individual patronage of those Hungarian feudal officials, noblemen, courtiers, and high priests who were not only exposed to the art of the court but were also inspired by its example to act as patrons and commissioners of the arts[1] themselves.

It is relatively easy to answer the first part of the question, since we know only a few works of art from the late 16th and early 17th centuries that were commissioned by Habsburg rulers to represent the court primarily in front of the Hungarian public. Besides the sessions of the national diet, another occasion that awarded an opportunity for Habsburg rulers to appear in public as kings of Hungary was their coronation ceremonies in Pozsony (today's Bratislava in Slovakia). Although the ceremony followed a traditional ritual, the splendour of the event varied from time to time. Unfortunately, the written sources related to the coronation ceremonies of the era have not yet been collected, although — since almost no pictorial representation survives — they are indispensable for the scholar attempting to reconstruct this exceptional encounter between the artistic representation of the court and a broader public. Of all the coronation ceremonies of the era, the one organized on the largest scale was probably the 1572 Pozsony coronation of Emperor Rudolph, one of the main patrons of European Mannerist court culture. As Tibor Klaniczay recently brought to my notice, several descriptions of the ceremony survived, although they are still awaiting proper study. We know only one pictorial representation of a Pozsony coronation ceremony that gives us any clue of what the actual occasional artistic representation might have been like. This is a woodcut depicting the coronation of King Maximillian on September 8, 1563 with two *triumphal arches* erected on both sides of the pontoon over the Danube. The arches were strongly architectonic in their design and they were decorated with coats of arms *(Fig. 1)*. Fortunately we do know the artist responsible for the plans; his name has come down to us in the royal decrees sent to the Hungarian chamber. These are indeed the most important sources concerning works of art created by Habsburg rulers for Hungary. The triumphal arches were erected by Pietro Ferabosco, one of the most prominent Vienna architects in the second half of the 16th century. Ferabosco also participated in the fortification works of some of the most important fortresses in Hungary, including Győr, Pozsony, Eger, Kanizsa, and Komárom.[2] He is generally believed to have built the decorative entrance gate of the Schweizer in the Vienna Burg (1552–1553), which is also strongly architectonic in its design. The vault of the gate is decorated with coats of arms surrounded by grotesque ornaments that were painted by Ferabosco himself, still a novice at painting at the time *(Plates I and II/1)*.
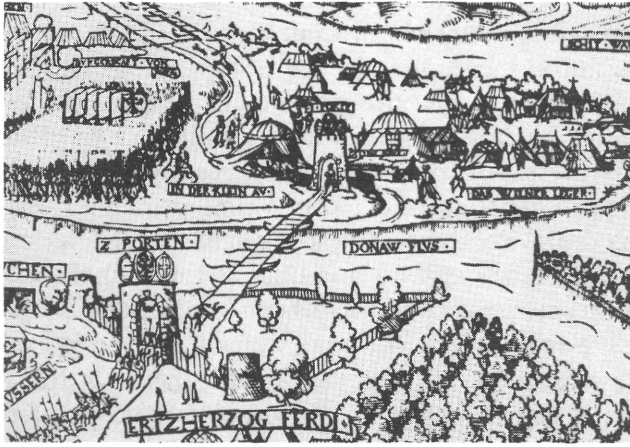
Fig. 1   Pietro Ferabosco: Triumphal Arch for the Coronation Ceremony of King Maximil-
lian of Hungary, 1563. Woodcut depicting the Pozsony coronation ceremony of Maxi-
millian, done by an artist of the initials DM. Detail. Bratislava, Mestká Galeria.

Ferabosco's triumphal arches in Pozsony were of an architectural form very
similar to the Vienna arch and were much admired by contemporaries both
at home and abroad. Although it was certainly not built of anything
durable, it was still capable of creating the impression of a powerful marble
gate; its archivolt was of strong voussoirs and was decorated with painted
festoons; its façade was adorned by the Imperial Arms surrounded by the
coats of arms of Miksa and his Queen. All the pictorial decorations were
done in bright colours.[3]

Ferabosco's name occurs quite frequently in the documentation of the
reconstruction works of the Pozsony castle, a project that took several
decades to finish. He may also have had some role in the decoration of the
castle's *chapel*, which was the most significant pictorial project ever commis-
sioned by a Hungarian king during the era. Although it was commissioned
in 1563 by Emperor Maximillian from Giulio Licinio, a painter from the
Northern part of Italy, the completion of the project took a decade and was
finally accomplished under the rule of Emperor Rudolph. As a young artist,
Licinio had worked on the pictorial decoration of the Libreria and the
Doge's palace in Venice with such masters as Tintoretto; and when, having
prepared the plans himself, with the assistance of workmen he himself had
chosen, he executed the large-scale pictorial decorations framed with
magnificent stucco work and painted grotesque designs in the Pozsony
Chapel, once again, and for the last time, a representative and representa-

tional work of art is created that is in no way inferior to the latest developments in Italian arts. Exactly what Licinio's works in Pozsony were exactly like, we do not know; these, just like the wall-paintings he had painted in cooperation with some of the most prominent Prague and Vienna Mannerist artists in the Vienna Neugebäude, Maximillian's and Rudolph's vast Mannerist Lustschloss, were destroyed. Only recently, however, a decorative grotesque design (*Plate II/2*) executed in a similar manner was discovered in another wing of the Pozsony castle that might have been done by one of Licinio's colleagues much at the same time as the chapel was being completed. This grotesque decoration had been made popular by Raffaello's school imitating Nero's palace in Rome, which had been known as Domus Aurea, and was discovered during the Renaissance. On the walls of the little room, which had belonged to the one-time balcony of the Pozsony castle, we find thin, elongated Manneristic female figures and imaginary creatures swaying among sea-shells, sea-snails, fish and fowl, all executed with such elegance and such artistic skill that they might as well adorn the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, where, in fact, the closest relatives of the Pozsony wall-paintings are to be found.[4]

The Pozsony appearance of this type of grotesque decoration, however, is quite isolated in the history of art in Hungary. Royal decrees sent to the Hungarian chamber mainly deal with the financing of the building of fortresses and palaces or with the reconstruction of city walls and collapsed churches. Except for a few highly exceptional occasions, the centre of court art was not so much Hungary or Pozsony as Vienna and Prague. It was in these cities that representative works of art were produced and exhibited; it was also there that the social elite of Hungarian aristocracy had a chance to come face to face with both art and artists. Very little is known of what kind of art this encounter gave life to; the second half of the 16th century is probably the least discovered era in the history of art in Hungary.

In relation to this, there are two questions which require special attention. One of them concerns the relationship between court art and the introduction of the genre of individual portraiture in Hungary; the other one is the relationship between Mannerist court art and Hungary.

As far as the genre of the portrait is concerned, the first question inevitably to arise is whether individual portraiture in the second half of the 16th century is to be termed court art. As a matter of fact, the answer is probably negative both in the art of Western and West-Central Europe. When in Western or West-Central Europe the new concepts and values of the Renaissance or the Reformation brought forth a renewed interest in the individual human being that was so fundamental for the development of the

art of portraiture, these changes were soon expressed in art by *changes in the pictorial conventions* as well. What this meant in practice was that portrait painting and engraving became available for a relatively broad spectrum of society and, besides the portraits of royalty, new types of portraits came into fashion, such as the humanist portrait, the portrait of priests and preachers, or the portrait of burgesses and merchants. Among the latter another type, the type of the double portraits, which meant two individual portraits of a well-to-do burgess and his wife painted at the same time to be hung next to each other, also appeared. In Hungary, however, as the history of ideas or the history of literature will easily demonstrate, this change took place only *on the level of ideas*, with the actual practice of artistic representation falling by far behind its times.

The genre of the Renaissance portrait is more than just one of the genres that appeared for the first time or reappeared and gained a new popularity, during the era. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the most immediate pictorial representations of the changes that took place in man's general view of himself in the sixteenth century. Thus the appearance of the individual portrait in itself is a mark of this process, and its influence can be clearly detected in the development of the most traditional form of portraiture, the *figural tombstone*.

The new type of individual portraits depicting persons other than royalty appeared around the middle of the 16th century. Yet the number of portraits taken of individuals working and living in Hungary is significantly smaller than what would seem usual in territories West of Hungary. Moreover, on examining who the persons depicted in these portraits actually are and where the portraits themselves were made, we must come to the conclusion that the people sitting for these portraits were primarily individuals who, in some form or another, were in contact with the royal court. The portraits were made in Vienna or in Prague by artists employed by the court, and, although meant to be taken to Hungary, they were characterized by the style typical of Western court portraiture. There is only one exception to the rule, notably the portraiture of protestant preachers, who mostly came across the flourishing art of portraiture in Germany while studying and travelling there, and who had their portraits painted or engraved and published right there as did István Kis of Szeged in Basel,[5] or brought this tradition with themselves when coming home as we find in the full-figure, life-size tombstone portraits or *gîsants* of Transylvanian Saxon priests.[6] Yet, as far as the actual forms of representation — the choice of artist, the social standing and the costumes of the depicted etc. — of the

Fig. 2   Donat Hübschmann: Portrait of Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom, 1560, woodcut.

MATTHAEI SCARICAEI KEVINI
AD LECTOREM

Si cupis expreſſos STEPHANI cognoſcere vultus:
Os oculosḡ ſuos ſic SZEGEDINVS habet.
Hinc reputa, ſancti Lector non ficte laboris,
Quot fuerint humili corpore mentis opes.
Vt, quamuis faciem manus hanc operoſa notârit,
Cætera depingi Zeuſis & ipſe neget.
Qualis enim doctum penetrale figuret Appelles,
Per ſua quod ſôlus ſcripta diſêrta docet?
Hæc idcircò fauens vbi conſpicis ora, precare
Ne pereant tanti tot monumenta viri.

Anno cIɔ Iɔ LXVIII.

Fig. 3   After a drawing by Máté Skarica: Portrait of István Szegedi Kis, 1568–1585. Woodcut.

earliest portraits in Hungary are concerned, considerable similarities and differences can be observed that may indicate differences in the attitudes different social groups showed towards art itself.

Our first two examples — a portrait of bishop Miklós Oláh and one of Hungary's best known 16th century protestant theological writers, István Kis of Szeged — date from the same decade (1558 and 1568, respectively), although Szegedi's portrait was published only in 1585[7] (*Figs. 2 and 3*). Even though the portraits depict leaders of opposing parties, it is not only the apparent similarity of poses, e.g. the emphatic gestures of the hands holding books, that classify these two woodcuts as belonging to a new genre of portraiture that depicts scholars, but the way in their friends and disciples celebrate them with epigrams abundant in humanistic clichés as well. Although most 16th-century portraits in Hungary were done in copperplate engravings and they were circulated as prints in great numbers, often enough only a single copy survives. The graphic arts, changeable as they are because of the relatively small dimensions they use, have more often than not been carriers of new stylistic approaches in the history of art. This tendency is especially strong in Hungarian portraiture and can be successfully demonstrated in such portraits as those of Archbishop Verancsics (1570), István Fejérkövi, Bishop of Veszprém (1575), and Zakariás Mossóczy, Bishop of Tinnin (1577, discovered only recently), all of which are copper plate engravings by the Sebenico artist Martino Rota (*Figs. 4, 5 and 6*). In each of the three engravings, the depicted is shown in a fairly relaxed manner, with his elbows resting on tables, and with books placed upon the mantelpiece to interpret the scene — a composition much favoured by Renaissance halt-figure portraits. As a matter of fact, Rota's portrait of Mossóczy is the first surviving work in the history of late Renaissance culture in Hungary that portrays someone as a humanist living *among* his books. Martino Rota was a court artist, a paid employee of Emperor Rudolph, and the elegance of his portraits becomes even more obvious if we compare them with the tombstones of the same three high priests.[8] Before the introduction of the genre of the individual portrait, the most general and, in fact, almost exclusive form of portraiture to be found in Hungary was the figural tombstone. On the introduction of the individual portrait, however, the task of representing people as individuals was taken up by two very different genres; their relationship with each other, as well as the changes of the conventions of the figural tombstone, a genre so deeply rooted in tradition, may indicate the changes of general ideas about
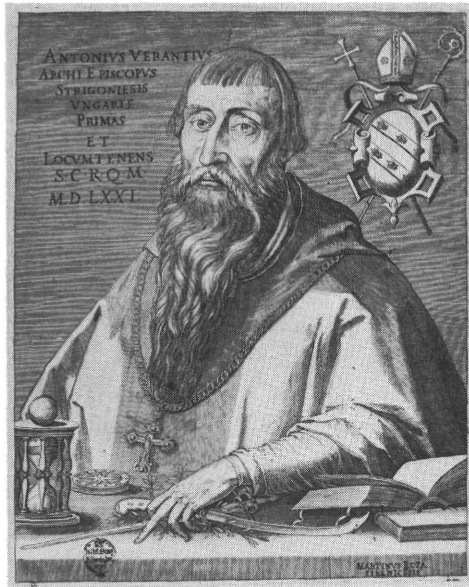
Fig. 4   Martino Rota: Portrait of István Fejérkövi, Bishop of Veszprém, 1575. Engraving, Vienna, Albertina.

Fig. 5   Martino Rota: Portrait of Antal Verancsics, Archbishop of Esztergom, 1570. Engraving, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.

the role of the portrait and, indirectly, about man himself. Two of the above-mentioned high priests have surviving funerary monuments (*Plates III and IV*). The monument of Miklós Oláh is to be found in Nagyszombat (today's Trnava in Slovakia); Fejérkövi's monument has been preserved in Nyitra (today's Nitra in Slovakia).[9] Both of them clearly represent the *traditional composition developed in the gothic tombstones of high priests during the last two centuries,* which was to be loosened to some degree only in the first decades of the 17th century, for as far as their funerary monuments were concerned, later generations continued to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors.

This strong attachment to traditional forms can be observed in a certain group of the *figural tombstones* of the élite of the Hungarian aristocracy. Judging from the evidence of Palatine Szaniszló Thurzó's funerary monument erected in 1625 in Lőcse (today's Levoča in Slovakia, cf. *Plate V*),[10] the medieval tradition of the gothic knightly tombstone depicting the deceased in full armour seems to have continued to be quite influential well into the first decades of the 17th century. This tombstone represents — rather deliberately — a tendency very strongly felt in the history of mentalities that tried to preserve certain aspects of the knightly culture by incorporating them into the art of Hungarian late Renaissance. In the case of Palatine Thurzó's tombstone this tendency was further motivated by the fact that the Szepes branch of the Thurzó family, as part of an attempt to establish themselves as direct descendants of the Szapolyais who had been the previous owners of their estates, followed the traditions of the gothic tombstones of the Szapolyais preserved in the Szepeshely sepulchral chapel. This knightly mentality and cultural tradition is to be seen at work in court artist Martino Rota's half-figure mail-clad portrait engraving of poet Bálint Balassi's father, János Balassa (1575, cf. *Fig. 7*). Thus it is not so much in Rota's portrait of Balassa that the newest trends in court art presented themselves (Rota worked at the Vienna court) as rather in another portrait engraving by him from the same year depicting Miklós Istvánffy, a thirtyfive-year old secretary of the Chancellery, in which Istvánffy is shown in a fairly relaxed pose, sitting in an armchair in front of a curtain, wearing a decorative brocade garment — all in all, as a representative of the *humanist* in office[11] (*Fig. 8*). Costumes had an especially important role in feudal society; they expressed rank and social standing. As an historical source, they mostly became accessible through the genre of portraiture. If we compare Rota's portrait of Istvánffy with Augsburg artist Dominicus Custos's portrait engraving of Hungarian Royal Herald János

ACHARIAS MOSSOCZY EPPVS TINNINIEN. ET CONSIL. S. CAES. REGIÆC
TTIS & ÆTAT. S. AN XXXV. AN. DNI. M.D.LXXVII. Martinus Rota.

Fig. 6 Martino Rota: Portrait of Zakariás Mossóczy, 1577. Engraving, Vienna, Albertina.

Ruda (*Fig. 9*), a man originally born a burgess of Kassa and later granted nobility by the king, we find that despite the similarity of poses there is a striking difference in the costumes worn by the depicted.[12] Although this difference has some interest for the history of costumes, it has additional and probably more important significance inasmuch as it expresses a peculiar duality in the ways of living during the period. Both Istvánffy and Ruda lived at and around the royal court; both their portraits were made by artists working for the court. Yet, Istvánffy's noble European costume reflects a different mentality from the court attire of Emperor Rudolph's Hungarian Herald, which was a black Spanish-style court garment accompanied by a white collar and an ornate necklace, and which recalls the idea of the courtier *par excellence*.[13] Unlike the members of Austrian or Czech aristocracy, the Hungarian nobility rarely if ever wore the usual costumes of courtiers when depicted in their representative portraits; in fact, they tried to distinguish themselves from other nationalities of the Empire even when depicted in their national costumes in their early Baroque portraits.

On the basis of such traits it is quite an impossible task to tell the *burgesses* — whose portraits were just appearing during the era — and city-dwelling noblemen of Hungary from those of the neighbouring territories in their early portraits. It is certain that portraiture was in all three of its forms — painting, engraving and portrait medals — much less available and therefore much less in demand in Hungary than in other parts of Europe. Again, of this social group, only people who were, in some form or another, in contact with the court or with court artists, had their portraits done. One of them was Tamás Jordán, surgeon-general to the imperial forces in Hungary, a man originally from Kolozsvár, who in 1570 commissioned his portrait-medal from leading court medallist Antonio Abondio, in which he is shown wearing the usual attire of courtiers, as is another depicted by Abondio related to Hungary, one of Fugger's officials in the Vöröskő (today's Červený Kamen in Slovakia) castle by the name of Sebastian Zäch (*Fig. 10 and Plate VI/1*).[14] These two medals by Abondio, although they apply the well-known conventions of artistic representation, seem to be representations of a friendly gesture rather than artistic representations meant for the public. This is exactly what differentiates these two medals from, on the one hand, another medal made by Abondio for Bishop Verancsics, and, on the other, from a significant group of medals from Hungary consisting of portraits of Upper Northern Hungarian mining town burgesses from the 16th century.

IOANNES BALASSA DE GHARMATH CON
SILIARIVS SACRÆ CÆSAREA REGIA Q M zc
IANITORVM REGALIVM MAGISTER IN VNGARIA · ÆTAT SVÆ LVII
· M · D · LXXV ·

NICOLAVS ISTHVANFFII ·S·CÆs XII
SECRETARIVS
ÆTATIS SVÆ XXXVI
ANNO DOMINI · M·D· LXXV

Figs
7   Martino Rota: Portrait of János
    Balassa,   1575. Engraving, Vienna,
    Albertina.
8   Martino Rota: Portrait of Miklós Istvánffy,
    1575. Engraving, Historical Gallery of the
    Hungarian National Museum.
9   Dominicus Custos: Portrait of János Ruda,
    end of the 16th century. Engraving,
    Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National
    Museum.

At this time, and for long centuries thereafter, Hungary's coins were minted in Körmöcbánya (today's Kremnica in Slovakia) by skilled die-engravers employed by the Hungarian Royal Chamber. From 1536 as a royal privilege Körmöc mint-masters were allowed to make privately commissioned memorial medals from their own produce. Although die-engravers, as a rule, came from Vienna with a good training in their skills and although many of them frequently made portrait medals for Vienna commissioners, for the Hungarian mining town aristocracy and burgesses they continued to make only medals decorated with heraldic designs, usually the families' coats of arms, for several decades. The reason is obviously the fact that there was no demand for portrait medals among commissioners in Hungary. There is only one Selmec mining town burgess from the first half of the century, a certain Konrad Schall, an employer of about 50 miners, who commissioned his portrait medal from Vienna artist Joachim Dreschler. He also had a portrait engraving from the same year (1547) by Augustin Hirschvogel, an artist employed by Péter Perényi. Schall, however, had originally come to Hungary from Stuttgart, and, although he proudly claimed to be a "civis metallicus Schemniciensis" on both of his portraits, it is beyond doubt that his artistic culture and expectations originated from his Stuttgart environment.
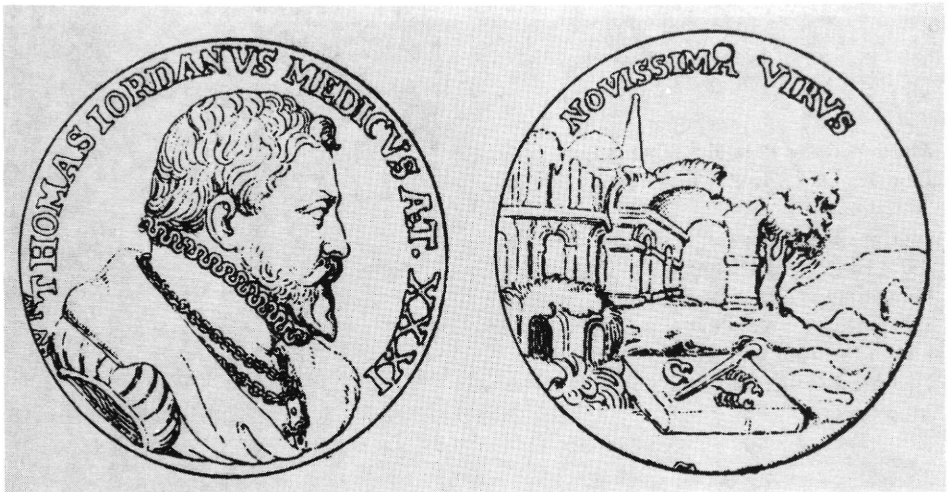

Fig. 10   Antonio Abondio: Medal of Tamás Jordán, 1570. (After T. Gerevich.)

It was not until the end of the 16th century that Hungarian die-engravers started to make portrait medals. The three most beautiful of these are Joachim Elsholtz's a portrait medal of Sebstian Henkel, treasurer of the Chamber in Körmöc (1590), and the two portrait medals he made for Selmec mining town burgess David Hohenberger, who had just been granted nobility at the time (1591 and 1593; *Plates VI/2 and VI/3*).[15] On the contrary, the memorial medals are decorated with the family coat of arms of the depicted, while on the obverse the depicted themselves look on at us from the oval of the composition with the self-assurance of money-men. They wear the usual costumes of the burgess, which, however, also incorporate certain elements of court fashion. Their medals were made with the intention of artistic representation, and, from the beginning of the 17th century, they were followed by portraits of city burgesses painted in oil such as the portrait of Kristóf Lackner (*Plate VII*), Mayor of Sopron, which was made in Prague in 1602. Although Körmöc die-engravers continued to make a few more portrait medals, the encounter of the two genres — portraiture and medallic art — failed to give birth to a thriving genre which could continue into the next century.

The encounter of the genre of portraiture and the idea of artistic representation only gave life to a flourishing new genre that was to be influential for centuries when and where the genre of representative full-figure life-size portrait painting met the demand of the nobility of a given country for artistic representation. This form of representation, developed and polished in the portrait galleries of rulers and other famous personalities, finally found its way to the nobility of the Habsburg empire during the second half of the 16th century, even though we have only Austrian and Czech examples. As far as surviving works are concerned, we hardly know of any authentic contemporary *oil portraits* from the 16th century that originate from Hungary, although occasional references to portrait *paintings* from the second half of the 16th century and particularly from the 1570s and 1580s, mostly painted abroad, do appear in family letters and humanist correspondence. The only two portraits still in existence are a portrait, in all probability painted in Bohemia, of János Krusith (1580), who himself was of Czech origin, and a half-figure portrait of Dániel Kubinyi (1595).[16] Furthermore, it has been suggested that two early 17th century portraits of Tamás Nádasdy and his wife Orsolya Kanizsai (*Plates VIII and IX*), which survived in the ancestral gallery of the family, might also go back to 16th century examples, for their type of portraiture, their composition, and the costumes the depicted are wearing show a strong resemblance to the

Fig. 11   Egidius Sadeler: Portrait of György Thurzó, 1607. Engraving. Historical Gallery of
the Hungarian National Museum.

Fig. 12   Egidius Sadeler: Portrait of Zsigmond Forgách, 1615. Engraving, Historical Gallery
of the Hungarian National Museum.

portraiture of the Imperial Court already flourishing in the 1550s and 1560s.[17] In his full-figure oil portrait Nádasdy is shown mail-clad, very much in the manner of that type of portrait painting that was considered by 16th century Hungarian aristocracy most representative of its demonstrative and heroic venture, and which was also *one* of the representative forms of court portraiture. In all probability, the appearance of the *whole figure portrait* was an entirely new phenomenon in the late Renaissance art of Hungary. This is especially obvious in the case of female portraits which, unlike mail-clad male portraits, were not restricted by such strict pictorial conventions and the splendour of the rich ceremonial costumes representing the best of court culture could stand out as in the portrait of Orsolya Kanizsai. The fact that the full-figure, non-mail-clad portraits were already present in 16th century Hungarian culture can be demonstrated, not only by the portrait painting of János Krusith, but also by a funerary monument of a rather irregular type, a tombstone belonging to another high-ranking court official, Deputy Palatine Ferenc Révay from the year 1553, preserved in Turócszentmárton (today's Martin in Slovakia; cf. *Plate X*). This monument broke away from the forms of representation dominating the type of knightly tombstone that depicts the deceased in full armour, and chose to depict him in full figure, wearing ceremonial attire, according to the new type of representation that was just appearing in court art at the time.

This artistic solution, however, found just as few followers, and it was not until the beginning of the 17th century that the Hungarian aristocracy started to discover the new type of portrait offered by mid-16th century court art in which the depicted were shown wearing noble ceremonial costumes. Politically strengthened, the Hungarian aristocracy wished to express their own and their families' independence from the ruler and chose to derive their privileges from the excellence and merit of their ancestors rather than from the grace of their rulers. This idea was represented by the introduction of the full-figure oil portraits of the family ancestral galleries. By the time this process started to unfold during the first decades of the 17th century, oil portraits of high-ranking noblemen had already broken away from the medieval tradition of showing the depicted as knights in their full armour and portrait paintings of ancestors as well as contemporaries showing the depicted wearing rich ceremonial Hungarian-style costumes were becoming the indispensable decoration of fortresses and castles. When exactly this practice began, we are unable to tell as yet. For example, the fact that we do not know of any representative full-figure portraits of Palatine György Thurzó and Lord Chief Justice Zsigmond Forgách, of whom excellent half-figure portraits in engraving (*Figs. 11 and*

12) had been made by Prague Rudolphine artist Egidius Sadeler in 1607,[18] whereas we do know of similar portraits of Thurzó's cousin Kristóf Thurzó from 1611 and Forgách's daughter, Éva, from 1638 (*Plates XI and XII*),[19] does not necessarily mean that there were no full-figure standing portraits painted of either Palatine Thurzó or Zsigmond Forgách. Surviving ancestral galleries, however, seem to indicate that the beginnings of this practice date back to the 1610s and 1620s. It was from then onwards that living members of the biggest families in Hungary, not infrequently children, started to be portrayed *after life* on a regular basis. When, in addition to living family members, ancestors were also painted, it became clear that the form adopted from court culture was, paradoxically enough, to represent *independence* from the royal court itself. It was partly its role as an expression of independence from the royal court, partly its glamorous style developed by court art and radiating with a splendour and elegance achieved by applying rich costumes, sophisticated poses and all the paraphernalia of power and wealth, that made the representative aristocratic full-figure portrait one of the most popular genres for the next two centuries.[20] Its representative power and its pictorial suggestiveness are clearly indicated by the fact that it was able to transcend and, by doing so, to break even the stiffest medieval traditions, the *formal conventions* of the figural knightly tombstone depicting the deceased in his full armour.

Comparing Kristóf Thurzó's portrait with his funerary monument might serve to give us a clear idea of how deeply rooted this formal convention was in the late Renaissance culture of early 17th century Hungary. Thurzó's full-figure portrait, which has been preserved in the ancestral gallery of the Csáky family, and which was an early piece in one of the many collections of portraits later to become ancestral galleries, dates from 1611 (*Plate XII*), while his knightly tombstone was done in 1614 (*Plate XIII/1*). As we can see, there is only a span of three years between the two.[21] Yet, examining only those formal conventions of artistic representation that are apparent in these two pieces we may find that the static medieval tradition represented by the gothic tombstone and the late Renaissance tendency of the court portrait to glorify a high-ranking personality as a living hero are at variance. This conflict between the forms, however, is but a reflection of an ambiguity prevailing in late Renaissance culture in early 17th century Hungary. Even if we consider that for reasons already mentioned several other trends, mostly trends of a historicizing nature that require a somewhat different approach, can be also observed in Thurzó's tombstone, there is but one feasible conclusion: that in the late Renaissance art and culture of

Hungary these two cultures — the one indirectly preserving the knightly traditions and the new type of court culture that was brought forth by the Renaissance — were not in the least at variance with each other; rather, even though in different functions, they formed a *unity* that can often be oftentimes observed within one family or even one person.

This unity, however, is not at all closed or homogenous, and its changes are to be examined by the history of art in order to demonstrate the changes in the ways and forms of representation. What is in the process of changing is the forms of representation applied by the knightly tombstone, the most important of them being the way they present the deceased as a *corps*. This change took place under the influence of the full-figure portrait of court portraiture, which was characteristically life-like in its composition and in the elegance of the gestures it frequently applied. From the end of the 16th century onwards the deceased, especially of families in contact with the court or with the new centres of art, were depicted as if they were *alive*. The earliest surviving tombstone of this type in Hungary was commissioned by the court for János Rueber (*Plate XIII/2*), Captain-General of Kassa, who died in 1584.[22] Yet, Rueber's tombstone had no influence whatsoever in what was called East-Hungary at the time.

It was not until a similar tombstone was made for Miklós Pálffy, one of the many excellent Hungarian soldiers of the Turkish wars, that this form became somewhat more popular with the Hungarian aristocracy. Here the commissioner was Pálffy's widow, Mária Fugger, who commissioned her husband's tombstone from the masters of her home town, Augsburg. We do know the maquette of this tombstone (*Plate XIV*), and its main figure, the *gîsant* of Miklós Pálffy — both the model and the gîsant executed by Paul Mayr (*Plate XV*) —, also survived, although not as part of the original monument; for reasons yet unknown, it was finally substituted with another tombstone by another Augsburg master named Caspar Meneller (*Plate XVI/2*).[23] Miklós Pálffy's *gîsant* served as a model for many a tombstones of high-ranking Hungarian noblemen such as István Illésházy (1608), János Draskovich (1613; *Plate XVI/3*), György Thurzó (1616), and Kristóf Erdődy (1624). Each of them are depicted mail-clad and ready to battle: the hands hold swords, maces or batons, or they rest on helmets taken off; the poses are majestic and heroic, as is usual in the representative paintings of the court portraiture of the era. This is how contemporaries wanted to see the most renowned Hungarian generals of the 15 Years War, and this is how, on a different level, the Turkish-Hungarian wars of the age, the heroic

Fig. 13   Mátyás II as King of Hungary. Engraving and etching, from between the 1610's and 1620's, 1664.

deeds, and the glorification of outstanding ventures had exerted a significant influence over the choice of artistic form.[24]

This is also what gave life to an exceptional group of works in the mannerist art of Emperor Rudolph II's court in Prague that dealt with the Turkish wars of Hungary. As part of his self-image, it had been quite important for Emperor Rudolph as King of Hungary to present himself as the "hero of the Turkish wars" ever since they began. In fact, Rudolph insisted on keeping this title even after the Fifteen Years' War was finally over. It is no surprise that in one of the reliefs of the crown he himself had commissioned and which was later to become the Imperial Crown of Austria he is depicted as a ruler fresh out of battle, glorious over the Turk. Almost each of the artists working for the emperor created works of art commemorating the Turkish wars. These works by Bartholomeus Spranger, Joris Hoefnagel, Adrien de Vries, Paulus von Vianen, Egidius Sadeler, Dirk Quade van Ravesteyn, and most importantly, Hans von Aachen (*Plate XVI/1*) represent the fate of Hungary, a country that served as a battleground for the collision of two major world orders, the East and the West.[25]

Although those works of Rudolphine art which were related to the Turkish wars do represent Hungarian themes, and although they have been often dealt with in international studies on Mannerism, they do not belong to late Renaissance art in Hungary. There is, however, a group of works that does belong to that circle, namely a series of engravings consisting of approximately 80 prints dating from the 1610s and 1620s and depicting the kings of Hungary (*Fig. 13*) and some of the most important events in Hungarian history, including the Turkish wars. The engravings were made by artists belonging to the Prague mannerist circle during the last, already declining period of Rudolphine art. The series was commissioned by Lőrinc Ferenczffy, a court official of Hungary's Habsburg ruler Mátyás, II. Ferenczffy himself was Secretary to the King of Hungary, as had been his predecessor, a man famous for his artistic calligraphy, György Bocskay. First he had the royal portraits made, then he commissioned the scenes from Hungarian history (*Fig. 14*) from a well known engraver of Rudolphine landscapists and graphic artists, a disciple of Sadeler, Isaac Major. These engravings were meant to be illustrations to a historical work taken up by royal historian Elias Berger entitled "Historia Hungariæ". By the pictorial means of these illustrations Ferenczffy intended to join the mainstream of late Renaissance historiography that mainly examined how
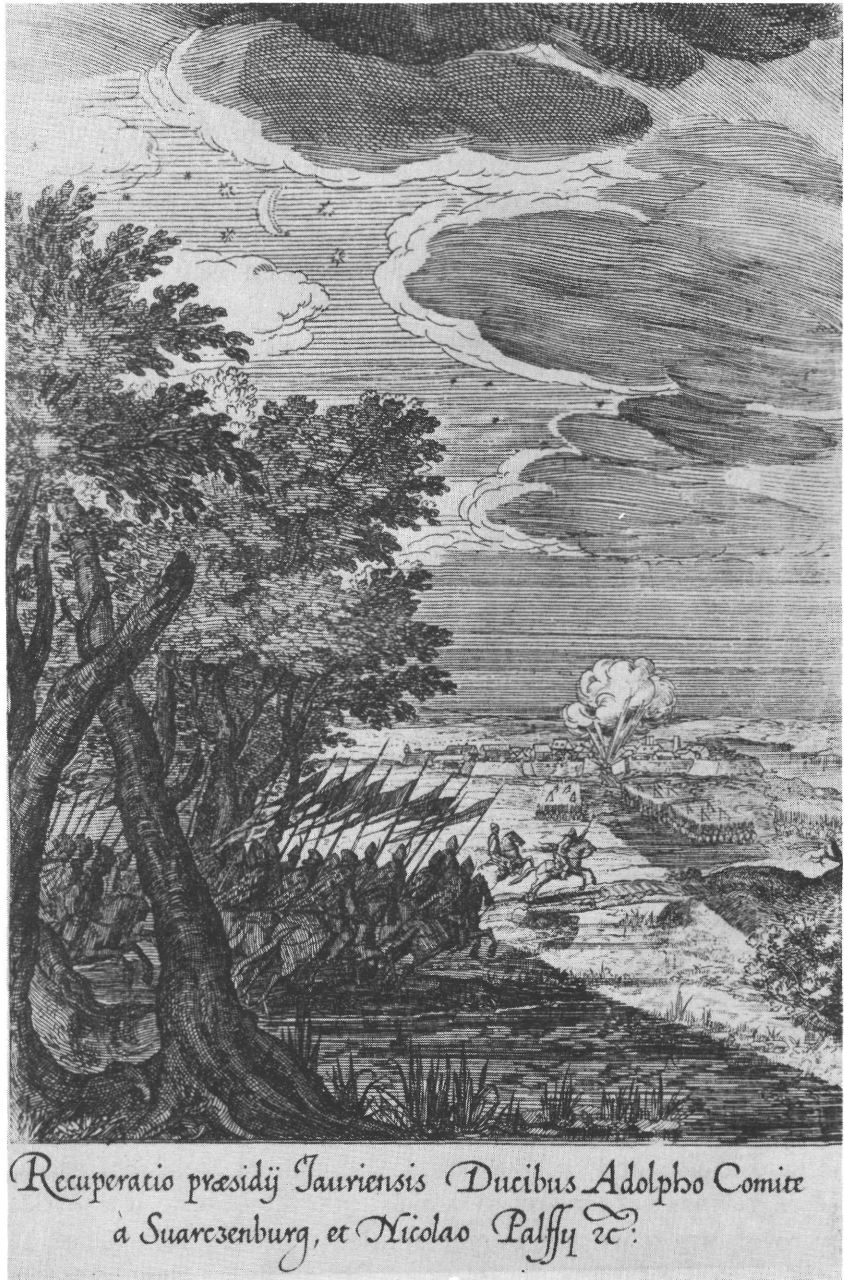
Fig. 14   Isaac Major: The Recapture of Győr in 1598. Engraving and etching.

Hungary's ancient glory had vanished under the gruesome occupation of the Turk.[26]

We have seen how Ferenczffy, as an official working and living in Vienna and at the royal court in Prague, had found a way to utilize the possibilities offered by the mannerist art of the court in Prague. Although the historical work itself was never published, thus leaving Ferenczffy's overall plan incomplete, the series of prints is still one of the most important groups of works in that it sheds some light on the relationship between the Hungarian royal court and late Renaissance art in Hungary. Beyond its artistic value it has some historical significance as well, for when in 1664 — about 50 years after the prints were made — Ferenc Nádasdy, one of the greatest patrons of Baroque art in Hungary, published the portraits of the kings of Hungary and accompanied them with an entirely new text, it became one of the most influential works in the history of Hungarian Baroque culture.[27] Much of its success is due to the copper plate engravings of Prague Rudolphine artist Isaac Major, which thus exemplify the organic relationship between Hungarian late Renaissance tradition and Baroque art in Hungary.

Notes

1. I first attempted to answer this question in a lecture I gave at a Renaissance conference in Pápa ("The Hungarian Royal Court and Late Renaissance Art"). The lecture, of which the present paper is a revised and expanded version, was published in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* [Hungarian Renaissance Court Culture]. Ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest, 1987), 228—248.

2. A collection of sources related to the coronation ceremonies of Habsburg kings of Hungary was published by György Márton, *Solennia inauguralia Principum* (Pest, 1790). The collection contains descriptions of more or less each of the coronations. Some of the coronations have been related by several contemporaries; Rudolph's coronation is one of these. As far as its artistic aspect is concerned, see humanist Stephanus Pigius's report in his *Hercules Prodicius seu principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio* (Antwerp, 1587), 183—189. — About Pietro Ferabosco see L. A. Maggiorotti & F. Banfi, "Pietro Ferabosco". *Hadtörténeti közlemények* 1933: 156—173; the print depicting Maximillian's coronation ceremony with the inscription "Ware Conterfactur der Stadt Presburg" was made by the Viennese Donat Hübschmann with the initials of Martin Hübschmann (cf. Walter Leopold Strauss, *The German Single Leaf Woodcut* [New York, 1975, pp. 448—49]). The woodcut is reproduced in Katarina Závado, *Verný a pravý obraz slovenských miest a hradov* (Bratislava, 1974), Cat. 20, falsely attributed to Hans Mayr. About the

honoraries Ferabosco received for his Pozsony triumphal arches on 5 August and 10 October 1563 see *Művészettörténeti regeszták a királyi határozatokból és rendeletekből.* Közzéteszi Bánrévi György [Abstracts of art historical interest from royal resolutions and decrees. Published by György Bánrévi]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1956: abstracts Number 52, 109, and 110. Expenses were covered from the income of the Hungarian Chambers. The pictorial and the written sources have been associated with each other for the first time in the present paper.

3.   In Hungary, the triumphal arches were mentioned by the Körmöcbánya envoys: Pál Križko, "Az 1563. évi koronázási ünnepély" [The coronation ceremony of the year 1563]. *Történelmi Tár* 1877: 33; about the foreign reception see Natale Conti, *Delle historie de'suoi tempi* (Venezia, 1589), V.1. 381 b.

4.   On Licinio see János Illésházy, "Adatok a pozsonyi várkápolna festésének történetéhez" [Data related to the history of the pictorial decorations of the Chapel of the Pozsony Castle]. *Archeológiai Értesítő* 1892: 330—392. Also "Giulio Licinio". In *I pittori bergamaschi* II (Bergamo, 1976), 515—589. On the grotesque decorations found in the Pozsony castle: Fedor Kresák-Tamara Žižková, "Manieristické grotesky na Bratislavskom hrade" [Mannerist grotesques in the Bratislava Castle]. *Vlastivedný Časopis* 1980: 25—29; *A művészet története Magyarországon* [The history of art in Hungary] (Budapest, 1983), 198—199.

5.   Among the early representatives of reformation in Hungary and Transylvania contemporary graphical portraits have survived of Johann Honterus, István Kiss of Szeged (1568—1585), Albert Molnár of Szenc (1604), and János Decsi of Baranya (1593). The first three of these have been most recently reproduced by István Bitskey, in *Hitviták tüzében* [In the fire of religious polemics] (Budapest, 1978), 31, 60, 218. The portrait of János Decsi of Baranya — as Géza Szabó pointed it out to me — has just been found in a copy of Decsy's *Syntagma iustitionum iuris imperialis ac ungarici...* published in Heltai's press in Kolozsvár in 1593. This can be found in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA).

6.   On the Transylvanian tombstones of Saxon protestant priests see Julius Bielz, *Porträt-katalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Hamburg, 1936). This work lists 11 figural tombstones of priests from the period between 1541 and 1630, which is more than the number of similar figural tombstones belonging to Saxon secular dignitaries of the same period. There is no record of any figural tombstones of protestant priests in art history in Hungary.

7.   On the portrait of Miklós Oláh see W.L. Strauss 1975 (quoted in Note 2), 440 and György Rózsa, "Oláh György legrégibb arcképe" [The earliest portrait of Miklós Oláh]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1960: 433—438. The epigrams accompanying the engravings are also published here. The first copper plate engraving version of Oláh's portrait was made by Hans Sebald Lautensack in 1558. A woodcut version was made by Donat Hübschmann who put his own initials (DH) on the print and changed the date to 1560. We publish a reproduction of this latter one with an epigram written by Miklós Oláh himself. The portrait of István Kis of Szeged was drawn by his student, Máté Skarica, who also wrote the epigram in 1568. The woodcut was made by a Basel artist and was published as an appendix to Szegedi's *Theologiæ Sinceræ Loci Communes...* printed in Basel in 1585.

8.   On Martino Rota see Gizella Cenerné Wilhelmb, "Martino Rota magyar arcképei"
      [Martino Rota's Hungarian portraits]. *Folia Archæologica* 1955: 159, 162—163. More
      recently see Géza Galavics, "Személyiség és reneszánsz portré. Egy ismeretlen
      magyarországi humanista portré: Mossóczy Zakariás arcképe" [Personality and
      Renaissance portrait. An unknown humanist portrait from Hungary: the portrait of
      Zakariás Mossóczy]. In Géza Galavics—János Herner—Bálint Keserű (eds.), *Collectanea
      Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* [Collectanea Tiburtiana. Studies in
      honor of Tibor Klaniczay] (Szeged: JATE, 1990), 401—19; M. Rota was receiving
      monthly wages in Rudolph's court as "Kaiserlicher Conterfetter und Bildhauer" from
      January 1577 till his death; see Herbert Haupt, "Neue Ergebnisse archivalischer
      Forschung zu Kunst und Handwerk am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II". *Uměni* 1990: 34.
9.   Miklós Oláh's funerary monument in the dome of Nagyszombat (Trnava) was made
      after the bishop's death in 1568; however, Bishop Fejérkövi, who died in 1596,
      commissioned his own tombstone for the Nyitra cathedral in 1588, which is an
      indication of his deliberate choice of this fairly traditional form of representation.
10.   Szaniszló Thurzó's tombstone was made by an artist of Szepesolaszi (Spišské Vlachy),
      by the name of Johann Weinhardt, who had originally come from Munich, Germany.
      He was also responsible for the carving of the balcony of the Ébner-house in
      Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), where we can see Upper Northern
      Hungary stone masonry art at its very best. About the authorship of Weinhardt see: ph
      [Pavol Horváth] "Náhrobny reliéf Stanislava Thurzu v Levoči". *Vlastivedný Časopis*
      1969: 135; Viera Luxová, "Príspevok k životu a dielu Jána Weinharta". *Ars* 1983:
      61—72.
11.   On the portraits of Balassa and Istvánffy by Rota see Cennerné, *op. cit.* (Rota),
      160—162.
12.   On Ruda's portrait see Gizella Cenerné Wilhelmb, "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher
      Dominicus Custos und Ungarn". *Folia Archæologica* 1966—67: 246—247.
13.   A portrait of a similar character of *court* historiographer János Zsámboky is also
      known. Another portrait of Zsámboky, however, has also survived (reproduced in
      Magyar művelődéstörténet, 3: 391) — it depicts Zsámboky with his dog Bombo in a fairly
      relaxed manner that suggests a completely different humanistic atmosphere of different
      values as far as its origins are concerned. Thus Zsámboki's portraits are to be evalu-
      ated rather in the context of the humanistic portraiture of European intellectuals.
14.   On the work of Antonio Abondio see G. Habich, *Die Deutschen Schmaumüntzen des
      XVI. Jahrhunderts* (5 Bde, München, 1924—34). Tibor Gerevich, "Antonio Abondio
      császári és királyi udvari szobrász festő és éremkészítő" [Antonio Abondio imperial and
      royal court sculptor, painter, and medallist]. In *Klebersberg Emlékkönyv* (Budapest,
      1925), 482—484.
15.   István Szigeti, "Régi körmöcbányai személyi érmek" [Old personal medals from
      Körmöcbánya]. *Az Érem* [The medal] 1940: 6—8, 15—16; Lajos Huszár, — Procopius
      Béla, *Medallien und Plakettenkunst in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1932), 6, 81, 84.
16.   On the portrait painting of 16th century Austrian and Czech aristocracy see the
      portraits of the exhibition "Adel im Wandel. Politik. Kultur. Konfession". In
      Niederösterreichische Landausstellung (Rosenburg, 1990). Also Sabine Fellner, *Das
      adelige Porträt. Zwischen Typus und Individualität*, 499—508. On 16th-century Hungarian

portraiture see *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történeti Képcsarnokból* [Aristocratic ancestral galleries and family portraits in the Hungarian Historical Gallery]. Ed. Enikő Buzási (Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest: Hungarian National Gallery, 1988). Also Géza Galavics, "Személyiség és reneszánsz portré" [Personality and Renaissance portrait] (quoted in Note 8).

17. Klára Garas, *Magyarországi festészet a XVIII. században* [Painting in 18th-century Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 1953). 86; and Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "A magyar barokk provinciális portréstílus kapcsolatai" [The style and connections of provincial Hungarian Baroque portrait]. *Történelmi Szemle* 1986: 219—236.

18. Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Egidius Sadeler magyar arcképei" [Egidius Sadeler's Hungarian portraits]. *Folia Archæologica* 1954: 153—156.

19. Both pictures can be seen at the exhibition *Főúri ősgalériák...* [Aristocratic ancestral galleries...] quoted in Note 16. Taken into catalogue by Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, Cat. C 21, 101.

20. Although fragmentary, there still exist the ancestral galleries of the Esterházy (Forchtenstein), the Batthyány and the Nádasdy (Hungarian National Gallery), the Illésházy (Trenčín, Muzeum), the Pálffy and the Zichy (Červený Kamen, Muzeum), the Csáky (Csáky Deposit in the Hungarian National Gallery) and the Draskovich (Tracošćan, Castle Museum) families.

21. Kristóf Thurzó's portrait can be seen at the exhibition *Főúri ősgalériák...* (quoted in Note 16), Cat. C. 101. On the tombstone see the paper of V. Luxová (quoted in Note 10).

22. Rueber was a devout Lutheran; his funerary monument stood in the Cromer Chapel of the Kassa Dome, probably set in an architectonical frame which was demolished in 1733. The sculpture itself is to be found in the Hungarian National Gallery. See Béla Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei* [The history and monuments of Kassa] (Kassa 1941), 78—79; *Ungarische Nationalgalerie — Alte Sammlung*. Ed. Miklós Mojzer (Budapest 1984), Nr. 128.

23. A detailed history of Miklós Pálffy's funerary monument can be found in Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Lasset uns umgürten gegen die Heiden. Türkenkrieg und bildende Kunst) [Let us gird our swords against the heathen. Turkish wars and their art] (Budapest, 1986), 58—59.

24. *Ibid.*, 59—60.

25. On the works of Rudolphine art related to the Turkish wars see Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot...* (quoted above). Also DaCosta Kaufmann Thomas, *L'École de Prague. La peinture à la cour de Rodolphe II* (Paris, 1985).

26. A fairly recent monograph on Lőrinc Ferenczffy is Béla Holl, *Ferenczffy Lőrinc* (Budapest, 1980); about Isaac Major's historical engravings see Georg Rózsa, "Isaac Majors ungarische Schlachtenbilder". *Acta Historiæ Artium* 1971: 269—280; also Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot...* (quoted in Note 23) and Géza Galavics, "Die rudolphinische Kunst und Ungarn". In *Prag um 1600. Beiträge zur Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II* (Freeren, 1988), 63—69.

27. On the history of the series of engravings depicting kings of Hungary see György Rózsa's monograph, *Magyar történelemábrázolás a XVII. században* [Artistic representation of history in 17th century Hungary] (Budapest, 1973).