

Karolina Mroziewicz

Institute of History of Art
Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Cracow
karolina.mroziewicz@uj.edu.pl

Natio Made Visible: The Hungarian Political Community in Illustrated Books (ca. 1350 – 1700)*

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to examine the understanding of the *natio Hungarica*, as it emerges from the texts and images of a number of richly illustrated Hungarian books. The *Chronicon pictum* (ca. 1358), János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* (Brno, Augsburg, 1488), *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (Nuremberg, 1664), *Trophaeum domus Estorasianae* (Vienna, 1700) and *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones* (Vienna, 1652) served as points of reference for the discussion on the ways in which the Hungarian political community wanted to be and was perceived prior to its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century transformation into a modern nation.

The study encompasses the formative period of Hungarian illustrated books that contributed to the formulation of the national imagery in Hungary, based on the ethno-genetic myths, memories of shared ancestry and collective past, cultural values, legal code, customs and models of conduct, modes of self-display, and, last but not least, on the imagery of the homeland. The three-and-a-half-century chronological scope of the study has made it possible to trace the major changes

* This paper was supported by the Foundation for Polish Science – International PhD Program-me, co-financed by the European Union within the European Regional Development Fund.

which the concept of *natio Hungarica* underwent between mid-fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Keywords: *natio Hungarica*, political community, modern nation, illustrated books, János Thuróczy.

The nation is a symbolic and imagined entity. It takes a definite – and real form through various political performances and rituals – elections, assemblies, royal funerals – numerous visual and verbal accounts, and, last but not least, in the imagination of its members. In public meetings and ceremonies the nation becomes real and visible, its members able to witness large numbers of their compatriots. In everyday reality, however, it is generally otherwise – a nation needs an image to become visible. In today's political life this image is fostered by the mass-media, often influenced by the main power holders, broadcasting a visual and verbal message directed to thousands. In the Middle Ages and Early Modernity, the image of the political community, produced by the royal entourage and/or by the members of the highest social strata, also used all communication technologies at hand. Among them were illustrated books, including both exclusive, and expensive, illuminated codices and printed books with series of woodcut or copperplate illustrations. The multipliable text-cum-image apparatus of the latter was an especially efficient means of communication. Nonetheless, the illustrations and layout of printed books were frequently modelled after book illuminations, particularly in the incunabula period. Therefore, despite having a dissimilar range and fields of impact, both handwritten and printed books contributed to the emergence of a normative and collective imaginary.

For today's researchers, illustrated books have yet another advantage – they preserved written and visual accounts of political communities that no longer exist. The principal aim of the paper is to examine the understanding of the *natio Hungarica*, as it was reflected in the illustrated books circulating among the upper circles of Hungarian society. The richly illustrated books will serve as a point of reference for the discussion on the ways in which the Hungarian political community wanted to be and was perceived prior to its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century transformation into a modern nation. The study encompasses the formative period of Hungarian illustrated books that contributed to the formulation of the national imagery in Hungary and traces the changes which the concept of *natio Hungarica* underwent over a span of three and a half centuries.

The first of the books discussed, the so-called *Chronicon pictum* (ca. 1358), established the visual narrative about the history of the Hungarian political

community.¹ Its iconographic programme left a stamp on the earliest Hungarian illustrated chronicle released in print, i.e. János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* (Thuróczy, 1488a, 1488b).² Familiarity with the series of woodcuts from the *Chronica Hungarorum* is in turn traceable in a catalogue of Hungarian rulers commissioned by Ferenc Nádasdy, entitled *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (*Mausoleum*, 1664).³ The often reprinted book is popular to the present day, and tells the story of the Hungarians through the images and eulogies of their chieftains and kings from Keve to Ferdinand IV. The visual and literary content of *Mausoleum* was transformed to facilitate inscribing a newly elevated family into the long history of the *natio Hungarica* in *Trophaeum domus Estorasiannae* (*Trophaeum*, 1700). The mutual interdependence between these books on the one hand, and the time difference between their production on the other, offers the chance to trace semantic shifts in the understanding of the *natio Hungarica* between the mid-fourteenth and late seventeenth centuries. In turn, Elias Widemann's *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones* (Widemann, 1652) is a unique gallery of portraits of members of the Hungarian political elite, captured on copperplates by a Viennese master with a good knowledge of the main players on the Hungarian political scene.

The major focus will therefore be placed on the Latin-language books that offer a valuable insight into the idiosyncrasies of Hungarian political and cultural traditions. A postulate for research on the pre-modern nation raised by Jerzy Axer is that the heart of the matter often lies in Latin sources (Axer, 2004, p. 22). This seems especially true for the multi-ethnic and multilingual St. Stephen's Kingdom, where Latin was a prime language of political and cultural communication between members of the *natio* until the mid-nineteenth century. The *natio Hungarica*'s most important foundational texts – with *Bulla aurea* (1222), medieval chronicles, such as the *Gesta Hungarorum* (ca. 1280) by Simon of Kéza, and the collection of customary laws entitled the *Tripartitum* (1517) and compiled by István Werbőczy, among the most authoritative ones – were all written in Latin.

As a supra-regional language, Latin was well-equipped to convey the idiosyncrasies of a particular group. Similarly, in the iconography of

¹ The manuscript is kept in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, shelf mark Clmae 404. For a facsimile edition of the *Chronicon pictum* and translation of its text see: Dercsényi (1969). A critical edition of the text was included in: Domanovszky (1937, pp. 239–505).

² A facsimile edition of the book was published in Thuróczy (1991a). A critical edition of the text with a comprehensive commentary – see: Thuróczy (1985–1988a). Translation of the final parts of the chronicle was published in: Thuróczy (1991b).

³ For a facsimile edition see: *Mausoleum* (2005); *Mausoleum* (1991).

the Middle Ages and Early Modernity, the individual pictorial code of a political community could be characterized through a selection of motifs from a large repertoire, and through predilections to particular themes. The original meaning and iconography of the personifications of *Polonia* in Polish sources (Górska, 2005) or of depictions of the Holy Crown and Hunnish chieftains in the Hungarian art (Mroziewicz, 2015) may serve as two examples. Likewise, the ways in which members of the political community were depicted constituted a distinctive iconographic field within which the *natio* was made visible.

The process of transformation of the “high-level” abstract concept of nation through the visual arts into more easily accessed “reality” (Smith, 2013, p. 6) was recently analyzed by Anthony Smith in his book *The Nation Made Real* (Smith, 2013). In his study, Smith names the main topics and symbols which facilitated the coalescence of the national identity. The most influential of them were concerned with ethno-genetic myths, memories of shared ancestry and collective past, cultural values and models of conduct, the imagery of homeland, as well as the legal code, and customs. To this list of topics one can also add the modes of self-display characteristic of a particular community, such as hairstyles, costumes, attributes and interior design. All these will be traced below in the most influential and richly illustrated Hungarian books.

The career of the term *natio* in Hungary dates back to Master Simon of Kéza’s *Gesta Hungarorum*. In his *Deeds of the Hungarians*, Master Simon was the first author in Hungarian written sources to refer to his own people as *natio*. Before him the word was often used to denote unorganized or pagan tribes and had negative connotations (Szűcs, 1999, p. LXV). This understanding resulted from the word’s meaning in classical sources, referring to “those born elsewhere,” “people living outside the Roman Empire” (cf. Evans, 2013) and echoed the etymological origin of the word *natio*, stemming from *nascor* and connected closely to the notion of *natura* (Szűcs, 1981, pp. 186–187).

Simon of Kéza in his *Gesta Hungarorum* established a broadly accepted genealogical fiction which bestowed Hungarians with a Hunnish origin and constructed an authoritative narrative of the glorious past of the Hun-Hungarians. These, along with extensive fragments of the *Gesta Hungarorum*, were incorporated in the *Chronicon pictum*, which provided the previous account with a visual costume of 43 miniatures as well as 98 figural and 5 ornamental initials executed by unknown masters.⁴

⁴ On the iconographic programme of the *Chronicon pictum* see: Fügedi 2004 [with the bibliographical references to the scholarship on the chronicle]. A comprehensive bibliography is also

The iconographic programme of the chronicle concentrated on the ethno-dynastic symbolism revolving around the Hun-Hungarian genealogical fiction, the conquest of Pannonia and the reign of the holy kings. It included depictions of episodes from the mythical past of the Hun-Hungarians, starting from Magor' and Hunor's pursuit of a hind which led them to the fertile land of Scythia, through the first entry of the Hun-Hungarians into Pannonia (fig. 1) and their military achievements, i.e. the battle of Attila against the Romans at Zeiselmauer and the besieging of Aquileia, up to the depictions of Attila and Hunnish chieftains. In all these images, the Hun-Hungarians are shown as brave warriors waging successful campaigns.

The text also paints an image of a self-governing community of free men, who elected their leader by “common consent.” Each of the male members of the group had a military duty, and when a host was needed, it was summoned, as Master Simon narrates, with the following words:

“Vox Dei et communitatis universe, quod unusquisque in tali loco armatus vel sicuti est, debeat precise comparere communitatis praeceptum ac consilium auditurus.” Quicumque ergo edictum contempsisset non valens pretendere rationem, cultu divino per medium Lex Scitica sanctiebat, aut ire in desperatas causas, vel in communium servitium immisericorditer tradebatur. Vitia itaque et huiusmodi excessus unum Hunum ab aliis facerunt separari. Alias autem, cum unus Pater, et una mater Hunos omnes generans procreavit, quomodo unus nobilis et alter ignobilis esse diceretur, nisi victus per hos causus criminis haberetur? (Domanovszky, 1937, pp. 256–257).⁵

provided by Wehli (2000a). Cf. Marosi (1995, pp. 31–66); Veszprémy and Wehli (2009).

⁵ “God and the whole community command that at such and such a place each and every man shall punctually appear, with his arms or as he is, to hear the resolve and the decision of the community.’ On any man who should disregard the order without sufficient ground, the Scythian law (*Lex Scythica*) imposed the penalty that he should be quartered with a ploughshare or banished or given over without mercy into common slavery. By such evil deeds and offences a Hun became separated from his fellows. For how else, since one father and one mother had propagated all the Huns, could one of them be called noble and another not, unless he were held to be guilty of such a crime” (Dercsenyi, 1969, p. 92).



Fig. 1. The first entry of the Hun-Hungarians into Pannonia, *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (= OSzK), Clmae 404, fol. 4r.

This passage from the *Chronicon pictum* is worth noting as it roots the obligation of defending the community, recorded in the seventh paragraph of the *Bulla aurea*, in the tribal past. More importantly, it locates the origin of the nobility in the distant time of the first conquest of Pannonia (visualized on the recto of the folio with the description). The author, following the *Gesta Hungarorum*, presents a theory on the cause of the division between the noblemen and ignoble people. He holds that at the beginning the Hun-Hungarians were a community of equals. Being deprived of the participation in the community of free men was a punishment, codified by a certain *Lex Scythica*, for refusal to participate in military service, a crime against the shared customs and law. As Jenő Szűcs observes:

The origin of human inequality was thus given not only a “historical” and “legal” underpinning but also received a boost in “moral” status. For the refusal to answer the call to arms had been a repudiation not only of martial *virtus* but also of the major political virtue, loyalty; those, therefore, who had preserved this virtue, the nobility, rose above the peasantry even in “moral” stature (Szűcs, 1999, pp. LXXXIV–LXXXV).

The *Chronicon pictum*, after the account by Master Simon, legitimizes the superior status of the nobility and provides it with a foundational story. Moreover, it explains the social and political customs of the *natio Hungarica*, which, according to the chronicle, constitutes a community of warriors who are the sole defenders of the polity (Cf. Szűcs, 1999, p. LXXXIII). The military duty and virtues of the members of the Hungarian political community are also highlighted in the series of illuminations, among which battle scenes and depictions of knights prevail. Already the miniature showing the first advent of the Hun-Hungarians to Pannonia (fig. 1) depicts mainly mounted or marching men-at-arms. A group of commoners, men and women afoot carrying their babies, is merely an epic staffage.

This event is presented as a justification of the second conquest of Pannonia in the time of Árpád. The miniature shows the episode of the Hun-Hungarian past in the fourteenth-century framework not only by making the objects and attires of depicted figures contemporary to the reality of its illuminator, but also through the heraldic programme. The standard with the emblem of the Hunnish warriors, carried by one of the knights, reaches out of the frame of the illumination to the border decoration of the pages, which includes the coats of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom (top of the page) and the Angevins’ crest (bottom of the page). Thus, the episode from the Hunnish past is presented as relevant to the history of the kingdom in the times of the Angevin rulers.

The ethno-dynastic iconography, created in the *Chronicon pictum*, was further developed and modified in the series of woodcuts in János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*. The Brno and Augsburg editions of Thuróczy's chronicle narrate the history of the Hungarians (whom he calls *Hunni seu Hungari; natio, gens, plebs Hungarica*) and their rulers through a series of woodcuts showing Hunnish chieftains and kings of Hungary from Attila to Matthias Corvinus. The Augsburg edition of the book additionally contains woodcuts depicting the history of St. Ladislav (the chivalric patron of the kingdom) along with a circular heraldic composition with the blazons of all the domains of the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, as well as a sequence of formulaic battle scenes and a full-page depiction of the advent of the Mongols to Hungary.⁶ The text of Thuróczy's chronicle and the accompanying illustrations expand the account about the Hunnish-Scythian origin and contemporize the image of Attila in a way that fits into a narrative about the Hungarians as the sole defenders of Christendom, fulfilling the pope's crusade plans (cf. Szörényi, 2012).

The miniatures of the *Chronicon pictum* served as a (rather indirect) point of reference for the masters working on the illustrations for the Brno and Augsburg editions of Thuróczy's chronicle. The images of the mythology of the Hungarian *natio*, concentrated on the depictions of the Hunnish chieftains, with Attila occupying a prominent place among them, gained



Fig. 2. Representation of Árpád (in the centre) and six chieftains in a figural initial in the *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, OSZK, Clmae 404, fol. 12r.



Fig. 3. Representation of Árpád in a figural initial in the *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, OSZK, Clmae 404, fol. 12r.

⁶ For the most recent studies on the iconographical programme of the *Chronica Hungarorum* see: Rózsa (1998); Salgó (2000, 2002); Salgó and Wehli (2000); Soltész (1993) [with references to the earlier scholarship]; Tóvizi (2006); Wehli (1999).



Fig. 4. Representation of Árpád in the woodcut illustrating *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brunne: Stahel, Preinlein, 1488, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (=ÖNB), Ink 11.D.10, fol. d1v.



Fig. 5. Representation of Árpád in the woodcut illustrating *Chronica Hungarorum*, Auguste: Ratdolt, 1488, OSzK, Inc. 1143, fol. c8v.

more importance. Along with the limitation of the narrative scope of the woodcuts, the significance of the visual representations grew. In the illuminated codex the succeeding Hunnish military leaders embellished the initials. In both editions of the chronicle the predecessors of prince Géza and St. Stephen are depicted one by one on separate woodcut illustrations. The example of the representation of Árpád, the head captain of the Hun-Hungarians, shows that the figure of the chieftain not only occupied more pictorial space, but was also depicted in a more dignifying pose, i.e. enthroned, as other legitimate rulers in the chronicle (fig. 2–5).

Along with emphasizing the myth of common origins and the Hunnish past, Thuróczy draws a more explicit image of a self-governing political community, which acts unanimously in taking important decisions, such as the election of a Hunnish captain or, later, of a king.⁷ As was the case in the *Chronicon pictum*, Thuróczy presents the Hungarian political community as an undivided and harmonious one. In doing so, he follows the standpoint of the nobility of the time, which finds its full realization in the cornerstone of Hungarian legal tradition, namely the *Tripartitum*, which speaks of the unity of the whole *natio Hungarica* based on the same privileges (*una eademque nobilitas*).⁸ However, this new understanding of the community of noblemen does not find its reflection in the visual layer of the chronicle.

The series of woodcuts concentrate on the shared history of kingship. The visual programme of the Augsburg edition of the chronicle, containing twenty battle scenes, additionally shows that while the monarchs change

⁷ On the importance of this concept for the election in medieval Hungary: Rady (2008, p. 388).

⁸ Werbőczy (1517). The original text with the English translation was reprinted in: Werbőczy (2006). On the legal circumscription of the nobility in the *Tripartitum*, see: Rady (2015, pp. 65–108).

on the Hungarian throne, the valiant Hungarians constantly battle enemies of their polity, mainly the Ottomans. These scenes were impressed from just four different woodblocks.⁹ The use of a limited number of matrices stressed the recurring character of the military narrative. The same image was used for illustrating a battle in the times of the Huns and of János Hunyadi. Thus, the story of a militant nation takes a circular form, repeating itself from the Hunnish past to the late-fifteenth century.

The bellicose nature of the Hungarians, justified by the myth of a Hunnish-Scythian origin, became a commonplace of both the Hungarian and foreign imagination. Self-delimited so as not to include those engaged in commercial or rural matters, only rarely devoted to intellectual or literary pursuits, the *natio Hungarica* was defined primarily through fighting, as István Werbőczy famously says in the introduction to the *Tripartitum*:

Nec gens aliqua postmodum aut natio (absit invidia verbo) pro reipublicae Christianae tutela et propagatione acrius aut constantius ipsis Hungaris excubuit. Qui cum omni Machometicae foeditatis barbariae in variis ancipitibusque preliis diu ac multum cum ingenti sua laude versati et (ut vetustiora praeteream) annos circiter centum supra quadraginta nunc oppugnantes, nunc repugnantes cum immanibus Thurcis cruentissima bella gessere. Et per eorum sanguinem, caedes ac vulnera reliquam Christianitatem (ne hostilis rabies velut fractis obicibus remotius sese effunderet) tutam incolumnemque reddiderunt, ea fortitudine roboraque naturae ut plerumque in armis vitam degerent. Nullis questuariis aut vulgaribus artibus dediti sola militia nobilitatem definierunt (Werbőczy, 2006, p. 12).¹⁰

The unceasing military campaigns transformed the imagery of the homeland. In the paragraph devoted to the first entrance of the Hun-Hungarians into Pannonia, Thuróczy describes the affluent and fecund land:

Hec regio olim panis ab ubertate Pannonia denominata esse traditur, que nunc ab Hungaris ipsam incolentibus mutato nomine Hungaria vocitatur, regionum nobilissima, famosissimorum amnium decursu irrigua, campis pariter et montibus

⁹ The notable exception is the representation of the siege of Belgrade (fol. s6v), impressed from two blocks, which were not re-used in the book.

¹⁰ “Thereafter no country or people (I say ungrudgingly) guarded more determinedly or more constantly the protection and expansion of the Christian commonwealth than the Hungarians. Being well trained through many hard-fought battles against the barbarous Mohammedan pest, they have for more than a hundred and forty years (not counting earlier times) time and time again in attack and counterattack waged to their enormous credit the most bloody wars against the savage Turks. They kept the rest of Christendom safe and unharmed at the cost of their blood, life and wounds (lest the enemy’s rage flood further as across broken levees), with such courage and natural vigour that they virtually lived under arms. Not engaged in commercial or vulgar matters, nobility was defined by fighting” (Werbőczy, 2006, p. 13).

mixtim decora, auri et argenti necnon ceterorum metallorum ac salis peroptimi genitrix fecundissima, terrarum fertilissima, vino habundantissima silvarumque et pasuorum frequentissima [...] (Thuróczy, 1985–1988b, pp. 34–35).¹¹

The wealthy place which the ancestors of the Hungarians chose to be their homeland soon became a theatre of war. The Ottoman aggression in particular severely devastated the kingdom. Thuróczy draws a dramatic image of the land during this time:

[P]artes regni Hungariae inferiores usque ad flumen Thitie totaque Sclauonia ac cunctus ager inter Saue et Draue flumina medius dira Thurcorum rabie vastarentur, civitates et ville ac opida vehementes per flammam comburrerentur, res diriperentur, homines sine discretionem sexus et etatis aut interficerentur, aut perpetue servitutis iugo mancipandi abducerentur, omnibus regnicolis intrinsecis fluctuantibus odiis ac partibus regni prescriptis manifesto discrimine relictis (Thuróczy, 1985–1988b, p. 243).¹²



Fig. 6. Keve in *Mausoleum, Norimbergae: Endteri, 1664*, Getty Research Institute, call number 70788, p. 1.

The engravings of the *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (Nuremberg, 1664), which dress the ethno-dynastic imagery according to the seventeenth-century visual and literary fashions, exemplifies this shift in the image of the homeland. Depictions of the wealthy and peaceful land accompany the representations of the first Hunnish leaders. Harmonious rural sceneries serve as backgrounds for the likenesses of Keve (fig. 6), Kadicha, Keme and Béla. In contrast, the backgrounds of the representations of the chieftains and rulers of Hungary from the militant Attila onwards are mainly formed by scenes of military campaigns and combats, as in the backgrounds of the likeness of Louis I (fig. 7).

¹¹ “It is recorded that this land, which is now called Hungary by the Hungarians inhabiting it, was once named Pannonia from *panis* [bread] because of its fertility. The land is the most renowned of all the regions, watered by the most famous rivers, embellished equally by both plains and mountains, rich in gold, silver as well as other metals and the best salts, of fertile soils, abundant in wine, full of forests and pastures [...]” (translation mine – K.M.).

¹² “The southern regions of the kingdom of Hungary as far as the Tisza river, and the whole of Slavonia and all the territory situated between the rivers Sava and Drava were being savagely plundered by the Turks; cities and villages and towns were being consumed by fierce fires, and possessions were being looted; people without distinction of sex and age were either being killed or led away to be sold forever into slavery; and so great was the disaster that all the inhabitants of the kingdom were overwhelmed with deep hatred, and those regions of the kingdom of which we have spoken were deserted” (Thuróczy, 1991b, pp. 124–125).



Fig. 7. Louis I, *Mausoleum*, Norimbergae: Enderi, 1664, Getty Research Institute, call number 70788, p. 255.



Fig. 8. Full-figure depiction of Pál Esterházy, *Trophaeum*, Viennae: Voigt, 1700, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Hist. Hung.81, plate 162.

The *Mausoleum* further remodels the ethno-dynastic imagery according to the nobility's outlook. The majority of the chieftains are dressed in the noble attire and carry the weaponry characteristic of the Hungarian nobility, such as the sabre or shield. In this way the Hunnish chieftains are shown resembling representatives of the *natio Hungarica*. The images highlight the affinity between the noblemen and their imagined ancestors (Mroziewicz, 2015, p. 54).

The “nobilitation” of the accounts of the shared past and origin in the *Mausoleum* went hand in hand with the growing importance of Catholic motifs, among which was the promotion of the cult of the Virgin Mary as the main patron saint of Hungary, and the presentation of the kingdom as *regnum Marianum*. This was a consequence of the catholicization of the Hungarian noblemen and newly elevated aristocrats, such as the Esterházys, who aimed at careers on the Viennese court, as well as of the Jesuit teaching following the lines of the Habsburgs.

The Catholic religious identity of a seventeenth-century member of the *natio Hungarica* is strongly manifested in the exquisitely illustrated gallery of the Esterházy's ancestors, i.e. the *Trophaeum domus Estorasiannae*.¹³ The book, ordered by Pál Esterházy, is illustrated with one hundred and sixty-five likenesses of the family's true and invented members, from Attila to the commissioner's contemporaries, among whom are eight nuns, four friars, three abbots and three canons, two bishops, one abbess and one archbishop. Furthermore, the Latin mottos and eulogies which accompany the likenesses frequently stress the devotion, piety and religiosity of the depicted figures. The famous device of Pál Esterházy *Pro Deo, Rege et Patria*, written above his portrait in the *Trophaeum* (fig. 8), postulates his devotion and loyalty to both the king and the fatherland. The eulogy following the portrait additionally

¹³ On the iconography of *Trophaeum*, see: Buzási (2000a, 2000b, 2002).

highlights his Marian piety. It suggests that Marian providence favoured him from the day he was born, which fell on the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Numerous religious donations and foundations along with his pieces of religious poetry further testified to Pál's deep Marian devotion.

The *Trophaeum* also includes likenesses of noblewomen, which are sparse elsewhere. It contains eighty-eight depictions of the Esterházy's female relatives, which are placed after the portraits of their husbands or fathers. Eulogies praising them are generally typified, concentrated on stressing their virtues as wives, mothers, or devoted Christians. This lack of subjectivity of the female gender is indicative of the sociopolitical position of noblewomen, who were excluded from the *natio Hungarica*.



Fig. 9. Depiction of the Holy Crown in Elias Widemann's *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones*, Vienna: [s.n.], 1652, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (=HAB), A: 36.9 Geom. 2°, plate 1.



Fig. 10. Half-figure portrait of Miklós Draskovics (Croatian Nikola Drašković) in Elias Widemann's *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones*, Vienna: [s.n.], 1652, HAB, A: 36.9 Geom. 2°, plate 16.

Needless to say, no woman's portrait was included in Elias Widemann's *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones*.¹⁴ One hundred likenesses of members of the *natio Hungarica* were preceded by a frontispiece alluding to the Republican model of the political community and a whole-page engraving showing the Holy Crown, with the inscription *Sacra, angelica et apostolica Regni Hungariae corona* (fig. 9). Both images hint at the political subjectivity of the *natio Hungarica*, the latter however additionally stresses its distinctive political and cultural traditions.

On each of the engravings personal mottos highlight political loyalty, shared values and personal qualities of the members of the Hungarian political elite, among which "state patriotism" played an especially important role. Apart from the devices, inscriptions on each of the engravings contain information about the social, political and/or church distinctions of the person depicted. Regardless of a person's ethnicity, most of the figures wear the Hungarian noble costume, i.e. a *dolman* cape and a *mente* coat,

¹⁴ On Widemann's series of Hungarian likenesses see: Cenner-Wilhelmb (1956, 1957, 1988).

and the same characteristic hair, mustache and beard style, even though some of them, e.g. János Draskovics (Croatian Nikola Drašković, fig. 10), have Croatian origins. The use of the Latin variants of names in the case of Hungarian- and Croatian-born noblemen further unifies the image of the *natio Hungarica*. Physiognomic similarities often characterize members of the same family, but a certain resemblance can also be noticed between representatives of different families (Mroziewicz, 2015, p. 213). This suggests the existence of a particular type of self-display that characterized a Hungarian nobleman.

The visual and literary content of the discussed Hungarian illustrated books gives an account of the *natio Hungarica* as a unified community of equal men who share the same Hunnish-Scythian origin and the same set of privileges, gradually expanding from the pre-Christian period, guaranteeing a representative of the nobility active participation in political life. The illustrations visualized the myths about the tribal times, memories of shared Hunnish ancestry and collective past in a way that corresponded with the particular cultural and political needs of a given time. The shifts in the iconographic programmes of the books suggest that the images were used to augment the textual message. The ethno-dynastic symbolism, established by the *Chronicon pictum*, was constantly updated in order to make it harmonize better with the worldview of the Hungarian nobility. The visual-cum-verbal apparatus of the seventeenth-century illustrations additionally expanded the message of the texts, using inscriptions and eulogies to propagate cultural values and models of conduct based on bravery, loyalty, love of the kingdom and of God. It also promoted the Catholic viewpoint, based mainly on the cult of Mary as the *patrona Hungariae*, supported by the propaganda of the Habsburgs and the Jesuits. This major shift in the discourse concerning the *natio Hungarica* was a consequence of the catholicization of the upper layers of the Hungarian society in the seventeenth-century.

The concept of *natio* as it was made visible on the pages of illustrated books was fabricated by the royal court (*Chronicon pictum*; *Chronica Hungarorum*) or by the representatives of the upper social strata (*Mausoleum*; *Trophaeum*; *Clarissimorum Hungariae heroum icones*). It was superimposed upon the diversity of Hungarian nobility, whose members had dissimilar ethnic, confessional and linguistic backgrounds as well as varied financial and cultural capital. The image of the *natio Hungarica* with its unambiguous form has had a large rhetoric potential that could serve attempts at consolidating the diverse community and strengthening the horizontal bonds between its members. As such, this image supported the long transformation process of the exclusive group of Hungarian

nobility into a modern nation-state, which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

References

- Axer, J. (2004). Latin as the language of the elites: Introductory remarks. In J. Axer (Ed.), *Łacina jako język elit* (pp. 17–22). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG.
- Buzási, E. (2000a). Az Esterházy család *Trophaeuma* [*Trophaeum* of the Esterházy family]. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 386–387). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Buzási, E. (2000b). Fikció és történetiség az Esterházy család ősgalériájában és a *Trophaeum* metszeteiben [Fiction and historicity in the Esterhazys' ancestor gallery and in the engravings of *Trophaeum*]. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 411–424). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Buzási, E. (2002). Fiktion und Geschichtlichkeit in der Ahnengalerie und in den Kupferstichen des *Trophaeums*, der Familiengeschichte der Esterházy. (A. Harmath, Trans.). *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 43(1–4), 227–246. <http://doi.org/10.1556/AHistA.43.2002.1-4.13>
- Cenner-Wilhelmb, G. (1956). Widemann-metszetek után készült olajportrék [Oil-painted portraits after Widemann's engravings]. *Folia Archaeologica*, 8, 169–182.
- Cenner-Wilhelmb, G. (1957). Über die ungarischen Porträtfolgen von Elias Widemann. *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 4(3–4), 325–348.
- Cenner-Wilhelmb, G. (1988). Arcképek Elias Widemann 1646-os és 1652-es rézmetszetsorozatából [Portraits in Elias Widemann's series of engravings of 1646 and 1652]. In E. Buzási (Ed.), *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból: A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában* [Aristocratic ancestor galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 52–57). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Dercsényi, D. (Ed.). (1969). *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* [*Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*] (A. West, Trans. of the Latin text). Budapest: Corvina.
- Domanovszky, A. (Ed.). (1937). *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. In I. Szentpétery (Ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: Tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* (Vol. 1, pp. 217–505). Budapest: Typis Regiae Universitatis Litterarum Hungaricae.
- Evans, R. (2011). Barbarian nation: Ethnic terms in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. *Iris*, 24, 2–11.
- Fügedi, K. (2004). Modifications of the narrative? The message of image and text in the fourteenth-century Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. In A. Adamska & M. Mostert (Eds.), *The development of literate mentalities in East Central Europe* (pp. 469–496). Turnhout: Brepols.

- Górska, M. (2005). *Polonia – Respublica – Patria: Personifikacja Polski w sztuce XVI–XVIII wieku*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Marosi, E. (1995). A Képes Krónika értelmezéséhez [The interpretation of the Illuminated Chronicle]. In E. Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás: Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and likeness: Art and reality in 14–15th-century Hungary] (pp. 31–66). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum regni apostolici regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum vindicatis e mortuali pulvere reliquiis ad gratam apud posteros memoriam a pio et iusto patriae dolore erectum cum versione operis Germanica*. (1664). Norimbergae: Endteri.
- Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum regni apostolici regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum: Nürnberg, 1664*. (1991). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum regni apostolici regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum*. (2005). Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó.
- Mikó, Á., & Sinkó, K. (Eds.). (2000). *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Mroziewicz, K. A. (2015). *Imprinting identities: Illustrated Latin-language histories of St. Stephen’s Kingdom (1488–1700)*. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang.
- Rady, M. (2008). Election and descent in medieval Hungarian Kingship. In C. Péneau (Ed.), *Élections et pouvoirs politiques du VIIe au XVIIIe siècle: Actes du colloque réuni à Paris 12, du 30 novembre au 2 décembre 2006* (pp. 383–390). Paris: Bière.
- Rady, M. (2015). *Customary law in Hungary: Courts, texts and the Tripartitum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rózsa, G. (1998). A Thuróczy-krónika illusztrációinak forrásai és a középkori magyar királyok ikonográfiája [The models of illustrations of Thuróczy’s chronicle and the medieval iconography of Hungarian kings]. In G. Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok: Fejezetek a magyar vonatkozású grafikai ábrázolások múltjából* [Studies on the history of graphic arts: chapters on graphics with connections to Hungary] (pp. 7–23). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Salgó, Á. (2000). A Thuróczy-krónika brünni kiadása [The Brno edition of Thuróczy’s chronicle]. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 281–282). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Salgó, Á. (2002). Thuróczy János Magyar krónikája [Hungarian chronicle of János Thuróczy]. In *Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) gyűjteményei: Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2002. november 28 – 2003. február 16* [Miklós Jankovich’s collection: Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery, 28 November 2002 – 16 February 2003] (pp. 269–271). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Salgó, Á., & Wehli, T. (2000). A Thuróczy-krónika augsburgi kiadása [The Augsburg edition of Thuróczy’s chronicle]. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the

- past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 282–284). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Smith, A. D. (2013). *The nation made real: Art and national identity in Western Europe, 1600–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soltész, E. (1993). Über zwei Holzschnitte der Augsburger Thuróczy-Chronik. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 68, 91–96.
- Szörényi, L. (2012). Attila used as an instrument of diplomacy – Janus Pannonius as King Matthias’s ambassador in Rome. In L. Szörényi, *Created for harmony: Studies and essays on King Matthias* (pp. 81–99). (J. Pethő-Szirmai & V. Kniezsa, Trans.). Budapest: Lucidus.
- Szűcs, J. (1981). *Nation und Geschichte: Studien*. (J. Kerekes et al., Trans.). Budapest: Corvina. (Hungarian edition: 1974).
- Szűcs, J. (1999). Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza’s *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282–1285). In Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum = The Deeds of the Hungarians* (pp. XXIX–CII). (L. Veszprémy & F. Schaer, Eds. & Trans., J. Szűcs, Study). Budapest, New York, NY: CEU Press. (Hungarian edition: 1974).
- Thuróczy, J. (1488a). *Chronica Hungarorum*. Brunne: Stahel, Preinlein.
- Thuróczy, J. (1488b). *Chronica Hungarorum*. Auguste: Ratdolt.
- Thuróczy, J. (1985–1988a). *Chronica Hungarorum* (Vol. 1, *Textus*; Vol. 2, *Comentarii: Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301*; Vol. 3, *Comentarii: Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487*). (E. Galántai & G. Kristó, Eds.). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Thuróczy, J. (1985–1988b). *Chronica Hungarorum* (Vol. 1). (E. Galántai & G. Kristó, Eds.). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Thuróczy, J. (1991a). *Chronica Hungarorum*. Budapest: Helikon.
- Thuróczy, J. (1991b). *Chronicle of the Hungarians*. (F. Mantello, Trans., P. Engel, Foreword & Commentary). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.
- Tóvizi, Á. (2006). Thuróczi János: “Chronica Hungarorum”. In I. Takács (Ed.), *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában, 1387–1437: Kiállítási katalógus* [*Sigismundus rex et imperator: Art and culture in the times of Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1387–1437: Exhibition catalogue*] (pp. 495–496). Mainz: Zabern.
- Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae domus Estorasiensis in tres divisum partes* (...). (1700). Viennae: Voigt.
- Veszprémy, L., & Wehli, T. (2009). *The book of Illuminated Chronicle*. Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó.
- Wehli, T. (1999). Magyar uralkodók ábrázolásai Thuróczy János krónikájában [Representations of Hungarian rulers in János Thuróczy’s chronicle]. In G. Fülöp (Ed.), *A középkori magyar királyok arcképei: Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, 1996. május 22 – augusztus 21*. [Medieval likenesses of Hungarian kings: King Saint Stephen Museum, Székesfehérvár, 22 May – 21 August 1996] (pp. 9–12). Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum.
- Wehli, T. (2000a). Képes Krónika. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: Examples of relation between art and the past in

- Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (p. 278). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Wehli, T. (2000b). Magyarország történelme a középkori krónikaillusztrációk tükrében [Hungarian history as reflected in medieval chronicle illustrations]. In Á. Mikó & K. Sinkó (Eds.), *Történelem – kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [History and image: examples of relation between art and the past in Hungary. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (pp. 304–307). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria.
- Werbőczy, I. (1517). *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi regni Hungarie per spectabilem et (...) magistrum Stephanum de Werbewcz personalis praesentie regiae maiestatis olim locum tenentem acuratissime aeditum (...) accessit index titulorum per quam diligentissimus*. Viennae: Singrenius.
- Werbőczy, I. (2006). *The customary law of the renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A work in three parts, the Tripartitum* [*Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi Regni Hungariae*/Tripartitum]. (J. M. Bak, P. Banyó, & M. Rady, Eds. & Trans., L. Péter, Introductory study). Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks.
- Widemann, E. (1652). *Clarissimum Hungariae heroum icons*. [Viennae: s.n.].
- Widemann, E. (2004). *Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae*. (Á. W. Salgó, Ed., G. Rózsa, Introductory study). Budapest: Helikon.

Unaoczniona Nacija Węgierska wspólnota polityczna w książkach ilustrowanych (ca. 1350 – 1700)

Głównym celem artykułu było zbadanie rozumienia pojęcia *natio Hungarica*, jakie wyłania się z tekstów i obrazów węgierskich książek ilustrowanych. *Chronicon pictum* (ca. 1358), *Chronica Hungarorum* Jánosa Thuróczy'ego (Brno, Augsburg, 1488), *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (Norymberga, 1664), *Trophaeum domus Estorasiae* (Wiedeń, 1700) oraz *Clarissimum Hungariae heroum icons* (Wiedeń, 1652) stanowiły punkt wyjścia do analizy wyobrażeń, jakie wspólnota polityczna miała na swój temat oraz jakie starano się jej narzucić przed erą narodowościowotwórczych procesów osiemnastego i dziewiętnastego wieku.

Artykuł koncentruje się na formatywnym okresie w dziejach ilustrowanej książki węgierskiej, który przyczynił się do powstania wyobrażeń narodowych opartych na micie etnogenezy, pamięci o przodkach i wspólnej historii, wartościach kulturowych, prawie, zwyczajach, modelach zachowania i autoprezentacji oraz wyobrażeniu ojczyzny. Szeroki, obejmujący trzy i pół wieku zakres chronologiczny studium umożliwił przesledzenie najważniejszych przesunień znaczeniowych, jakie zachodziły w rozumieniu *natio Hungarica* między połową czternastego stulecia a siedemnastym wiekiem.

Note

Karolina Mroziewicz, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Cracow
karolina.mroziewicz@uj.edu.pl

The preparing of the paper has been funded by the Foundation for Polish Science within the International PhD Programme *Tradycja Humanizmu Śródziemnomorskiego w świetle wyzwań świata współczesnego / The Tradition of Mediterranean Humanism in the Light of the Challenges of the Modern World* executed at the Faculty of “Artes Liberales,” University of Warsaw, in 2010–2014.

No competing interests have been declared.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The first entry of the Hun-Hungarians into Pannonia, *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (= OSzK), Clmae 404, fol. 4r. Photo by OSzK.

Fig. 2. Representation of Árpád (in the centre) and six chieftains in a figural initial in the *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, OSzK, Clmae 404, fol. 12r. Photo by OSzK.

Fig. 3. Representation of Árpád in a figural initial in the *Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1358, OSzK, Clmae 404, fol. 12r. Photo by OSzK.

Fig. 4. Representation of Árpád in a woodcut illustrating the *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brunne: Stahel, Preinlein, 1488, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (=ÖNB), Ink 11.D.10, fol. d2v. Source: ÖNB online. Retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC08892017>.

Fig. 5. Representation of Árpád in a woodcut illustrating the *Chronica Hungarorum*, Auguste: Ratdolt, 1488, OSzK Inc. 1143, fol. c8v. Source: OSzK Corviniana Collection online. Retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1inc1143.htm>, courtesy of OSzK.

Fig. 6. Keve in *Mausoleum*, Norimbergae: Endteri, 1664, Getty Research Institute, call number 70788, p. 1. Retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://www.archive.org/details/mausoleumpotenti00nori>, courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

Fig. 7. Louis I, *Mausoleum*, Norimbergae: Endteri, 1664, Getty Research Institute, call number 70788, p. 255. Retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://www.archive.org/details/mausoleumpotenti00nori>, courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

Fig. 8. Full-figure depiction of Pál Esterházy, *Trophaeum*, Viennae: Voigt, 1700, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (=SLUB) Hist.Hung.81, plate 162. Source: SLUB Dresden online, retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/93135/399/>.

Fig. 9. Depiction of the Holy Crown in Elias Widemann’s *Clarissimum Hungariae heroum icones*, Viennae: [s.n.], 1652, HAB A: 36.9 Geom. 2°, plate 1. Source: HAB online, retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/36-9-geom-2f/start.htm?image=00013>, courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek (=HAB).

Fig. 10. Half-figure portrait of Miklós Draskovics (Croatian Nikola Drašković) in Elias Widemann’s *Clarissimum Hungariae heroum icones*, Viennae: [s.n.], 1652, HAB, A: 36.9 Geom. 2°, plate 16. Source: HAB online, retrieved 18 February 2016 from <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/36-9-geom-2f/start.htm?image=00045>, courtesy of HAB.