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Portraits of Habsburg Rulers in the Aristocratic Collections of Eastern Croatia

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Abstract

This paper analyses the portraits of Habsburg rulers that were disseminated through different art media (paintings, sculptures, prints, crafts...) as an expression of power and propaganda across the Monarchy, including the area of modern-day eastern Croatia. Portraits of rulers and dignitaries were part of aristocratic collections in palaces that were built on estates established in the first decades of the 18th century, after the Ottomans had left the area. Apart from portraits of the ruling

Habsburg dynasty and portraits of dignitaries, these art collections also contained portraits of the representatives of secular and ecclesiastical authority – electors, popes and archbishops – as well as portraits of the rulers from other ruling families. The majority of the preserved portraits of rulers are found in the collections of the foreign aristocratic families Odescalchi, Eltz, Hillebrand von Prandau and Normann-Ehrenfels.

Keywords: *Portraits of rulers and dignitaries, aristocratic collections, eastern Croatia*

Portraits of rulers and dignitaries in Slavonian aristocratic collections

The portraits of rulers and dignitaries are among the oldest and the most important collected artworks in the aristocratic collections, and they appear as early as the humanist period, when portraits of monarchs were a “cultural bypass with antiquity”, that is, an attempt to reconstruct the origins of famous and powerful ruling families as far back as the Roman emperors, thus giving the rulers historical legitimacy and confirming the “inherited virtues of a ruler”.¹ Royal iconography from the Renaissance onwards was based on the ancient tradition, depicting the ruler as a military commander dressed in armour with sashes and collars bearing the command and Imperial Insignia. Over time the rulers were depicted in a grand aristocratic Baroque presence chamber, the interiors of which were filled with court scenography (a pillar, curtain, desk, ink-well...), in aristocratic uniforms or the uniforms of a certain chivalric order (the Order of the Golden Fleece, of St Stephen...) and with the symbols of royalty (The Imperial Crown, Sceptre, Orb, Pillow...). The rulers are depicted in an authoritative, dignified and self-conscious attitude. The purpose of these portraits was to glorify rulers and document their character. They also had political aims, and functioned as propaganda. In order

to achieve these goals, the portraits had to be as accessible to the public as possible, and replicas or prints based on these painting templates were therefore often commissioned from artists and artists’ workshops renowned in the court.²

Of the Habsburg rulers, the aristocratic collections mostly contain portraits of Leopold I, Charles VI and Joseph II, but of all the rulers the portraits of Maria Theresa and her husband Francis Stephen of Lorraine appear most frequently, both in public and private aristocratic collections in eastern Croatia.

It is important to emphasize that the portraits of Maria Theresa bring a final change in a long historical period of portraying rulers, which will influence the later presentation of rulers. In other words, during the 18th century the manner in which portraits were created gradually changed, and the strictly formal and official portraits where the ruler is a detached, glorified figure evolved into a less official approach: the portrayed person is presented less formally, in an almost intimate way. With respect to Maria Theresa, we can talk about the creation of a multiple image. The depictions of Maria Theresa, the way her personality, monarch’s and family duties were presented, represented an important visual pattern that became a role model for the imperial court even in the later periods during the 19th and in the

first half of the 20th century, and in this form it also appears in the aristocratic collections. In some portraits she is a strict ruler, and in some predominantly a wife, mother and a devout *pietas* widow.³ Still, in all those portraits her character is depicted in a dignified and self-conscious attitude because the strength and the political power of the Habsburg family were presented openly through such depictions. It is important to highlight the fact that Maria Theresa was a reformer of fine art production, who transformed the role of the court painter (*Kammermaler*). She ceased hiring artists who until that point had a secured status at the court through a permanent income, and began paying only for commissioned and delivered artworks. Besides the paintings commissioned by the court, she would also personally commission and pay for artworks from her own income, mainly portraits of her children and grandchildren.⁴ In the spirit of Enlightenment educated painters (*Akademiemaler*) began to assume a more prominent role in Vienna, thus replacing the former *Kammermaler*. It is interesting to note that in such a narrow selection of artists Maria Theresa, as the longest-lived ruler of the 18th century, trusted the creation of her portraits to a small number of painters, among whom Martin van Meytens the Younger (1695–1770) and Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789) occupy a special place.⁵ Their portraits were, of course, copied across the Monarchy in different media, as oil-paintings, miniatures or prints. Such portraits were collected in public and private collections and that is the reason why we also find them in the aristocratic art collections of eastern Croatia. The following pages offer an overview of the aristocratic families and their collections chronologically presented as they came to eastern Croatia and a description of the socio-political relations of some members of the aristocratic families with the imperial court, including insights into the presence of the portraits of rulers in particular collections.

The aristocratic families in eastern Croatia at the end of the 17th and in the 18th century

The history of the arrival of foreign aristocratic families in the area between the Danube, Drava and Sava Rivers, which is the area of present-day eastern Croatia, dates back to the final decades of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century, after the withdrawal of the Ottomans. This is the area of present-day Slavonia, Baranja and western Sylvania where, with the exception of the Military Frontier, estates were formed in the post-Ottoman period. The *Hofkammer* (Court Chamber) organized them in a civilian area along the aforementioned rivers, and sold them to or bestowed them on the foreign and Croatian noble families that had won recognition in the defence against the Ottomans. The foreign noble families were originally from Italy, Germany and Austria and they were often connected to Hungary through marital relations, which is to a certain extent evident in the stylistic origins of the artworks they owned.

The Odiscalchi family, an Italian papal family of princely rank, established an estate in the region of Sylvania along the Danube.⁶ Not far away from them, in western Sylvania and eastern Slavonia, also along the Danube, an estate was

established by the Eltz family, a German family of counts.⁷ A palace on the river Drava in the Valpovo area was built by the Austrian Barons of Hillebrand von Prandau, who were later succeeded by the German Counts of Normann-Ehrenfels.⁸ The Counts Pejačević came from Bulgaria in the pre-Ottoman period and inhabited southern Hungary and central Slavonia, founding estates with seats in Virovitica, Našice and Retfala (Osijek).⁹ The Barons Adamović arrived in this area, followed by the noble families Janković of Voćin, Janković of Daruvar, the Mihalović family, and the Counts of Khuen-Belasi.

Due primarily to their economic power, the aforementioned families played an important role in the political, social and cultural life of Slavonia and Sylvania and in other parts of Croatia from this period through to the Second World War, as well as in other parts of the Austrian Monarchy where they had their palaces. It is known that they possessed rich art collections in their palaces in Croatia and abroad, just like other European nobility at that time. Due to the fact that the history of those estates in the period under consideration is connected with the cultural-political events in the Habsburg Monarchy, the aristocratic collections of the aforementioned families were modelled on the art collections of Viennese nobility, which resulted in very similar visual materials.¹⁰ The aristocratic collections contained representative works of art, the imported Dutch, Austrian, German, Italian and Hungarian paintings, and were only in time complemented with the works of Croatian artists.¹¹ The time span of creating the collections is related to their arrival in eastern Croatia in the 18th century, which corresponds stylistically to the time of the Baroque, while the created works exhibit a wide range of sequential styles, from Classicism, Romanticism and Academism to the modern tendencies of the first half of the 20th century.

The majority of the preserved artworks from the aristocratic collections are nowadays an integral part of the holdings of museums and galleries in Croatia and the Republic of Serbia, where they ended up after World War II or even after the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995). Unfortunately, some of the collections of the families mentioned above are nowadays in a devastated state and thus we have only the scarcest pieces of information about them. Family portraits are the most common, followed by landscapes, still life, *genre* scenes, mythological scenes, scenes of hunting and horses; however, since all the European aristocratic courts possessed official sovereign portraits, we also find them in the collections of eastern Croatia. Whether it was an official portrait of a ruler or a hidden portrait in a religious work, the visual medium was a powerful tool for representing the Habsburgs, and specific proof of their dominance over the annexed territories.¹²

By granting estates, titles or honours, the rulers from the House of Habsburg directly influenced the rise of a certain family and its members. Therefore, their portraits were an obligatory part of the décor of palaces, castles, mansions, but also of monasteries and public state buildings, that is, military and county institutions.

The noble aristocratic families were connected with the ruling House of Habsburg-Lorraine, which is evidenced by

the largest number of the preserved portraits of the rulers from that dynasty. On the other hand the Ilok collection of the Princes of Odescalchi also contains portraits of Russian emperors from the Romanov dynasty, and the collection of the Counts of Normann-Ehrenfels from Valpovo contains portraits of the French Bourbon dynasty. They also had portraits of other holders of secular and ecclesiastical authority in their collections – electors of the Holy Roman Empire, popes, archbishops and bishops – who played a crucial role in forming the reputation and power of certain noble families.

Portraits of rulers from the princely collection of the Odescalchi family

The Odescalchi family of princely rank was one of the most respected among the Italian nobility. Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689) descended from this family, as did other church dignitaries. In 1697 the Holy Roman Emperor, Hungarian-Croatian and Czech King Leopold I granted to the papal nephew Livio I Odescalchi the Syrmia estate with the seat in Ilok overlooking the Danube river, as well as the title of the Duke of Syrmia and Great District Prefect of Syrmia. In the family's art collection in Ilok portraits of ecclesiastical dignitaries and portraits of family members were the most common. In addition, some portraits of the rulers from the House of Habsburg as well as from the Russian royal Romanov family have been preserved as well. Unfortunately, due to the devastation of the collection we are familiar with some of the portraits only based on the preserved inventory lists and photo documentation. The oldest among them is a relief marble fragment by an unidentified sculptor, with an image of Emperor Leopold I, created around 1700. A part of the face and nose with the voluminous curls of an *allonge* wig with a central parting, the elongated face and nose with sharply chiselled eyes that reveal the aristocratic image of the figure, are also preserved in the relief fragment.¹³ The collection of the Princes of Odescalchi also contained the portrait of Emperor Charles VI, who conferred the Order of the Golden Fleece on the papal nephew Livio.¹⁴ The Emperor's image was depicted in low relief in a strict right profile, crowned with a laurel wreath, adhering to the ancient tradition: the elongated face, straight-edged nose, almond eyes, *allonge* wig with a laurel wreath around the head, in the Vestments of the Golden Fleece with a chain of orders around the neck. The collection of the Princes of Odescalchi from Ilok had a very interesting history because a part of the inventory was misappropriated during World War II and some artworks after the Croatian War of Independence in 1997, and this relief likewise disappeared in this misappropriation; it is still being claimed.¹⁵ A portrait of the Austrian Emperor and Croatian-Hungarian King Francis I of Habsburg also belongs to the stolen artworks that have been claimed. The Emperor is depicted in an officer's uniform adorned with gold braiding, buttons and gold embroidery. The red-white sash of the Order of Maria Theresa is placed over the chest; under it is the sash of the Order of the Hungarian King St Stephen, and the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece is around the neck. The insignias of the Order of Maria Theresa, of the Hungarian

King St Stephen, the Order of Leopold and the Order of the Iron Crown are accentuated on the dolman. This is a court portrait created in one of the Viennese art workshops at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.¹⁶ It has already been mentioned that the collection of the Princes of Odescalchi from Ilok also contained portraits of the Russian emperors Alexander II Nikolayevich (1862), then Alexander III Nikolayevich (1886) and Nicholas II Nikolayevich from the late 19th century. All the portraits of the Russian emperors were surely made by their court painters in the manner of Academism, among which only the name of the portrait painter of the Russian Emperor Nicholas II Nikolayevich, Nikolay Timofeyevich Bogatsky, remains known to us.¹⁷ The artworks were brought to the family art collection by Sofia Katharina born Branicka, a great-granddaughter of the Russian Empress Catherine the Great; in this way she connected the papal family, the Princes of Odescalchi, with the Russian Romanov-Holstein-Gottorp dynasty.¹⁸

Portraits of rulers from the collection of the Hillebrand von Prandau and Normann-Ehrenfels family

The Barons of Hillebrand von Prandau are an old Austrian family whose ancestors were conferred an aristocratic title with the name *Brandau* added to their family name, later known as *Prandau*, due to their military merits in 1579 based on the charter of Emperor and King Rudolf II Habsburg. In the year 1704 they were granted the title of Barons by Emperor Leopold I. Through the donation of Charles VI for the merits in 1721 the Court and Chamber Advisor Baron Peter II Anton Hillebrand von Prandau became the owner of the hereditary Valpovo estate, with a medieval fortress, founded on the Drava.¹⁹ During the time of the Hillebrand von Prandau family, in a newly built palace in Valpovo, a valuable collection of artworks was collected, which also included portraits of rulers and dignitaries. Since the Baron's line did not have a male heir, after the death of Baron Gustav of Hillebrand von Prandau it was inherited through marital relations by a family of German descent, the Counts of Normann-Ehrenfels.²⁰ The Normann family originates from Pomerania, from the island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea. They were granted their family status as king's officers in the Prussian army. The Württemberg line, to which the Valpovo Counts of Normann also belonged, was established by Philipp Christian Friedrich Normann (1756 – 1817). He received the Ehrenfels estate from Elector and then King Frederick II Wilhelm Charles von Württemberg in 1803, not only for preserving the unity of the Württemberg territory in negotiations with Napoleon but also for expanding it and declaring Württemberg a kingdom. In the year 1806 he was granted the hereditary title of Count von Normann-Ehrenfels.²¹

Among a great number of artworks mainly of Austrian provenance from the legacy of the Baron of Hillebrand von Prandau, we find portraits of the Habsburg monarchs and their copies, as well as depictions of the members of the Württemberg dynasty.

A portrait of Charles VI made in the mid-18th century by an artist that remains unidentified is preserved in the Valpovo collection. The importance of this portrait in the family collection is emphasized through a miniature copy of the portrait in ivory in 1907, created by the Austrian painter Josef Steiner (1877–1937) who made a series of miniature watercolour copies in ivory for the Normann spouses at the beginning of the 20th century.²²

The Emperor is depicted in the vestments of the Order of the Golden Fleece with a hat on his head and the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire (*Reichskrone*) on the desk. In the upper right corner there is the coat of arms of the ruling house of Habsburg-Österreich. Before the restoration the portrait of Charles had an inscription on the back of it: “Kaiser Karl VI geb. 1. Oktober 1685. † 20 Oktober 1740. 1711–1740. Donation von Valpo 1721. zu Peter II Freiherrn Hillebrand v. Prandau.”

The collection also contains a portrait of Emperor Joseph II, who granted a higher aristocratic status to the Austrian family Edle von Vest in 1780; Rudolf’s wife Julia, whose married title was the Countess of Normann-Ehrenfels, comes from the same family. An inscription on the back of the portrait reads: *Kaiser Joseph der II.* and it was made around 1780 in one of the Viennese workshops. It depicts the monarch in a white general’s uniform with chest armour (*Kürass*) and the insignia of the Golden Fleece.²³

The collection also contains a portrait of Elector and then King Frederick II Wilhelm Charles von Württemberg painted around 1810. The portrait must have been brought to Valpovo by Count Konstantin of Normann as a token of the Prince, Elector and the first King of Württemberg, the grantor of the Normann’s estate Ehrenfels and the title of Count. What is depicted is the bust of a middle-aged man with a white wig on his head in a senior officer’s uniform, with a red collar, adorned with gold braiding and with four insignias belonging to Württemberg’s Order of the Golden Eagle, a French chivalric insignia of the Order of the Holy Spirit, Johanniterorden, and with the Knight’s Cross of the Military Merit Order of the Kingdom of Württemberg. Up to the right the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Württemberg is applied to an almost monochromatic background. His portrait was copied in 1906 in watercolour in ivory by the aforementioned Austrian artist Josef Steiner, who was hired by Julia and Rudolf of Normann-Ehrenfels to make a copy of the Gallery of Ancestors.

The collection also contains three miniatures in ivory depicting members of the French Royal House of Bourbon, which is evidence of the inclination of noble families towards other ruling dynasties.²⁴ The miniatures were created in the second half of the 19th century and show in the copy the details of the paintings of well-known artists, such as the portrait *Marie Antoinette with three children* (1788) painted by Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842), who made around thirty portraits of her from 1779 until 1800. The paintings in question are *Maria Antoinette with two children in Versailles*, *Elisabeth de Bourbon* and *Louis XVI with children*.²⁵

Portraits of rulers from the Eltz family collection

In the collection of the Counts of Eltz and their palace in Vukovar there is a significant number of portraits of rulers from the 18th century and copies and prints from the 19th century left preserved, which is a result of the intensive political-social connections between the Eltz family and the Habsburg dynasty. The Eltz family belongs to the German *Uradel* and it was at one time among the most influential families of the Holy Roman Empire. Since their base, and their oldest castle, was Burg Eltz, situated between Koblenz and Trier, which is in the area influenced by Mainz, the Eltz tied their economic and political growth with those cities. At the very beginning of the social and political rise of the Eltz family stands Jakob III von Eltz-Rübenach (1510–1581), the archbishop and Elector of Trier. During his time, the reputation and wealth of the family grew and over time they become an important family in the politics and ecclesiastical hierarchy of the German lands. The very function of the elector, which had been fulfilled by members of the Eltz family, created strong ties between this family and the House of Habsburg.²⁶ In the collection of the Eltz family among the oldest works (the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century) is the late Renaissance-Mannerist portrait *Jakob III von Eltz*. In this painting he is depicted in a black alb (*soutani*) with accentuated facial details and a white clerical collar in a rather dark setting. In the upper left corner, in a cartouche, there is a Latin inscription (translated: *Jacob, by the Grace of God the Archbishop of Trier, Elector*). When it became a common practice in the 15th century for the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire to appoint the heir of the ruling Habsburg house the emperor, the ties between the Eltz family and this ruling dynasty became very strong. The Habsburg family confirmed the old nobility of the Eltz family and in 1646 they were granted the title of *Edler Herr* (the noble) for the area of the hereditary Habsburg lands. Soon after receiving the title the most important and the most meritorious member for the rise of the Eltz family was Philipp Karl (1665–1743), the archbishop and Elector of Mainz, *Reichserzkanzler*. In the family art collection there are several official portraits of him, but also private ones in which he is depicted while hunting in the region around Mainz.²⁷ Emperor Charles VI helped Philipp Charles to get elected and he played an important role in electing the members of the House of Habsburg to the imperial throne of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles VI conferred the title of Count to the Eltz family in 1733 and three years later, he granted them the right to buy the Vukovar estate from Count Ferdinand Küffstein.²⁸ Maria Theresa conferred on the nephew of Philipp Karl, Anselmo Casimir, the hereditary honour of Great District Prefect of Syrmia County and his Vukovar mansion was proclaimed an entailed estate.

A number of the depictions of rulers from the ruling House of Habsburg that have remained preserved in the family collection as well as the portraits of church dignitaries among the family members, and related family members, tell us about the importance of the ruling House of Habsburg for the Eltz family and their strong political-social ties. From the fine art collection of the Counts of Eltz the waist-length portrait of Francis Stephen of Lorraine made between 1740



1. Unidentified artist, *Portrait of Francis Stephen of Lorraine*, 1740–1745, The Gallery of Matica srpska, Novi Sad
 Neidentificirani umjetnik, Portret Franje I. Stjepana Lotariškog, 1740.–1745., Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad

and 1745 has remained preserved. He is depicted *en face* with the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece studded with diamonds, while in the background there is the crown of the great Duchy of Toscana, which also reminds us of his last Duchy of Lorraine and Bar (Fig. 1).²⁹

The Eltz collection also contains portraits of church dignitaries, which came into the collection through kinship and marital relations.

One of the more important members of the Eltz family was Count Emerik of Eltz (1765–1844), who was married to Marie Henriette, born Countess of Colloredo-Mansfeld (1773–1814). She must have brought the portraits of her grandfather, father and uncle to the collection as a token of her family.³⁰ She was originally from the House of the Counts of Friuli, a daughter of Prince Franz Gundacker of Colloredo-Mansfeld, the last Arch-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. The portraits of the dignitaries are of a small format with stylistic characteristics of the late Baroque. *Count Rudolph Joseph of Colloredo* (1706–1788) and *Count Franz de Paula Adam Gundacar of Colloredo-Mannsfeld* (1731–1807) were probably painted as sketches (*bozzetti*) of great representative portraits. The way the figures are depicted in their entirety in assembly hall interiors, common for grand portraits intended to praise a certain figure, speak in support of this.³¹ The father and son are depicted together in the ceremonial Vestments of the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the most prestigious imperial honour. They are dressed in a dark red velvet mantle, richly embellished

with gold embroidery and silk, padded with shiny white atlas with crimson fabric, and on the mantle there is rich embroidery with the motif of the ram fleece and the motto of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the founder of the order: *Je l'ay emprins – I have dared*.

Around their necks on a golden chain, richly embellished with symbols, hangs the insignia of the Order (the hanging fleece of the golden ram). To the entire vestments belongs a hat (*chaperon*) with a long velvet ribbon (*cornette*) that usually hangs over the shoulder, and in the portraits the figures hold it in their hands in a dignified and self-conscious attitude. The very position of the figures, the gestures with the hat in the hand and the rich insignias tell us about the symbolic character of the Order, intended for the presentation of the father and son as the holders of the most prestigious state honour. Both portraits were painted around 1772 when the honour was also conferred on the son, Franz von Colloredo.³² The uncle of Marie Henriette of Colloredo-Mansfeld, Count Hieronymus of Colloredo (1732–1812), a distinguished family member, church dignitary, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, *Primas Germaniae* and papal legate, is depicted somewhat more intimately, in the manner of the Enlightenment.³³

In the family collection a special place is occupied by the portraits of *Joseph II Habsburg-Lorraine*, one of which is from the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb and the other one from the Gallery of Matica srpska in Novi Sad.³⁴ They were surely acquired by Count Hugo of Eltz during an audience with Emperor Joseph II, who in 1769 awarded him the Order of St Joseph for the implementation and merits of the Josephinian reforms and as an officer of the Reichsburg Friedberg crew (Fig. 2).³⁵

Both portraits of the Emperor are waist-length; he wears the green military uniform of a representative of the First Hussar Regiment with the ruler's insignias and the insignias of the Order of Maria Theresa and St Stephen on his chest and the sash of the Order of Maria Theresa, above which hangs the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece on a red ribbon.

The portraits were created around 1770 as copies of the same portraits probably painted in the court painting workshop of the Czech-Austrian painter Joseph Hickel (1736–1807).³⁶

The portraits vary in execution and quality as well as in some details; in the portrait from the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb the imperial pillow is of a red colour and the Emperor's gaze is directed to the side, whilst in the portrait from the Gallery of Matica srpska the pillow is of a golden colour and the Emperor's gaze is directed at the observer.

The Vukovar collection has extremely well-preserved prints, among which a great number of prints with depictions of rulers (Joseph I, Maria Theresa, Leopold II...) and ruling houses (Brandenburg, Sachsen-Weimar...) as well as distinguished theologians and church fathers have been found.³⁷

We can only assume that other collections had similar materials that have not been preserved.

A bust of Empress Maria Theresa from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in the style of Viennese Classicism has remained preserved in the collection. The bust is of unglazed, so-called "biscuit" porcelain that resem-



2. Unidentified artist after Joseph Hickel, *Portrait of Joseph II*, around 1770, The Gallery of Matica srpska, Novi Sad
Neidentificirani umjetnik, prema Josephu Hickelu, Portret Josipa II., oko 1770., Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad

bles precious white marble, and it testifies to the importance of the ruler's figure, which is also disseminated in other art media such as the finest porcelain.

Apart from the portraits of the Habsburg monarchs from the 18th century, the aristocratic collections also contain copies of the portraits of rulers from the 19th century. The Eltz family collection contains a copy of the portrait of Charles VI. Emperor Charles VI, as we have already pointed out, granted the title of Counts to the Eltz family, as well as a number of privileges: they were permitted to buy the Vukovar estate, and he gave them a number of other estates. The portrait was copied by a Hungarian artist educated in Vienna, Franz Wiesenthal (1856–1938), the portraitist of the Austrian imperial house. As a template for the copy he used a full-length portrait of the Emperor that was painted around 1736 in Vienna by Gottfried Auerbach (1697–1753) and is today owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, exhibited in Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna. He is depicted in Spanish attire, as a typical ruler of the Baroque period, with insignias and a rich setting. A brocade mantle of a golden colour, adorned with fur, a long allonge wig, a big hat with bluish feathers and diamond ornaments show the Emperor in the interior of a typical assembly hall scene, with a curtain and architectonic elements in the background. The monarch's insignias are next to the Emperor: the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, the Sceptre and the Imperial Orb. Around

his neck hangs the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The way the painting is equipped (the frame), stylistically related to other artworks in the collection, testifies to the intended acquisition of the copy of the monarch's portrait for the palace in Vukovar. The top part of the frame of the portrait is embellished with the monarch's insignias and small branches, and with the crown, the sceptre with stylized laurel and a palm tree.

Portraits of rulers from the collections of the Pejačević, Janković and Adamović families

Through their political and marital connections, first and foremost with Hungarian nobility, good diplomacy and successful management of foreign aristocratic palaces, from the beginning of the 18th until the mid-20th century the Pejačević family rose to the ranks of the distinguished local aristocratic families. Two viceroys³⁸ and the composer Dora Pejačević were descended from this family. The family was originally from Bulgaria and in the emigration wave that started with the victory of the Christians over the Ottomans near Vienna, they arrived together with several other aristocratic families in southern Hungary. When the Monarchy's control spread to this region, Emperor Charles Emperor Charles VI Habsburg confirmed the aristocratic status of the family members and the title of Baron on the 10th of July 1712 in Pressburg.³⁹ At the very beginning of the political and social ascent of the family Baron Marko II Aleksandar Pejačević (1694–1762) stands out. His son Baron Josip II Pejačević (1710–1787) bought the Našice mansion, joined the imperial army, became a captain and established an infantry regiment. Due to his extraordinary military merits, Maria Theresa confirmed his title of Austrian Baron in 1760 and then in 1772 bestowed upon him the hereditary title of Count with the name *de Veröcze*. Since then the members of the family have carried together with the family name the attribute *Virovitički* ("of Virovitica") named after the family's most important estate at that time. The sons of Josip II established three branches of the Pejačević family: Žigmund I Pejačević established the Ruma-Retfala branch of the family and for his seat chose Retfala near Osijek; Karlo III Ferdinand (1745–1815) established the Našice branch of the family with a seat in Našice and Antun III (1749–1802) established the Virovitica branch of the family (sometimes also called the Buda branch) with a seat in Virovitica.⁴⁰ Palaces and mansions had been built on the family's estates over the centuries, within which art collections had been formed and among which were portraits of rulers from the Habsburg family who played a significant role in the family's ascent and power.

From the Našice collection of the Pejačević family the portraits of Leopold II and his wife Maria Ludovika made around 1790 have been preserved. The Emperor is dressed in a white general's uniform with the red-white sash of the Order of Maria Theresa. On his chest he carries the Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa and of the Order of St Stephen, and around his neck hangs the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Maria Ludovika d' Bourbon is depicted in an elaborate dress with plenty of fashion details



3. Circle around Martin van Meytens the Younger, *Portrait of Maria Theresa*, after 1760, Clary-Aldringen Private Collection, Salzburg
Krug Martina van Meytensa, *Portret Marije Terezije, nakon 1760.*, *privatna zbirka Clary-Aldringen, Salzburg*



4. Gyula Benczúr, *Portrait of Emperor Francis Joseph*, 1892, Adamović Private Collection
Gyula Benczúr, *Portret cara Franje Josipa*, 1892., *privatna zbirka Adamović*

characteristic of the period of the late Baroque and Rococo, with an interesting fashionable wig that falls in locks on her shoulders, which is adorned with pearls, a diadem, a veil and two grey ostrich feathers.⁴¹

From the Ruma-Retfala branch of the family that owned a mansion in Podgorač and a palace in Retfala (the western part of Osijek) and a mansion in Ruma in Syrmia (the Republic of Serbia), artworks have remained preserved from the Retfala Collection.

Almost the entire inventory from the palace in Retfala has been preserved and nowadays it is located in Herrnau Castle in Salzburg, which is owned by the heir of the Clary-Aldringen family. Apart from family portraits the collection also contains a representative portrait of Maria Theresa in a luxurious frame with the monarch's insignias and small branches, and with the crown, the sceptre and stylized laurel and a palm.⁴² The portrait in question was painted after 1760 in one of the Viennese workshops as a replica of the original portrait by Martin van Meytens the Younger (1695–1770) painted after 1741. The original portrait is located in Vienna in the Academy Of Fine Arts and it depicts Maria Theresa as the Queen of Hungary with the monarch's insignias, the Hungarian crown and sceptre (Fig. 3).⁴³

Apart from the collection of the Pejačević family we find the monarchs' portraits in the legacies of other local nobility.

In the collection of the noble family of Janković de Csalma who had their mansions in Čalma, Kukujevci and Gibarac in Syrmia, today the Republic of Serbia, we find waist-length baroque portraits of the ruling couple Maria Theresa and Stephen of Lorraine created around 1760.⁴⁴ One of the family members, Friar Josip of Janković, was a Definitor General of the Franciscan Order in Rome, and he also attended the coronation of Maria Theresa in 1741 when she was crowned the Queen of Hungary. Maria Theresa is depicted as the Queen of Hungary with the monarch's insignias, and Stephen of Lorraine in a white general's uniform with the red-white sash of the Order of Maria Theresa and chest armour (*Kürass*), and around his neck hangs the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The collection of the Adamović family, which has partially remained preserved in a private collection, contains a representative portrait of Emperor Francis Joseph painted in 1892 (Fig. 4), a work by the renowned Hungarian artist Gyula Benczúr (1844–1920). The Emperor, who bestowed the title of Baron upon the Adamović family, is depicted as an older man dressed in a ceremonial Hungarian general's uniform with accentuated insignias on his chest and the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece around his neck. Kept in a private family collection, this portrait testifies to the fact that even today members of the once esteemed aristocracy of eastern Croatia treasure the images of sovereigns from the House of Habsburg which had played

an important role in all segments of the public and private life of the Monarchy and promoted the image of a powerful and strong state until World War I.

Conclusion

In the aristocratic collections of eastern Croatia there are around twenty preserved portraits of rulers and dignitaries, which points to the direct contact of their owners with the European courts and a developed consciousness about the importance of those ties. A role model in all segments of the social-economic-cultural life of the Monarchy was Vienna and the ruling House of Habsburg, which had helped to spread the new Baroque style and the restoration and the development of the arts. Through one segment of the arts

such as portraits, noble families propagated their historical legitimacy and confirmed the monarch's virtues, which were disseminated through different art media (paintings, sculptures, prints, handicrafts...) as an expression of the power and propaganda of noble families and their connection with the ruling house.

Their portraits had multiple roles – the “monarch's presence” in a certain place, a memory of the ruling family, the representation of power, influence, legitimate continuity to the divine right and “choice” – but they also confirm the high social rank of the owner of that portrait even today. Finally, we can only conclude that: “The rise of the concept of a royal family was accompanied by the rise of the royal family portrait. Indeed, no firm distinction existed between the image and the political reality.”⁴⁵

Notes

* This paper is an extended and elaborated version of work presented at the conference *The Power of Media. Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, June 13–15, 2018).

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6 JASMINKA NAJCER SABLJAK, *Likovna baština kneževa Odeskalchi – od Lombardije i Rima do Iloka*, Osijek, Muzej likovnih umjetnosti – Zagreb, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti – Ilok, Muzej grada Iloka, 2015, 5.

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10 The Habsburg family re-opened their art gallery in Stallburg (*Caesarea Pinacotheca*) in 1728 after the dangers of the war. The collection was relocated in 1776 to the Palace Upper Belvedere, and in 1891 to the new building of the Kunsthistorisches Museum at the Vienna Ring Road. It is believed that in the buildings of the Viennese nobility and *riches nouveaux* in that period there were around 6,000 artworks, mostly paintings. Those private collections had remained mostly intact until 1918 – that is, until the end of World War I, when they were sold across the world. – NIELS VON HOLST, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, London, 1967, 163.

11 The monarchs' portraits in the aristocratic collections of eastern Croatia were addressed for the first time in an unpublished doctoral dissertation. See: JASMINKA NAJCER SABLJAK, *Umjetničke zbirke vlastelinskih obitelji u Slavoniji i Srijemu*, Doctoral thesis, Zagreb, Filozofski fakultet, 2012.

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15 A list of the artworks that have been claimed can be found on the pages of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and they have also been published in a book written by J. Najcer Sabljak, and Andrea

- Rimfl has placed a special emphasis on them in the catalogue of the exhibition *Stolen Heritage*. See: ANDREA RIMFL, *Ukradena baština / Stolen Heritage*, Ilok City Museum, 2018.
- 16
JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK (note 6), 103.
- 17
Ibid., 102.
- 18
The Russian emperors also held the title of the Kings of Poland, the homeland of Branicki, and kinship with the Russian royal house Romanov-Holstein-Gottorp through Empress Catherine the Great. See: JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK (note 6), 50 and 102.
- 19
MILAN VRBANUS, Doprinos vlastelinskih obitelji Hillebrand von Prandau i von Normann-Ehrenfels društvenom, gospodarskom i kulturnom razvoju Valpovačkog vlastelinstva od osnutka Vlastelinstva do sredine 20. stoljeća, in: *Valpovački vlastelini Prandau – Normann: katalog izložbe* (ed.) Danijel Jelaš et al. (Osijek – Valpovo, 2018), 13–17.
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Ibid.
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EMIL FRHR. VON NORMANN, *Geschichte der Gesamt-Familie von Normann*, Ulm, 1894.
- 22
JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK – SILVIJA LUČEVNĀK (note 8), 124.
- 23
JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK – IVAN ROTH, Likovna baština, in: *Valpovački vlastelini Prandau – Normann: katalog izložbe* (ed.) Danijel Jelaš et al., Osijek – Valpovo, 2018, 347, 366.
- 24
It is known that Count Rudolf of Normann showed great interest in French history. Among other things, he bought a chair that had presumably belonged to Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The chair belongs to the museum collections of the Museum of Slavonia. – RADMILA BIONDIĆ, Bibliofili, kolekcionari i donatori, in: *Valpovački vlastelini Prandau – Normann: katalog izložbe*, (ed.) Danijel Jelaš et al., Osijek – Valpovo, 2018, 287.
- 25
<<http://www.batguano.com/vigeemagallery.html>> (27 May 2019).
- 26
UTE RITZENHOFEN, *Eltz Castle*, Berlin, 2005, 26.
- 27
JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK (note 11).
- 28
Ibid.
- 29
ВРАНКА КУЛИЋ, *Страни портретности XVIII века у колекцији Галерије Матице Српске*, Нови Сад, 2011, 26–27.
- 30
MIRJANA SCHNEIDER, *Portreti 16.–18. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1982, 68.
- 31
Ibid., 68–69.
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JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK (note 11).
- 33
<<http://reference.findtarget.com/search/Count%20Hieronymus%20von%20Colloredo/>> (28 April 2019).
- 34
ВРАНКА КУЛИЋ (note 29), 22–23.
- 35
According to the written accounts, the Count of Eltz was twice granted an audience with the Emperor and he introduced himself as his subject. The first time it happened was while he was visiting Vukovar for the first time. He was the first family member who had personally come to Vukovar and he also described his journey. He introduced many useful reforms to the Vukovar estate. He improved the schooling system, introduced public exams for children and demanded official reports about teachers' work. In his will, he left a part of his estate to the schools. According to the reforms and the Emperor's proclamation, since the 12th of December 1786 noblemen had to build schools and take care of the schooling system on the territory of their estate. See: FRIEDRICH WILHELM ROTH, *Geschichte der Herren und Grafen zu Eltz: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Linie vom Goldenen Löwen zu Eltz auf Grund archivalischer Forschung*, Mainz, 1889–1890, 160–161.
- 36
Joseph Hickel (1736–1807) was born in Česká Lípa (German: Böhmisches-Leipa), today the Czech Republic, and died in Vienna where he worked as a court painter and painted portraits of the imperial family. – HANS VOLLMER, Joseph Hickel, in: *Thieme – Becker Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Bd. 17, Leipzig, 1999, 45.
- 37
JASMINKA NAJČER SABLJAK, Bakrorezi i bakropisi iz zbirke obitelji Eltz, in: *Bakrorezi i bakropisi iz plemićkih zbirki Slavonije i Srijema*. Fine Arts Museum, Osijek, 2015–2016, 22–55.
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- 39
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- 40
SILVIJA LUČEVNĀK, Obitelj Pejačević i Virovitica, in: *725 godina franjevac u Virovitici*, Zagreb – Osijek, 2006, 119–137.
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- 42
Ibid., 38.
- 43
Martin van Meytens the Younger, *Maria Theresa as the Queen of Hungary*, 1759. Gemäldegalerie an der Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.
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- 45
SIMON SCHAMA, The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture: 1500–1850, in: *The Evidence of Art: Images and Meaning in History, The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 17, 1 (1986), 157.

Sažetak

Jasminka Najcer Sabljak

Portreti vladara obitelji Habsburg u plemićkim zbirka istočne Hrvatske

Razvoj likovne umjetnosti u novovjekovnom razdoblju na području istočne Hrvatske u međuriječju Dunava, Drave i Save, vezan je uz oslobođenje tih krajeva od osmanlijske vlasti i ponovnu uspostavu vladavine Habsburške Monarhije. Nositelji toga razvoja bili su svećenstvo, vojne i civilne elite među kojima su posebno mjesto imale strane plemićke obitelji, kneževi Odescalchi, baruni Hillebrand von Prandau, grofovi Normann-Ehrenfels, grofovi Eltz, grofovi Pejačević. Te su obitelji u sjedištima svojih posjeda, u Iloku, Valpovu, Vukovaru, Našicama, Retfali, Virovitici, Podgoraču i Rumi već tijekom 18. stoljeća, a osobito u 19. stoljeću pa sve do Drugoga svjetskog rata, imale značajne zbirke umjetnina, među kojima se brojnošću ističu portreti. Osim obiteljskih portreta, galerija predaka, u zbirka nalazimo i portrete vladara iz obitelji Habsburg te visokodostojanstvenika po funkciji svjetovne i crkvene vlasti, knezova-izbornika, papa, nadbiskupa, a pojavljuju se i portreti vladara iz drugih vladarskih obitelji (Romanov i Bourbon). S obzirom da su plemići na tom području dobivali titule i posjede zahvaljujući

obitelji Habsburg, portreti vladara zauzimali su istaknuta mjesta u njihovim zbirka. Riječ je uglavnom o djelima srednjoeuropske provenijencije, ponajprije bečke, a njihovi autori djelovali su u krugu dvorskih slikara. Uz niz ulja na platnu u zbirka su sačuvani i grafički listovi s portretima vladara iz obitelji Habsburg, najčešće Karla VI., Marije Terezije i njezina supruga Franje Stjepana Lotarinškog te Josipa II. Najviše vladarskih portreta nalazimo u vukovarskoj zbirci grofova Eltz, gdje se uz vladare pojavljuju i knezovi-izbornici, kraljevi, vicekancelari i nadbiskupi, što svjedoči o suodnosu i jakim društveno-političkim vezama te obitelji s bečkim dvorom. Portreti vladara u svim navedenim plemićkim zbirka naručivani su i nabavljeni prvenstveno kao potvrda društvenog položaja obitelji, pa se njihovo postojanje mora promatrati u širim okvirima odnosa umjetnosti i politike.

Ključne riječi: portreti vladara i velikodostojanstvenika, plemićke zbirke, istočna Hrvatska

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