

FUNERAL CEREMONIES AND DECORATIONS OF THE HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRACY IN
18TH CENTURY HABSBURG MONARCHY. A CASE STUDY OF THE KÁROLYI FAMILY

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Abstract

My thesis deals with the issue of the funeral ceremonies and decorations of the aristocracy during the 18th century, using the example of one of the most prominent exponents of the Hungarian aristocratic tradition, the Károlyi family.

The thesis includes three major chapters which are divided in subchapters. The first chapter offers an overview of the development of the funeral rite in relation with the changing attitude towards death and to the manifestations of personal representation of the deceased in funeral traditions and practices in Western and Central Europe from the Middle Ages until the end of the 17th century. I highlighted some general phenomena in the development of the funeral rite that manifested in East-Central Europe as well, despite the fact that we cannot talk about direct influence.

The next chapter focuses on the funeral culture of the upper social classes in Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries, preparing in this way my personal research topic.

The last and the most important and detailed chapter embodies the results of my personal research concerning the funerals of the Károlyi family in the 18th century from the viewpoint of personal representation and cult. The three major stages of the funerals, the laying out in state of the body of the deceased, the funeral procession and the burial ceremony correspond to the three major subchapters of my thesis. I analyzed how the social, political and personal representation of the deceased manifested by means of the funeral procession, liturgy, orations and funeral decoration. In the last subchapter focused on the most important elements of the

funeral decoration of the Károlyi family, which included the castra doloris, the coffins, funeral portraits, flags, emblems and funeral coats of arms.

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Introduction

My thesis deals with the issue of the funeral ceremonies and decorations of the aristocracy within the Habsburg Monarchy during the 18th century, using the example of one of the most prominent exponents of the Hungarian aristocratic tradition, the Károlyi family.

In the territory of the former Habsburg Monarchy most of the researches focus on imperial funerals: numerous studies and volumes deal with the burying practices, ceremonies, funeral accoutrements and objects, as well as the theatricality, visual effects and symbolism of the imperial funerals.¹ I will present the pertinent literature in the relevant chapters, highlighting here only the contribution of Liselotte Popelka, who by introducing a new definition and interpretation of funeral decoration determined the direction of the subsequent discourses. One of her remarkable statements is that the catafalques or *castra doloris*, which had a central role in the funeral rite, should not have to be seen as isolated objects – as they were widely seen in art historiography – but as integral parts of the complex funeral apparatus

¹ The list of the related publications is large; I am just noting the key works, which can give us an overall picture of the funeral tradition and artworks, in which are discussed the history of research and the most important case studies as well: Michael Brix, "Trauergerüste für die Habsburger in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 208–270. Mark Hengerer, "The Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors in the Eighteenth Century," in *Monarchy and Religion. The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Schaich (Oxford, 2007), 367–394. Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod : Zeremonialstrukturen des Wiener Hofes bei Tod und Begräbnis zwischen 1640 und 1740* (Vienna, 1989). – Mark Hengerer, ed., *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln / Weimar / Wien, 2005). – Waltraud Stangl, *Tod und Trauer bei den österreichischen Habsburgern 1740–1780: dargestellt im Spiegel des Hofzeremoniells* (Sarrebruck: Südwestdeutscher Verlag Für Hochschulschriften, 2010). – Norbert Bolin, *Sterben Ist Mein Gewinn (Phil 1, 21): Ein Beitrag Zur Evangelischen Funeralkomposition Der Deutschen Sepulkralkultur Des Barock, 1550–1750* (Kassel: Stiftung Zentralinstitut und Museum für Sepulkralkultur: 1989).

or design, of the so-called “big decoration” (*Großdekoration*). According to Popelka, in addition to *castrum doloris* to this apparatus belongs the funeral coat of arms, flags, inscriptions, statues, pictures placed on the catafalque, the inscriptions, emblems, figurative representations of the deceased person or his/her merits, wealth and deeds, decorating the interior of the burial church, as well as the “mourning clothes” of the church, consisting of black or brown textile hangings, concealment of the altars and chasubles. Another conclusion of the author is that in many cases the funeral rhetoric is based on or influenced by the images, symbols, emblems, mottoes and inscriptions of the funeral decoration. Orators reflect to the concrete environment and decoration, and with the help of rhetorical tools they assist in the involvement of the listeners into the ceremonial processes. She explains that the rhetorical elements – which present and praise the memorable life and personality of the deceased – provide meaning, content to the decoration, which otherwise would remain only “empty theaters, scenes and stages, soulless boards, where even no plays are performed”, consisting of a pile of planks, canvas, wire, stucco, papier-mâché, paints and lightings, and argues that the effects of the elements which are connected to the hearing (orations, farewell speeches, liturgy, funeral music) are reinforced by visual elements (lights, candles, torches, oil lamps, illusionist decoration).²

² Liselotte Popelka, “Trauer-Prunk und Rede-Prunk. Der frühneuzeitliche Trauerapparat als rhetorische Leistung auf dem Weg zur virtuellen Realität [The funeral pomp and pounpous speech. The early modern funeral apparatus as a rhetorical medium of creating a virtual reality],” in *Oratio funebris; die katholische Leichenpredigt der frühen Neuzeit : zwölf Studien : mit einem Katalog deutschsprachiger katholischer Leichenpredigten in Einzeldrucken 1576–1799 aus den Beständen der Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg und der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, ed. Birgit Boge and Ralf Georg (Amsterdam, 1999), 9–80.; Liselotte Popelka, *Castrum Doloris oder „Trauriger Schauplatz“*. *Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Wesen ephemere Architektur* [Castrum Doloris or "Mournful

The work of Popelka, as well as the theoretical discourses regarding rituals, images and memory by Julius von Schlosser³ to Hans Belting⁴ through Emile Mâle,⁵ Philip Aries,⁶ Erwin Panofsky,⁷ André Chastel,⁸ Jan Białostocki,⁹ and Ernst Kantorowicz¹⁰ were hardly ever applied by Hungarian researchers. Despite the fact that several works have been published about the funerals of the ecclesiastical and social elite of Hungary, presenting examples from the 16–18th centuries from the perspective of cultural history, art history (ephemeral occasional architecture, painting, applied arts, iconography, emblematics) and literature, they are usually focusing on individual cases from a single perspective, and are lacking in broader contextual analysis and interdisciplinary approach. Still, the merits, the research results of these publications – which will be presented in detail throughout the following chapters – are unquestionable, and they actually make the contextual analysis of my own research topic, the funeral ceremonies and decoration of the Károlyi family, possible.

It is important to stress that the limited, small-scale character of the Hungarian publications is primarily the result of the sporadic and still unexplored archival sources and

Stage". Studies on the origin and nature of ephemeral architecture] (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994).

³ Julius von Schlosser, "Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 29 (1911). English translation: "History of Portraiture in Wax," in: *Ephemeral Bodies. Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 171–315.

⁴ Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁵ Emile Mâle, "L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente" (Paris: 1932), chapter 5: "La mort".

⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Geschichte des Todes* (München/Wien: 1980). – Idem, *Bilder zur Geschichte des Todes* (München: 1984). – Idem, *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

⁷ Erwin Panofsky and Horst Woldemar Janson, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964).

⁸ André Chastel, "Le Baroque et la mort," in *Fables, forms, figures*, (Paris: 1978).

⁹ Jan Białostocki, "Art and Vanity," in *The Message of Images. Studies in the History of Art* (IRSA:Vienna, 1988).

¹⁰ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957).

sepulchral objects that can be found in different archives, museum collections and churches all over the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary, including the former Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which becoming part of Slovakia and Romania, escaped the attention of historians.

The first synthetic monograph about the spectacle of the funerals of the Hungarian aristocracy was published in 1989 by Péter Szabó, which is the most comprehensive and analytical reference work so far.¹¹ The author analyzes the changing attitudes towards death and dying, and presents the history of the tradition of laying out in state, funeral procession and funeral ceremony from the Middle Ages until the 18th century. Szabó argues that the message, the essence of these “public theater of death and mourning” of the 17th century Hungarian aristocracy was principally shaped by the visual elements of the funeral solemnities, which acted like stage designs, being in constant rearrangement. He demonstrates that the funerals of the aristocracy were strongly influenced by medieval chivalric culture and by the royal funerals, which he illustrates, together with the presentation of traditions related to lying in state, the use of weapons, funeral coat of arms, flags, and symbolic elements personifying the deceased person, effigies, mortuary horses and alter ego. It is very important that he indicates that in the middle of the 18th century this tradition had been very much simplified and was on the way of disappearance, pointing out that the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi is probably one of the last of “traditional” funerals which still bear the imprints of the medieval custom.

¹¹ Péter Szabó, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszerartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989).

Another substantial work, published only one year before Szabó's book, is a source publication of twelve funeral sermons from the 17th century out of the "nearly hundred" known by the editor, Gábor Kecskeméti.¹² In addition to the historic and literary value, the importance of this anthology is due to the introductory study, in which Kecskeméti summarizes the outcomes of his research. His most important contribution to the field probably is that he called attention to the intertwining and inseparable character of the funeral rhetoric and images. He argues that funeral oration – including funeral sermons and speeches – is often based on a single image originating from the Scripture or inspired by one of the motives of the deceased's coat of arms, or by the description of an emblem from an emblem book, which is then expounded and interpreted by the speaker in order to offer a vivid, expressive and picturesque presentation of the deceased's merits and/or to illustrate the message of the theological commentary.

This argumentation of Gábor Kecskeméti was further developed in the publications of Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, in which they analyzed the link between literary emblematics and the visual arts.¹³ According to these authors, an important part of the Hungarian emblematic literature of the 18th century was published on the occasions of different festivities

¹² Kecskeméti Gábor, ed, *Magyar nyelvű halotti beszédek a XVII. századból* [Hungarian funeral orations from the 18th century]. Budapest: MTA ITI, 1988.

¹³ Knapp Éva and Tüskés Gábor, "Irodalmi emblematika és emblémarecepció Magyarországon 1564–1796 [Literary Emblematics and Emblem-Reception in Hungary 1564–1796]," *Magyar Könyvszemle* Vol. 111 (1995), 142–163.; Knapp Éva and Tüskés Gábor, *Emblematics in Hungary: A study of the history of symbolic representation in Renaissance and Baroque literature* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003). –Knapp Éva and Gábor Tüskés, "Emblémaelméletek Magyarországon a XVI-XVIII. században [Theories of emblematics in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries]," in *Neolatin irodalom Európában és Magyarországon*, ed. Jankovits László and Kecskeméti Gábor (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem, 1996), 171–187. – Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, "Toward a Corpus of the Hungarian Emblem Tradition. Literary Emblematics Emblem-reception in Hungary 1564–1796," in *European Iconography East and West. Selected Papers of the Szeged International Conference June 9–12*, ed. Szőnyi György Endre (Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996), 190–208.

and ceremonies, including funerals. They also present a series of funeral prints illustrated with emblems, which originally were decorating the *castrum doloris* or the wall of the burial sites, their iconography being influenced by foreign political and military emblem books and Mirrors of Princes.

The aforementioned works undoubtedly contributed to my interest in the funerals of the Hungarian aristocracy and of the Károlyi family. My attention was drawn to this topic during my previous researches concerning the art and building patronage of the family, when I came across the rich source-material of the topic. In respect of sources, the topic has an advantageous position as the majority of documents related to the funerals of the family are preserved in a single collection, in the voluminous (188, 44 meters¹⁴) and systematized archive of the family, and the burial place, the mausoleum of the Franciscan church in Kaplony – which is still in use by the descendants – preserves the most important pieces of the funeral supplies.

My primary sources are preserved in the Károlyi Archive of the National Archive of Hungary in Budapest, and includes descriptions of funerals and funeral decorations including the *castra doloris*, contemporary written instructions regarding to the arrangement of the funeral procession and burial ceremony, financial documents (invoices, accounting summaries of expenses), death notices, funeral invitations, last wills, drawings made for the embroidered and painted coat of arms as well as for cartouches containing eulogist verses which were decorated

¹⁴ Bakács István, *A Károlyi család nemzetségi és fóti levéltára* [The Archive of the Károlyi Family and of Fót]. *Repertórium (Magyar Országos Levéltár. Levéltári leltárak 33.)* (Budapest, 1965). – Laczlavik György, “Adalék a Károlyi levéltár nagykárolyi történetéhez. Az első állandó levéltáros: Udvarhelyi Ferenc [New data regarding to history of the Archive of the Károlyi family],” *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Levéltári Évkönyv* XVII (2006): 521–534.

the interior of the burial church, sketches depicting the order and the lining up of the funeral convoys, correspondence of the family and of the administrators of the Károlyi manorial estates and printed documents (funeral oration and poems).

Other sources, like the chronicles (*Historia Domus*) of Franciscan church in Kaplony and the Piarist church in the neighboring Nagykároly (Carei) – both founded by the Károlyi family in the beginning of the 18th century – can be found in Romanian institutes, in parochial and national archives. Important sources are the funeral objects themselves. The richly decorated copper coffins of the Károlyis, the funeral portraits and funeral coat of arms are preserved in the mausoleum of the family in Kaplony (Capleni, today Romania). The funeral coat of arms can be found in the collections of the Hungarian National Museum and the Piarist church in Nagykároly as well. The actual mausoleum of the Károlyi family attached to the choir of the Franciscan church in Kaplony, however, is a modern building erected in the second half of the 19th century, replacing the original mausoleum of the family, built by Sándor Károlyi around 1734. The arrangement of the original chapel – where the members of the Károlyi family were buried in the 18th century – can be reconstructed by means of numerous written sources and drawings.

In addition to primary sources, in the interpretation of the funeral ceremonies and the stylistic analysis of the objects analogies were examined. The identification and the study of these analogies were attained by means of secondary sources.

In my thesis I will describe and interpret the funerals of Sándor, Ferenc and Antal Károlyi and their wives, Krisztina Barkóczy and Krisztina Csáky, members of three generations which cover all of the 18th century, focusing primarily on the funeral decoration and visuality of

the funerals. I will argue that in the 18th century the Károlyis continued the funeral traditions of the Hungarian upper social classes established in the 16th and 17th century. These contained several elements, symbolic practices of medieval origin, which were then transformed and adapted to the local conditions, the demands of the organizers and the social and political importance of the deceased. In the same time they included new elements as well, like the *castra doloris* and emblem decorations, or the ambition for public representation and the preference for theatricality.

In order to highlight the influences and analogies, the interpretation and evaluation of funerals of the Károlyi family will be carried out in comparison with medieval, royal and aristocratic funerals. Since the funeral liturgy was standardized, in the center of my analysis stays the funeral art. My primary purpose is the stylistic analysis of the visual and artistic elements of these funeral poms, which in the last decades of the 18th century underwent a process of simplification and secularization.

The most significant visual element of the exequies were the so-called *castra doloris* (castles of grief; in German: *Trauriger Schauplatz*, *Shaubühne*, *Trauergerüst*, *Trauerapparat*) built above the catafalque. In the territories of the Habsburg Monarchy this ephemeral architectural construction and decoration with medieval preliminaries (*chapelle ardent*) had its high period in the 17–18th centuries. In case of the burials of the emperors, *castra doloris* were erected not only above the actual catafalque of the emperors in the churches of Vienna, but above several symbolic catafalques in the various churches of the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, including Hungary and territories under Austrian Habsburg rule. They had different forms and were decorated with allegorical statues, emblems, verses, inscriptions, carrying important religious and political messages, referring to the victories and the virtues of the deceased. In my

thesis I will accentuate the reconstruction of the iconographic program of these *castra dolores*, signifying and visually expressing the virtues, merits and the piety of the deceased, as well as the analysis of the relationship between the funeral orations – preserved for posterity in printed forms – and allegorical statues, images, inscriptions and emblems of the *castra doloris*. The reconstruction of these constructions will be accomplished through the analysis of various contemporary written documents and visual sources (drawings, sketches) from the Archive of the Károlyi family in the National Archives of Hungary (Budapest).

Unlike the *castra doloris*, the copper sarcophagi made in Bratislava and Vienna of the Károlyi counts and countesses, real objects d’art, were designed to last and their iconography show many similarities to the metal sarcophagi of the Imperial Crypt (*Kaisergruft*, *Kapuzinergruft*) of the Capuchin Church in Vienna, decorated by symbols of military merits and of virtues, as well as vanity and Christian symbols.

Other important elements of the funeral decorations to be discussed are the epitaphs, the funeral coat of arms, the funeral and various embroidered flags, emblems, the coffin portraits and the festive weapons, which were preserved and have a rich source material.

The thesis includes three major chapters divided in subchapters. The first chapter offers an overview of the development of the funeral rite in relation with the changing attitude towards death and to the manifestations of personal representation of the deceased in funeral traditions and practices in Western and Central Europe from the Middle Ages until the end of the 17th century. I will highlight some general phenomena in the development of the funeral rite that manifested in East-Central Europe as well, despite the fact that we cannot talk about direct influence. The next chapter focuses on the funeral culture of the upper social classes in Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries, preparing in this way my personal research topic. The last and the most important and detailed chapter embodies the results of my

personal research concerning the funerals of the Károlyi family in the 18th century from the viewpoint of personal representation and cult. The three major stages of the funerals, the laying out in state of the body of the deceased, the funeral procession and the burial ceremony correspond to the three major subchapters. I will analyze how the social, political and personal representation of the deceased manifested by means of the funeral procession, liturgy, orations and funeral decoration. In the last subchapter I will focus on the most important elements of the funeral decoration of the Károlyi family, which included the *castra doloris*, the coffins, funeral portraits, flags, emblems and funeral coats of arms.

I. Verbal, visual and symbolic representation of the deceased in Western and Central European funeral practices from the Middle Ages to Early Modern Times

The interpretation and evaluation of the funerals of the Hungarian aristocracy is not feasible without understanding – at least in general terms – the development, as well as the temporal and regional divergences of funeral ritual practices and of the ceremonial order in Western and Central Europe. Therefore in this chapter I will have a closer look at the development of the funeral rite in this region from the Middle Ages to the end of the 17th century, which was closely related to the changing attitude in the perception of death and dying and to the personal representation of the deceased. I will argue that the development of the idea of death and dying had a strong impact on the funeral rite, art and the representation of the deceased in funerals. This progress followed very similar directions in the different regions of Europe, and the funeral practices often directly or indirectly influenced one other.

There is one important distinction that must be made when discussing representation. In this context the concept of representation is at least two-sided. Firstly, it can be used in the sense of personal, social, political representation of the deceased in connection with the personal cult, status symbol and commemoration of the deceased, secondly, in its original sense

(Lat. *representare*: to make present again)¹⁵ in a sense of mystical embodiment, referring to those symbolic, visual elements of the funerals which replaced and made the dead person symbolically present to the mourners. Since funerals were built around the deceased, his or her representation, in both senses, got a prominent role in the funeral ceremonies. This is especially true and striking in the case of the upper social classes, which are in the focus of my investigations.

Funeral ceremonies however are very complex rituals, which can be divided into three major stages: the laying out in state of the deceased in his/her home, the procession to the burial church and the funeral ceremony in the strict sense of the word, when within the framework of the liturgy the coffin is placed in its final resting place. These stages were formed in the early middle ages and altered only in the case of the lowest and the highest social classes. The standard frame of the funerals lasted for centuries, but its nature and character varied by ages.

In the early Christian period only very few elements of the funeral ceremonies referred to the deceased person, because death was seen as a transition condition to eternal life.¹⁶ Illustrations depicting funerals from this early period are rare, and most of them are illuminations from manuscripts representing the lives of saints.¹⁷

¹⁵ Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.) 241.

¹⁶ The theory of the “rites of passage” was developed by Arnold van Gennep, and it is referring to those ceremonial rites that mark significant transitions in the social status of individuals, like the rituals connected with birth, puberty, marriage and death. See: Arnold van Gennep, *The rites of passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁷ Roger S. Wieck, “The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral,” in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 431–476.

In the 12th century with the spreading of the idea of the last judgment a change occurred, and the personal life of the individuals, their good or bad deeds began to gain importance in the soul's fate after death. The illuminations of medieval manuscripts indicate that from the 13–14th centuries the liturgical settings of funeral ceremonies already took shape and the cult of death was greatly expanded.¹⁸ The funerals of this time could be seen as rich sensory performances where the liturgy provided the opportunity to recall the deceased and to recognize his or her departure from the community. Partly because of this dual nature of funeral practices, the body and the images of the body of the deceased were essential.¹⁹

From the earliest ages of the Church funeral masses were held in “præsente corpora”, in the presence of the encoffined body of the deceased covered with a piece of cloth, the pall, and placed on a catafalque illuminated with candles. This general setting however, which represented the center of the ceremony, differed according to the social status of the deceased. The use of palls, coffins and catafalques was general and was used even by paupers, but they were not personal, individualized objects, because they were in the property of the church and were usually reused several times.²⁰ The pall also contributed to conceal the identity of the deceased, despite the fact that its main role, similar to that of the masks, was rather the hiding of the face altered after dying.²¹ In contrast to these modest burials which expelled individual

¹⁸ Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1977).

¹⁹ Charlotte A. Stanford, “The Body at the Funeral: Imagery and Commemoration at Notre-Dame, Paris, about 1304–18,” *The Art Bulletin* (89/4: 2007): 665. ; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England: 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997).

²⁰ Christopher Daniell, *Death and burial in medieval England, 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), 47–48.

²¹ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 170–172.

representation, members of higher, secular or ecclesiastical social classes had the privilege to be laid out in state in an open coffin in the burial church. The personal and social representation was assured on the one hand by the clothes and personal accoutrements in which the body was dressed and, on the other hand, by the chapel-like architectural structure raised above him covered with black drapery and illuminated with candles and torches.²² These *chapelles ardentes* ("burning chapel") or hearses (the English equivalent for the French name) in the early 14th century already offered impressive sights, and in the baroque period turned into enormous theatrical stages, which deservedly bear the name "castle of grief" or *castrum doloris*.

The display of the body however in the case of royal funerals, which usually needed several months of preparation, became impractical, and the practice of making effigies appeared. Since antiquity, the first use of these life-sized sculptures representing the deceased dates from the early 14th century and appeared in England, but soon in French royal funerals as well. The faces of the effigies were quite realistic, often modelled from death masks. They were wearing a crown, and near their bodies other crown jewels (*regalia*), a scepter and the Hand of Justice were laid. The funeral effigy placed on the encoffined body was carried in convoy to the church of burial, to Westminster Abbey or Saint-Denis, where it was placed inside the hearse. There it remained through the performance of the last rites, being removed only when the coffin was taken to the royal mausoleum. In this way the place of the body was taken by an artificial body, which beyond being a simple physical replacer of the natural body, has an even more important role: it was a means by which the continuity of royal power was symbolically

²² Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: 1960), 14.

expressed. The doctrine of "king's two bodies" – formulated and discussed by Ernst Kantorowicz – argues that the nature of the king incorporated two separate bodies: a natural, mortal body and an eternal, undying mystical body or "body politic". Thus, after the death of the natural body, the body politic was symbolically incorporated in an image, in the effigy, personifying the perpetuity of royal power and of the kingdom.²³ For the same reason and to guarantee the legitimacy of the new king, the burials were very soon followed by the coronation of the new king.²⁴

The need to exhibit the portrait of the deceased on the coffin appeared, for example, in Spain too, where wooden coffins were provided on their visible side with the painted figure of the deceased.²⁵ Probably for the same reasons appeared the practice of using funeral portraits in 17–18th century funerals of the Polish nobility. These naturalistically portraits of the deceased painted on hexagonal or octagonal metal plates were placed to the foot side of the coffins in such a way that they could be seen during funerals. They were usually removed from the coffins before the burial, and were hung on the walls of the burial site, such as the epitaphs placed initially on the head-side and the coats of arms decorating the sides of the coffins. The oldest coffin portrait in Poland is that of King Stefan Báthory from the late 16th century.²⁶ As

²³ After 1500 the effigies were occasionally used also for the funerals of members of the royal family and became adopted by the French royal and the Lorrain ducal families, in Tuscany, Venice (doge) and Prussia (Hohenzollern kings) as well. In the 17th and 18th centuries when the several storeys high and richly decorated *castra dolores* became the focal point of European funeral ceremonies, the unproportional ratio between the effigies and the *castra doloris* lead to the disappearance of the first.

²⁴ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 60.

²⁵ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press), 171.

²⁶ Przemysław Mrozowski, ed., *Śmierć w kulturze dawnej Polski od średniowiecza do końca XVIII wieku: przeraźliwe echo trąby żałosnej do wieczności wzywającej* [Death in Polish culture from the middle ages until the end of the eighteenth century: The terrifying sound of the mourning trumpet summoning the dead to the other world] (Warsaw, 2000).

we will see in the later chapters, occasionally portraits were placed on the *castra doloris* in the territory of Hungary as well.

An interesting and hardly studied element of the funerals representing the deceased is the so-called *archimimus*,²⁷ a living person representing the dead king during the funeral ceremonies in Poland. The first *archimimus* was documented in 1370, at the burial of Casimir the Great by his successor Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary, where the king was personified by a knight riding on horseback and wearing a helmet with a closed visor. After entering the burial cathedral he collapsed with great noise and broke the wooden shafts of his lance while the royal seal was broken as well, expressing the end of the life and power of the king.²⁸ This tradition of breaking the arms at funerals may go back to earlier times, as it is evidenced by the discoveries of the tombs of Slavic princes having the same meaning.²⁹ In the funeral procession of Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548) a figure of an armored knight was shown, who rode an armored horse and held a naked sword with the end towards the earth rotated. Next to him walked another man holding a flag and a shield rotating its end towards earth.³⁰ This symbolic tradition of bringing back the natural body of the king among the living during the funeral was common in the 16th and 17th centuries in Hungary and Transylvania as well, but it is usually

²⁷ Suetonius describes an *archimimus* accompanying the funeral of Vespasian. This *archime* represented his person and imitated, according to customs *ut est mos*, the manners and the language of the living emperor.

²⁸ Aleksander Gieysztor, "Gesture in coronation ceremonies of medieval Poland," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.) 155.

²⁹ Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* [The Funeral Pomp. The History of Traditional Polish Funeral Culture] (Warszawa: 1974), 86.

³⁰ Aleksander Gieysztor, "Gesture in coronation ceremonies of medieval Poland," *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.) 155.

named in the sources as *alterego*. Similar to Poland,³¹ in the 16–17th century many of the symbols of political representation of the royal burial ceremonies – like the entry and fall of the alteregos, the breaking of a sword, mace and shield and long homilies containing the praise of the deceased – started to be used at the burials of the aristocracy or nobility in Hungary and Transylvania.³²

The crucial importance of the presence of the body is also evidenced by the widespread practice of recreating the funerals on the occasion of anniversary celebrations organized around the tomb, often decorated with the portrait of the deceased.³³ The bodies, at least in medieval understanding, were not seen as empty signs or remains of the persons, but links expressing the presence of the deceased. In lack of visible bodies, substituting images facilitated the creation of this link, recalling in the memory of the attendants and prompting devotion and mourning.³⁴ A part of the images, like the effigies made from wood or wax³⁵ lost their function after the funeral ceremony; others, like the portraits or sculpted portraits of the tombs, had the role of

³¹ Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* [The Funeral Pomp. The History of Traditional Polish Funeral Culture] (Warszawa: 1974).

³² Szabó Péter, *A végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* (Budapest: Magvető, 1989); Apor Péter, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae. Avagy az erdélyi régi szokások és rendtartások, az kik voltak s múltanak, s újak származtanak* (Bukarest, 1978), 122–134.

³³ Charlotte A. Stanford, “The Body at the Funeral: Imagery and Commemoration at Notre-Dame, Paris, about 1304–18,” *The Art Bulletin* (89/4:2007): 666.; Clive Burgess analyzes a similar re-enactment of the funeral liturgy in the occasion of commemoration ceremonies of an English parish in late Middle Ages. See: Clive Burgess, ““Longing to be prayed for”: death and commemoration in a parish in Bristol late Middle Ages,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44–65.

³⁴ An interesting parallel is the attitude to relics of the medieval believers.

³⁵ Apart from some antique and Byzantine precedents and 14th century Italian examples, the lifelike wax effigies became widespread on French royal funeral in the 15th century – David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 216–218. ; More detailed about wax images: Julius von Schlosser, “History of Portraiture in Wax,” in: *Ephemeral Bodies. Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008).

commemoration. The tombs of members of the clergy, kings and aristocratic laity, who should be buried in the interior of the churches, were decorated with portrait representations, allegorical figures and inscriptions assuring the identification of the deceased and impersonal narrative biblical representations very often referring to salvation.³⁶ Medieval funeral and recumbent effigies however should not be regarded as individualized, portrait like representations, but rather as the portrait likeness (*simulacra*) of an individual belonging to a group.³⁷

In addition to the personal representation the belief in the afterlife is the most important factor which had a determinant role in the development of the rituals connected with death and burial. In this respect two important medieval literary genres are of help. The books of *Ars Moriendi* (“art of dying”) were manuals based on the belief that the manner of men’s life is crucial in determining the character of their death, and gave practical advice for dying a good death according to Christian norms.³⁸ The first books of *Ars Moriendi* was written in Latin in the early 15th century, but later German, French, English, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Catalan illustrated editions were produced as well.³⁹ The norms, beliefs concerning death, dying and afterlife expressed in these books, however were established much earlier. What is different in a

³⁶ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 93. ; More details about this topic in: Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964.)

³⁷ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 102–112.

³⁸ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 39.

³⁹ Donald F. Duclow, “Dying Well: The *Ars moriendi* and the Dormition of the Virgin” in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: 1999), 380.

theological viewpoint is that they promoted individual judgment against the collective judgment of humankind.⁴⁰

Similar ideas were propagated by the medieval *Office of the Dead*, which was the main funeral service performed before the Mass, consisting of songs and worship, which was later included in the *Book of Hours*, the most popular prayer book from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.⁴¹ These Christian literary genres were often richly illustrated and played a major role in the formation of the imagery of funeral ceremonies. These images include illustrations concerning the major events of medieval funerals, the deathbed and its attendant rituals (last rites) the procession from home to church, the services at church (Office of the Dead, Requiem Mass, Absolution), the procession from church to cemetery and the burial. The other images of the Office of the Dead, like the “Raising of Lazarus”, “Job on the Dungheap” and the “Feast of the Dives” were connected with the idea of resurrection and eternal life.⁴²

In the 15th century, especially in northern Europe the imagery of death was further expanded with macabre representations. These were grotesque allegorical representations of the power of death depicted either as a dancing skeleton or a shrunken corpse holding a scythe and taking to dance every member of society regardless of their social status and age or were represented as a corpse in various stages of decomposition.

⁴⁰ Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 29–31.

⁴¹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 53.

⁴² Roger S. Wieck, “The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral,” in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: 1999), 434–442.

Later, the proceeds, the achievements of the Renaissance, like the importance of individuality, increased self-awareness, the development of social sciences undermined the belief in afterlife and appraised the present, the earthly life. This, in the case of the funeral ceremonies and art, was manifested for example in greater emphasis on social status, merits and deeds of the deceased.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, in the period of mannerism, the idea of death again underwent a change, in which the anatomical curiosity and psychological sensitivity played a very important role. From the 1530's a great number of anatomical books were published. The illustration of these books representing anatomical skeletons not only provided scientific information, but they also called attention to the transience of the human life, to the inevitability of death. This idea of *memento mori* ("remember that you will die") appeared in funeral literature and art as well.⁴³

During the Counter Reformation, the idea of death was again accentuated. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) reinforced the importance of funerals. In its canons, the Council recalls the need to pray for the souls of the dead.⁴⁴ With the idea of death the Jesuits for example propagated the vanity, the meaninglessness of earthly life and the eternity of the soul in order to frighten or raise hope. This idea influenced funerals as well, which, being organized in this time before a wide public, offered an occasion for religious, moralizing propaganda as well.

⁴³ André Chastel, "Le Baroque et la mort," in *Fables, forms, figures*, (Paris: 1978). ; Hungarian translation: André Chastel, "A barokk és a halál," in *Fabulák, formák, figurák* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984). 95–114. ; Jan Bialostocki, "Művészet és Vanitas [Art and Vanitas]," in *Régi és új a művészettörténetben* (Budapest, 1982), 206–238.

⁴⁴ Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e, du XVIII^e siècle, Italie, France, Espagne, Flanders*. (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), 203–227. Chapter V: „Le Mort”

Throughout the sixteenth century, *memento mori*, skeletons, representation of decomposing bodies, dying and suffering beings emerge as fundamental elements of the funeral decoration and rhetoric, and reflects the emphasis on the visual and emotional sensibility specific to the baroque.⁴⁵

The *castra doloris* became the central element of funerals, the central element of the theatrical scene around which funeral ceremony was performed. They differed from the earlier ones not only by size, but also by the complex iconographical program which they had. This latter was partially connected with religious topics from the Scripture, and partially referring to the person of the deceased, in connection with his earthly life and apotheosis, and their message was further enhanced by the music, the lighting of the sanctuary and the richness of the liturgy. Despite the fact that they were used for ideological purposes as well, as Aries correctly noted, the essence of these ephemeral architectural structures from the period of baroque have not changed with their impressive size and volume. They still represented the body of the deceased, but in a figurative sense: the place of the body was taken by the symbolic apparatus of the *castrum doloris*, which had the property that could substitute the body even when it was absent.⁴⁶

Beside this reinterpreted representation, where the emphasis in a way was gradually shifted from the representation of the “body natural” to the representation of the “body politic” or social body of the deceased, the sumptuous *castra doloris* threw a bridge between the past

⁴⁵ Vivien Richard, “La mort du prince. Pompes funèbres et recueils gravés,” in *Chroniques de l'éphémère*, ed. Dominique Morelon (Paris: INHA, 2010). <http://inha.revues.org/2846> 2.

⁴⁶ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press), 173.

and the future being the propagators of politico-historical continuity and affiliation to a social group. Their main role was to create an idealized posthumous image of the deceased, suggesting that he possessed all those characteristics and virtues which gave him access to Heaven.

Treatises on funeral decorations published in France in the second half of the 17th century – among which is outstanding the book of Claude-François Ménéstrier, a Jesuit priest – contributed to the spread of the “fashion” of these spectacular funerals. Later the engraved images of the *castra doloris* were printed in thousands of copies.⁴⁷

Despite the changes, these funeral spectacles – regardless of whether they were Catholic or Protestant – were not lack in personal symbols taken over from the Gothic and Renaissance traditions. This is especially true in the case of royal and the aristocratic funerals where the demand for the perpetuation of the family cult and the adherence to the funeral customs of the ancestors contributed to the preservation of these earlier traditions. Despite the adherence to the tradition, they did not remain intact not even from the customs and the culture of the society they belonged to. The funerals of the high aristocracy were very much influenced by the funeral customs of the royal culture. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century the funerals of the

⁴⁷ About the history of the *castra doloris*: Liselotte Popelka, “Trauer-Prunk und Rede-Prunk. Der frühneuzeitliche Trauerapparat als rhetorische Leistung auf dem Weg zur virtuellen Realität [The funeral pomp and pounpous speech. The early modern funeral apparatus as a rhetorical medium of creating a virtual reality],” in *Oratio funebris; die katholische Leichenpredigt der frühen Neuzeit : zwölf Studien : mit einem Katalog deutschsprachiger katholischer Leichenpredigten in Einzeldrucken 1576–1799 aus den Beständen der Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg und der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, ed. Birgit Boge and Ralf Georg (Amsterdam, 1999), 9–80.; Liselotte Popelka, *Castrum Doloris oder „Trauriger Schauplatz“. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Wesen ephemere Architektur* [Castrum Doloris or "Mournful Stage". Studies on the origin and nature of ephemeral architecture] (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994).

aristocracy, similarly to the royal funerals, were public representations of power, defined by Jürgen Habermas as “representative publicity” or “public representations” [*repräsentative Öffentlichkeit*].⁴⁸ It appears that the most important function of the 18th funerals of the aristocracy organized before wide audiences was the endeavor for social, political, familial and personal representation.

⁴⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 9–14.

II. The funeral culture of the upper social classes in Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries

A relatively large number of sources provide insight in the funeral practices in the territory of the historical Kingdom of Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries. These include mostly descriptions of funerals of the Hungarian kings, nobility and dukes of Transylvania and indicate that by that time the funeral customs had an established and more or less homogeneous order. The funeral customs – regardless of whether in a formerly independent Principality of Transylvania and Partium⁴⁹ or in territories under Habsburg rules in the west and north – show a great number of commonalities, while divergences are mainly due to the social-political role, the last will of the deceased, the local customary law, the denominational regulations and the demands of the organizers of the funerals.

⁴⁹ In the Treaty of Speyer, signed in 1570 territories of the north-eastern part of Kingdom of Hungary belonging to Máramaros, Közép-Szolnok, Kraszna and Bihar counties were pledged to Principality of Transylvania, ruled by John Sigismund. The treaty recognized John Sigismund's authority as "Prince of Transylvania" and assured the title of "Dominus **Partium** Regni Hungariae" (ruler of a part of the Kingdom of Hungary), from where the Latin name derives. Between the 16th and 17th centuries however the extension of "Partium" changed several times, but always referred to those territories which were under the rule of the Transylvanian prince, but which officially never belonged to the historical Transylvania. Szatmár County, where the Károlyi estates were situated, had a special situation. Its centre, Szatmár was part of a border defense area established in the 1560s by the Habsburgs against the Ottoman invasions, stretching from here till Károlyváros (Karlovac, present-day Croatia). Later this border changed several times, and Szatmár County belonged alternately to Hungary or to Transylvania. See: Pálffy Géza, "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király (New York: Social Science Monographs–Brooklyn College Press–Columbia University Press: 2002), 111–135.; Pálffy Géza, "A felső-magyarországi főkapitányság és Erdély Báthory István uralkodása idején (1571–1586) (A Báthory-kutatás egy feldolgozatlan kérdésköréről) [The Headquarter of Upper Hungary and Transylvania during the reign of István Báthory (1576–1586)]," *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* tom I, nr. 1–2 (1997): 113–126. ; János B. Szabó, "Splendid Isolation? The Military Cooperation of the Principality of Transylvania with the Ottoman Empire (1571–1688)," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden–Boston, Brill: 2013) 301–339.

As opposed to the earlier periods, about the funerals of the 18th century there is very little data. In the 1730's the large-scale, representative funerals, characteristics of the previous centuries had mostly disappeared, at least if we are relying on the memoir of Péter Apor, entitled *Metamorphosis Transilvaniae*, written in 1736.⁵⁰ In the preface of his book Apor complains that the customs of the nobility of Transylvania completely changed after 1687, when Transylvania came under Habsburg rule. He claims that every year new "German" trends or "neu Mode" ["Náj módi"] show up and the old traditions are more and more neglected and forgotten. Apor collects and systematically presents a series of traditions which he recalls from his personal memory or from others reporting. Among the funeral customs he enumerates traditions related to the encoffinement of the body, the preparation for the funerals, the funeral service held at the deceased's home and at the burial church. He also notes that the funerals of the Hungarian Catholic and Protestant nobility in Transylvania were very similar, and they differed mostly in liturgical aspects.

The question arises whether the Hungarian aristocracy completely abandoned their old burial traditions in the 18th century. What changes occurred and what kind of new customs replaced the old ones, in what did they differ? Was the change as drastic as the author suggests, or can we talk about a transitional process with a series of grades? Are traditions peculiar to Transylvania, or rather to the whole Hungarian nobility? What about the funerals of the princes of Transylvania and the funerals of the Habsburg Emperors, who were crowned kings of Hungary? Have they affected the traditions of the Hungarian nobility?

⁵⁰ Apor Péter, *Metamorphosis Transilvaniae. Avagy az erdélyi régi szokások és rendtartások, az kik voltak s múltanak, s újak származtanak* (Bukarest, 1978).

In order to answer these questions and enable the comparison of the funeral practices in the early modern time and in 18th century, in this chapter I will outline the ceremonies and practices of the funeral rites – in a word, the funeral culture (*Begräbniskultur*) – of the Hungarian upper social classes in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries.

I will present those practices which were in use for a long period and whose compliance became a norm, a requirement for funeral organizers. I will argue that the funerals used a symbolical language based on special signs in order to transmit messages. These symbols or signs were part of a system of communication. Some of them belonged to an easily understandable, conventional code or language; others got their meaning only in the frame of the minutely regulated funerals, including liturgy, different symbolical acts, funeral decoration, literature, space, political circumstation, or by their relations to one another. I will argue that the funeral culture is a common medium of the culture of the upper social classes, which apart from regional cultural and social peculiarities and divergences had many common features. This is mainly due to the dual, secular (profane) and religious (sacred) character of the funerals. The religious dimension was to ensure salvation and was an expression of the Christian concern for the soul of the deceased. The secular dimension, however, was associated with expression and legalization of political power and the preservation of the memory of the deceased. The latter function was extremely important for the kings, princes, nobility or ecclesiastical elite, for whom the funerals were public manifestation of the secular-political or religious importance of the deceased.

I will argue that the funeral customs of the Hungarian elites in the territory of Royal Hungary, controlled by the Habsburgs and the principality Transylvania – which as a

consequence of the Battle of Mohács broke away from the Kingdom of Hungary and became a semi-independent principality under the Ottoman Empire between 1570 (Treaty of Speyer) and 1690 (Diploma Leopoldinum)⁵¹ – were more or less uniform. The political changes did not cause an isolation of the Hungarian nobility ("Natio Hungarica") whether they had their estates in the Kingdom of Hungary or Transylvania, and this is excellently illustrated by the very similar funeral traditions.

It is important to stress that in Transylvania the social layer of the magnates or high nobility possessing large estates (latifundium) and having influential political functions was completely missing. The middle or small-sized landholding nobility in Transylvania – like the Zápolyai, Báthori, Rhédey, Csáky, Haller, Bánffy, Kornis, Kemény, Wesselényi, Mikó, and Tholdalagi families – was not nearly as significant as the Hungarian nobility in Hungary. Their numbers increased after the installation of the Habsburg rule, towards the end of the 17th century, when several families – like the Teleki, Pekri, Gyulaffi, Apor, Mikes, Bánffy, Bethlen, Kálnoki and Mikes – received the title of count, being included in this way in the category of the nobility.⁵² According to the sporadic sources, Transylvanian nobility were buried in churches, but the majority of their graves has remained unexplored, and just as little is known about their funerals. Apart from Apor's memoir, only a few funeral descriptions can be of help

⁵¹ In 1687 emperor Leopold I. occupied the Principality of Transylvania and forced Prince Michael I Apafi to acknowledge his overlordship. After the death of Apafi in 1690, Emperor Leopold decreed the Diploma Leopoldinum, which officially affiliated the Transylvanian territory to the Habsburg Monarchy.

⁵² Balogh Judit, "Náj modi" és Erdély – a tárgyak világa a 17. századi Erdély főúri udvaraiban [The "Náj modi" and Transylvania – the Objects in the 17th Century Aristocratic Courts], in *A fogyasztás társadalomtörténete. A Hajnal István Kör – Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület konferenciája, Pápa, 2004. augusztus 27-28*, ed. Hudi József (Budapest-Pápa:2007), 1–2.

in the reconstruction of the funeral of the Transylvanian nobility. About the funeral of the princes we have much more information.

The nobility in Hungary, however, together with the Czech, was the most powerful, policy-making social group of the Monarchy, and represented about 2.5– 3 percent of the population. The political, military and economic elite were represented by the approximately 50 magnate families – to which belonged for example the Batthyány, Erdődy, Draskovics, Esterházy, Nádasdy, Pálffy and Thurzó families – who played a major role in the governance of the Kingdom. The numerically largest and most heterogeneous layer of the nobility was the middle or small nobility.⁵³ The majority were buried in the center of their manorial estates, in the chapel of their castle or in the churches and monasteries founded by their families, or, because of the Turkish advance, in the new political centers of the Kingdom of Hungary, in Pozsony (Pressburg, Slovakia)⁵⁴ and Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia)⁵⁵, while those living in the northeastern part of Hungary had rather chosen Kassa (today Košice, Slovakia)⁵⁶, the center of Upper Hungary.⁵⁷ The burial in Vienna was not characteristic at all; only a few exceptions

⁵³ Géza Pálffy, “Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 483. ; R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700. An Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 240–249.

⁵⁴ Mikó Árpád and Pálffy Géza, “A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16–17. század) [Late Renaissance and early Baroque grave monuments in St. Martin church in Bratislava (16th and 17th centuries)],” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51 (2002): 107–172.

⁵⁵ Zuzana Ludiková, “A nagyszombati székesegyház késő reneszánsz és barokk síremlékei (16–17. század) [Late Renaissance and early Baroque grave monuments)],” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51 (2002): 85–106.

⁵⁶ Wick Béla, *Kassa régi síremlékei – XIV–XVIII. század* – [Old grave monuments in Kassa from the 16–18th centuries](Košice: Szent Erzsébet-nyomda, 1933).

⁵⁷ Géza Pálffy, “Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 485–486.

are known, like the case of Pál Pálffy (1649–1653), palatine of Hungary, who in 1632 founded a family tomb in St. Augustine's Church in Vienna.

The mausoleum of the Batthány family in the Franciscan church in Németújvár (Güssing, today Burgenland, Austria) is one of the most important family mausoleums in this period. Members of the Zrínyi family were buried in the Pauline monastery of Szentilona (today Šenkovec, Croatia). A branch of the Thurzó family had their crypt in the church of Lőcse (Levoča, Slovakia), while another lineage used the chapel of the Árva castle (Orava, Slovakia).⁵⁸ The protestant Perényi family were buried in the Reformed Church in Sárospatak.⁵⁹

At the beginning of the 17th century a new Hungarian family ascended the social ladder: Miklós Esterházy earned the title of Palatine of Hungary (from 1625). He and some members of his family were buried in the family vault in the Jesuit Church in Nagyszombat, whose construction started in 1629, which also marks the beginning of the Baroque in Hungary. Later members of the family choose to be buried in the family vault of the Franciscan church in Kismarton (Eisenstadt, today in Burgenland, Austria).

⁵⁸ Géza Pálffy, “Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 486.

⁵⁹ Gervers-Molnár Vera, “Sárospataki síremlékek [Grave monuments in Sárospatak],” *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* 14. (Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest, 1983).

Undoubtedly the most prestigious resting place for the Hungarian nobility was the Church of Saint Martin in Bratislava, the political center of Hungary, being at this time the scene of the royal coronations and the State Diet.⁶⁰

Besides the nobility, the Hungarian prelates played an important role in the political and spiritual life of Hungary in the early modern period. After the Turkish occupation of Esztergom in 1543, the archiepiscopacy moved from there to Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia), and in the following period archbishops were buried in St. Nicholas Church of the city until 1637, when the famous Archbishop Péter Pázmány chose another burial place, the cathedral of Pressburg.⁶¹ In addition to the archbishops, several Hungarian families (like Forgách of Gyimes and Drugeth of Homonna) were buried in the cathedral of Nagyszombat.⁶² Bishops were usually buried in their last seat, in Győr⁶³, Nyitra (Nitra, Slovakia) and Agram (Zagreb, Croatia), but they should have grave monuments in several locations.

⁶⁰ Mikó Árpád and Pálffy Géza, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16–17. század) [Late Renaissance and early Baroque grave monuments in St. Martin church in Bratislava (16th and 17th centuries)]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51 (2002): 107–172.

⁶¹ In Pozsony were buried: Imre Esterházy Imre (1746), Miklós Csáky (1757), Ferenc Barkóczy (1765), József Batthyány (1799). See: Beke Margit, "Az esztergomi érsekek temetései Pozsonyban a XVIII. században [The Funerals of the Hungarian Archbishops in Pozsony in the 18th Century]," in *A magyar művelődés és kereszténység. La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo* II, ed. Jankovics József et al. (Budapest-Szeged, 1998), 900–906.

⁶² Géza Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien : Böhlau, 2005), 488.

⁶³ Pálffy Géza, "A győri székesegyház késő reneszánsz és barokk sírkövei (16–17.század) [Renaissance and Baroque grave stones in the cathedral of Győr (16th and 17th centuries)]," *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 48(1999): 137–156.

Based on the known sources it can be ascertained that Apor's description of the funeral traditions in Transylvania is reliable, representing the frame of almost all major funerals in Hungary and Transylvania.

According to Apor, usually in the third day after the death, the body of the deceased prepared and dressed in appropriate clothes was placed in the coffin and a funeral mass was performed. If the deceased died outside his home, the coffin was put on a wagon, on which it was transported in a procession to his home. By the day of the funeral a funeral store or tent was erected in the garden of the deceased's house. The interior, and partly the exterior of this building were covered with black baize and in its center a platform was placed for the coffin. The sides of the building, as well as the catafalque and the pulpit placed next to the catafalque were decorated with family coats of arms painted on paper or silk and cartouches containing memorial poems and the biography of the deceased. In the morning of the funeral's day the coffin, which was previously covered with black textile and 12 silk coats of arm, was transported to this temporary building and was placed on the catafalque. At the head side and feet side of the coffin candles were lighted, while at its sides six men dressed in black mourning dress were holding torches. Before the beginning of the ceremony, paper coats of arm and candles were distributed among the attendant guests sitting on black covered seats. After the guests took their places, a Mass was held, being followed by the sermon and farewell poems.

If the deceased had important functions, 12 splendid steeds equipped with decorative harnesses were brought near the building. Another horse stood near the entrance which, with the exception of the eyes, was totally covered in black floor-length textile. The rider of this horse, the "black knight" was dressed in black over which a coat of mail was worn. His face

was hidden under a lowered helmet and during the ceremony he stood on the left to the head-side of the coffin, and held a black flag, sword and mace.

Right to the head-side another man stood wearing gilded or silvery armour above splendid, colored clothes, a helmet, a gilded sword by his side, holding an embroidered colored flag, with the coat of arms of the deceased at one side and an epitaph on the other. The sons of the deceased also stood at the head of the coffin.

The Catholic ceremony consisted of a requiem, oration and a farewell poem recited usually by a child or clerk. After the ceremony the participants followed the coffin to the burial place in a predefined order. At the beginning of the procession went the clergymen, followed by musicians with trumpets and haws (“Turkish pipe”) who provided music and chants on the way. They were followed by the community and the steeds led by two men each and the carriages of the men. After them and right before the coffin went the man who carried a silver coat of arms. The two armoured horsemen carrying the black and the “golden”, colored flag rode near the coffin, followed by the clergymen, and the women according to their rank. In the burial church, especially in the case of the Catholic funerals, the coffin was placed into a big *castrum doloris*, decorated with numerous candles, symbols, coats of arm and verse cartouches. After the funeral Mass, the sons or the close relatives of the deceased carried the coffin to its final resting place, where the funeral flag and the sword held earlier by the armoured man in black were broken and thrown into the grave, while the silver coat of arms and the “golden” flag were placed on the walls of the church.

Apor also noted that the burial of the aristocratic women was similar, but there were no musicians, “dressed horses” and in the case of the Catholic funerals, the oration also was left out of the funeral Mass.

From Apor’s work however we cannot find out when exactly these customs went in use. He also speaks in general about important men (“nagyurak”), and does not distinguish between funerals of the nobility and princes. The reason for this most assuredly is that they did not differ significantly in the ceremonial aspect.

Seven funeral descriptions of the Hungarian princes are known from the period of the Principality of Transylvania, the funeral of John Sigismund Zápolya, Christopher Báthory, Stephen Báthory (Báthory István), Francis I Rákóczi, Stephen Bocskay, George I Rákóczi and Michael I Apafi. It is not my main aim to present these funerals in details; I will only draw attention to some special symbolical elements which are determinant and influential to the development of the funeral rites of the next centuries.

One of the most important elements is the use of the impersonator or impersonators of the deceased person dressed in knightly armour. The presence of the impersonators was first documented in the funeral of king Charles I (1288 – 16 July 1342) of Hungary, also known as Charles Robert, in Székesfehérvár. Here the deceased person was personified by three armoured men stressing the knightly, militant virtues and royal dignity. The chronicler

Thuróczy noted that the funeral had uncommon elements, which probably included these impersonators as well.⁶⁴

The use of the knight representing the deceased person arrived in Hungary through the House of the Anjou however it is not unique, and connects with the French knightly culture. An often cited example is the commemorative service for Bertrand du Guesclin in 1389 in the Saint Denis church in Paris, when the dead was impersonified by four armoured knights “as if they were demonstrating the presence of his body” and four other, which were carrying the banners of Guesclin, and which at the end of the ceremony came to the altar and made offerings to the church.⁶⁵ According to a contemporary chronicle these knights were representations of the deceased when he was alive and after he dies (“representans la personne du mort quand il vivoit”).⁶⁶ The practice was not widely used in France, but several examples are known from the 15-16th century England.⁶⁷ They had a dual role: they identified, represented the person for whom the service was performed and enabled the deceased to take part in the offerings of his own funeral.

The custom of using impersonators at the funerals, introduced in Hungarian royal funeral practice by the Anjou family, later was transferred to the Polish royal funeral culture by king Louis I of Hungary (son of Charles I.), the heir of the Polish royal throne, who in 1370 had

⁶⁴ Szabó Péter, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszerartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989), 70. ; Szabó Péter, “Temetkezési kultúránk újabban felfedezett forrásai elé [Preface to the newly discovered sources of our funeral culture],” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, 5/6(1998): 748.

⁶⁵ Quoted by: Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: 1960), 90

⁶⁶ Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: 1960), 90. ;

⁶⁷ Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: 1960), 90–91. 211.

organized the funeral of his uncle, king Casimir III the Great of Poland according to the Anjou customs, and which then remained in use about for two centuries.⁶⁸

After the establishment of the principality these customs were taken over to the funerals of the princes of Transylvania. Already the first prince of Transylvania, John Sigismund Zápolya, who for some time was elected King of Hungary as well (1540– 1551, 1556 –1570) was buried according to these traditions in 1571 in Gyulafehérvár. The impersonator of his funeral however did not spread the idea of continuity of power; his figure, dressed in black armour and carrying a rusty sword symbolized that with his death, in absence of a successor, his family died out.⁶⁹

More important is the funeral of the next prince, Christopher Báthory in 1581 organized by his brother, Stephen Báthory, king of Poland, when great emphasise was laid on the political representation of the Báthory family as legitimate inheritors of the principal power. The continuity of power was symbolized by two alteregos which had a distinguished place in the funeral procession. One of them was dressed in black armour and was carrying a black funeral flag decorated with the family coat of arms, fastened on a spear, which was broken before entering the church. The other knight was dressed in decorative armour and held a colored flag,

⁶⁸ Szabó Péter, “Temetkezési kultúránk újabban felfedezett forrásai elé [Preface to the newly discovered sources of our funeral culture],” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, 5/6(1998): 750. ; Szabó Péter, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989), 72.

⁶⁹ Szabó Péter, “Temetkezési kultúránk újabban felfedezett forrásai elé [Preface to the newly discovered sources of our funeral culture],” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, 5/6.(1998): 751.

which after the funeral was hanged on the walls of the Jesuit church in Gyulafehérvár.⁷⁰ The custom of staging two alterego most probably came into general use in Transylvania after this funeral.

The swords, which were carried in the funeral procession in two different ways, had similar functions: the swords held up without their scabbard symbolized the military virtue and power of the deceased, while those held with their crests rotated towards the ground signified the inactivation of this power with the death of his holder. These customs reoccurred on the funerals of Stephen Báthory himself in 1588, in Krakow,⁷¹ but they are not unknown in western funeral practices either.

Besides the impersonators and weapons, several other elements contributed to the visuality and symbolical content of the funeral processions and burial ceremonies of the princes of Transylvania. Such were the decorative harnesses of the lead horses, the Turkish pipes (“tárogató”), the coats of arms of the deceased hanged on the coffin or on the so-called mortuary-horses covered with black textile and donated to the church after the ceremony, the flags of the different territories under the prince’s rule and the armed military troops. These elements however were shown in many variations. In some cases the alterego which brought the black funeral flag also carried different symbols of military power, a sword, a sabre, a mace or a cap decorated with a crest. There are examples, like in the case of the funeral of George I

⁷⁰ The first plan of the funeral (1581) of Cristopher Báthory was published by Ildikó Horn. See: Horn Ildikó, “Ismeretlen temetési rendtartások a 16–17. századból [Unknown funeral regulation from the 16th and 17th centuries],” *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 102(1998): 760–761.

⁷¹ The plan of the funeral was published by Klára Jakó. See: Jakó Klára, “Adalék fejedelmink temetkezésének kérdéséhez [New data regarding to the funerals of the dukes of Transylvania],” in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond nyolcvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Kovács András (Kolozsvár, 1996), 240–243.

Rákóczi in 1649 in Gyulafehérvár, when only a single impersonator appeared in the funeral procession.

In the latter case the sources mention a new element of the funerals. This is the *castrum doloris* erected above the coffin, which stood in front of the altar in the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár, and which was decorated with coats of arm and cartouches with inscriptions.⁷² A similar construction is named “*castrum doloris*” and “house of sorrow” (“*Castrum doloris azaz bánatnak háza*”) in the funeral description of Christopher Báthory in 1581. The latter was covered with black textiles and served as a support for the coffin, the princely crown, the scepter and a dagger.⁷³ Since the earliest *castra doloris* in the territory of royal Hungary dates from the beginning of the 17th century and they were connected with the first manifestations of the Baroque, it is reasonable to assume that in these contexts the notion of *castrum doloris* was most likely to refer to the medieval timber-framed catafalque decorated with candles, and not to those iconographically rich structures which only after the 1640’s became widespread in Hungary.⁷⁴ What makes them similar to each other is their role of highlighting the body of the deceased and their form, which was very often similar to arches or gates, thus becoming symbols of the dividing line between death and afterlife. It is not a coincidence that both from a structural and an ideological point of view the *castra doloris* are similar to triumphal arches.

⁷² The plan of the funeral was published by Ildikó Horn. See: Horn Ildikó, “Ismeretlen temetési rendtartások a 16–17. századból [Unknown funeral regulation from the 16th and 17th centuries],” *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 102(1998): 763–767.

⁷³ See: Horn Ildikó, “Ismeretlen temetési rendtartások a 16–17. századból [Unknown funeral regulation from the 16th and 17th centuries],” *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 102(1998): 760.

⁷⁴ Kovács Zsolt, “Emblematic Programs within the Jesuit Funeral Ceremonies in Transylvania (Beginning of the 18th Century),” *Acta Musei Brukenthal* VI. (2011/2): 327–328.

While the triumphal arches mark the return of a military commander after a victory (or the birth of the heir of the crown), *castra doloris* mark the departure, the death of an important person.⁷⁵

Princesses of Transylvania were also entitled to proper obsequies. For the wife of Michael I Apafi, Anna Bornemisza, for example, initially a large-scale ceremony was planned in the Franciscan church in Kolozsvár, but finally she was buried with a simple funeral in Almakerék (Mălâncrav, Romania) in 1688. From the description of the first plan however it appears that women's funerals were very similar to male funerals, but they were simpler in decoration and lacked military symbols. In the case of the funeral of Anna Bornemissza, the representation of the deceased was ensured by 550 coats of arms painted on various materials (silk, satin) and cartouches which decorated the catafalque.⁷⁶

As regards to the funerals of the Hungarian nobility in the Principality of Transylvania we have much less and sporadic information than about the funeral of the Transylvanian princes in the early period of the Principality. The sources suggest that they had a very similar choreography. What distinguishes them from the former and also from the funerals of the nobility in the Kingdom of Hungary is the absence of military troops. The adherence to traditions is demonstrated for example by the funeral of Sámuel Keresztesi, Lord Lieutenant of Fehér county and the guardian of Michael Apafi II. in 1707 in Sibiu. The funeral followed the traditional ritual despite the fact that the Kurucz blockade of the city aggravated its

⁷⁵ Jan Bialostocki, "The Door of Death: The Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art," in *The Message of Images: Studies in the History of Art* (Vienna: Irsa, 1988), 33.

⁷⁶ The plan of the funeral of Anna Bornemissza was published by Lajos Szádeczky. See: Szádeczky Lajos, "Az Apafiak sírboltja és hamvai [The crypt and the graves of the Apafi family]," *Századok* 1909(43), 276–280.

arrangement.⁷⁷ It seems that the *castrum doloris* in the strict sense of the world was first used in Transylvania by the nobility.⁷⁸ The earliest *castra doloris* decorated with emblems are connected with the activity of the Jesuit Order in Transylvania, and dates from the 1690's, much later than in Hungary. Apart from the *castra doloris* erected for the funeral of the nobility (e.g. Katalin Perény, 1693; László Gyulafi, 1699; István Apor, 1704; István Haller, 1710; Gábor Jósika, 1713), *castra doloris* were built for the officers of the imperial army who died in Transylvania and for the exequies organized after the emperors' death (Leopold I, 1706, Szeben/Sibiu; Joseph I, 1711, Kolozsvár/Cluj Napoca).⁷⁹ This latter, which had a more elaborated iconographical program and artistic quality elicited the admiration of contemporaries. Wesselényi for example notes in his diary that after the funeral ceremony of Leopold I in Sibiu, he returned to the church where the *castrum doloris* was built in order to view its "inventions".⁸⁰ He also suggests that the engravings made after the drawings of the *castrum doloris* erected in Vienna reached Transylvania as well, mentioning that he examined

⁷⁷ „Legelől mennek a paraszt szászok ketten-ketten egymás mellett. Utána mennek az éneklő deákok [...] Utána mennek mindenféle papi rendek. Utána mennek mindenféle szolga rendek. Azután mennek a szék és vármegyék és városok deputátusi. Azután [...] a főrendek, akik nem atyafiak valának. Azután megyen az úr hintaja, kiben az úr ült Haller István urammal együtt. Azután megyen két sípos és dobos, azután a három trombitás [...] a síposokkal. Azután viszik a két színes zászlókat két szerszámos lovakon egymás mellett. Azután viszik a fekete lobogót és a botot, kardot egymás mellett. Azután mennek a férfi atyafiak lóháton. Azután [...] a Bethlen úrfiak hintóban. Azután [...] a koporsó alá való két székek. Azután [...] a testet vivo bakacsinos szekér hat bakacsinos lovakon. Azután [...] az asszony hintaja fekete lovakon, fekete posztókkal behúzáván, kiken ült négy keserves. Azután [...] egy hintóban a burkos frájok, melyek hát megett állnak. Azután [...] Aporné asszonyom hintaja, azután a többi hintók consequenter. Azután mennek a paraszt szásznék mindnyájan és ez lett vége a pompának.” The funeral procession is presented by István Wesselényi in his diary. See: Wesselényi István, *Sanyarú világ. II. Napló 1707–1708* [Miserable world. II. Diary 1707–1708], ed. Demény Lajos and Magyar András (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1985), 208, 494–495.

⁷⁸ Mikó Árpád, “Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben (1576–1586) [King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania (1576–1586)],” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 37/3–4 (1988): 109–135.

⁷⁹ Presented by Zsolt Kovács in: Kovács Zsolt, “Emblematic Programs within the Jesuit Funeral Ceremonies in Transylvania (Beginning of the 18th Century),” *Acta Musei Brukenthal* VI. (2011/2): 327–338.

⁸⁰ Wesselényi István, *Sanyarú világ. II. Napló 1707–1708* [Miserable world. II. Diary 1707–1708], ed. Demény Lajos and Magyar András (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1985), 456.

the emblems of the Viennese *castrum doloris* of Leopold I on the prints which the Jesuits brought from Vienna to Transylvania.⁸¹

The Hungarian nobility in Hungary had a more or less identical funeral customary system as those in Transylvania. Funerals, similarly to other ceremonies, were used for representative purposes, and special attention was given to the ancestors' cult, the representation of the family, the pedigree of the deceased and to the glorification of knightly virtues manifested in the defense of the country and religion. It is peculiar to Hungarian 17th higher nobility that they wanted to show that their rank and social status was independent from the central political power, and propagated that the rise of their families on the social ladder was indebted to the prominence of their ancestors, praising their merits and importance in the history of the country. These ideas were promulgated not only by the ancestral portrait galleries⁸² in castles and the thesis illustrations ("Thesenblätter")⁸³ so popular in the 17th century, but by the funerals as well.⁸⁴

⁸¹ „Mindezeket pedig cuprumra metszett és arrol lenyomatott figurákkal is demonstrálták, melyekben idealá is hoztanak” See: Wesselényi István, *Sanyarú világ. II. Napló 1707–1708* [Miserable world. II. Diary 1707–1708], ed. Demény Lajos and Magyari András (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1985), 453.

⁸² See more: Buzási Enikő, ed., *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történelmi Képcsarnokából* [Aristocratic Ancestral Galleries and Portraits in the National Gallery of Hungary] (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria: Budapest, 1988).

⁸³ See more about thesis illustration in: Rózsa György, “Thesenblätter mit ungarischen Beziehungen,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 33(1987–88): 257–289. ; Szilágyi András, “Variations on the Baroque Approach to the Historical Past. A Thesis Illustration and a Jesuit Stage Design from the 18th century,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 34 (1989): 168–172.

⁸⁴ Galavics Géza, “‘Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen.’ Török háborúk és képzőművészet [Let's take swords against the agans. The Turkish wars and the fine arts]” (Képzőművészeti Kiadó: Budapest, 1986), 78.; Bene Sándor, *Theatrum politicum. Nyilvánosság, közvélemény és irodalom a kora újkorban* [Theatrum politicum. Public sphere, Public Oppinion and Literature in the Early Modern Times] (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1999), 386.

The funerals of György Thurzó (Nagybiccse/Bytča, 1617)⁸⁵ and Szaniszló Thurzó (Lőcse, Levoča, 1626)⁸⁶, palatines of Hungary for example had a very similar choreography to the funerals in Transylvania, and symbolic elements (weapons, coat of arms, funeral flags, flags of the country, mortuary horses, impersonators) occurred as well. Of particular interest is that the order of the funeral ceremony of Szaniszló Thurzó is very similar to those described by Apor and to the 18th century funerals of the Károlyi family. This suggests that by the middle of the 17th century their order was developed and already was part of a tradition, which was strictly respected until the 18th century. Accordingly, the processions were led by members of the clergy carrying crosses, followed by a group of poor people holding candles provided with coats of arms, members of the minority nationality (Czechs), a smaller group of men dressed in black, trumpet and copper drum-players with instruments covered in black, persons riding horses equipped with festive harnesses, saddle blankets and daggers, carrying the flag of the country and the funeral flag, members of the upper classes, four squadrons dressed in black with spears with their crests rotated towards the ground, broken after the ceremony. After them come the delegates of the cities, the nobles of the counties, military commandants of the border castles, Lord Lieutenants, counts, different honored men, who were carrying candles with coats of arms. The two mortuary horses covered in black textile on which coats of arms were hanged was followed by an armored man wearing a helmet decorated with a crest of plumes, riding on an “old” horse and another man on foot, dressed in black, carrying symbolical

⁸⁵ Szerémi [Odescalchi Artúr], “Thurzó György nádor temetése [The funeral of Palatine György Thurzó]” *Századok* (1876): 425–428.

⁸⁶ The plan of the funeral of Szaniszló Thurzó was published by Ildikó Horn. See: Horn Ildikó, “Ismeretlen temetési rendtartások a 16–17. századból [Unknown funeral regulation from the 16th and 17th centuries],” *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 102(1998): 767–772.

military weapons: a gilded spur, sword, baton, helmet with ostrich feather crest. After the ceremony these objects were hanged on the walls of the church. Next to them was carried the epitaph and the black funeral flag of the deceased, followed by the most distinguished guests and relatives right before the coffin. Next to the coffin went the wife of the deceased and the female relatives, noble and notable citizen women, and lastly members of the community.

From the beginning of the 17th century, probably under the influence of royal funerals in Vienna and Prague, the use of the *castra doloris* became widespread among the Hungarian nobility. The first *castrum doloris* used in Hungarian funerals was erected in 1615 at the funeral of Ferenc Forgách, bishop of Esztergom in Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia). The best-known and richly documented funeral of 17th Hungarian aristocracy is the funeral in Nagyszombat of the four Esterházy sons, László, Ferenc, Tamás and Gáspár, who died in the battle of Vezekény against the Turks in 1654.⁸⁷ About the engraving representing this monumental *castrum doloris* several copies were made, contributing to the creation of its fashion among the Hungarian aristocracy. It was a quadratic structure, formed of four columns which were holding a canopy, and was enhanced by military symbols, trophies, coats of arms, and catafalque paintings of the deceased. The central element of the *castrum doloris* was the the coats of arms of the family,

⁸⁷ Galavics Géza, “‘Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen.’ Török háborúk és képzőművészet” [Let’s take swords against the agans. The Turkish wars and the fine arts] (Képzőművészeti Kiadó: Budapest, 1986), 80–83.; Szabó Péter, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989); The engraving of the funeral procession and the *castrum doloris* was first published by Dénes Pataky. See: Pataky Dénes, *A magyar rézmetszés története a XVI. századtól 1850-ig* [The history of the engravings in Hungary from the 16th century until 1850](Budapest, 1951), 168, 297.

the gryphon holding in their hands a sword and roses, which become the leitmotiv of the funeral sermons as well.⁸⁸

The number of depictions of castra doloris is about 10–15, but much more are mentioned in the sources. Besides the castrum doloris of Ferenc Forgách and the Esterházys, from the 17th century dates the castrum doloris of palatine Miklós Esterházy (1645, Nagyszombat/Trnava, Jesuit Church), of Eszter Bossányi (1661) and of Ádám Czobor (1692).⁸⁹ Towards the middle of the century the castrum doloris became the framework, an indispensable element of the funeral ceremonies of the Hungarian high nobility.⁹⁰ The most important representations of castra doloris from the 18th century – preserved independently or tied to printed funeral sermons – are those of József Esterházy (Lajos Gode, 1748)⁹¹, Primate Ferenc

⁸⁸ Szabó Péter, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989), 112–115.

⁸⁹ Viskolcz Noémi, „az Szegény Urnak és az Nagyságos familiának örök emlékezetire” Esterházy Miklós nádor castrum dolorisának történetéhez [New data regarding to the history of the castrum doloris of Palatine Miklós Esterházy], *Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi forrásközlmények* (2006): 31. ; Géza Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien : Böhlau, 2005), 500.

⁹⁰ Géza Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln–Weimar–Wien : Böhlau, 2005), 500.

⁹¹ Révhelyi Elemér, „Adatok Gode Lajos művészetéhez [Data regarding the artistic oeuvre of Lajos Gode],” *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok III. A Magyar Művészettörténeti Munkaközösség évkönyve* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadóvállalat, 1954), 492–496. ; Maria Malikova, „Die Schule Georg Raphael Donners in der Slowakei,” *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 17(1973):103.

Barkóczy (Pozsony, J. G. Leitner, 1765)⁹² and Archbishop József Batthyány (Pozsony, Pietro Travaglia, 1799).⁹³

Castra doloris were erected for women as well, for example, for Eszter Bossányi, the wife of Miklós Forgács (Nagyszombat/ Trnava, St. Michael's Church, 1661)⁹⁴ and for Aurora Catharina Formantini, the wife of Ádám Batthyány (Németújvár/Güssing, Franciscan Church, 1653).⁹⁵ These castra doloris were decorated with statues of virtues, coats of arms, inscriptions, cartouches, portraits of the deceased and emblems. The emblems could decorate the interior of churches as well. For example, at the funeral of Katalin Perényi, Simon Kemény's wife in 1693, held in Marosvécs (Brâncovenești) 17 emblems representing the deceased's virtues and *memento mori* images were painted and fastened to the wall of the burial church.⁹⁶

As regards their form, different types can be distinguished: baldachin structure held on columns, triumphal arch form, tower-like or obelisk-shaped structure, and mixed types.⁹⁷ Like in Transylvania, in Hungary also, castra doloris were built in honour of the emperors upon their

⁹² Kapossy János, "Johann Georg Leitner," *Archeológiai Értesítő* LI (1938): 105–107. ; Maria Malikova, "Die Schule Georg Raphael Donners in der Slowakei," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 17(1973): 116.

⁹³ Galavics Géza, "Egy efemer építészeti műfaj hazai történetéhez. Batthyány József castrum dolorisa [An Essay Concerning the Inland History of an Ephemeral Type of Architecture: The Castrum Doloris of József Batthyány]," *Építés- Építészettudomány* V. (1974): 499.

⁹⁴ P. Vásárhelyi Judit, ed., *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok (1656–1670)* [Old Hungarian prints (1656–1670)] IV. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2012), 368–369.

⁹⁵ Koppány Tibor, "Johann Michael Tripsius köszegi képíró. Adalékok a 16-17. század főúri temetkezéseinek történetéhez [Johann Michael Tripsius painter in Kőszeg. New data regarding to the funerals of the aristocracy]," *Ars Hungarica* 35 (2007/2): 221–238.

⁹⁶ See the collection of poems illustrated with emblems and published on the occasion of the funeral of Katalin Perényi in 1693, in Kolozsvár: Anon., *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon[...]*. (Kolozsvár: 1693); Presented by: Kovács Zolt, "Emblematic Programs within the Jesuit Funeral Ceremonies in Transylvania (Beginning of the 18th Century)," *Acta Musei Brukenthal* VI. (2011/2): 331.

⁹⁷ Galavics Géza, "Egy efemer építészeti műfaj hazai történetéhez. Batthyány József castrum dolorisa [An Essay Concerning the Inland History of an Ephemeral Type of Architecture: The Castrum Doloris of József Batthyány]," *Építés- Építészettudomány* V. (1974): 98.

death, which also could facilitate their prevalence.⁹⁸ The very strong Counter Reformation propaganda connected with the Jesuits present in Hungary, and the accessibility of funeral sermons and representations of funeral decoration could also contribute to the spread of this “neu Mode”.

To conclude, the similar funeral traditions established in the 17th century in Hungary and Transylvania continued to be practiced in the 18th century.⁹⁹ The question, however, arises: did these ceremonies, symbolic ritual practices preserve the original meaning of the rite, were they still transmitting the idea of virtue-based knightly ethos or did they lose or change their original meaning? How did the secularization accompanying modernization affect the funeral culture of the Hungarian aristocracy? I will answer these questions through the presentation of the funerals of the Károlyi family in the 18th century. This choice is suitable for this task not only because the Károlyis were some of the most outstanding members of the Hungarian aristocracy at that time for which the social representation played a significant role, but also because their funeral can be reconstructed in detail due to the rich source material they have.

⁹⁸ Castra doloris were built for example for Maria Theresia. See: Walter Koschatzky, *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit* (Salzburg, Wien: Residenz Verlag, 1979), 355–362.; Liselotte Popelka, *Castrum Doloris oder „Trauriger Schauplatz”*. *Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Wesen ephemere Architektur* [Castrum Doloris or "Mournful Stage". Studies on the origin and nature of ephemeral architecture] (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 198. Ill. 140.

⁹⁹ This is attested by Mátyás Bél in his memoir, when he describes the funeral customs of the nobility from Nógrád county. See: Bél Mátyás, *Magyarország népének élete 1730 táján* [The life of the People of Hungary around 1730], ed. Wellmann Imre (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), 476–478.; Bél Mátyás, *Hungáriából Magyarország felé* [From Hungaria to Hungary] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984), 287–290.

III. The Károlyi family

The Károlyi de Nagykároly family is one of the oldest Hungarian families. They are traditionally believed to have descended from the Kaplony genus which won its possessions at the time of the Hungarian Conquest.¹⁰⁰ Among their first properties were Kaplony (Căpleni, Satu Mare County, Romania), named after the denomination of the genus, and Nagykároly (Carei), from which the family received its name. At the end of the 11th century they founded in Kaplony a Benedictine monastery in honor of Saint Martin.¹⁰¹ This monastery served as a common burial place of the families belonging to the Kaplony genus, which later had split into several families, namely to the Károlyi, Bagossy, Csomaközy, Vetéssy and Vaday families. At the end of the 15th century the Károlyis moved their residence to Nagykároly, located only six kilometers from Kaplony. Here they built a manor house, which was then extended, fortified and rebuilt several times over the centuries, and functioned as the center of the Károlyi estates.¹⁰²

In the 14–15th centuries the Károlyis became the most important medium-sized landowners in Szatmár County. Privileges and possession acquired in this period significantly

¹⁰⁰ Németh Péter, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* [The settlements of the medieval Szatmár County until the beginning of the 15th century] (Nyíregyháza: 2008), XXVII. ; Kovács Ágnes, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest, 1988), 8.

¹⁰¹ Németh Péter, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* [The settlements of the medieval Szatmár County until the beginning of the 15th century] (Nyíregyháza, 2008), XXXVI.

¹⁰² Éble Gábor, *A Károlyi grófok nagykárolyi várkastélya és pesti palotája* [The Károlyis Castle in Nagykároly and their Palace in Pest] (Budapest, 1897). – Asztalos György, *Nagy-Károly rendezett tanácsú város története 1848-ig* [The History of Nagykároly until 1848] (Nagykároly, 1892; Reprinted in: Debrecen, 2004), 74–86.

contributed to their subsequent economic and social ascension.¹⁰³ Already at the end of the 16th century their fortune was so important that Mihály Károlyi (1585–1626) had recognized the female-line inheritance by the royal Chief Justice in case of the extinction of the male-line.¹⁰⁴ In 1609 the same Károlyi was donated the title of baron.¹⁰⁵ Although the letter of donation specified that Károlyi was rewarded because his military and courtly activities, it is presumable that his reconversion to Catholicism in 1614 contributed to this,¹⁰⁶ which after the Treaty of Vienna (1606) indirectly could express loyalty towards the Habsburg-house.¹⁰⁷ Mihály Károlyi played an important role in religious affairs between the Habsburgs and the prince as well. In exchange for his services, in 1622 Emperor Ferdinand II. appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Szatmár County.¹⁰⁸ Thereafter this position was passed down within the family through several generations.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leánykori ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913).

¹⁰⁴ Kovács Ágnes, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest, 1988), 10. ; Géresi Kálmán, ed. *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára* [The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly] III. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1885.), CCCVIII.

¹⁰⁵ Géresi Kálmán, ed. *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára* [The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly] IV. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), XXXII. 46–49.

¹⁰⁶ According to his testament. See: Géresi Kálmán, ed. *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára* [The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly] IV. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), CXV. 204–215. The rechristening of the family was without precedents in Szatmár County, where the nobility, including the Báthory and Drágffy families, as well as the population was Protestant in the 16th and 17th centuries See: Szirmay Antal, *Szatmár vármegye fekvése, története és polgári esmérete*. I. [Location, History, and Civil Description of Szatmár County I.] (Buda, 1809), 13.

¹⁰⁷ Kovács Ágnes, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest, 1988), 10. ; Géresi Kálmán, ed. *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára* [The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly] IV. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), XXXII. 46–49.

¹⁰⁸ Kovács Ágnes, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest, 1988), 11.

¹⁰⁹ For the appointment of Ádám (1660), László (1661) and Sándor Károlyi (1687) see: Géresi Kálmán, ed. *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára* [The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly] IV. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), CLXIV. 405–406. ; CLXXI. 424–425. ; CCXXXIX. 553–555.

In 1605 a member of the kinship, Zsuzsanna Károlyi married to Gabriel Bethlen, the future Prince of Transylvania, which significantly contributed to the rise of the family. In the 17th century the Károlyi family built family ties through marriages with other aristocratic families. In addition to the already mentioned Bethlen family, in the time of Mihály Károlyi they became also connected with the Esterházy and the Bánffy families.¹¹⁰

One of the key figures of the history of the family is Sándor Károlyi (1669–1743), the son of László Károlyi and Erzsébet Segnyey, who significantly contributed to the ascension of his family on the social ladder by accumulating great estates and by building up an outstanding political career. He had important functions and titles: Comes Comitatus Satmariensis (1687–1743), Tabulae Regiae Assessor (1694). On April 29th 1711 as the commander of the Kuruc army he signed the so-called “Treaty of Szatmár”, which officially ended the Kuruc Rebellion. In the same year, he obtained the title of Count and was nominated Lieutenant General. In addition, he possessed the title of royal commissioner (1715) and was a member of the emperor’s closest advisors known as the Privy Council or Geheimrat (1723) and Cavalry General (from 1723). In 1724 he became lieutenant councilor (member of the so-called Consilium Regium Locum tenentiale Hungaricum) and director of Commissariatus Provincialis. Also he was the owner of a Hungarian cavalry regiment, which he founded at his own expense in 1734. Finally, he obtained the status of military commander and field marshal

¹¹⁰ Éble Gábor, *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), I. table.

of the Transtibiscan district (starting from 1741).¹¹¹ During his lifetime the ancestral estate situated around Nagykároly¹¹², the permanent residence of the family was expanded with new properties through purchase, inheritance or as a royal “recompensation” for the conclusion of the Treaty of Szatmár. He managed to extend the family fortune to such extent that he left behind several times as much as he inherited. He obtained the Lapispatak,¹¹³ Salánk,¹¹⁴ Erdőd,¹¹⁵ Csongrád,¹¹⁶ and in 1723 the Béltek (Beltiug, Satu Mare district) estates.¹¹⁷ In 1730 due to his wife’s wedding dowry, the family estate was enlarged by the Surány estates, which later was complemented with the bordering Surány-Megyer estate.¹¹⁸

The building up of a huge family estate allowed the establishment of a modern manorial estate, which also contributed to the social and political emergence of the family.

¹¹¹ Éble Gábor, *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), II. table.

¹¹² To the Nagykároly Estate in 1827 belonged the majority of Szatmár County, including two market-towns (Nagykároly, Nagymajtény), 13 villages, proportions in the market-town Nagyecsed and in five villages, as well as 14 uninhabited lands. See: Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I. (Budapest, 1911), 2.

¹¹³ Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I. (Budapest, 1911), IX–XI.

¹¹⁴ To the Salánk Estate belonged: Salánk, Kigyós, Felső Karaszló, Mátyfalva, Kövesd, Alsó Karaszló, Feketepatak, Komját, Kisalmás, Nagymalmás, Komlós, Csongova, Tiszabecs, Sófalu, Maszárfa, Rakasz, Tiszakeresztúr, Bene, Bakta and Gelényes.

¹¹⁵ To this belonged: Nagyerőd, Kiserőd, Madarász, Gyűrűs, Soós, Száldobágy, Meddes, Nántú, Nagyszokond, Kisszokond, Lophágy, Szinfalu, Mogyorós, Válaszút, Papbikó, Barlafalu, Oláhujfalu, Oláhtóthfalu, Rákosterebes, Alsó-Boldád, Felső-Boldád, Zelestye, majd később Illóba, Sebespatak, Kőszegremete, Ujváros, Tartócz and Komorzán.

¹¹⁶ It consisted of possessions in two town market (Csongrád, Hódmezővásárhely), three villages (Derekegyház, Mágocs, Szegvár) and 16 uninhabited lands.

¹¹⁷ To this belonged: Béltek, Sándorfalu, Szakasz, Felsőhomoród, Középhomoród, Alsóhomoród, Dobra, Géres, Hídvég, Szoros, Somlyóújlak, Varsolcz, Gyöngy, Diószád, Kerestelek, Borhid and Monostor.

¹¹⁸ This included among others Nagysurány, Bánkeszi, Zsitvafödém, Tótmegyer and Szentgyörgy. ; About the history of the Károlyi estates see: Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I–II. (Budapest, 1911).

Sándor Károlyi also played an important role in the Habsburg led recatholization politics. Starting from 1712 he moved German-speaking Catholic Swabian settlers in the almost depopulated villages of the central family estate from Szatmár County, in Kaplony, Csomaköz, Csanálos, Mezőfény, Nagymajtény, Erdőd, Krasznabéltek and Mezőpetri. The colonization had mainly economic causes; the population of several villages of the estate was decimated in the course of the previous century (Turkish advance, Kuruc uprising, plague epidemics, natural disasters).¹¹⁹

In addition to practical aspects, he also wanted to strengthen and diffuse Catholicism. This is suggested for example by his letter written in 1712 to his wife in which he notes in connection with the Swabian colonization; "you'll see my sweetheart how I will implant with this pretext this religion to this land".¹²⁰ In his memoir entitled "Providentia Dei" (Divine Providence), written in 1728 he also commemorated that before the colonization there were barely a few Catholics in Nagykároly and in Szatmár Country.¹²¹ The colonization between 1712 and 1839 affected 31 villages, and resulted in the settlement of 2,072 Catholic families.¹²²

Due to the growing number of the Catholic population, Sándor Károlyi reacquired the churches from the Protestants and put them in the use of the Catholic Swabians.¹²³ Since there

¹¹⁹ Károlyi Sándor, "Providentia Dei", in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 5.

¹²⁰ Published in: Kovács Ágnes, ed., *Károlyi Sándor levelei feleségéhez 1704–1724* [The letters of Sándor Károlyi addressed to his wife 1704–1724] (Debrecen, 1994), 161.

¹²¹ Károlyi Sándor, "Providentia Dei", in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 6, 11.

¹²² Vonház István, *A Szatmár megyei német telepítés* [The German colonization in Szatmár County] (Pécs, 1931), 186.

¹²³ Novák István, *Világ Biró Nagy Sándor, az az: Méltóságos Nagy-Károlyi Gróff Károlyi Sándornak [...] Istenes Országglása, 's' Bóldog Halála [...]* (Pozsony, 1747), 345–390.; Szirmay Antal, *Szatmár vármegye fekvése,*

was no Catholic priest in the surroundings, Károlyi founded two monasteries: the Franciscan in Kaplony and the Piarist in Nagykároly. For the Franciscans between 1711 and 1740 he renovated the medieval church in Kaplony, completely abandoned in the 16th century, and built a new monastery.¹²⁴ The first Piarist community arrived in Nagykároly in 1727, and similarly to the Franciscans in Kaplony, they used the medieval church of the town, which was taken from the Calvinists, and to which a new monastery was attached.¹²⁵ Sándor Károlyi is also an important patron of chapel buildings (Gencs,¹²⁶ Olcsva,¹²⁷ and Erdőd¹²⁸).

In addition to the church of Nagykároly, Károlyi retrieved the former parish churches of Csanáros, Nagymajtény, Mezőfény and Krasznabéltek.¹²⁹ Despite all of these church occupations, later Károlyi was tolerant of Calvinists, for whom in Nagykároly built a new

története, és polgári esmérete II [Location, History, and Civil Description of Szatmár County II.] (Buda, 1810), 52.

¹²⁴ Terdik Szilveszter, “*Kaplony monostorának újjáépítése Károlyi Sándor (1669–1743) korában* [The history of the rebuilding of the monastery in Kaplony in the time of Sándor Károlyi (1669–1743)],” *A Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* LI (2009): 335–369.

¹²⁵ Károlyi Sándor, “*Providentia Dei*”, in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 17–18. ; Vénig (Zernye) József, *A piaristák működése Nagykárolyban a XVIII. században* [The activity of the Piarist in Nagykároly] (Kolozsvár, 1935), 8. ; Éble Gábor, *Károlyi Ferencz gróf és kora 1705–1758* [Count Ferenc Károlyi and his Era, 1705–1758] (Budapest, 1893), 148. ; Asztalos György, *Nagy-Károly rendezett tanácsú város története 1848-ig* [The History of Nagykároly until 1848] (Nagykároly, 1892; Reprinted in: Debrecen 2004), 194.

¹²⁶ Károlyi Sándor, “*Providentia Dei*”, in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 7.

¹²⁷ Károlyi Sándor, “*Providentia Dei*”, in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 8, 24–25.

¹²⁸ Károlyi Sándor, “*Providentia Dei*”, in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 10–11.

¹²⁹ „Ezen közben még az első Dieta alatt feles svábokat hozván le Csanáros nevű Falumat meg szállítván, oda is Plebánust introducáltam s az Templomot is nékiek assignálván [...]” „Istennek Szent vezérléséből Fény nevű falumat, s ugy Majtény városomat is Papistákkal mind meg szállitattam, s az Templomokat minden ellenkezés nélkül nékik assignáltam, Parochusokat introducáltam.” See: Károlyi Sándor, “*Providentia Dei*”, in National Archives of Hungary, P 1507. 17. box/e. 9–10.; Éble Gábor, *A nagykárolyi Szentháromság-kápolna története* [The History of the Trinity-Chapel in Nagykároly] (Budapest, 1910).

church, and supported the settlement of the Greek-Catholic, Lutheran and Jewish population as well.¹³⁰

He also settled many craftsmen, founded manufactories, supported German and Hungarian guilds and trade, which finally led to a powerful development of the town.¹³¹

In 1687 Sándor Károlyi married Krisztina Barkóczy, the daughter of count Barkóczy György and Judit Koháry.¹³² Their son, the future heir, Ferenc Károlyi was born in 1705. After his studies in Nagyszombat (Trnava) and Nagykároly he took up a military career. In 1730 he was appointed major general, in 1734 cavalry colonel. Later he was nominated field marshal of the Transtibiscan district, major general (1739), lieutenant general (1741) and general of the imperial cavalry (1748). In addition, in 1722 he became the Lord Lieutenant of Szatmár County. In 1738 he became owner of the Károlyi Cavalry Regiment, founded by his father. Additionally, in 1745 he was appointed privy councilor and judge of the Hungarian Supreme Court of Justice and Hungarian royal chief treasurer (1758). In 1726 he married Krisztina Csáky (1706–1736), the daughter of an emigrated Kuruc General, Count Mihály Csáky.¹³³ The

¹³⁰ The Ruthenian Greek-Catholic church of Nagykároly was built between 1737 and 1739, in the time of Sándor Károlyi. See: Lásd: Terdik Szilveszter, “*Rácz Demeter, egy XVIII. századi görög katolikus mecénás* [Demeter Rácz, a Greek Catholic patron of arts in the 18th century],” *A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* XLIX (2007): 333–380. ; The Jews were settled in the first half of the 18th century in the so-called Jewish-quarter, where they built a synagogue as well. The Jewish community was led by a rabby, who came here from Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1724. See: Némethi János, “*A nagykárolyi zsidóság története* [The history of the Jewry in Nagykároly],” in *Szatmári zsidó emlékek*, ed. Csirák Csaba (Szatmárnémeti, 2001).

¹³¹ Asztalos György, *Nagy-Károly rendezett tanácsú város története 1848-ig* [The History of Nagykároly until 1848] (Nagykároly, 1892; Reprinted in: Debrecen 2004), 134.

¹³² Éble Gábor, *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), I. table. ; Takáts Sándor, *Szalai Barkóczy Krisztina 1671–1724* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1910).

¹³³ Éble Gábor, *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), II. tábla.

dowry of his wife also significantly increased the family fortune.¹³⁴ Later he acquired the Ecsed estate as well.¹³⁵ In 1754 he founded a printing press in Nagykároly, which with smaller breaks, worked until 1827.¹³⁶

The next successor, Antal Károlyi (1732–1791) inherited considerable estates, which later were further enlarged with significant (about 120,000 cadastral acre/69,000 ha) lands in Csongrád and Békés County, belonging to the dowry of his wife, Jozefa Harruckern.¹³⁷

The social and economic rise of the family after the Treaty of Szatmár resulted in increased representation of the family, which manifested particularly in large-scale building patronage of Antal Károlyi in the second half of the 18th century. Similarly to his predecessor, Antal Károlyi also had a number of public and military offices and titles. He started his military career soon after leaving his schools. In 1743 he was already nominated commander and in 1753 lieutenant-colonel of the Károlyi hussar regiment. From 1755, at the age of 23, he became lieutenant colonel of the József Esterházy infantry regiment. In 1756 he was wounded in the

¹³⁴ Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I. (Budapest, 1911), XVII.–XIX.

¹³⁵ To this estate belonged: Tarpa, Mérc, Vállaj, Gilvács, Görbed, Nagymajtény, Kismajtény, Szentmárton, Tagy, Bartfalva, Kécz, Királydaróc, the castle of Ecsed, Nagyecsed, Kiseccsed, Fábiánháza, Börvely, Kálmánd, Dob, Fehérgyarmat, Kis-Ar, Nagy-Ar, Mátészalka, Józsefháza, Matolcs, Tivadar, Hatvan, etc.

¹³⁶ Éble Gábor, *Egy magyar nyomda a XVIII. században. Adalék nemzeti közművelődésünk történetéhez* [The History of a Press in the 18th century] (Budapest, 1891). ; Timkó György, “Volt egy grófi nyomda Nagykárolyban [There was a printing press of a count in Nagykároly],” *Magyar grafika* LII (2008/1): 67–70.; Hegyi Ádám, “Szatmárnémeti Pap István és Biró Mihály levelei a nagykárolyi nyomda ügyében [The letter of Szatmárnémeti Pap István and Biró Mihály regarding to the press in Nagykároly],” in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 125 (2009/3): 368–372.; Vörös Imre, “A Károlyi család és a korai felvilágosodás [The Károlyi family and the early Enlightenment],” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 81(1977/2): 197–203.

¹³⁷ To the dowry of Jozefa Harruckern belonged: Szentes, Szentlászló, Bökény, Kiskirályság, Orosháza, Szénás, Csaba, Kondoros, Gerla, Vanthát, Csorvás, Kisapáca, Szent Miklós, Megyer and two palaces in Vienna. See: Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I. (Budapest, 1911), XIX–XX.

battle of Lovosice (Czech Republic).¹³⁸ In 1758 he took over from his father the office of Lord Lieutenant of Szatmár County, and in the same year he was promoted field marshal as well.

He was very much appreciated by the Viennese court, which is indicated by the numerous imperial titles and functions. In 1754 he was appointed chief deputy, but he had the titles of royal chamberlain (1754), member of Hungarian Supreme Court of Justice (1760), privy counselor (1766), royal chief treasurer (Camerarius, 1775), the captain of the Hungarian National Guard in Vienna, grand marshal (Feldzeugmeister, 1787) and the knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1791) and Military Order of Maria Theresa (1759). Between 1777 and 1782 he also held the office of inspector of schools of the Nagyváradi and Ungvári districts.¹³⁹ His name is also connected with the drainage of the extensive Bog of Ecsed (Ecsedi láp) which he initiated in order to gain more arable land. He also continued to populate the Károlyi Estate with Swabian settlers.

In addition to these significant public and military offices, Károlyi patronized representative construction projects. His financial position enabled to commission such renowned Viennese architects like Franz Sebastian Rosenstingl, Franz Anton Pilgram and Franz Anton Hillebrandt with the design of numerous residential, ecclesiastical and public buildings.¹⁴⁰ In the second half of the century on the expense of the landlord a great number of

¹³⁸ About his military merits see: *Vasárnapi Újság*, 24 (1865): 296.

¹³⁹ Éble Gábor: *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), II. table. ; Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családjai czimerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [The families of Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogy] VI. (Pest 1860), 100, 107.; *Vasárnapi Újság* 24(1865), 298.

¹⁴⁰ Voit Pál, "Beszámoló az Országos Műemlékvédelmi felügyelőség távlati kutatási tervéhez kapcsolódó levéltári munkáról," *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1959–60* [Account of the archival work related the National Monument

public and religious institutions were built in his estate centers (Nagykároly/Carei, Tótmegyer/Palárikovo, Derekegyháza). In Nagykároly, in the center of the central estate, the Estate of Nagykároly (Nagykárolyi Uradalom), the new Piarist church, monastery and high school, the Calvinist church, the county hall, several primary and secondary schools, a number of rest-houses and different manorial buildings were built in this period. He also transformed his castle in Nagykároly in a modern, representative baroque castle. While until 1780's these large scale constructions were directed by foreign guest architects, in the last two decades of the century these were taken place within an institutionalized framework: the increased number of construction jobs was run by a manorial construction team or firm led by Josef Bittheuser, an architect originating from Würzburg. Several churches were patronized by Antal Károlyi in this last period as well, like the parish church of Mezőfény (Foieni, Romania), Krasznasándorfalu (Sandra, Romania), Mezőpetri (Petrești, Romania) and Nagymajtény (Moftinu Mare, Romania).

In conclusion, it can be seen that the Károlyi family spectacularly ascended on the social hierarchy after the Treaty of Szatmár, in which Sándor Károlyi played an important role. In the 18th century their family fortune had multiplied from different sources. As it is demonstrated by the shift of the former Kuruc Sándor Károlyi into peacemaker (or traitor as he was seen by his contemporaries), the Károlyis were very talented in observing different chances of their social advance and took advantage of the given political situation. Among the enlargement and economic strengthening of their estates, they endeavored to show loyalty towards the Crown.

Protection Inspectorate] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 256. ; Fatsar Kristóf, "Franz Rosenstingl kerttervezői tevékenysége Károlyi Antal szolgálatában [The garden design activity of Franz Sebastian Rosenstingl in the service of Antal Károlyi]," *Ars Hungarica* XXVII (1999/2), 306.

This led them to follow the ideology of the Counter-Reformation aimed at the strengthening of the Catholicism in their estates. This manifested in the colonization of the Swabian settlers in large masses, the expropriation of the Calvinist churches for the Catholics, and the building of the numerous churches and chapels. At the same time, all of the heads of the family, Sándor, Ferenc and Antal Károlyi chose a military career. This, just like the establishment of a personal Hussar regiment expressed their loyalty towards the Habsburg emperor. Thus in the 18th century the Károlyis succeeded in emerge from the status of a middle-class landowner to the rank of high aristocracy, whose economic strength, influence and art patronage is comparable to the most prominent Hungarian aristocratic families in the Habsburg Kingdom of Hungary (Esterházy, Forgách, Pálffy, Károlyi, Erdődy, Csáky, Batthyány and Grassalkovich) and not to Transylvanian nobility.¹⁴¹ The majority of the lands of the Károlyi family lay in Szatmár Country, in the peripheral Partium, which had earlier belonged mainly to the authority of the Prince of Transylvania, but in 1693 (*Resolutio Alvinczyana*) was again administratively annexed to Hungary.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Similar conclusions are drawn by József Bíró in his book on castle architecture in Transylvania. See: Bíró József, *Erdélyi kastélyok* [Castles in Transylvania] (Budapest, 1943), 18–19.

¹⁴² In 1827 the Károlyi estates were divided between the three sons of József Károlyi, István, György and Lajos. In the 19th century the Károlyi fortune was extended again with the Fót (1805), Debrő (1840) and Csurgó Estates (1853). Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története* [History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly] I. (Budapest, 1911), XXI–XXII.

IV. The funerals of the Károlyi family in the service of personal representation and cult

The rituals connected with the burials of the Károlyis started with the preparation and the laying out in state of the body at the place of the death, usually in Nagykároly, and ended with the placement of the coffin in the family vault in Kaplony. These however were preceded by long and careful preparations and are connected with a series of successive events.

IV.1. The laying out in state. Funeral preparations

The funeral rituals started with the laying out in state of the deceased. This usually lasted two or three days at the place of the death and was followed with the placement of the body in a temporary wooden coffin.

Sándor Károlyi died at the age of 75, on 8th of September 1743, in his favorite dwelling place, in the castle of Erdőd in Szatmár County (Ardud, Romania).¹⁴³ For two days his body

¹⁴³ The castle, which was totally ruined by the 17th century, was rebuilt by Sándor Károlyi between 1727–1730. See: Terdik Szilveszter, "Az erdődi vár építkezései Károlyi Sándor korában [The history of architecture of the Károlyi castle in Erdőd in the time of Sándor Károlyi]," *Satu Mare: studii și comunicări. Seria arheologie* XXIII–XXIV/I. (2006–2007): 239–288. ; As Sándor Károlyi was laid dying he wrote several letters to their relatives, friends and all those to which he was in relation in public affairs. He also wrote a letter for the empress Maria Theresa, to which the answer arrived only after his death. See: Éble Gábor, *Nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi Sándor tábornagy temetése alkalmával 1744. június 22-én Nagy-Károlyban részint elénekelt, részint elmondott verses*

was exposed and clergymen and family members kept vigil over him. Two days later his body was placed into a wooden coffin within the frame of a funeral sermon held by Gergely Tapolcsányi.¹⁴⁴ On 15th of September the encoffined body was transported to Nagykároly, where it was kept in the chapel of the castle for nine months, until the day of the funeral.¹⁴⁵

15 years later, on 14th of August 1758, Ferenc Károlyi, Sándor Károlyi's son died in Nagykároly, after a long illness.¹⁴⁶ His body was laid out for a few days in the Károlyi castle in Nagykároly, and then it was placed into the coffin during a ceremony when a Hungarian and a German funeral sermon were given.¹⁴⁷ Similarly to the former case, the coffin was kept in the chapel of the castle for almost a full year, until 17th of July 1759.¹⁴⁸

Women were probably laid out in similar ways. It can be noticed that less attention was given to the arrangement of female funerals, and usually only one month passed between the death and the burial. We have very little information about female funerals, but it is conceivable that even the length of the laying out was shortened. There are no data about the

búcsúztató [Rhymed Funeral Oration Which Was Recited and Sung on the Occasion of the Funeral of Count Sándor Károlyi de Nagykároly in Nagykároly on 22th of June 1744] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1888), 6–7.

¹⁴⁴ He was provincial of the Piarist Order in Hungary, he between 1738 and 1742 was teaching theology in Nagykároly. His oration was published. See: Tapolcsányi (Pál) Gergely, “*Ama nagy nemű nagy érdemű... gróf Károlyi Sándor*, ki... 1743. uj életre átköltözött, siralmas koporsóba való pompás tételekor így prédikált Erdőd várában Sz. Mihály havának 10. napján 1743. eszt. [The funeral oration of Sándor Károlyi held at the encoffinement of his body in 1743]” (Debrecen: Margitai Nyomda, 1743).

¹⁴⁵ Éble Gábor: *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), 76.

¹⁴⁶ Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 24.

¹⁴⁷ By Gergely Béldi and Antal Qvock. See: Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 24.

¹⁴⁸ Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 24. ; Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leánykori ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), 78.

circumstances of Krisztina Barkóczy's death on 2nd of September 1724.¹⁴⁹ The next wife who died in Nagykároly was Krisztina Csáky, Ferenc Károlyi's wife, who was buried less than a month after his death on 28 February 1736. The chronicle of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly reports that after the deceased countess was properly dressed, was laid out on a bier covered in silk and the Piarist prayed over her for two days, until the 1st of March,¹⁵⁰ when in the presence of the nobility and officers of the country the corpse of the "pearl of the Transtibiscan district" ("Transtibiscanarum partium Margarita") was put in a coffin (see Appendix III).¹⁵¹ The funeral mass was celebrated by the Father Superior of the Franciscan monastery of Kaplony, while the Hungarian and German sermons were performed by two Piarist monks.¹⁵² Among the members of the family only the three children ("Charitum trias") were present, since Ferenc Károlyi arrived home ("ex imperio") only after this ceremony. From these notes it turns out the coffin was stored in an associated vaulted room of the chapel, and not exactly in the chapel, as it is suggested by other sources. The *Historia Domus* also indicates that Ferenc Károlyi hastened the funeral, because he needed to return to his military engagements ("militaria ordinis mandata").

The time between the death and the burial of the deceased is telling. Women were usually buried quickly and modestly, with little preparations, yet this still required time. In the case of the funeral of Krisztina Csáky, for example, when the funeral was urged, the coffin

¹⁴⁹ Takáts Sándor, *Szalai Barkóczy Krisztina 1671–1724* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1910), 279.

¹⁵⁰ 1736 was a leap year.

¹⁵¹ Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus)* I (1727–1826), 7–10.

¹⁵² Kristóf Külley and Fülöp Niremberger

arrived from Pozsony (Bratislava) only three days before the funeral, simultaneously with other funeral supplies, such as candles, torches, silk clothes and coats of arms.¹⁵³ The latter were only “semi-finished”, and were colored in Nagykároly by a Piarist monk with the assistance of the novices.

For the men however, for whom large funerals were planned, the preparations should last almost a whole year. The social, political and economic situation of the family required outstanding, pretentious care in the planning of every detail of these funerals. In the case of Sándor Károlyi’s funeral, the sending out of death notification letters and funeral invitations, the preparation of the funeral ceremony and the planning of the funeral process, the acquisition of the funeral equipment (coffin, embroidered coats of arms, burial flag, candles, different textiles, etc.) were completed by Ferenc Károlyi and were very time-consuming. The outbreak of the plague epidemic and the bad weather conditions of the approaching winter season also delayed the burial; therefore Ferenc Károlyi had more than nine months at his disposal to complete these duties. Finally the date of the funeral was set at 22nd of June, 1744.

Similar preparations were made for the funeral of Ferenc Károly himself by his son, Antal Károlyi, which also was delayed – as it is reflected by the printed funeral invitation – by his military engagements, the “service of the queen” (Queen Maria Theresa) and his illness.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ The coffin which was decorated with silver nails costed 300 Rhenish guilder.

¹⁵⁴ “[...] mindeneknek úttján el-indulván, az halandó és árnyék életből a’ meg-mozdulatlan örökkévalóságra által-tétetett; azonnal igyekeztem vala; hogy végső fiúi, és természet-szerént tartozó alázatos kötelességemet meg-hidegedet teteminek illendő el-takarására tellyesétem: De mivel Felséges Aszszonyunk szolgálattya, és ugyan ő Felségével egyetemben Nemes Hazánkhoz viselt hivségemből fel-vállalt hadi Hivatalomnak ezen hadakozásnak alkalmatosságával vékony erőmhöz képest buzgó viselése, e’ mellett egésségemnek veszedelmes változása, és hosszas betegeskedésem, azon végső meg-tiszteltetését Istenben el-nyugodott Méltóságos Uram Atyámnak mind

The fact that Antal Károlyi arranged the ceremony of his own installation in the seat of Lord Lieutenant of Szatmár County on the day after the funeral for his own “consolation” (“megvigasztalására”), adds to the piquancy of the situation. The attendance of the bishop of Eger to the funeral played a role in this, because without his presence the installation could not be completed.¹⁵⁵ This solution could also serve the purpose of legitimization of the power associated with this office passed down without interruptions among the Károlyis. Similarly to those medieval royal funeral practices where the burial of the king was connected with the coronation of the new king, Antal Károlyi – intentionally or unplanned – also gave additional meaning with this measure.

Also the execution and the acquisition of the funeral equipment – such as the embroidered coats of arms, the richly ornamented copper coffins, the painted coats of arms and the emblazoned candles – required several months. The coffin of Ferenc Károlyi, which followed the model of Sándor Károlyi’s coffin, was made in four months by Peter Eller, a coppersmith in Pozsony.¹⁵⁶

The rich source material of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi’s funerals – which provides such detailed information as instructions about the color of the clothes which certain people should wear, the order in which they have to stand in the line, who has to take the coffin and in what order, when and how many times they need to fire the cannons – suggest that these meant much

eddig halasztották [...]” Dated: 2 June, 1759, Nagykároly. See: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 392, 12 box, 9. ladula, 298–289.

¹⁵⁵ The bishop of Eger was Ferenc Barkóczy at that time. Nagykároly and Szatmár County belonged until 1804 to the Episcopate of Eger.

¹⁵⁶ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 3/f. No. 2. Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759), 8.

more for the family than simple last homages for theirs deceased. They demonstrated the power and the importance of the family. In case of female burials this aspiration for representation was less important. Female funerals were more likely last honours, in the strict sense of the word, which women were entitled because they were life partners of renowned men, and not because their prominent deeds or personality.

IV. 2. The day of the funeral. Ceremonies at the deceased's house. The funeral procession

The funerals of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi were very similar, and can be reconstructed with the help of a series of contemporary sources: descriptions of the funerals, list of tasks of the funeral organizers, correspondence, financial documents and the delineation of the funeral procession of Ferenc Károlyi.

The funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi, which probably was used as a model for Ferenc Károlyi's funeral as well, can be reconstructed based on its contemporary German language description, which is kept in the family archives of the National Archives of Hungary (see Appendix I).¹⁵⁷ Accordingly, for the day of the funeral the coffin was transported to a temporary building ("herrliche Gebäu") suitable for 6–7,000 people, located in the garden of the castle in Nagykároly. The construction stood on 12 stone pillars ("auf 12 von gebräunten Steinern gebauten Säulen"), it was covered with black cloth, and on the sides decorated with green branches. The coffin, placed on a three feet high catafalque situated in the middle of the tent, similarly to the catafalque, was covered in black textiles and decorated with six coats of arms of the family, embroidered with metallic filament on silk ("reichst von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität") and 12 black candles and torches. The funeral ceremony took place in this temporary building. The guests, delegates of the counties, family members,

¹⁵⁷ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502. 148. Lad./ 4.l. 1–8.

clergy and the representatives of the Jesuit, Piarist, Minorite and Observant Franciscan Orders lined up in a previously specified order. The Episcopal stall stood on a three feet high platform, four steps away from the coffin. Ferenc Károlyi stood by the head of the deceased together with Thomas Berényi and Antal Grassalkovich. Three steel-clad men were placed near the coffin; one of them stood at the foot of the deceased and held a black emblazoned flag embroidered with gold and silver threads (“eine schwarze von gross Detormit Goldt und bullion sehr reichgestickten grossen Wappen Fahnen”), another one stood on the right-hand side and held a saber on a red pillow, decorated with precious stones (“Edelgesteinen Kostbar besetzten Säbel”); finally the one on the left-hand side held a silver-gilt mace (“einen schwer massivi Silber und vergolten Ungarischen Streit-Kolben”) and a red Hungarian fur headgear with a decorated crest of plumes (“rothen ungarischen Pöltz – Mitzen [Pelz-Mütze] mit ebenfahls aus gold und silber in fligel form Künstlich ausgearbeiteten feder Busch geziret”).

The ceremony began with the prayer “Oremus pro fidelibus Defunctis” intoned by the Bishop of Eger and was accompanied by various musicians. The Hungarian preaching was delivered from a provisional pulpit by Gergely Tapolcsányi, theology professor and the superior of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly. This was followed by a sung ode consisting of 180 verses¹⁵⁸ and a dirge. The farewell poem was written in the name of the deceased, who bid farewell from the Empress Maria Teresa, the “great patroness of the Hungarian nation” (“Magyar Nemzetünknek kegyes Pártfogója”), Emperor Francis I., the most important office-

¹⁵⁸ Éble Gábor, *Nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi Sándor tábornagy temetése alkalmával 1744. június 22-én Nagykárolyban részint elénekelt, részint elmondott verses búcsúztató* [Rhymed Funeral Oration Which Was Recited and Sung on the Occasion of the Funeral of Count Sándor Károlyi de Nagykároly in Nagykároly on 22th of June 1744] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1888).

holders of the country and family members. During the Hungarian service the provincial of the Minorite Order preached in German for the Swabians in another tent.

After the liturgy the coffin was followed by the participants coming from all over Hungary and Transylvania, in a predefined order to the crypt in Kaplony. The funeral procession was headed by two equerries (“Stall-maister“) dressed in black, followed by the nobility and the cavalry of Szatmár County divided in four groups of a hundred people each and headed by an officer holding a flag. They were succeeded by the group of Calvinists conducted by their bishops, pastors, schoolmasters and the groups of Greek Catholic Ruthenians and Romanians under 12 flags. Further back in the funeral procession the Swabian population was organized in eight groups, two squadrons of the Beleznay hussar regiment led by colonel Miklós Eötvös, marching under two embroidered flags with drums and trumpets, the cuirassiers regiment of Prince Theodor Lubomirski with flags and trumpets, the infantry artillery, accompanied by a group of armed pedestrians and hundred equerries dressed in black. After them walked six steeds with decorative horse tacks, saddles and embroidered saddle blankets led by 14 officials (“Hoff-Beamten“) in green. The gilded copper coffin (“Kupfer Künstlich getribene vergolt und versülberte ja auf das schönste hin und wider gemarmolierte Sarg“) was placed on a wagon drawn by six horses covered with black textile. Next to the car were two horses covered with a black cloth reaching to the ground and led by four servants. Six horses drew the wagon on which the wooden coffin with the corpse was placed outside the town. This tall, black-coated tiered wagon with black candles is called *Castrum Doloris* („Der Trauerwagen, insonsten *Castrum Doloris* genannt“) in the description. The Greek Catholic clergy marched next to it, along with the representatives of the Franciscan and Minorite Orders, the chorus, 24 Piarist and 12 Jesuit monks, the regular clergy, the bishop and numerous high-

ranking members of the clergy. The armored flag-bearer walked in front of the wooden coffin. 12 men in black carried the wooden coffin. Alongside them the armoured men processed, carrying weapons and other symbols of power. They were followed by Ferenc Károlyi in the company of Tamás Berényi and Antal Grassalkovich and other noblemen. Klára Károlyi, the daughter of Sándor Károlyi with his husband, Gábor Haller and the female relatives and guests were walking next to them. The queue was completed by the troops of the county.

At the entrance of the marketplace the body was taken over by 12 county officials, then in succession by the Franciscans, Minorites and Piarists. They transported the coffin until the city border, accompanied by bell ringing. Here the wooden coffin was placed in the middle of the funeral wagon, the armored flag-bearing knight got on his horse, the bishop and the aristocratic dignitaries also got on their carts and proceeded to Kaplony. Here the Franciscans carried the corpse in the church and placed it on the *castrum doloris*, while a choral requiem was performed.

After the Hungarian preaching of István Novák, an Observant Franciscan monk¹⁵⁹, the coffin was carried to the chapel of the crypt where it was placed in the already prepared copper coffin. After the ceremony the mourners went back to Nagykároly where they participated in the funeral wake.

¹⁵⁹ The text of the funeral oration was published in 1747 at the Royer Typography from Bratislava with the title: „*Világ Biró Nagy Sándor, az az: Méltóságos Nagy-Károlyi Gróf Károlyi Sándornak Országjárása s Bóldog Halála*” (“*The Rule and Blissful Death of World-Commanding Alexander the Great, namely: the Honorable Count de Nagykároly Sándor Károlyi*”). In this work the author enumerates the merits of the deceased, metaphorically comparing him with Alexander the Great, and building up the speech around a citation from the first book of Maccabees: “*Regnavit Alexander [...] et mortuus est*” (I. Machab.1.v.8).

15 years later the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi served as a model for the burial of his son, Ferenc Károlyi. In the latter case, it can be observed that the funeral procession became more simplified. The elements related to the military career of the deceased, as well as the number of armed troops were reduced. However, it consisted of the same elements organized in a very similar order. In this latter procession – which can be reconstructed from various drafts and a drawing (Image 7) – similarly to the previous occasion, the following took part: groups of the different religious denominations and nationalities, cavalry troops of the county, three armored men carrying the burial flag, the sword, the mace and the Hungarian fur headgear with crest; a troop wearing black mourning dresses, two officers in black riding alone in front and behind them, 12 men holding burning torches by the coffin, horses “dressed” in color or covered with floor-length textiles, and so on.¹⁶⁰

The sources also give information about the organization and supervision of the “masters” (“gazda”), who were appointed by the family. A great number of the population of the city and the neighboring villages, as well as the clergy of the county were required to march in the procession. The Swabians for example were informed in advance, and even were ordered to participate in marching exercises. Similarly, the serfs belonging to different nationalities and denominations had to present themselves. The bells of the churches, regardless of their denomination, were sounded three times daily usually two weeks before the funeral.

¹⁶⁰ One of the documents, a description of the funeral was published by Péter Szabó. See: Szabó Péter, *A végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* (Budapest: Magvető, 1989), 120–137.; National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, No.4/a-b. Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759); National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 392, 12. box, 9. ladula, no. 237-238. ; National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 405, 35. box, 6c. ; The drawing of Ferenc Károlyi’s funeral procession: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 3/f, No. 3.

The funeral sermon of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi featured a number of theatrical elements, which fit organically into the context of the burial traditions and rites of the Hungarian nobility, which carried significant medieval content, outlined in the previous chapter. The importance of these examples lies in the fact that they incorporated elements reflecting a period of transition. We can notice that besides the ambition for representing prestige as well as theatricality specific to the baroque era, the personality cult of the deceased also has an important role. Some items were simplified and reinterpreted. For example, the role of the two alter egos personifying the deceased— a characteristic element of the earlier centuries that originated from the chivalric culture – were taken over by the three armoured men, one of which was carrying the funeral flag and the other two various objects in connection with the military career of the deceased. These two examples are not unique, other examples are known from the 17th century funerals of the Hungarian nobility, but certainly they are among the last examples of this kind. The Károlyis wanted to follow these traditions, as it is reflected, for example, from a letter addressed to the Bishop of Eger, Gábor Erdődy, his concerns regarding the procedure of the ceremony. He was worried about the bishop following the official regulations of the funerals instead of the local traditions, for which he expressed his preference.¹⁶¹

The women's funerals were also striking, but not as spectacular as male funerals. The crowd gathered for the day of Krisztina Csáky's funeral, for example, was compared in one of

¹⁶¹ "Tudván az mostani szokást és tartván attúl ne talán Excd kegyes rendelése ahhoz szabadni kívánná az temetést [...] abban az egybe essedezőnk kegyes gratiájáért méltóztassék megengedni, hogy eő Méltósága temetését földünkön szokott tisztelettel tehessék meg." P 1501. 16. box, 148. ladula, 40.

the sources to the “general assembly of Hungary” (see Appendix 3).¹⁶² Krisztina Csáky’s coffin was placed on the catafalque in a tent built for this occasion in the middle of the castle garden. The family members (Ferenc and Sándor Károlyi) and the most distinguished guests (count Guadagni Marchio/Gvadányi Márton, general Splényi and count Miklós Csáky, grand provost of Nagyvárád) were staying next to the coffin. The delegates, guests of Szatmár, Bereg, Ugocsa and Bihar Counties stood on the opposite side. Female members of the family – Constantia Csáky, the sister of the deceased and the children – stood further away. After the religious ceremony Didák Kelemen, the superior of the Minorite Order, took the pulpit, who after the distribution of the torches, candles and coats of arms, recited a funeral speech.¹⁶³ This was followed by the farewell speech of a Minorite monk. This ceremony lasted four hours, but nobody found it too long, because “if not for the ears, for the eyes it was certainly a pleasure to examine the spectacle.”¹⁶⁴ When they wanted to take the coffin out of the tent, suddenly sobbing female mourners were bent over the coffin. This custom was not practiced in the later funerals of the Károlyis, but it was rather widespread among the funerals of the lower social classes.

¹⁶² The *Historia Domus* also mentions that in every house of the city at least one, but in most of the cases three or four guests were accommodated. See: Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 8.

¹⁶³ Didák Kelemen wrote altogether four funeral preaches for the Károlyis: four for Krisztina Barkóczi in 1724 (*Homályban borult ekes korona. Az az: a nagy okosságu Abigail...Barkoczi Kristina...; Közönséges orvosság, mellyel a néhai Barkoczi Kristina aszszony; Legjgyenesebb út...Barkoczi Kristina aszszony; Az néhai méltóságos groff... Barkoczi Kristina...*), and three for Krisztina Csáky in 1736 (*Az élők földében, kívánt örökös részében... örvendező néha... Csáki Krisztina aszszony...; Jóságokkal tündöklő koporsó...Csáki Kristina aszszony; Üdvösséges tudomány...groff Csáki Kristina aszszony*). See: Kernács Dorottya, “Kelemen Didák műveinek helye a 18. századi kassai jezsuita könyvkiadásban [The significance of the works of Didák Kelemen in the 18th century Jesuit book publishing in Kassa],” in *Tanulmányok Kelemen Didák tiszteletére: A 2008. április 17–18-án megrendezett konferencia előadásai*, ed. Horváth Zita (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem, 2008), 41–58.

¹⁶⁴ “[...] si non aures, oculus solum funereal haec die et lugubri pascere optatissime” Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 9.

Similarly to other parts of the funerals, the funeral procession was not only a means of expressing respect for the deceased and their family, but through its symbolic language, it also signified the representational aspiration of the family. This dual endeavor of the family is manifested even in the case of the funeral processions of the female members of the family. Despite the fact that women had no military merits, they should be buried according to the customs specific to military funerals, where also military troops had shown up. A good example of this is Csáky Krisztina's funeral procession (see Appendix 3). This generally followed the order presented above. It was led by the groups of villagers, being followed by pupils, the Franciscan, Trinitarian, Minorite, Dominican and Piarist monks, nine Piarist novices, the superior of the Jesuit monastery in Szatmár and the parish priests of neighboring villages. Before the coffin walked the bishop and the canons. The coffin was flanked by people who were carrying torches and candles, and was followed by the male family members and the most distinguished guests. The row was framed on two sides by the cavalry of the counties, whose riders were holding in one of their arms a sword, rotating their edges towards the ground, and lifting a flag with the other. Next to the coffin marched two squadrons of the ironclad regiments of marquis Botta ("duabus e ferrato milite centuriis"), led by a colonel named Szplényi, holding a drawn sword on its edge ("gladio, cuius non capulum, sed cuspidem tenebat"). From time to time two trumpet-players played mournful sounds on their instruments.¹⁶⁵ The coffin was carried in succession until the cross standing at the limits of the city, where its carriers put it on

¹⁶⁵ Anton Otto Marquis von Botta d'Adorno was a high officer of the Habsburg Monarchy, who was named supreme commander of Austrian troops in northern Italy during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48). ; Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 9.

the horse-drawn hearse covered in black textile and decorated on its corners with coats of arms. At the same time the funeral participants also sat in their coaches.

The presence of the cavalry of the counties and of the two squadrons of the ironclad regiments, as well as the symbolical military honors given to women is without precedents. None of the archival and literary sources mentions similar cases in the funeral practices of the Hungarian nobility, and this was the first and the last case among the funerals of the Károlyis. The funeral of Krisztina Barkóczy, Sándor Károlyi's wife in 1724 was very simple, as it is indicated by the small number of the coats of arms purchased for the occasion.¹⁶⁶ Antal Károlyi's wife, Jozefa Harruckern had chosen to be buried near his parents in the public cemetery in Vienna (Penzing, District XIV) instead the Károlyi family mausoleum in Nagykároly.

¹⁶⁶ These include: eight large-sized embroidered coats of arms on silk, 20 various sized, painted coats of arms on silk, 20 painted coats of arms on white taffeta. See: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1501, 16. box, 148. ladula, 1.

IV. 3. The burial ceremony. Rhetoric and art in service of representation

The funerals of the Károlyis ended in the Franciscan church in Kaplony, and followed the same pattern. After the procession had arrived at the church, the coffin was taken by the Franciscan monks and was put on the already prepared catafalque before the altar. The funeral mass was followed by funeral orations, farewell poems and various songs, after which the coffin was placed in the familial crypt.

When Krisztina Csáky's funeral convoy arrived at the church in Kaplony, the coffin was lifted down by the Franciscans from the funeral carriage and was taken into the church, where it was placed on a nine stepped catafalque. After the funeral mass a Franciscan friar in Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) delivered a speech.¹⁶⁷ For the Swabians another funeral sermon was held outside the church by a local Franciscan friar. After finishing the funeral orations, the wooden coffin was placed in the copper coffin and was carried to the crypt where it was placed in its final resting place. The ceremony which started in the early morning, ended at half past six. The guests, whose number was estimated to be around two thousand, were invited in the castle to take part of the funeral dinner. The requisites of the funeral pomp ("totam funebrelem pompam"), the six horses, the wagon, the black textiles, candles, torches and some of the coats

¹⁶⁷ The *Historia Domus* also disapprovingly notes that he was invited because "this earth does not bear fruits for the table of the gentlemen" ("nec enim terra haec pro Dominorum mensis generat fructus"). See: Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 10.

of arms – similarly to the sacrificial mortuarum [sacrifices, offerings for the dead] in the medieval funeral tradition – were given to the Franciscan monastery in Kaplony.¹⁶⁸

While the liturgy was regulated, the representation was manifested at the level of the funeral orations, speeches and funeral decoration. The occasional funeral sermons had a primarily representational role. Most often their religious-teaching function was secondary and centered on the personality and life of the deceased, which was eulogized in front of the audience. These were preserved in prints, but some of them were preserved in sketchy manuscripts in the archive of the family.

The most important elements of the funeral decorations were the castra doloris. Sources mention that castra doloris were built above the coffins of Sándor, Ferenc and Antal Károlyi. These ephemeral architectural constructions were not designed to last, and were demolished soon after the funerals. Since no visual sources were preserved, their reconstruction is possible only from schematic written drafts and printed descriptions.

According to a drawing preserved in the Archive of the family, a portrait of Sándor Károlyi belonged to his funeral decoration, which was completed with the coat of arms of the deceased and of his parents (illustrating the genealogy of the count) as well as inscriptions enumerating his name and titles (Image 43).¹⁶⁹ Below the portrait a passage from Tacit was seen, referring to the deceased Germanicus, and in this case, to the count Sándor Károlyi:

¹⁶⁸ According to the chronicle of the Piarist monastery in Kaplony for these dinners were prepared four cattle, 12 wagons of fish, 50 lamb, 16 sheep and 18 barrel of vine. See: Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly. (Unarranged): *A nagykárolyi kegyesrendi társház története (Historia Domus) I* (1727–1826), 10.

¹⁶⁹ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1501, 148. ladula /4.1. 285–263.

“visuque et auditu juxta venerabilis” (“in aspect and address alike venerable”).¹⁷⁰ Accordingly, the role of the portrait was to visualize the “aspect”, the physical body of the deceased – similarly to the effigies – around which the entire ceremony was built. It is presumable that these elements were fixed on a board and were placed in a clearly visible place over the coffin or made part of the *castrum doloris*.

The church was also decorated: the altars, the pulpit and the walls were covered in black, on which coats of arms were fastened. The columns of the church were decorated with 29 emblems. The mottoes (or lemma) of these emblems, which were also preserved, refer to Sándor Károlyi’s deeds and virtues (Image 44).¹⁷¹ What they were we do not know exactly, but we can get a picture about them with the help of analogies from emblem books or even of drawings from the archive of the family (Image 52).

It would be interesting to analyze the relationship between the funeral decoration and the funeral speech. At the funeral of Sándor Károlyi the Hungarian sermon was held by István Novák, an Observant Franciscan monk.¹⁷² In this work the author enumerates the merits of the deceased, metaphorically comparing him with Alexander the Great, building up the speech around a citation from the first book of Maccabees: “Regnavit Alexander [...] et mortuus est” (I. Machab.1.v.8). Alexander reigned but died, said the preacher, but his soul is like a phoenix

¹⁷⁰ Tacite, *Annales*, II, 72, the death of Germanicus. Different translations: „in aspect and address alike venerable” „he inspired reverence alike by look and voice”, in Hungarian: megjelenése és hangja egyaránt tiszteletet ébresztett

¹⁷¹ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1501, 148. *ladula*/4.1. 285–263.

¹⁷² The text of the funeral oration was published in 1747 at the Royer Typography in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) with the title: „Világ Biró Nagy Sándor, az az: Méltóságos Nagy-Károlyi Gróff Károlyi Sándornak Országlása s Bóldog Halála” (“The Rule and Blissful Death of World-Commanding Alexander the Great, namely: the Honorable Count de Nagykároly Sándor Károlyi”).

bird, devoted to eternal life. The phoenix bird, a symbol of immortality, resurrection and life after death is a popular motive of the emblems as well, and it is possible that it was used in this case as well (Image 53).

These castra doloris were used in the funerals of the Károlyi family members until the beginning of the 19th century. For Antal Károlyi's funeral on 27th of September 1791 two castra doloris were erected, one in the Piarist church in Nagykároly, founded by Antal Károlyi, and one in the Franciscan monastery in Kaplony.¹⁷³ The castrum doloris of Antal Károlyi erected in Kaplony can be reconstructed according to a print, which contains the Latin inscriptions of the castrum doloris written in cartouches (see Appendix V. A.). The author of the inscriptions, János Hannulik, a Piarist priest in Nagykároly, indicates the place of his inscriptions on the castrum doloris. Based on this, the castrum doloris of Antal Károlyi erected in Kaplony consisted of four pyramid-like columns decorated with emblems ("kép oszlop"), four statues of virtues, military symbols (mace, the sword and the headgear with crest), coat of arms and the portrait of the deceased.¹⁷⁴ The other castrum doloris, which was built at the place of the

¹⁷³ The original-sized inscriptions can be found in the Archive of the family. See: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, T 20, 125/1–26. ("Inscriptiones Lapidales ad Castra doloris in Károly et Kaplony occasione inhumationis Suae Excell'ae denati Comitis Antonii Károlyi de Nagy-Károly etc. erectae factae, ac ad Archiv dei 5 Julii 1792.")

¹⁷⁴ This is also strengthened by the monographer of Szatmár County, Antal Szirmay, who published the inscription of Antal Károlyi funeral plate placed in his coffin: "[...] 27. September 's utána három napokig Kaplonyban tartatott halotti tisztessége, felállított Igazság, Okosság, mértékletesség, erősség (mellyek a'meg hólnak erköltseit ábrázolták, és a' mellyeknek követését, a' fiának utolsó rendelésében ajánlotta) Kép oszlopainak, a' Károly Grófi, és a' Vármegye Czimerei, a' siránkozó tanuló iffiúság, az ajtatos Oskolabéli Papság, és az árvák alkotmányinak, végtére tulajdon kegyes Képének, és alája tétetett vitéz Kardjának, és Theresiai Rend tzmjének sok elmés reá írásával, a' mellyeket említett Hannulik készített, és itten hosszas volna előadni. A koporsó kövének reá írása ez: „Örök emlékezetére Nagy-Méltóságú Gróf Károlyi Antalnak, Károlyi, Erdőd, Bélthek, Ecsed, Füzér, Radvány, Csongrád, Megyer, Surány várak, és uradalmak örökös Urának, a' leg Nemesebb arany gyapjas, és katonai Maria Theresia rendgyei vitézinek, Felséges császár, és Apostoli Király az első közzül való Kamarássának, és belső titkos, 's 25. esztendeig szeplőtelen hivségű Tanácsossának, leg főbb törvények szék

funeral, in the Franciscan church in Nagykároly, had Hungarian inscriptions. These are also preserved (see Appendix. 5. B.), but the architectural structure of the castrum doloris cannot be reconstructed. The last castrum doloris connected with Károlyis was built in 1803, in Kaplony, for the funeral of József Károlyi (Antal Károlyi's son).¹⁷⁵

Beside the castra doloris the funeral supplies also contributed to the visibility of the funerals. Some of them, like the coats of arms, epitaphs, funeral flags and the copper coffins had significant artistic value as well, others, like the objects placed next to the coffin, the mace, the sword and the Hungarian headgear, the military flags, the decorative saddles and horse tools had a role mostly in the enhancement of the visual effect and are connected with the military functions of the deceased.

The Károlyi family spared no expense on the purchase of the funeral supplies. The cost of the funeral of Sándor Károlyi, for example, was 30,000 forints.¹⁷⁶

bírájának, Tudósok, és a' tudományok, mellyeknek egész lévő tartományában Fő-igazgatója vala, barátjának, táplálójának, 's bő kezű jól tévőjének, elébb Király Fő-Asztalnoknak, az után a' Királyi test őrző Magyar Nemes sereg Fő Kapitányának, a' Császári táborban Főhadi Tár-Mesternek, gyalog Magyar Sereg, mellyet a' Nagy-attya által álitott Lovas Regementel fel cserélt, tulajdonosságának, minek utána 58. esztendő 9 holnapot, 39 napot élt: Gróf Károlyi Jozepa, született Báró Harrukker, Gyulai Uradalomi Örökös Aszszonya, Csillagos Keresztes Dáma, legjobb, 's legkedvesebb férjének, Istenéhez tisztelettel, Hazájához szeretettel, Királyához hívséggel, szegényekhez adakozással, Itthon jó szívűséggel, erkölccsel, nyájassággal, a' katonaságban, melyben hét esztendő háborúban hat fontos ágyú-golyóbistól mellyén sértetett, érdemeivel tündöklőnek. Meghala 1. September 1791. Eszt. Ostriai Bécsnek külső városi Penczingi határán." See: Szirmay Antal, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története, és polgári esmérete* II. [Location, History, and Civil Description of Szatmár County II.] (Buda, 1810), 120-122.

¹⁷⁵ This also consisted of columns decorated with "images" ("képoszlop"). See: Szirmay Antal, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története, és polgári esmérete* II. [Location, History, and Civil Description of Szatmár County II.] (Buda, 1810), 125.

¹⁷⁶ Szirmay Antal, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története, és polgári esmérete* II. [Location, history and the description of Szatmár County II.] (Buda, 1810), 116.

The coats of arms also had an important role in the funeral decoration. They can be divided into two groups. The epitaphs usually were made of precious metal or of painted and gilded wood and were hung on the wall of the churches to keep the memory and assure the representation of the deceased in the ceremonies. The second group includes the painted coats of arms with ephemeral character made specifically for the purpose of the ceremony. The latter were painted on silk or paper and could decorate the pall covering the coffin, the bier, the *castrum doloris* or the locations of the ceremony. The coat of arms made usually in a large number, which was distributed among the members of the procession also belong to this group.

From the 18th century funerals of the Károlyis only embroidered epitaphs were preserved (Image 35–38.). The embroidered funeral coats of arms were uncommon because of their costliness and long production period. Similar examples are known from the Esterházy's funerals (Image 10–11.). They had two important parts: the family coat of arms and an inscription containing information about the deceased's pedigree, social status, wealth and death.

The ancestral coat of arms of the Károlyi family consisted of a round-based shield with a sparrow-hawk with expanded or folded wings standing on a hill or cliff. Following 1609 when Mihály Károlyi gained the title of baron, the family began to use an extended version of it. In the subsequent version the sparrow-hawk expands its wings and turns its head to the right and in his upraised right claw holds a heart, being surrounded and supported by a crowned

dragon-serpent which bites its tail with its mouth.¹⁷⁷ When in 1712 Sándor Károlyi received the title of count, the coat of arms of the family was expanded with the coat of arms of their related families (Image 39.). The form of the new coat of arms was established and depicted by the diploma of donation. In this new coat of arms the old coat of arms of the family appears as a heart shield in the centre of a pointed-based shield, which is divided into five sections. In these fields armorial elements appear from the coat of arms of the Sennyey (de Kissennyey), Barkóczy and Perényi families. Above the shield a crown with eleven silver balls is placed (these are known as pearls), mantling in the shape of leaves and three visored helmets with crowns, on which figures from the coats of arms of the Segnyey (de Lapispatak), Koháry and Thurzó families are lying. The supporters of the coat of arms are two double-tailed lions, each holding a silver and red colored swallow-tailed flag, surrounded by military emblems.¹⁷⁸

We learn from Sándor Károlyi's funeral description (see Appendix I) that this coffin, similarly to Ferenc Károlyi's coffin, was covered with black textile on which six embroidered coats of arms of the Genus (nemzetség) were hanged ("6 auf das reichste von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität"). These coats of arms were not preserved, but it can be

¹⁷⁷ This dragon refers to insignia of the Order of the Dragon, founded by Sigismund, King of Hungary. According to Gábor Éble in the second half of the 16th century some members of the Károlyi family belonged to this order. See: Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leánykori ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), 21.

¹⁷⁸ Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leánykori ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), 3–29.

assumed that they were equivalent to the simpler baronial coat of arms, which was taken over by the other families belonging to the Kaplony gens as well.¹⁷⁹

Several embroidered silk-taft epitaphs were preserved however from the Károlyis funeral. It is presumable that they were placed in front of the catafalque from where after the funeral ceremony they were moved onto the wall of the crypt or chapel from Kaplony in order to keep the memory of the deceased. The earliest epitaph known related to the Károlyi family is the funeral coat of arms of Sándor Károlyi, which is today part of the Textile Collection of the Hungarian National Museum (Image 35).¹⁸⁰ The coats of arms of Ferenc and Antal Károlyi were made using the same technique, but the later ones, made during the 19th and 20th centuries were simpler and often painted on paper.

At present the majority of the funeral coats of arms are kept in the crypt of the Károlyi family in Kaplony and in the Piarist Church in Nagykároly (founded by Antal Károlyi). The embroidered epitaphs include the epitaph of Ferenc (1758), Antal (1791), József (1809) and István Károlyi (1907). One of Antal Károlyi's funeral coats of arms is in the family mausoleum in Kaplony, together with two other paper coats of arms from the 20th century. A painted funeral coat of arms of Antal Károlyi is kept in the National Archives of Hungary and in the

¹⁷⁹ Among the Károlyi family belonged to the gens of Kaplony the Vetéssy, Bagossy, Csomaközi and Vaday families. These, with the exception of the Vetéssy family, which died out until the 18th century, were using the baronial coat of arm of the Károlyi family. See: Bagosi Erzsébet's (1703–1764) funeral coat of arm in the Reformed Church of Farkas street in Kolozsvár (today Cluj Napoca, Romania), published in: Entz Géza and Kovács András, *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei címerei* [The coats of arms of the Church in Street Farkas in Kolozsvár] (Budapest-Kolozsvár: Balassi Könyvkiadó-Polis Könyvkiadó, 1995), Cat. 4. 53.

¹⁸⁰ Baják László, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum címeres halotti emlékei* [Armored Funeral Supplies in the Hungarian National Museum] (Budapest, 2007), 50–52.

Petőfi Literary Museum in Budapest, while the funeral coat of arms György Károlyi (1802–1877) is preserved in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum.¹⁸¹

The 124×96 cm epitaph of Sándor Károlyi is embroidered with colored spun silk yarn, silver and gold metallic thread, metallic lamella and crinkle wires (Bouillon) and flitter is also used. The embroidery is in accordance with the traditional arrangements of the epitaphs: the coat of arms of the Károlyi family is placed in the central oval field, surrounded by an inscription about the deceased and decorated at the corners with floral ornament. The central motive, the coat of arms of the family corresponds almost perfectly to the one depicted in the diploma of awarding them the title of count, but it is completed with additional elements (military pick, trumpets, blue flags with two tails, similar to the flags of the Károlyi cavalry regiment and two crossed field marshal batons). The coat of arms is placed between an inscription divided into two parts, listing the estates, the most important titles and the functions of the deceased. At the bottom of this inscription a separate ribbon informs us about the time of death.¹⁸² Most probably the model for the pattern of the embroidery was the coat of arms of the family from the diploma of donation.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Baják László, “A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum címeres halotti emlékei [Armored Funeral Supplies in the Hungarian National Museum] (Budapest, 2007), 56. 87–89; László Baják, “Címerek a gyászszertartásokon, halotti címerek a 19. századból [Coats of Arms in Funerals, Funeral Coats of Arms from 19th Century],” *A Herman Ottó Múzeum évkönyve* 35–36 (1997): 185–190.

¹⁸² Ex[cellentissimus] ac I[llustrissimus] D[ominus] Com[es] D[ominus] Alexander Karoly de Nagy Karoly Arc[ium] et D[omi]nior[um] Karoly Erdöd Csongrad Megyer Surány Haer[editarius] D[omi]n[u]s / S[acrae] R[egi]ae Ma[ies]t[er]is Act[ualis] Int[imus] et Ex[celsi] Co[nsilii] R[egiae] Loc[um]t[enen]tis Con[siliarius] G[ene]ralis Camp[i] Mar[eschalli] Un[ius] Reg[alis] Eq[uestris] Ord[inis] Col[onellus] I[n]clycti Co[m]it[at]us Szatmár[iensis] Sup[remus] Comes et Prov[incia] Com[missionis] Dir[ector]. / Obyt Die 8. 7[=septem]bris A[nno] D[omini] 1743 AEtat[is] Suae 75 (Published by László Baják. See: Baják László, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum címeres halotti emlékei* [Armored Funeral Supplies in the Hungarian National Museum] (Budapest, 2007), 50.

¹⁸³ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 392. Lad. 8. No. 207.

Unfortunately, the embroiderer of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms cannot be identified from the collection of burial documents. We only have a note in the chronicle (*Historia Domus*) of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly mentioning that the coat of arms was, together with other funeral supplies, ordered from Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia). In support of this, some documents from the Károlyi Archives show that the family employed an embroiderer from Pozsony called Stephan Molnár during this period. He was the designer of the ten flags and the drum flags decorated with the Károlyi coat of arm, which Sándor Károlyi had made for his hussar regiment in 1734 (Image 52)¹⁸⁴ and the funeral coat of arms for Ferenc Károlyi in 1759.¹⁸⁵ As Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms – regarding its structure, the embroidery technique and quality – corresponds to the coat of arms of the drum flags and it is also very similar to Ferenc Károlyi's funeral coat of arms, it can be stated that it originates from the same workshop. Since the coffin of the deceased was made in Pozsony, it seems plausible to assume that the six coats of arms for the decoration of the coffin and the funeral coat of arms were ordered from the same city, from the embroidery master Stephan Molnár ("Stephan Molnár bürgerliche Goldstücker" "Varró Molnár István"), who had performed similar tasks for the family before, and who might have had the sketches for the Károlyi coat of arms.

As it was mentioned earlier, the funeral supplies included painted coats of arms as well, but these did not survive. For the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi in 1759, for example, 200 coats of

¹⁸⁴ This cavalry regiment consisted of ten centuries, each having a flag which carried at one side the imperial eagle with the Hungarian coat of arms on its chest, but at the other side were embroidered different representations (8 different heraldic elements of the Károlyi coat of arm, the Károlyi baronial coat of arms and a Madonna representation) accompanied by emblematic inscriptions.

¹⁸⁵ See the bill of the embroiderer: MOL, P 1502. 7. / 4. b./ 2. 12.

arms painted on paper and 100 painted on silk were ordered from Daniel Schmiddeli, a painter from Pozsony.¹⁸⁶ These, along with lit candles and torches, were distributed among the people according to social rank after the funeral sermon. Women received candles only.¹⁸⁷ Apart from this, coats of arms were placed on the black-coated altars of the church in Kaplony: three on the high altar and two on both side-altars.¹⁸⁸

Unfortunately, the funeral flags were also lost. These were probably two-tailed, embroidered on black material, decorated with the family coat of arms, according to the tradition and as it is shown on the drawing depicting Ferenc Károlyi's funeral procession (Image 7).¹⁸⁹

Other elements which also had a representational function are the 18th century coffins of Sándor, Ferenc and Antal Károlyi, Krisztina Barkóczy and Krisztina Csáky. Today these coffins are situated in crypt built in the continuation of the sanctuary of the Franciscan church in Kaplony in the 19th century (Image 5, 6). So far, the building and its interior furnishing, as well as the coffins with outstanding artistic values escaped the attention of art historians. The original place of the coffins was the no longer extant mausoleum built by Sándor Károlyi. This was attached to the full length of the southern wall of the church and consisted of two parts: a

¹⁸⁶ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 7./4.b./ Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759), 9.

¹⁸⁷ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 7./4.b./ Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759), 69.v.

¹⁸⁸ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 7./4.b./ Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759), 56.

¹⁸⁹ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502, 7./4.b./ Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (drawing, dimension: 15x193 cm) Partly published in: Szabó Péter, *Végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány* [Last honour. The aristocratic funeral as spectacle] (Magvető: Budapest, 1989), 124–127.

three-bayed Crypt and stretching westward of it a onebayed chapel with southern semicircular termination (Image 3–4).¹⁹⁰ This mausoleum finished by 1737 replaced an earlier crypt beneath the central nave of the church, opened in the 18th century, which served as a burial place for Sándor Károlyi's relatives: Judit Koháry (†1718), his mother-in-law, Krisztina Barkóczi (†1724), his wife and Krisztina Csáky (†1736), his daughter-in law.¹⁹¹ The first member of the Károlyi family to find final rest in this new mausoleum was the builder, Sándor Károlyi. Later the ashes of the ancestors who were buried in the medieval church of Nagykároly along with the three coffins from the subterranean crypt in Kaplony were transported here as well.

The coffins of Sándor Károlyi, Ferenc Károlyi and Krisztina Csáky are of the highest artistic value which dates from the 18th century. The literature on local history has noted that the coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi as well as the coffin of Krisztina Csáky belong to the same style and were made in Pozsony, but their statements are not supported by archival sources.

¹⁹⁰ The most important sources of this early building are Miklós Ybl's surveying plans and sketches realized at around 1842 about the medieval church and the baroque crypt. Among these we can find the elevation of the southern and eastern facades, a section and a floor plan sketch. National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest, Collection of architectural drawings: Inv. Nr. K 3203. (elevation of the southern facade), K 3202. (elevation of the eastern facade), K. 3204. (section drawing). Published in: Takács Imre, ed., *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* [Paradisum plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary] (Pannonhalma, 2001), 446–447; Cat. Nr. V.54-56; The floor plan sketch was published in: Szakács Béla Zsolt, "Kaplony, római katolikus templom [The Roman Catholic Church of Kaplony]," in *Középkori egyházi építészet Szatmárban. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcs-Szatmár- Bereg és Szatmár megyékben* [Ecclesiastical Architecture in County Szatmár in the Middle Ages. A Journey along Medieval Churches in the Counties Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Szatmár], ed. Kollár Tibor (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár- Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 242.

¹⁹¹ Éble Gábor, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leánykori ivadékok feltüntetésével* [The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines] (Budapest, 1913), 76.

In chronological order the coffin with the earliest date of manufacturing belonged to Krisztina Csáky, the wife of Ferenc Károlyi. The countess died on 28th of February 1736 and she was buried on 20th of March of the same year. According to the chronicle of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly the coffin, which cost 300 Forints, was ordered from Pozsony along with the painted coat of arms and other funeral supplies (Image 17).¹⁹² This coffin, placed on six craniums, has two parts: a box-like lower part following the contours of the wooden coffin, and the coffin lid. The longer sides of the coffin have the same design: the centers are decorated with a putto surrounded by ornamental foliage, symmetrically enclosed on both sides by lions heads. This is not just a decorative ornament, but it has an important function as well as the clamps for the handles are fixed to it. While the sinuous plant decoration continues as the shape narrows, a vanitas symbol appears on the head line: a putto sitting on a volute and blowing bubbles, a reminder of the Latin proverb “homo est similis bullae” or “homo bulla” (life is like a soap bubble). The upper side closer to the head is also decorated with ornamental foliage and a lion head.

The lower side towards feet and the right side lengthwise cannot be studied, but they are certainly following the design already presented. The sides of the coffin are connected to each other with elements decorated with volutes at both ends. The rounded corners of the coffin lid in the shape of a trapeze also have volute design, but four putti (plump angels) rest on these

¹⁹² Archive of the Parish (former Piarist) Church of Nagykároly (unarranged), “Historia Domus” I, 7–10; Éble Gábor, ed., *Gróf Károlyi Ferencné, született Csáky Krisztina halála 1736. február 28-án, temetése ugyanazon év márcz. 20-án* [The Death of Mrs. Count Ferenc Karolyi, née Krisztina Csáky, on 28th of February 1736, her Funeral on 20th of March in the Same Year], trans. Vanke József (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, n.d.).

with their wings closed in front of their chest. In the axis of the longitudinal sides there is a human skull with crossed shinbones beneath. The head side of the lid is decorated by a Baroque cartridge with the painted coat of arms of the Koháry family. The cover of the lid can be divided into two parts. The head side is decorated by a relief depicting Christ's crucifixion with the figures of a praying man and a woman. At the side of the feet under a door decorated with trumpet blowing angels a plaque is visible with an inscription related to the deceased. On the entire surface of the coffin the figural representations are woven with rich ornaments inspired by vegetation. The closest analogies for the coffin of Krisztina Csáky are the coffins from the crypt under the Loretto Chapel in the Augustinian church in Vienna (Image 21).¹⁹³

The designs of the coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi follow this tradition, although these are much larger in size and their ornamentation is enriched with new, emblematic elements symbolizing the significant military role of the deceased. They are almost identical in design and they were certainly made in the same workshop.

The archival sources indicate that Ferenc Károlyi initially wanted to order his fathers' coffin from a Viennese coppersmith, but because he fell ill after the conclusion of the contract, Károlyi ordered it from Pozsony in the end.¹⁹⁴ 14 years later the director of the family's estate ordered the coffin for the deceased Ferenc Károlyi from Pozsony as well. According to the contract made with the coppersmith master Peter Eller, the price of this last coffin was 650

¹⁹³ Magdalena Hawlik-Van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begrabnisstatte der Habsburger in Wien* (2nd edition: Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: 1993), 31.

¹⁹⁴ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 398. 32716. The letter of Miklós Eötvös to Károlyi Ferenc (25th of January 1744.)

forints, but he had to finish it in four months. He had to follow the coffin model of Sándor Károlyi, with a coat of arms on the front and with a niche at the upper part for the portrait of the deceased and the plaque for the engraving of the titles and functions.¹⁹⁵

In light of these data we can conclude that the master of the two coffins was the same person, coppersmith Peter Eller (civis cuprarius, nomunatus civis cuprarius, Burg. Kupferschmied) from Pozsony, who worked between 1726 and 1757. His name appears several times between 1727 and 1740, as best man, in the register of births, marriage and deaths. Between 1729 and 1732 Eller worked with Georg Raphael Donner in St. Martin's Cathedral in Pozsony to prepare sculptures for decoration of the Chapel of St. John the Almsgiver. In 1757 he completed the statue of St. Michael the Archangel, the crowning statue of St. Michael's Gate in Pozsony.¹⁹⁶ There is no written information regarding his studies and oeuvre, but his works must have been influenced by Donner, with whom he worked in St. Martin's Church. Other influence could have come from the followers of Donner. Among them, some the best-known were Johann Nicolaus and Balthasar Ferdinand Moll, the masters of the tin sarcophagi of

¹⁹⁵ National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502. 4./4/b.: The letter of Demeter Rác to Antal Károlyi, written on 16th of November 1758. 8.

¹⁹⁶ Aggházy Mária, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon I.* [Baroque Sculpture in Hungary I.] (Budapest, 1959), 188; Saur, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* Vol. 33. (München–Leipzig, 2002), 296. (I. Bardoly); Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* Vol. 10. (Leipzig, 1914), 465; Stefan Rakovszky, *Pressburg und seine Umgebung* (Pressburg, 1865), 80; Ortway Tivadar, *Pozsony város utcai és terei* [The streets and squares of Pozsony] (Pozsony, 1905), 367; Anna Petrová-Pleskotová, “Bratislavskí výtvarní umelci a umeleckí remeselníci 18. storočia [Artists and craftsmen in Bratislava in the 18th century],” *Ars* 4/1–2(1970): 215. and *Ars* 6–8 (1972–1974): 288; About the construction of the chapel see: Maria Malíková, *Juraj Rafael Donner a Bratislava* (Bratislava, 1993), 25–41. Malikova supposes that at the construction of the main altar taking place between 1733 and 1735 worked the same masters as at the building of the chapel. The list of the costs of Peter Eller for his work at the chapel, signed by Donner as well, was preserved in the Esztergom Primatial Archives, see: Prokopp Gyula, “Levéltári adatok Georg Raphael Donner pozsonyi éveiről [Archival data for the Pressburg Stay of Georg Raphael Donner],” *Ars Hungarica* 6/2 (1978): 333 (329–339).

Emperor Charles VI., Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa in the Imperial crypt in Vienna, as well as of the sarchophag of Károly József Batthyány (†1772) in Németújvár (Güssing, Austria) (Image 23).¹⁹⁷

As mentioned before, the structure of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi's coffin follows the pattern of Krisztina Csáky's coffin. While the latter rests on six craniums, the former are placed on feet modelling helmets and breastplate wearing human skulls. On their sides and lid the same numbers of very similar ornaments are visible. Beside the repeated elements such as the clamped lion heads, friezes, volutes, bubbles blowing putti, the skull with shinbones, the putto heads decorating the corners of the lid, the iconographical program and the arrangement of the lid, there are some new elements. In the middle of the longer side of the two coffins, the putto-head visible on Krisztina Csáky's coffin is replaced with military symbols such as flags, drums, cannon, shield, breastplate, helmet with plume, mace, sword, pistol, hammer, marshal's baton and so on. On its left side a new element appears representing an angel blowing a trumpet. The heightening of the lid allowed the usage of a richer decoration. The longer sides of the lid are ornamented symmetrically, the vegetal ornament showed on Krisztina Csáky's coffin is replaced with military symbols (shields, flags, drums, cannons, cannon balls, hammers, marshal's baton, mace, pistol) arranged in four groups on each side.

¹⁹⁷ Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* Vol. 25. (Leipzig, 1931), 40–41; Aggházy Mária, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon I.* [Baroque Sculpture in Hungary I.] (Budapest, 1959), 88–89; Magdalena Hawlik-Van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begrabnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien* (2nd edition: Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: 1993), 51–55.

Although Ferenc Károlyi's coffin is almost an exact copy of his father's, the two coffins differ in a few details (Image 18). While the craniums holding up Sándor Károlyi's sarcophagus are realistic, in the case of Ferenc Károlyi's coffin, these become stylized and mask-like. In the latter case, the putto heads placed on the corners of the lid have an individualized face and hairstyle, wearing a breastplate under their wings, while those on Sándor Károlyi's coffin are schematic and simplified. In both cases, the majority of the ornaments were processed from separate copperplates and applied on the coffin subsequently; however, those on the later coffin stood out more boldly from the backgrounds and even, as in the case of the corner-ornaments, became bigger.

On the upper part of Sándor Károlyi's coffin lid there is a relief of the crucifixion scene, beneath that a niche for the portrait and inscription plate, closed with a little door, which is decorated with the inscription "1744" and the initials HIS enriched with a cross, a heart and three arrow figures. The Károlyi's coat of arms in both cases is molded from a separate copperplate and is attached to the head sides of the lids (Image 29). The structure and the coloring of the coat of arms from Sándor Károlyi's coffin is an exact copy of the arms appearing on the diploma of donation mentioned earlier. Under the door of the niche a high-quality half-length portrait of Sándor Károlyi is placed (Image 32). Sándor Károlyi is depicted in front of a dark, uniform background with his head turned slightly to the left, with gray hair and moustache and wearing a short furlined coat over a dolman, a rosette decorated with precious stones and a plumed brown fur-capon his head. Unfortunately the painter of the

portrait is unknown. On the other hand it is known that Ferenc Károlyi's portrait on his coffin –, which followed a similar technique, size and composition – was painted by Daniel Schmidelli, a painter from Pozsony.¹⁹⁸

The items placed next to the Károlyis' coffins were also important parts of the funeral supplies. What these were we do not know exactly, but some visual sources can be of help. The collection of the Hungarian National Museum has a full-length portrait of Sándor Károlyi that had been made slightly before his death, on which the count appears in front of the scenes of the surrender on the Nagymajtény (Moftinu Mare, Romania) plain, dressed in festive clothes (Image 33) which are almost identical to the clothes visible on the funeral portrait (Image 32). The portrait shows him wearing a fur headgear with a decorated crest of plumes, a sword in a jeweled sheath and a gilded silver mace.¹⁹⁹ From these elements the fur headgear appears on the portrait from the coffin as well. However, in the archives of the Károlyi family more sketches from this period for hat crests are preserved. The inscription on one of them reveals that it was made of gold decorated with 100 precious stones and the same number of pearls.²⁰⁰ In all probability similar military objects were placed around on the catafalque of the deceased count and were also carried in the funeral procession.

The different flags, the decorative horse tacks and the embroidered drum and saddle blankets mentioned in the funeral descriptions were also important elements of the spectacle.

¹⁹⁸ See the bill of the painter written on 11th of October 1759: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1502. 7./4.b/Documents related to the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi (1758–1759), 3.

¹⁹⁹ Hungarian Historical Gallery, Budapest, Inv. Nr. 83.7.

²⁰⁰ About the ornamental weapons of the Károlyi family: Temesváry Ferenc, "Díszfegyverek Károlyi-gyűjteményéből [Parade Armors from the Károlyi Collection], " *Historia* 1 (1979): Nr. 3, 35.

The fact that the venues of the burial ceremonies created an atmosphere similar to theatres is reflected for example in the description of Sándor Károlyi's funeral, in which it is named "Theatris" and "Schau - Bünnen". The terminology of the sources also suggests that these solemn funerals ("Leichen- Begängniss" or "magnifice Leichs – Solemnität") of the Károlyis had won the admiration of the participants, who were deeply touched by what they had seen and heard.²⁰¹ The funeral accoutrements however were not only used for the enhancement of the visibility of the funeral decoration, but later they became the most important appurtenances of the burial mausoleum in Kaplony, proclaiming the social, political, military and pedigree of the Károlyis.

²⁰¹ Krisztina Csáky's funeral description, for example, contains some telling details in this regards: "mely hogy mennyire indította meg a hallgatók szíveit, nem elég hinni, azt le is kellene írni"; "ha szemlélője lettél volna mindennek, nem tudtad volna, hová fordítsd először, hová másodszor tekintetted, mert ezen gyászpompában egyesítve volt a nagyszerű a magasztossal." See: Appendix III.

Conclusions

The funerals of the Károlyis illustrate the continuity in the 18th century of the 17th century funeral traditions established in Hungary and Transylvania.

Similar to earlier funerals, which transmitted the idea of the virtue-based knightly ethos, the funerals of the Károlyis demonstrated the military and political significance, the prestige of the deceased. They continued the traditions fixed in the earlier periods, which carried significant elements of medieval origin as well. These consisted of the use of the alteregos, the impersonators of the deceased dressed in armour carrying funeral flag and military symbols, the lead horses equipped with decorative harnesses and the mortuary horses, covered in black textile, which at the end of the ceremony were given to the Franciscan monastery in Kaplony. Similar customs can be found in the funeral practices of the Hungarian kings, the princes of Transylvania, the nobility in Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries. The reason why the funerals of the Károlyis stand out is that they were probably the last examples where these customs of medieval origin were in use. In the persistence of the traditions until Ferenc Károlyi's funeral in 1759, might be explained by the fact that the description of Sándor Károlyi funeral was preserved in the archive of the family, and – as it was shown – served as a model for Ferenc Károlyi's funeral.

It is also revealing that the old customs were reshaped, adapted to the specific situations, and were engaged in the service of representation, personal and familial cult. These funerals also show that the old tradition and the new ones could be present simultaneously. For example while in the practices connected with the laying out of state and the funeral procession no

changes occurred, the funeral decoration was enriched with new elements, like the *castra doloris* and the emblem decoration of the burial church.

Perhaps is not a coincidence that only a few sources were preserved about the funeral of Antal Károlyi in 1791. The relatively short time between the death and the burial of Antal Károlyi suggest that his burial ceremony was much simpler than his predecessors', which required several months of preparation. It is presumably that there was no demand for such a spectacular, large-scale public representation any more, particularly in such remote place as Nagykároly or Kaplony was at that time. From the last decades of the 18th century the Károlyis spent most of their time in Pest and Vienna, where they also had palaces. The ancestral residence in Nagykároly and even the familial burial place in Kaplony lost its significance to such extent that Jozefa Harruckern, the wife of Antal Károlyi did not considered important to be buried near his husband, and had chosen to be buried near his parents in the public cemetery in Vienna. Still, the most important cause of the disappearance of these traditions is that by the end of the 18th century, on the threshold of modernism, these funeral traditions become outdated.

The results of my investigation suggest that the complexity of the funerals require multiple viewpoints and interdisciplinary analyses. The methodologies of art history, cultural history, history of mentality, sociology and literature complement each other and make possible the drawing of relevant, impartial conclusions. Each of these viewpoints could not be applied equally; therefore my aim was mainly to call attention to the potential of the multidisciplinary approach upon this subject. The funerals of the Károlyis used a series of interconnected elements which could be interpreted primarily in their own context, but they can be fitted into a larger cultural-historical context.

Analogies, however, have to be established carefully because in the evolution of the rite similar processes should take place in very different regions (i.e. the use of the funeral portraits). The similarities could be a result of indirect influence as well, as we had seen in the transfer of the funeral tradition of the Anjou kings to the Polish royal court and then to the funerals of the dukes of Transylvania and Hungarian nobility. In the case of the funeral objects of arts, the analogies are the manifestations of workshop connection. For example the similarity between the iconography of the Károlyis' coffins and the tombs of the Imperial Crypt in Vienna shows with high probability that they were commissioned from masters of the same workshop (i.e. Peter Eller and Balthasar Ferdinand Moll). Funerals of the Károlyis did not remain intact not even from the spirit of the age impregnated with Counter Reformation ideology and of Baroque. They had such characteristics (like the glorification of the deceased, the accentuation of his Christian virtues) that resemble to other, more distant examples as well. The Baroque as artistic style has also a homogeneous stylistic repertoire, exemplified by the similar structure of the *castra doloris* widespread in the 16–17th centuries in many regions of Europe (e.g. Italy, Spain, Germany, Bohemia and Poland). Despite the fact that *castra doloris* had medieval preliminaries in Hungary and Transylvania as well, the imposing funerals and the funeral commemoration ceremonies of the Emperors had a significant role in shaping the ceremonies among the Hungarian nobility, including the Károlyi family. On the other hand the custom of using *castra doloris* on funerals was established already in the middle of the 17th century among the Hungarian nobility in Upper Hungary. The Károlyis had important estates, castles there too (in Tótmegyer/ Palárikovo and Stomfa/ Stupava), and being an important family they probably participated in such funerals where *castra doloris* were built.

The role of the Jesuit order in the adoption of the custom of building castra doloris cannot be excluded either. The majority of the castra doloris built in Hungary and Transylvania was indebted to Jesuits. The Károlyis were in close relation with the Jesuits Order, they were educated in Jesuit schools and they also invited Jesuits priest in Szatmár and Nagykároly at the end of the 17th century.

There are no data regarding the identity of the designers of the emblems drawn for the funerals of the Károlyis, but it is possible that they belonged to the Piarist Order which was settled in Nagykároly by the Károlyi family. As it was shown, they painted coats of arms for Krisztina Csáky's funeral, and because they were experienced in drawing and architectural design, they might have been the designers of the castrum doloris as well.

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Appendices

I. The description of Sándor Károlyi's funeral in 1744

Source: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1501, 16. box, 148. lad. pp. 1–8.

Solemne Leichen- Begängniss Ihrer Seeligen Excellenz und Herr General feld Marschals/ :Tit.Tit:/ Herrn Grafens Alexandri Károlyi de Nagy-Károly, a so geschehen den 22 Junii Ao° 1744 in Nagy-Károly.

Kurtzer Inhalt der höchst achtbaren, prächtigsten und herrlichsten Trauen – Begängniss Ihrer S' Excellz Herrn Hr General feldt-marschal Herrn Graffen Alexander Károlyi de Nagy-Károly/:tit.:/ welcher den 8 septembris des verflossenen Jahres 1743 in seinem erblichen Schloss Erdöd das zeitliche gesegnet, nachher Károly überbracht, jüngstens aber aus nur gar zu wichtigen ursachen, umständen und höchster Consideration, als den 22 Junii currentis 1744 von dem Markt flecken Nagy-Károly in herrlichster Begleitung einer un vergleichen menge, deren so wohl von hohen ansehen Herrlichsten Familien, als auch minderen und von weit entlegenen Königlichen Stätten,

Dorfschaften und ortsamen zur Beehrung dieser herrlichsten Trauer Begängniss angerückten Ständen, nacher Kaplony als dieser hochgräflichen Familie erstes Stammen-Haus alwo dessen in Gott seelig entschlaffene Blutsbefreunde abgeleibter ruhen, mit billich bewunderer Solennität zu denen Ehrwürdigen P.P. franciscanein Ordins Reformatorum Strictioris observantiae ist überbracht, und in eine von Ihro Excell' dessen erblichen Herrn Sohn General feldmarschall/: Tit:/ Herrn Francisco Károlyi jüngstens aufgebaute Krufft geleget wurde.

Indem zu der Beförderung dieser prächtigen Trauen- Begängniss Hoch-Gräffli' Excell'/:Tit:/ Herrn Alexandri Károlyi ob gröster menge deren theils aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen eingeladenen Geistlichen und Weltlichen, theils deren von weit entlegen königlichen Städten, Markt- und Dorf schaften zur Beehrung dieser so prächtigen Leichs - Solemnität anrückenden Ständen, in dessen Gräffl' Schloss kein genugsam amples orth zur Befassung dieser so zahlreichen Volksmenge gefunden wurde, war man folgsam bemüssiget dessen goltseeligen Leichman in ein auf freien feldt und schönster Terens – flache erhobenes Gebayde, so gar leicht 6 oder 7000 köpfe befassen könnte in gröster Stille zu überbringen, allwo dessen Leichnam auf einen darzu schon vorhin vorbereiteten und mit schwarzer Trauer überzogenen 3 Schuch hoch erhobenen Cataphalk in Beysein deren hoch und niedrigen Stands-Personen depositirt wurde.

Beschreibung des äusserlichen Terens, auf welchen die folgende ordnungs anstaltung deren sowohl zu Pferdt als zu Fuss gestellter Truppen geformiret wurden.

Dieses oben angezogene herrliche Gebäu, welches ein ä(h)nliches magain, in welchen diesen prächtige Trauer- Begängniss gehalten wurde, stunde auf freien ebenen feldt beyläufig auf 3 oder 4000 schritt entfernet von dem Castell- dieses gottseeligen Graffens und General, welches um desto mehr beschönet der schön rings herum grünende Wasen, frucht- felder, Prun und ein angränzender Obst-garten auf welcher flache die so wohl zu Pferdt, als auch zu fuss beywohnende Truppen sambt den in einer Rangs-Ordnung zu stehen bekommenden Böbel hatte geordnet werden können; also zwar, dass man mit nichten eine Confusion oder Verhinternus deren herrlichen anstaltungen könnte befürchten.

Notandum. Die grosse Klugheit deren vorgestellten Beordenern spante alleinig dahin, die anwesende Leichs - Beehrer nach reiffer Beobachtung ihrer gebührender Succession, wie auch

Dignitäts umstände effective in schönster Ordnung zubehalten und dieses zwar in einer verdoppelten Spaliers– Rang also ordentlich zu befestigen, damit durch die mitte beider Spalieren die mit der Zeit aus dem Castell ausrückende und sich bis zu dem Orth der Leiche begebende Chese ohne aller Verhinternuss einiger Ordnung durchpassiren könnten. Diese wohl formirte Spaliers - Ordnung so von dem Eingang des Markt-fleckes sich bis zu dem Eingang des gesagten Gebäude erstrecket, war auf den gesagten Teren also formiret.

Forma Odinis Primi

1. Zwei schwarz gekleite Stall –maister, so den Befelch gehabt, den Anfang oder die Vortreter dieser Ordnung in bester Stand haftigkeit zu behalten, stunden an beiden anfang zweier Spaliers-Ordnungen ganz genau an dem Thor des Markt- Fleckens.
2. Nach welchen die aus lauter Edel Leuthen der löbl’ Szathmarer Gespannschaft, und deren 4 Process zusammengezogene Reuterey gegen 400 mann in 4 Compagnien eingetheit mit ihren 4 Standaren, ober -und unter-officirs, das Gewähr Trauermass endt führend.
3. Nach welchen von beiden Seiten gestelet wurden jene, welche sich von der Helvetischer Confession bena...bsen sambt ihren Superintendenten, Praedicanten, Schull Maister, Togaten, Studenten und Böbel.
4. Diesen wurden nachgestelet die Russnaken und Wallachen in einer grossen menge, so von ihren angeordneten gleichmässig ordentlich behalten wurden mit 12 fähnen.
5. Hatte zu stehen bekommen die Schwäbische Nation so die Ordnung zahlreich vermehrte mit 8 fähnen, welche alle entweder aus einer unterthänigsten Schuldigkeit, oder aus billichen respekt ihres Grunds –Herrens erscheinen musten.

6. Folgten zwei Division deren von:/Tit:/ Herrn Oberst Eötvös aus eigenen Spesen vor das löbl' Beleznaysche Huszaren Regiment aufgerichtete zwei augmentations Compagnien unter 2 von Gold und Bullion gestickten Standarten mit Paucken und Trompeten, welche alle von oben anberührten Herrn Oberst Lieutant Nicolaus Eötvös comandiert worden.

7. Stunde nach diesen eine Compagnie samt ihrem Standar und Trompeten von dem löbl' Printz Lubomircskischen Curassirs -Regiment. Nach welchen

8. die Gebräuchliche Artillerie, so da dieser solemnem Begräbniss nicht eine kleine Herrlichkeit beytrage, und von 100 bewaffneten in gleicher teutschen mondur Dorffes- mannschafften /: aus mangel deren regulirten Truppen:/ und 100 abermahligen gewaffneten Köpfen zu Fuss, welche von beiden Seiten von 50 und 50 mit schwarzer Trauer gemondurt bestehenden Hoff-Guardi zu Pferd geschlossen wurde zur rechten Seiten sambt denen a No. 1. bis hieher (die) gesagten zu stehen bekommen. Zur linken Seiten aber

9. Stunden 6 wunderschöne Handt - Pferde, welche von 14 grünen gekleiten Hoff- Beamten zu fuss gehalten wurden, so da mit unterschiedlichen kostbar gestickten Schabraken, Sattel und Zeug geziert waren, deren das letztere von weisser farb Ahi Bassa dem Göttseelig' vor ein sonderbahres Praesent gegeben, welche alle geführte Handt-pferde durch eine abermahlige schwarz gekleidete Hoff-Guardi zu Pferd geschlossen wurden.

10. Wurde gestellet eine von Kupfer Künstlich getribene vergolt und versülberte, ja auf das schönste hin und wider gemarmolierte Sarg auf einen von 6 schwarz en Rappen, deren Angeschier mit schwarzer klag - farb bedecket, schwarz angestrichene Wagen gespannt.

11. Nach welcher zu stehen bekommen 2 abermahlige Handt-Pferde so gänzlich mit schwarzen Tüchern bis zur Ende bedeckt waren, gefihret von 4 Hoff- Bedinten, so in gleicher langer klag waren.

12. Der Trauerwagen, insonsten Castrum Doloris genannt von zimlicher Höche staffel weis ringsherum mit sehr vielen shwartzten Wachs- Kertzen besteckt, und von schwartzten bis zu Erden hangenden Tuch überzogen gefihret von dergleichen 6 schwartzten Pferden, welches ein Capitan mit 10 ihm baarweis folgender Haus-officirs alle schwartz gekleidet schlossete.

13. Nach welchen die so wohl rossnakische als auch valachische Clerisei sambt ihren/:Tit:/ Herrn Pischoffen in der Zahl 60 gestanden.

14. Undt endlichen wurde das äusserliche Teren mit vielen militär und Civil Personen, so die ankommende anwesende auf ihren bestimmten Plätzen und Örtheren empfangen und verordneten besetzt.

Notandum. Beschreibung der Beschaffenheit der innerlich Gebäus Stellung.

Nachdeme dan das äusserliche Terren mit denen oben angezogenen a puncte 1 usque ad punctum 11um inclusive anstaltungs-ordnung effective besetzt worden, geschahen unterdessen in dem Gebäude, in welchen der entseelte Leichnan Ihrer Seelig Excell', wie schon vorhin gesaget, gestelet wurde, auch gleichmässige herrliche anstaltung die innerliche Weite und breite dieses herrlichen Gebäu, wie auch alle Ecke und Ende mit unterschiedlichen Ständen nach ihrer Dignität und Rang zu besetzen. Es stunde dieses Gebäu auf 12 von gebraunten Steinern erbauten Säulen so, dass man von allen Seiten das mittel punkt, oder den bestelten Leichnam sambt allen apertinenten apparamenten ohne Verhindernus einigen oppositi füglich sehen könnte; in welchen mittel punkt der Lieb Ihrer Excellz' auf einen 3 schuch hoch erhobenen und

mit schwartzen klag bedeckten Cataphalk, wie schon oben in Praenotato gesagt, gestelet wurde. Dieses Gebäu wurde aber so wohl oben, als auch auf denen Seiten theils mit schwartzen Tüchern, theils mit grünenenden zweigen bedeckt.

Der Leichnams apparat

Die Sarch Ihrer Seel' Excellz' nebst dem das sie schon ohne denen vorhin mit schönsten schwartzen verportirten Damast bekleidet wurde, dannach über dieses jene mit 6 auf das reichst von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität behanget, um welche Sarge 12 schwartzfärbig wachsene und mit seidenen Wappen behankte Wind Lichter gesehen wurden.

Vier Ordens Stände. Aud die vier Ecke dieses Cataphalks wurden gestelt die 4 von dem Gottsel' Herrn gestiftete heilige Ordens. Stände, utpote: Iesuviter, Patres Piarum Scholarum, Patres minorum et Observantes, welche ob sie zwar in einer nahmwürdigen anzahl gegenwärtig waren, stunden sie dannch also ordentlich, dass weder denen Hononarien, und denen sich schon algemach nach ihren Rang ankleideten adstanten, viel weniger jenen, so bey nächst der Sarg zu stehlen anrückenden ein Orth benohmnen, viel weniger eine Verhindernus daraus deren verrichtenden Ceremonien befürchtet wurde.

Pischöffflischer Sitz. Unweith beyläufig 4 Schritt entfernt von der Sarg sahe man einen 3 Schuch hoch erhobenen und mit gleicher Trauer bedeckten pischöfflichen Sitz, dene man sonsten Stallum nehmet, darauf Ihre Pischöffliche und Gräffl' Excell' zu pontificieren mit gebührender veneration erwartet wurde.

Eintritt Ih. Pischoffl' Excell'. Nachdeme zu einer so herrlichen Leich der bedürfflige apparat in die gänzliche Bereitschafft effective ist gebracht worden, ruckte) die ganze Ehrwürdige nach Kirchengebrauch angekleite Clerisei etwas wenig auser das Gebau auf der flache des besagten

Terren. Ihro Püschöffli' zu chese sambt zweyer anderen Infulirten Titular Püschchöffen ankommende Excell' nach herrlicher Kirchen solemne zu empfangen, drine abermalig die ehrwürdige clerisei in schönster Ordnung verhalten, und bis zu frinen Püschoff Sitz begleidete. Allwoh Ihre Püschöff' Exzell' samt zweyen Honorarien seiner pro actu hoc alleine mit grossen Treys verfertigen kostbahren und reich gestückten herrliche Veranstaltungen folgebracht wurden, beliebte Ihrer Püschöffl' Excell' das weltgebräuchliche Oremus pro fidelibus Defunctis zu intonieren. Welcher kirchengebrauch da die dazu bestimmte musicanten ihrer musicalischen Instrumenten traurigsten Thus-Than beygesendet.

Rückte Ihre Gräffl' Excell' General Feldt Marschal Lieutenant Frantz Károlyi de Nagy-Károly in Begleitung 2 gräffl' Excellenzen geheimer Räthen Herren Thoma Berényi und Herrn Personal Antonio Grasalkovics durch die oben unter No. 1. bis numero 14 geordnete Spaliers ordnung zu dem Gebäude in einer mit schwarzen Tuch aus und inwendig bedeckten chese.

Notandum. Ihro Gräffl' Excellenz verfügte sich sambt beyden ihrne beywohnenden Geheimen Räthen in dem innerlichen von denen oben angerirten 4 GeistlichenOrdens Ständen geformirten krayss zu dem Haupt Ihrer Seelig' Excell' andere beywohnende zahlreiche Gräffl' Blust-Befreunde aber zu füssen dessen. Zu beobachten folget dennach dass 3 mächtige mit Pantzer angethane männer, so intra stallum Episcopale und denen oben angezogenen welche zwischen den Püschöffl' Stulle und denen 4 von Ihro Seel' Excell' gestellten Ordens-Ständen zu stehen bekommen, deren einer unterhalb zu füssen eine schwarze von gross Detor mit Goldt und bullion sehr reich gestickten grossen Wappen fahnen, der zweite obenvärts zu rechten seiten einen auf roth sammeten Polster liegenden mit Edelgesteinen Kostbar besetzten Säbel, der dritte linker Hands einen schwer massivi Silber und vergolten ungarischen Streit- Kolben Statt des

Commando- Stabs nebst einer schönen rothen ungarischen Pöltz - Mitzen mit ebenfahls aus gold und silber in fligel form Künstlich ausgearbeiteten feder Busch geziret in Händen hielte.

Da dann der äusserliche krayss also wie schon gesagt, herrlich besetzt wurde, rückte ingleichen auch ...bey mit einen grossen Gefolk deren begleiteten frauen-Damen, wie auch deren Sie zu Ständen führenden schwartz begleiteten Cavallieren Ihro Gräffl' Gnaden Clara Károlyi, eine hinterlassene Wittwe Ihres eheligen Gemahls weyland Herrn Graffen Gabrielis Haller, Ihres Seel' verblüchenen Exll' einige frau frau Tochter, welche von dem Haupt biss zur Erden mit schwarzen Schleier bedeckt sich sambt denen weiblichen Bluts-Befreundinen zur nächst der Sarg verfüget, allda mit auf die Sarg verwanten Gesicht, kläglichen Wörtern und Stäts ablauffenden Thränen allen anwesenden ihren billichen Schmertzen über einen also billich beweinenenden Todtes-fahl Ihrer Seel' Excellenz bewisen hatte.

Nachdeme dann die so wohl innerlich als auch äusserliche seiten Plan besetzt wurde, schliesseten den ganzen Krayss in einer Eskadron Ordnung 12 schwartz gekleite Herrn Assessores dieses Löbl' Szathmarer Comitatz.

Diese alle angezogene Bluts-freundlich, geistliche und Weltliche anzahl umringete eine grosse menge deren anwesenden nobilen, nach welchen fast eine unbeschreibliche Ville des gemeinen Pöbels von ihren darzu vorbereiteten Theatris, oder schau - Bünnen die magnifice Leichs-solemne beehrte und bewunderte.

Nachdeme dann der gabräuchliche Gottes-Dienst sambt denen darzu gehörigen Ceremonien geendet wurde, bestiege der ad hunc actum erwöhlte geistliche e Scholis Piis P. Gregorius a S' Ladislao (Tapolcsányi) Sacro Sanctae Theologiae Professor die allda gegen der Trauer - Bühne gegen hinüber gestellte Kantzel und hielte in ungarischer Sprach eine lange, sehr gelehrt,

sinnreich und wohlaus . gearbeitete Leichen Sermon mit genug Thräu aller Ständen über die schriftliche Stellung: in vita suffulsit Donum et in diebus suis corroboravit Templum, unterwährender zeit zugleich auch unter einem auf den äusserlichen Terren aufgeschlagenen Zelt eine ebenfalls sehr zahlreiche teutsche Predig gehalten wurde ab Admodum R.P. Ordinis minorum Secretario Provincialis.

Nach geendeten Lob Reden wurde die wohl componirte aus 180 Strophen bestehende Trauer- und Valedictions Ode abgesungen, so da in diesem Landt und insorderheit bey grossen Ständen höchst gebräuchlich.

In welcher zwar anfänglich mit Nahmen Ihro Seelig' Excellenz demüthigster Dank erstattel wurde treuen seelingst' audentens und von ihme überlebten Kaysl' majestäten Leopoldo, Josepho und Carolo, wie dann auch Ihrer allüberwündlich regierenden gekrönten Königlicher Majestät Mariae Theresiae vor alle Ihre aus hohen Gnaden und sonderbarsten gütigsten Reflexion ervisene Gnaden; in sonderheit aber beurlaubte Er sich von Ihro allunüberwindlich regierenden königl' majestät mit demüthigster Darwünschung einer in grössten frieden ersprössiger Regirung, ingleiches gestalt zu triumphirlich zu überwinden jene, so das unüberwindliche Haus Oesterreich zu beunfridigen sich unterfangen. Wie dann er auch den Königlichen Kron Printzen und Erben das höchste alter in allen ersprüslichen Wohlergehen, Glück und göttlichen Seegen zu erreichen beygesetzt; seine hinterlassene Erbe und nachkömliche aber in dero königliche Protection auch noch anhinfihiro unterthänigst wie auch demüthigst unterdessen Patrocinal Schutz recommondirte.

Demmach entsattete Ihro Seelig Excellenz auch schuldigsten Dank Ihre Püschöffl' Excell' als seinem bis zu dem Tode treuesten seelen Hirten Diaecesano Ordinario vor die mühe und Liebe,

so Er sowohl im Leben als auch pro actu hoc in seiner Erden Bestätigung empfangen, dessen Treu Hirtenspflichte Ihre Seelig Excellenz von Gott reichlichst zu belohnen dargenwunschen und seine hinterlassene Erbe in eine gleichmässige protection anbe fohlen hatte.

Demnach beurlaubte Er sich von Ihro fürstlichen Durchlaucht und Primate des löbl' Königreichs Ungarn, dem er auch gleichenveis das hohe erlebte alter in den Seegen Gottes zu verlängern und endlichen zu beschliessen dargewunschen.

Demnach beurlabte Er sich von allen Seinen Blutsbefreunden welchen Er die Liebe und furcht Gottes, wie auch die Gerechtigkeit in allen Beschäftigungen als die erste Cynosur der Ehre der göttlichen majestät anrecommandirte, seine arme Seel in ferneres anerdenken bey Gott nicht zu verabsäumen, sonder vielmehr von die Nachlassung seiner Gebrächlichkeiten unbefleckte altarsopferungen vor Ihme abzustatten gebeten hätte.

Nachdeme dann in dieser Beurlaubung die schönste Ordnung deren Dignitäten, Ständen, freunden, anwesenden noblen, Geistliche und Weltlichen gehalten, und also geendet wurde, beschlosse endlichen der musikalischer chor mit einer prächtigen und traurigen Musik alle vorgesagte Cerimonien

Bevegung des Leibet. Nun wurde endlichen zum Beschluss der entseelte Leichman Ihrer Seel' Excell' von 12 bis zu der Erden schwartz gekleiten Hoff-Officianten zum Zeichen des Ausrückens erhoben und auf etliche schritt von dem oben gesagten Cataphalk getragen.

Forma Ordinis Secundi

Nachdeme denen in dem äusserliche Terren in schönster Bereitschaft stehenden Svadronen die Bevegung anbefohlen wurde, rückten alle samentlich a' Nr. 1. Primi ordinis, wie schon gesaget

bis No. 14 inclusive in schönster Ordnung dem Marktflecken Nagy Károly zu, in willens sich durch die mitte desselbigen orths zu begeben wie folget

15. Undt also geschahe das immediate nach dem No. 14 gesagten nobels und militär Ständen. Den nachtritt bekommen hatten 40 ehrwürdige PP. Franciscani unter dem Ihnen gebräuchlich vorgetragenen zeichen der heiligen kreutzes.

16. Treussig ehrwürdige PP. Minorum sambt ihrem ehrwürdigen P. Provincial.

17. Nach welchen der zahlreiche musikalische chorus nachtrat.

18. Demnach folgten die also genannte P. Clerici Regulares Scholarum Piarum sambt ihrem anwesenden ehrwürdigen P. Provincial in der Zahl 24, demnach 12 ehrwürdige PP: Societatis Jesu, zwanzig ad modum Reverendi Domini Pfahrer, so alle bis hieher solitis superpelliceis angethan waren.

19. Diesen also zahlreichen geistlichen Ständen ruckten entlich in grosser Herrlichkeit nach die Ihro Püschöffl' Pontificianden Excell' assistirende adstanten und Honorarii und zwar Reverendissimus Dominus Molnár, Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Vörös, Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Hubert abbas Sancti Gabrielis Archangeli. Magister Ceremoniarum Episcopaliū Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Schnirer Georgius abbas natae Reginae angelorum de Kömpolt; Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Sigismundus Stoika Praeposilus S. Petri et Pauli de Castro Agriensi, alle samentlich Capitl Herren von Erlau. Demnach folgten nach beyde Infulirte Honorarii und zwar zur rechten Ihrer Püschöffl' Excell. Illmus ac Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Fábri:/Tit:/ Eppu's ex Venerabili Capitulo Varadiensi. Zur linken Illmus ac Rvrd'ssmus Dn'us Andreas Püspöky Eppu's Vovadirensis ex ven. Capitulo Agriensi. In der Mitte beyder Honorariorum trate Ihre Pontificiande Püschöffl' Excell' Herr Herr Graff Gabriel Erdödi de Monyorókerék:/ Tit.:/ Ordinarius noster et Episcopus Agriensis.

20. Nach welcher Püschöffl' Pontificanten daher trate einer mit einem eysernen Pantzer angethaner hoher mann, so den schon oben angerirten Leich – fahn dem im'ediate nachfolgenden entseelten Leib vorgetragen.

21. Folgte der Leichman, so von 12 Hoff-Officianten, so bis zu Erden schwartz gekleitet waren, getragen, bey welchen abermahlig also schwartz gekleidete 12 Comitats assessores daher tratten, und in der dritten Lateral Linie 12 abermahl wie andere schwartz gekleite fackeln Träger ihren Rang genohmen, welche auf den Fuss nach gefolget, die 2 andere oben in der Stellung des Körpers gestellte Pantzer Träger so die bewusste Schilder Ihrer Seelig Excell' trugen.

22. Undt endlichen tratten in der mitte mit grösster aufer -baulichkeit der vorgetragen Sarge nach Ihro Gräffl' Excell' General feld-marschal Lieutenant Franciscanus Károlyi de Nagy-Károly, des in gotseelig entschlafenen Herrn/: Tit:/ erblich hinterlassene Herr Herr Sohn, welchen von beiden Seiten Ihro Gräffl' Gnaden und geheime Rätthe Thomas Berényi und Antonius Grassalkovics sambt anderen geistlichen und von hohen Standt herstammenden Bluts - Befreunden, welche in ansehung Ihrer hohen gegenwart den gefassten schmerzen des Gräffl' Erbens zu erliden sich beflissen.

23. Demnach folgte in grösster Betrübniß unter einen bis auf die Erden bedeckenden Trauers-Schleier Ihre Gräffl' Gnaden und frau Tochter Ihrer Seelig Excell' Clara Károlyi, weiland gewesene Ehe Consortin des seelig Herr Graffens Gabrielis Haller.

24. Welche von beiden seiten so wohl als auch nach begleiteten die von hohen Standt so wohl, also auch von Bluts-freundlichen geblüt herstam'ende frauen, so fast alle samentlich von denen oben schon berührten schwartz gekleideten Cavalliren geführet wurden.

25. Demnach folgten in schönster Ordnung die sowohl aus Sübenburgen als auch aus Ungarn angelangte hohe Standt Madamen, deren auch eine grosse anzahl mit freundlicher Conjunction verbunden. Welchen nachfolgten andere eingeladnete noble frauen, so von unterschiedlich Städtern und entlegenen Orthern die Zahl deren Leichbegenninen vermehrten.

26. Diesen lange Leichs-Ordnung schlüssete in letzstens eine andere lange Escadrons Ordnung deren von dem löbl' Szatmarer Comitatz bestimmten und verordneten Nobeln mit entblösten Seiten gewehr der Leich ordne.

Notandum. Bis zu dem Thor des marktfelckens Nagy-Károly wurde den entseelte Leichnam Ihrer Seelig Excell' thelis von denen Hoff Officianten, theils von denen 12 Herrn Comitatz Assessoribus mit widerholter abwechslung getragen, in dem Eintritts des Orths aber empfangten jenen 12 ehrwürdige Geistliche Ordinis Reformatorum Stricteris Observantiae, die indessen die Inwohner dieses Orths von beyden Seiten der langen Haupt-Gassen der durchpassirenden Leichsordnung paradiret, welche in gleichförmiger Spaliers ordnung anfangendt von einem Thor bis zu dem andern also geordeneter gestanden.

Nachdeme aber die obgemeldete 12 Geistliche den Leichnam bis hundert und etliche Schritt getragen, wurde jene von anderen 12 ehrwürdigen PP. Ordinis minorum abgewechselt, welchen gleichermas 12 Patres Scholis Piis mit ihren Superpelliceis nachgefolget, so ihne abermahlens bis 100 und etliche Schritt parentiret, und wurde also de Leichnam unter dem von allen Seiten erschallenden glocken bis zu dem Kaploner Thor auf die flache in schönster Ordnung getragen. Alwo sodan Halt gemacht, der getragene Gräff Leichnam aber wurde auf das no. 12 gesagte Castrum Doloris oder Trauer Wagen übersetzt, desgleichen auch dem fahn – Träger, so in Pantzer gekleidet ware, wurde ein aus deren Trauer Pferden zu besteigen zugefihret, alwo auch

Ihro Püschöffl' Excellenz sambt seinen beiden Infulirten Honorarien, wie auch anderen beywohnenden Capitel Herrn Ihre Carossen bestigen, welche auch in gleichmässiger Ordnung Ihro gräffl' Excellenz sambt anderen fast unzählbaren Herrschaften so wohl von männlichen als frauen Volk zu Wagen nachgefolget und gienge also dieser Conductus bis auf das ein halbe meil entlegene Dorf Kaplony, wo selbstn abermahlens alles vor dem von hoch seeligen Harn General gestifteten Franciscaner kloster still gestanden, der Leichnam von 12 ehrwürdigen PP. Ordinis is Reformatorum in die Kirche gebracht auf das in der mitte auf gerichtete Castrum Doloris gesetzt; gleich darauf aber von Ihro Püschöffl' Excellenz unter einer schönen Vocal und Instrumental musik das Todten arnbt oder Requiem gehalten, und nach diesem zum Beschluss noch eine andere schöne ungarische Leich Predigt ab Admodum Rudo Patre Stephano Novák strictioris observantiae Ordinis Reformatorum unter der Schriftstellung abgeleget wurde.

Nach Endigung aller dieser hat man so dann den Leichnam in die von Ihro Sellig Excellenz geplanten und von Ihro Gräffl. Gnaden Francisco Károlyi pro actu hoc völlig und zirlich auferbaute Kruffte und an die Kloster kirchen geschlossene Capellen gebracht, alwo der Leichnam in die dahin gestellte kupferne Sarge gelegt; zwischen welcher Zeit so wohl aus denen Stücken, als allerseitig kleinen feuer Gewähr unter Trompeten und Pauken schall eine dreimalige Salve gegeben wurde. Alsdan erhube sich alles widerum nacher Károly, und wurden allda in dem Castell so wohl al auch auf vielen anderen Örthern alle hoche und ville andere anwesende in grösster anzahl von /Tit:/ Herrn General Trefflich tractiret ; auch in übrigen sindt so vil schöne und herrliche Veranstaltungen gemacht worden, dass zugleich alle diejenige von unterschittlichen seiten her in grossen conflux und häufig sich eingefundenen Persohnen diversae Conditionis nicht anlessi mit Quartier versehen, sondern auch zu deren Unterhalt war

nur verlangt, nach eigenen Wunsch und appetit allerhandt Victualien und nothwendigkeiten in grössten Überfluss von Hoff abgereicht; auch in übringen die Militz und an dere hirbey bemüde reichlich beschenkt und zum besten gastirt worden seyendt.

II. The description of Ferenc Károlyi's funeral in 1759

Source: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P.1502, 4/a-b. (The first part of the description was published by Péter Szabó)

Az Halotti Solemnitás, ugy következő Indulás és Processiobéli Rend tartásról való Dispositiók.

1. Legelsőben is hétfőn hajnal előtt a Test szép Csendesen a Temetési Ceremoniák helyére ki tétetvén, egyszersmind a Réz Koporsó is destinált helyére kitétessék és az Testnek őrzésére ki vont fegyverrel hat Nemes Ember állíttassék.
2. Az Calvinista Renden valók Lepcsényi István és Géresi György Commissáriusok alatt, az Oláhság Dragossy Miklós és Stany Flora Commissáriusságok alatt. Az Pápistaság Borbély József és Fekete Ferencz Commissariusságok alatt, reggeli ött és hat órák között, kiki magok Religiojok szerént való Templomnál gyülekezzenek össze az Temetés napján, az az 17a Julii és mihelyest az hatat elüti az óra, mindenik a maga seregét vezesse az már annak előtte ki mutatott helyére, kikkel magok is a Commissáriusok ottan legyenek, s vigyázzanak, a Birákkal is vigyáztassanak, hogy onnat senki, sem enni, sem Praedicatora, sem semmi Pompát nézni ne mennyenek, hanem mind addig ottan legyenek, míg nem az Praedicatiók után, harangozással jel adatik az indulásra Kaplony felé.

3. 4. Mind az három rendbeli hős Nép maga helyeit occupálván Csontos Uram Comandója alatt:/ kinek segedelmére Egri Uram fog állíttatni:/ lévő fegyveres Svábság két csoportban kék és zöld köntösben állván, azokból egy Plutont szép hadi mód szerint állícson az Köz Nép után , az az Pápistaság után.
5. Azon Pluton Svábság után állítassék három ágyú.
6. Azon három ágyú után fog Csontos Uram két Pluton svábokat Commandérozni, all. Tisztekkel.
7. Azon két Pluton fegyveres Svábság után ismét állítatik három ágyú.
8. Egri Uram ez után állíttya az negyedik Pluton fegyveres Népet s ell zárja.
9. Ez után mégyen a nemes Vármegye Seregeinek adjutánsa, s Stobbti Ordinantia.
10. Allítatik utána a Dobos.
11. Az Ttes. Ns. Vármegye determinatioja Szerént formálandó ött Compagniák, Trombitásaikkal, szokott rendgyek szerint állíttatnak a dobos után.
12. Állíttatik egy pár színesben öltöztetett Paripa, melynek vezetésére rendeltetik egy egy színes ruhában való Legény.
- 13.Állíttatik ez után egy magánossan való Gyászos Tiszt, ki az udvari seregnek felit vezeti, azon fél sereg fog állani hat személyből.
14. Egy gyászban öltöztetett Paripa, két gyászban vezetésére rendeltetett Legénnyel állíttatik utána, a fél seregnek.
15. Ezen gyászos ló után rendeltetik a Réz Koporsót vivő szekér.
16. Az után a Test vívő szekér.
17. Az után áll az Udvari seregnek fele, mely hat legényekből fog állani.

18. Három Pánczélban öltözött Legények a Testnek lábához fognak állíttatni, az középsőnek zászlója fog lenni tud. ill: a gyászos zászló s a mellett a két felől valók között az egyik vánkoson a kardot és Buzogányt a másikán a süveget forgóssan.

19. Midőn már így meglészen a ki állatás, a Gazda Parancsolya meg, mindenfelé rendeknek, hogy valamint kiállíttattak, úgy meg tarcsák helyiket; a Commissariusokra és Vice Gazdákra bízván a vigyázást, maga bé jöjjön, és mind a Pontificans Úr Eő Exjának, mind Mlgos Gnalisnak hírré tegye hogy már készen van a készüllet s látván indulását Méltóságos Püspök Urnak, futtasson a Néphez egy embert előre, hogy jól vigyázzanak, és a Test mellett két felől hat hat szövétneket gyűjcsanak, mellyeket arra rendelő gyászosok tarcsanak, mert megyen a Püspök, és midőn a köznép között megyen, magok meghajtásával tiszteltessék töllök, a fegyveresektől pedig praesentálással, s így ell menvén a Mlgos Püspök az egész papi rendekkel, mihellyest a Caeremoniához kezdenek.

20. A gazda hírt adgyon a Mlgos Generálisnak és Mlgos siralmas Feleknek, hogy Casu quo későn ne menyenek az helyre:/ de már praevie (?) ell rendelye a Gazda, kik lesznek a siralmas felek s az azok között való Asszonyságoknak vezető Cavallérokat is rendellyen, kik mind a Testig való vezetésekben, mind onnat a megindulás alkalmatosságával, mind az hol a Test szekérre tétetik, azon Asszonyságokat szekérre ültetésekben. Ismét Kaplony alat a szekérről leszállásokban s Templomban bévezetésekben, s az Ceremonia végezetivel ismét szekérre való ültetésekben szorgalmatossak legyenek:/ Hanem idejében jelentessenek meg, és magokat a Test mellett accomodálhassák kikkel az Udvariak is kimenvén, a Test mellett lábhoz annak rendi szerént állíttassanak. Ezek így meglévén, s a Czeremoniák és Praedicaziók ell fogyván.

21. Az búcsúztató énekeltessék s midőn már közepe táján énekeltetik, már akkor az parancsolt kin lévő sátorokban az arra rendeltettek által a fáklyák és gyertyák meggyújtogattatván

osztogatassanak az férfi rendeknek czimerekkel edgyütt, az asszonyoknak pedig czimer nélkül, kire a Gazdák szorgalmatossan vigyázzanak, de ezen osztogatás előtt már.

22. A Praedicatio után az harangokkal jell adodván, a köznépeket:/ meg indittyák és következő képpen a Commissariusok, Gazdák vigyázzván, s jó rendet tartván kövessék sorjokat. Itt még kell járni, két vagy négy sorban indulyon-e a Processio, tud.ill. azon Nép, mely előt fog menni?

Az Czeremoniák után való meg Indulásnak módgya és Rendi.

1. A Magyarság in specie leg elől Károly várossa, Bátor, Etsed s per Consequent mind egymás után indulván sorban és a több Népet a Commissáriusok, mind helyekben tarcsák, addig, miglen az Magyarság ell takarodik:/ a Praedicatorok kiki maga Parochialis népénél megyen-e, vagy minnyájan a Praedicatorok egy sorban? Az iránt a Mlgos Püspök rendelkezését kell meg tudni:/ kik után sorban egymás után a magok Praedicatorai, Mesterei s Deákjai mennek azok után
2. Indiccsák a Commissariusok az oláh és Oroszsból álló Népet és azok is úgy el menvén mint a Magyarság, Papjaik, Deákjaik utánnok csoportosan, de szép rendell mennyenek, Pluviálékban legelől a Papok, és keresztekkel minden Helység distinguáltassék, ezek után
3. A svábság, úgy mindenféle rendekből való Pápastaság indullyon minden Helységet vezetvén maga Birája s Notarius/: így értvén a fen meg írt magyar és oláh Helységeket is:/ az Commissariusok parancsolattya szerént.
4. Ezek után indul Csontos uram egy Pluton fegyveres Svábbsággal
5. Csontos Uram Plutonna után vitetik három ágyú
6. Azon három ágyú után all. Tisztek vezetése alat indul, a két Pluton svábság.
7. Azok után ismét vitetik három ágyú
8. Azon három ágyú után megyen egy Pluton Sváb Egri Urammal.

9. Az Ttes. Ms. Vármegye seregeinek adjutansa vagy is Stobtz ordinancz megyen.
10. Az után megyen a Dobos.
11. Az fenn megírt Ttes. Nemes Vgye. Ött seregei zászlókkal, és Trombitásokkal szokott modgyok szerént.
12. Ezen seregek ell indulván, utánnok megyen egy pár szinesben öltöztetett Paripa melyeket gyalog vezet egy egy legény.
13. Azt követi egy magányosan induló gyászos lovas Tiszt, ki után mégyen az udvari seregek fele, gyászban ló háton.
14. Egy gyászban öltöztetett Paripa, megyen a fél sereg után, melyet két gyászos legény vezet gyalog.
15. Az után indull a Réz Koporsót vivő szekér,
16. Az után a Testet vivő szekér.
17. Azt ell zárja az udvari seregek fele.
18. Ezek után indulnak a szerzetesek, magok kereszttyekkel.
19. Az után indulnak a Papista Papok magok szokott rendgyeket megtartván.
20. Indull az Mlgos Egri Püspök, Pontificans Úr Eö Exja adstantjaival edgyütt.
21. A Teste fel veszik az Udvariak tizenketten és vállaikon viszik a csűr kapuig, ottan adgyák az Ttes Ms. Vmgye. Tábla fiainak, a koporsó mellett két felől az hat hat szövétneket vivő gyászos emberek meg annyi kísérő Nemes Emberek fegyverben fognak lenni.
22. Az Testet fogják követni, az három Pánczélba öltöztetett Emberek, kiknek adgyike a zászlót, más ketteje/: a fen irt mód szerént:/ Buzogányt, Kardot, Kalpagot s Pálczát fognak vinni.
23. Ezek után mennek a siralmas Felek, Mlgos Generalis Ur Eö Ngával, a Dámákat a fen megért mód szerént karjoknál fogva vezetvén, az arra rendeltetett Cavallérok.

24. Az Idegen Méltóságokból álló Nép úgy mint Férfiak, és Asszony rendek, úgy a fő fő Nemességek, mennek a siralmas Nép után.
25. Ugy mennek pedig: hogy az edgyik sorban a férfiak, másokban mennyenek az Asszonyságok.
26. Ezek után indúll, az egész halotti Pompa, a mint fér az uton, és/: mint az 21dik Punctumban írtam:/ az Udvariak fogják adni a Testet a Ttes. Nemes Vgye Tábla Fiainak:/ de it observálni kell: hogy mikor az udvariak veszik a Testet fel felé, már akkor az Búcsuztatásnak végére kell ugratni az éneklőt, hogy azzal az idő ne tellyék hanem indullyon minden ember:/ a kik viszik az Kovács Mihely arányában való Palyáta szegeletig, holot
27. Tisztelendő Pater Franciscanus Atyáknak által adván, viszik az Ispitály arányában való kert szegeletig, s ottan
28. Adgyák a Tdő. Pater Minorita Atyáknak, és azok viszik a Szent Háromság statuájáig, azoktul ottan el veszik.
29. Tdő. P. Piarista Atyák Uraimék, és magok határjokon által vivén adgyák a Testet vállokra
30. Az Ttes Nemes Szathmár- Vármegyei Nemes Ifjúságnak, kik az város árkán való hídig viszik s ottan adgyák.
31. Az jobbágyokból ki válogatott Legényeknek és azok a városon kívül az útra viszik, az kaplonyi út felén való keresztig. Holott aztán
32. A szekérre teszik a Testet, és a gyalog Strázsákat lovassal fel váltván s az Pánczélos emberek is a Testet vivő szekér után állván várakoznak addig miglen az Méltóságok magok szekerekre felülnek, és azonnal indulyanak, azon sorral, melyel addig mentenek, hanem az Mlgos Pontificans Ur, ha akarja előre elmegyen, hanem pedig akarja csak a Test után megyen. De Mlgos Generalis Urunk a Testet követi gyászos hintájával, és eö Ngát a Siralmas Felek s per Consequens a Méltóságok, melynek szorgalmatos gondgya legyen a Feő Gazdának, hogy

valami részen el ne hadgyék vagy mellőzzék Mlgos Generális ur Eö Ngát, és a siralmas feleket, a több Méltóságok, hanem

33. Az Siralmas Méltóságos Asszonyokat vezető Cavallérok szekerekre fell kapván, mennyenek Kaplonyi haraszt felé, s előzzék meg a Kaplonyi úczának végében az Asszonyi rendet, és le szállítván őket szekerekről vezessék/: mint az előtt:/ a Templomban, onnat ismét a Testnek temetése után kivezetvén hintóra ültessék.

34. Kaplonyi úcza végében a Testet a szekérről le vevén, az Ttes Ns. Vármegye Tábla fiai, viszik a Tdő P. Franciscanusok Templomának ajtójáig. Holott Eö Atyaságok fel fogván, viszik a Templomban készített helyre. In reliquo a Processioban ott is, azon Rend, mely Károlyban fog observáltatni.

35. Csontos Uram az fegyveres Svábságot ki rendelvén, midőn Szent Mise, Praedicatio után a Test örökös helyére indíttatik, és az In Paradisum deducant énekeltetik, szokott rendi szerént, apró Puskákkal lövést tegyenek, melyeket követnek az ágyú lövések három izben de illendő intervallumokkal.

36. A mely ágyúk pedig itthon maradnak a midőn Kaplonyban löni fognak, itten is azokkal lövöldözzenek, úgy hogy leg alább hatot szóljon az ágyú egy egy versben.

37. Ha ezen Processio tartás az Mlgos Pontificans Úr Eö Exjenciájának alkalmatlanságára esnék, vagy esső vagy akár mi által impediálttatnék, a Test mindgyárt a csürnél szekérre tetetvén s az egész Mlgos Uri rendek hintókra ülven, az emittált rendell fogják úttýukat követni.

38. Kaplonyban a Ttes. Ns. Vgye Seregei, kik a Test előtt a felyebb rendelt mód szerént, már mint ha el mentenek volna, Colocalják magokat a Tdő P. Franciscanus Atyák kertye szegeletétől fogva keresztül az uczán a Bagosi Uram házáig, s ott Parádéznak míg az halotti Nép a Templomba bé nem takarodik, az után az gyalog Népből álló spallér ell oszolván, mind ezen seregek, mind pedig azok, akik a Test kísérő Processio után oda érkeznek, Colocályák

magokat az Bagosi Uram sorján ritkán, úgy hogy az Kaplonyi útczán végig terjedgyenek, és a Temetés után tudni illik, mikor az ágyúk harmadszor elsütögettetnek, Tiszt Uraimék a Réz Dobról a gyászos takarót le veszik, s tétenek színes takaró a Dobokra, és midőn a Templomból kifelé jönnek a Mlgok, akkor a kardokat markolyattyoknál fogva fogják s úgy Praesentállyanak, de mindgyárt el is indullyanak. Kisérjék az Mlgokat Károlyban, holot az Vár előtt az Ispitálnál fogva a Vár kapujáig collocálják magokat, s Tiszt Uraimék Kardokkal Complementumot tegyenek, az mlgos Pontificans Urnak, Mlgos Gralinak(?), és a több érdemes Mlgos és Uri rendeknek. A szekerek betakarodása után Tiszt Uraimék a Várba bé jöjjenek, a nemesség pedig szállásokra oszolván Commendánsok parancsolattya szerént fogják venni porciójokat, mind ételbűl, mind italbűl, meg elégedvén pedig a kiknek parancsolattyok nem lészen az más nap tartandó Installatio solemnitáshoz, Isten hirivel eloszolhatnak, a többiek pedig parancsolandó szállásokra fognak menni.

39. A midőn az Mlgos Pontificans Püspök Ur Eö Exllja vissza jön Kaplonybűl, és az első sváb úczáig érkezik, akkor adattassék jell a Bástyán lévő ágyúk mellett való Tisztnek, hogy az ágyúkat rendes intervallummal sütögesse, úgy hogy a lövések tarcsanak addig amig a Mlgos Püspök a Várban bé nem mégyen.

40. De hogy a szekerek az eddig való rendelést jövésekkel menésekkel ne turkállyák s confusióba ne hozzák Comissarius rendeltessék, kinek két pár lovas segedelme is legyen, hogy a szekereket az Károlyi pásitton, az hol láb alat nem lesz, egy sorban szoricsák és mind addig ottan tarcsák, míg nem az halotti Pompa a vár előtt ell halad, akkor asztán rögszerént bocsássák a szekereket de lassu menéssel, az Új-Városra, s ottan a Tábla utczára, holott végig menvén ismét meg állyanak, míglen a Testet szekérre teszik s szép sorral rang szerént mennyenek osztán ki ki maga Utához szekérével.

41. Oda fellyebb ki felejtődött, hogy a siralmas Felek, és a Temetésre gyülekezett nép kihozására rendelés fegyveres népből nem vétetett, azért a Compagniából mellőrozva kelletik egy kis Comandot a végre szakasztani, valamint a Koporsó vagy is Test kísérésére.

Inspector Ntes. Szaplanczay Kristóf Úr Instructiója

1. Lesznek ugyan nemes Vármegyéből is az következendő solemnitasokon Gazdák, de azok jobbára csak pro genere & Pompa lesznek, s meg leszen mondva, hogy Kigyelmeddel Consentiálynak mindeneket, s noha már több solemnitásokon is kmed dicséretesen tette az Promisiokat, de még is hogy feledékenységből ne mennyen Papyrosra tétettem.
2. Meg láttya kmed a lisztából mennyi ember hivatalos, az következendő Temetésre s azok ugyan mind ell nem jönnek, de az is való: sok jön közüllök s alkalmasint észre is lehet venni, kik ell jövendék, de hivatlan sokkal többen jönnek, nem nagy Mlgok ugyan, de a felől mind enni, s mind innia kell azoknak.
3. Azért is jó előre az Vározt itéltem osztassa fell klmed, tized számra, s minden uczának quartély Mestert tégyen, a kinek subalternusai legyenek a Tizedesnek, s meg tisztíttatván a házakat, ahol szükséges, meszet is inkább csinosítására adasson Klmed; s az Quartély Mesterek által megtudván hová minemű Characterű Ember szállhat, az Palétákat minden Quartély Mesternek adgya ki klmed hogy mindenik/: mikor gyülekezni kezdenek:/ ki állván, kinek kinek adhasson czédulát, vagyis Paletát, s a szerént tizedesek szállícsák, a kik már oly becsülletes emberek, a kik pedig hivatlan jönnek, vezettessék őket szállásra, s midőn bé gyűlnek osztán mindenik Quartély Mester vegye számban a Tzedesektől kiknél mennyi szolga s ló vagyon s ha alkalmasabbnak itili klmetek, portio számra adassék, az Quartély Mesterek által, mind étel mind ital nékiek, ha pedig nem, Laczi Konyhárúl élyenek, de parancsolat légyen, tűzre, pipára s gyertyára jó gondviselés légyen.

4. De mint felyebb is írák, hogy sok étel ital kell ezeknek s kivált ha meleg idő lesz sok sert isznak meg, azért így Provideálja klmed az házamot, semmiben rövidség ne legyen, sem húsban, sem kenyérben, sem borban, sem semminemű Culinárékban, mikről szükséges idejében, concentrályon klmed azzal, kiknél asztalaim gondviselését s várbeli egyéb dolgaimat is, az solemnitásnak alkalmatosságával concredáltam, és nekem minél hamarabb ki csinálván Projectumait, adgya bé, hogy Papyroson láthassam pro informatione. Temetési solemnitás előtt 8ad nappal mindenütt az harangoztatáshoz kezdenem s háromszor harangozzanak napjában, reggel, délben, s estve, mindenik Religion lévők.
5. Az Lovak fűvirül azt tartom: legjobb leszen reportitiót tenni, minden falu hogy az maga határárul reggelenként mennyi vagy hány szekér fűvet hozzon? S melyik tizednél, vagy ki házánál mennyit rakjanak le? Lászlónak legyen gondgya arra, hogy széna, fű, fa, abrak dolgába fogatkozás ne legyen, sem énetti(?), s miatta kissebségem.
6. Ha gondolná klmed úgy nem járnánk: hogy rest többet jár, fösvény többet költt, Kaplony felé az vetések széleit az út szélén fel kellené árkoztatni, hogy ell ne tapodnák a búzáat.
7. Az Bödör Völgyi hidat oly szélesre csináltassa klmed, hogy valamint a Processio mégyen, úgy mehessenek minden rendrontás nélkül által rajta, és ottan gyalog stázsa legyen, aki semmi szekeret, Gazda Czédulája nélkül, ott által ne bocsásson, mind addig míg az Processio ell nem takarodik, s lovas katonák is legyenék, kik szerti széllyel vigyázzanak, hogy imit, amot által ne mennyenek sőt a maguk szükséges szekereink is inkább kerüléssel mennyenek Kaplonyba mint sem másoknak példát adgyanak, az ottan való menéssel s Confusiot ne Csinályanak.
8. Az Kaplonyi Templom ajtajait Terminus előtt klmed három négy Nappal is le szedesse, hogy had szellőződgyék a Templom és Temetés Napján, erős Strázsákkal legyen az ajtó provideálva, hogy míg az Temetési pompa oda nem érkezik, senki ne occupálhasson helyet.

9. Currentálya pedig az Helységekben, hogy az Temetésre készüllyenek, s az kikirül mint lehet csinosicsák magokat, s minden Helység Papjával, Bírójával a Notariussával jöjjön. NB. Az éneklés meg nem engedtetik hanem imádkozzanak és könyörögjenek.

10. Aprólék bakokrúl el ne feletkezen klmed. Az melyekre tud. ill. deszkák rakatassanak székeknek, s temetés előtt, az régi Csúrt, zöld ágakkal fel csinosicsa klmed, székekkel megrakassa, az Koporsó alá állást tetessen, a Püspök székinél is scabillumot csináltasson valamint a Testnek, Az Praedicálló helyét magossabbra emeltesse mint az több üléseket, és a földgyét az csúrnek zöld fűvel bé hintesse.

11. A kertet minél szebben accomodáltassa, Kuglizó métákat egyet hosszszat, mást rövidet csináltasson, és azokhoz való gyolyóbisokat s Tekéket, ahoz kanapét, és asztalt edgyet.

12. Egy szekeret s hat lovat gyászban kell öltöztetni, és ugyan egy vezeték Paripát még úgy pedig, hogy utánna nyulyon a posztó vagy a mi Castrum doloris fog lenni, melyre gyertya kívántatik.

13. A Halotti Pompához kívántató udvari sereget nevezett szerént csinálja ki, kik legyenek? és nem a javából ályanak ezek, hanem a selejteibül, mert az javára lesz szükség s nyereg takarojok legyen ezeknek fekete.

14. Trombitásokat kellene szerezni négyet, réz dobost edgyet, az Dobra fekete takarót, s ahoz jámbor lovat állítasson.

15. Az várnak belső és külső piacztát meg kell csinosíttatni, a Toronynak belső oldalát és ócska kéményeket, meg kell vakoltatni s fejrítettetni, ha mind nehezen esik is meg. A régi Kéményeknél tetejekben szedgyenek le a mi ruinat mutat, s alkalmaztassák az renovált kéményekhez.

16. Az vár árkat is szépen meg kell alat kaszáltatni, Temetés előtt circiter egy két héttel, hogy ki sarjúzhassék. De a le kaszált gazt el kell kapartatni, és ki hordatni, hogy szép zöld legyen.

17. Az város Templomának nagy oltára előtt való Cancellusait meg kell igazíttatni, úgy az templom külső falát, oszlopjait és a Torony allyát, és a Szt. Háromság Statuáját. A várbeli Kápolna kivakolását, kirakását, és a Kaplonyi Kripta renovatioját el ne mulassa.
18. A Kaplonyi Templombeli Chorust feketével be kell huzatni és a nagy oltárra ött czimert.
19. Az Csűrben a Predicálló széket feketével be kell teríteni és ezt a Predicáló széket Kaplonyba kell vitetni, ad Casum, ha ott kelletik lenni a Praedicatiónak.
20. Német praedicatio lészen az Istállóhoz közelebb való Csűrben, aztat is készítesse ell klmed, ott is az Praedicálló széket feketével kelletik be borítottani.
21. A Temetés után való napon Installatio lészen, hol meg kell tenni a becsületet s nem szükség minden asztalnál, mind az által poharakkal bort hozni, vinni, hanem vadnak palaczkok s azokat kell bé rakni.
22. Laczi Konyhára a Papokhoz csak színbort kell vinni apró kondérokban.
23. Tűz Támadás ellen az lövöldözésekből Kádakban, hordókban, víz bőven legyen. Isten őrizzen ugyan, mind az által lajtorják, vas horgok és a mi lehet Tűz oltására való eszközök legyenek.
24. A Kapuk nemes vármegyétől kérendő hajdúkkal s hajdu városi Katonákkal legyenek Provideálva, ordinantián pedig mindenkor lovas 12. katona a Kapu előtt.
25. Mind Hadi, mind nemessi rend Tisztjeinek fátyol karjokra kívántatik, így zászlókra, Trombitákra, ágyúkra, még pedig az ágyúkról majd földig érjenek, azért arról provideálni kell, Réz Dobosnak is fátyol Karjára.
26. Puska Por, mind Temetésre, mind Installatióra bőven kívántatik.
27. A Csűr mellett egy Pár Sátort vonattasson, amelyben kell tenni Strázsza alá a Szövétnekeket, és gyertyákat, a Czimereket, hogy míg a búcsúztatóba ell mondanak valamit, akkor onnat

gyujtásra vihessék s oszthassák. NB. A búcsúztató addig énekeltetik csak, meddig az előre el rendelt nép után következik, az ágyúk indulása, s akkor a Tisztek is indulni fognak.

28. Minden nemű legkissebb dolgokra különös személyeket tégyen, és írásban nekem adgya be, had láthassam nevezett szerént, kik mire applicáltatnak, s kinek kinek micsoda leszen Instructioja?

29. Az Installatoria pedig az negyedik Punctumban meg nevezendő személlyel dispositióját, le írásával hány asztal lesz, s azoknál kik lesznek szolgáló legények, s magam cselédeimből gondviselésére kik applicáltatnak.

30. Kulacsos becsületes emberek fognak lenni, az kik útra bort fognak kérni, egyébkor is, hogy azoknak cselédgyei sokszor ne járjanak, Gazdát szükség lesz denominálni, ki Galetát adgyon és az Kolcsárok csupán csak azoknak adgyanak bort a kik Galétát visznek, azon Gazdátúl, az is ki légyen, ugy az Kolcsár is.

31. Pattantyusok mind Kaplonyban mind ithon kik lesznek? az én decretariusom azt tudván Directornak ugyan rendeltethetik, de Pattatyusok legyenek mellette.

32. Szent Mihály lovát kell csináltatni, melyen az koporsót Gyalog Emberek vihessék, s tizen ketten hordhassák vállokon a koporsót.

33. Az hasatt csatorna helyet mást kell csináltatni.

34. Kaplonyban leveles színt vagy egy sátort mise mondásra csináltatni.

35. Mlgos Püspök Ur Eö Excellenciaja eleiben kell küldeni egy uri rendet, előre pedig valamely Tisztet dispositiokat tenni Lugosra minden nemű Culinárek aránt. Szakácsot, Pohárnokot

Approbálta: Károlyi Antal

III. The description of the funeral Krisztina Csáky, Ferenc Károlyi's wife in 1736

Source: „Historia Domus” of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly, vol. I. pp. 7–10. Translated by József Vanke (1821-1904)

Gyászhoz gyász fűződik, midőn méltóságos gróf *Csáky Krisztina*, méltóságos gróf *Károlyi Ferencz* hön szeretett neje, napról-napra súlyosabban betegedik és bensőbb környezete nekünk rója fel a betegség keletkezeiét a táborban időző méltóságos grófnál, valamint a nagyméltóságú generálisnál is, mert mi nem akartunk az ő Méltóságának eleget tenni. Végre a sorvadás vesz rajta erőt és pedig annyira, hogy az orvosok, egész csapata belefárad a rendelésekbe és lemond az előbbi egészség visszaállításáról; el is távoznak mindannyian, csak az erővel visszatartott kassai orvos marad, hogy a beteg életét néhány órával meghosszabbítsa, legalább addig, míg a többszörös levelek által fölkért és óhajtvá várt méltóságos Gróf megjön és még életben találja. De hiába. Bekövetkezett a kikerülhetetlen végzés, melyhez egy perez sem toldható; megjött az óra, melyben a halandóság adóját le kell róni.

Jókor ellátva a szentségekkel, bocsánatot kért az egész családtól; a mieink közül éjnek idején hívatván, halálának előérzetében, a társházi másodfőnököt, Külley Kristóf atyát, (a házfőnök Tagányi Béla a rend ügyeiben a rendfőnökkel, Kubránszky Lászlóval, a felső vidékeken járván, távol volt) és avval nyájasan és bizalmasan beszélgetve, kijelenté, hogy halálának órája közeledik; majdnem könnyek között kérlelte összes testületünket, s magát most és jövőre imáikba ajánlva, negyed napra szent érzülettel s teljes öntudattal hajnali 3 órakor, február 28-

án, város, az udvar és társházunk nagy fájdalmára és gyászára, mindenkitől hön visszaóhajtva, lelkét az Úr kezébe, testét a földnek ajánlván, kisenvedett.

Miután illőn felöltöztetett és minden oldalról lecsüngő selyemszövettel díszített halotti nyoszolyára helyeztetett, a mieink, szeretetöknek adóját lerovandók, megtudván t.i. reggel a halálesetet, testületileg vonultak a templomba buzgó könyörgésekre; majd meg kegyeletük jeléül a várba mennek és az elhunynak lelki üdvéért éjjel-nappal felváltva clericusaink közül ketten karingbe öltözve, iskolai ifjakkal a holttest mellett ájtatoskodnak, imádkozva, énekelve és jámborul elmélkedve.

Hogy pedig a legközelebb megérkező gróf megkíméltessék szívének még fokozottabb fájdalmától, a koporsóba helyezés sietve történt megjövetele előtt. Márczius 1-én a holttest fakoporsóba tétetett az összes megyei és a környékről megérkezhetett urak jelenlétében. A körülállók koszorújához Kristóf atya valódi szónoki hivatottsággal intézte gyászbeszédét, a mely mindenkinek szívét fájdalommal tölte el, annyira, hogy a hősl elkü generális is hulló könnyekre fakadt.

Nem lehet ecsetelni a keletkezett bánatot; olyan volt az, mely a természet határait is áttörte. Sokan ugyanis eszméletüket veszelve, ájulásba estek, keseredett szavakkal, siránczó panaszokkal, zokogó jajveszékeléssel hívogatták itt az anyát, amott az úrnőt, egybeolvadván mindnyájának közös kesergése, hogy a halálnak zsákmányul esett a tiszántúli részek gyöngye.

Ott látszott bánkódni öntudatlanul, meg nem értve a közgyászt, a három szeretett gyermek, a Gratiak csoportja, mintegy természeti fájdalomtól meghatva, hogy immár törzsüktől szakasz-
tattak el és észrevevén a gyász- és meghatottságtól néma szobrokként körülálló tömeget, maguk is a gyászpompa új látványától, mint a csatában felhangzó kürtszóra, a három kised egyszerre

siránkozni kezd, mélyebben hatván a kedélyekre ezen gyermeksírás, mint akárhány szónok ékesszólása. Valóban fájdalmas csak gondolni is az ártatlanoknak ennyi könnyhullatására.

Niremberger Fülöp kegyesrendi atya német szónoklattel ünnepelte az elhunytat, az ünnepélyes gyászmisét a kaplonyi p. gvardián. A szertartásoknál való segédkezésre a várkáplán a mi atyáinkat és növendékeinket hívta meg; azonban a házi másodfőnök tekintetbe vévén, hogy a mi rendünk nem lehet alárendeltje a barátoknak, sokáig késedelmeztén az intézkedéssel, emezeknek atyái voltak kénytelenek tömjénvivők- és gyertyahordozókként szerepelni, a mi az avatatlan tömegben inkább mosolyt, mint a szertartásokra való ügyelést keltett.

Ezután a nemes vármegye tisztviselői által a koporsóba tett holttest ének és egyházi szertartások között levittetett a várkápolna ajtajával szemben levő boltozott helyiségbe, a hol eltemettetéséig fog békében nyugodni.

Méltóságos gróf *Károlyi Ferencz* végre márczius 5-én megérkezett a birodalomból és mentül forróbb szeretettel szerette élete párját, annál nagyobb fájdalommal kesergett most fölötte. A gondolkodóbb emberek osztályába tartozván, az őt vigasztalóknak ugyan elég lelki erővel mondogatá, hogy ez a határvonal, célpont és véghatáridő, katonás erélyt mutogatván: de sáppadtsága, fojtott hangja, taglejtései elárulták lelkének izgalmaikat.

De ki ne fájlalná, ha önmagától szakíttatik el s ha egy szív ketté tépetik? Valóban nagyobb fájdalmat érzett azt rejtegetve, mint szabad folyásra eresztve. Sajnálta azt is, hogy a házfőnök nincs itthon; gyakrabban emlegető, hogy csak az tudná őt vigasztalni; fájlalta annak esetét, hogy a méltóságos grófné miatt bujdosik, mert sejté az eszélyes férfiú ezen tettének okát, tudta, hogy egész udvara ez egy ellen szövetkezett, kinek, mint monda, kezét-lábát kellene csókolnunk.

Egyébiránt, mivel rája is több katonai parancsnak végrehajtása vár, siettetni akarta az ünnepélyes temetés napját és márczius 20-ra íratta ki a meghívókat, hogy szeretett hitvesének a szeretet utolsó tartozását is megadhassa.

Közeledik a nap; egyre váratnak a temetési kellékek: címerek, gyertyák, fáklyák, selyemszövetek; alig van már három nap hátra, a mikor a megrendelt címerek csak félig készen, a gyertyák elégtelen számban érkeznek meg Pozsonyból, az ugyanott készült 300 frtnyi rézkoporsó a fakoporsóval, mely ezüstszegekkel van kiverve.

Aggodalmunkhoz új aggodalom járul, senki sem tudván ily zavarban mi a teendő; pictor csak egy volt kéznél, a miért is ama rendi növendékeink, kik valaha valamit festeni láttak, a másodházfőnök engedelmével meghivattak és minden várakozáson fölül a munka csakhamar el is készül.

Megjött a kitűzött nap; az idegen azt vélhetné, hogy itt Magyarország közgyűlése tartatik. Nincs ház egy, sőt három-négy vendég nélkül, tele van a vár, társházunk megnyílik mindennemű szerzeteseknek. Megelőző napon megérkezett Debreczenből a rector is, a debreczeni társbáz főnökével, Gáspárral és Zsigmond tanárral. Alig tudta meg a méltóságos gróf amannak megjöttél, azonnal a legbizalmasabban üdvözölte őt.

De egy új kérdés merül fel, hogy vájjon a temetés a várkáplánt illeti-e meg, vagy a plébániát? Így az imént érkezett házfőnököt egy kellemetlen kérdéssel kellett fárasztani, hogy egy napja se legyen Károlyban baj nélkül. Azonban gyorsan történt az eldöntés: hogy a temetés ránk tartozik; a minek igazolására elhatározá, hogy a nagyváradi káptalan egyik kanonokja, főtiszteendő Keczer István végezze a gyászszertartást, rector pedig a mieinkkel karingben a plébános

jogának fenntartására menjen az ifjúsággal, melyet kilencz társunk szerzetes-köpenyben kísér vegyest más szerzetes testületek képviselőivel.

Megkezdődik a temetés; nagy népsokaság előzi meg a pontificanst a várba vonulásakor. Amint oda érünk, mindnyájunk előtt a legdíszesebb temetési látvány tárul föl. Ugyanis a várkastély közepén tágas sátor volt felállítva, a melyben a méltóságos grófné tetemei voltak letéve.

A homlokon a nagyméltóságú generális *Károlyi Sándor*, a nagyméltóságú gróf *Guadagni Marchio*, méltóságos generális *Splényi*, méltóságos gróf *Csáky Miklós* nagyvárad káptalani nagyprépost, méltóságos gróf *Károlyi Ferencz* voltak láthatók; az oldalakat nemes *Szathmár*, *Bereg*, *Ugocsa*, *Biharmegye* rendéi, *Catoénál* komolyabb arczczal ülték körül. Utoljára jelennek meg lassú léptekkel gyászba öltözve a család nőtagjai: Gróf *Csáky Constantia* a méltóságos grófnénak édes testvére roskadozik bánatában és zokog fájdalmában. Különös sajnálatraméltók a kisdedek, akik még nem tudnak gyászolni és gyászba öltözve nem fogják föl, ami történik.

Midőn pedig a szokásos gyászszertartások megkezdődtek és befejeztettek, szószékre lép a nagyhírű *Kelemen Didák*, a *Minoriták* szerzetének kiérdemült főnöke és a fáklyák, címerek és egyéb ily neműek rendes szétosztása után megkezdí szónoklatát, a melylyel, ha ezt oly bánatosan végzi a mint kezdette, bizonyára a legnagyobb hatást kelti; de eltérvén a gyász és fájdalom tárgyalásától, a viszálykodásokra és az udvarok nyílt bűneinek ostromozására tért át. De ez azért történt, mert a gyásznak vagy inkább búcsúztatónak feladata egy másik ugyanazon szerzetből való atyára bízott; de ez sem indította valami nagy bánatra a kedélyeket. Úgy vélem szándékosan történt ez, nehogy a fájdalomtól roskadozók még inkább gyötrődjenek, ha a szabadban fekvő méltóságos grófné nem támaszt mindnyájok szívében szeretetet. Ha nem

csalódom, a gyászbeszéd és búcsúztató 4 óra hosszáig tartott; de azért senki sem sokalta, mert ha nem a füleket, a szemeket bizonyára mindenki kedvteléssel legeltethette e szomorú temetési napon.

Láthattál itt e napon mintegy a hadi kürttel adott jelre nőket készülni a csatára; amint ugyanis az udvarbeliek kivinni kezdték a koporsót, oda rohantak, rávetik magukat és hogy az elszakított végkép el ne távolíttassék, könyörögni kezdenek. A halottvivők maguk sem lettek volna könyörtelenek a rimánkodások és jajveszéklések iránt, ha nem kellett volna a földből valót a földnek visszaadni.

Lassú lépésben haladt tehát a gyászmenet, maga a vár is gyászolni látszik, mert minden zuga visszhangzik a panasztól, a mi szembe is ötlött, hiszen maguk a tüzes lovak is ily ünnepélyességtől és siránkozástól elkábulva nyugodtan állottak. Lassan mozog a gyászkíséret; a nép elül megy, de hogy azt lássa, a mi mögötte történik, többet álldogál, mint halad. Követi a tanuló ifjúság, ezt a kaplonyi szerzetes atyák és egy trinitarius, 8 minorita atya, egy domonkosrendi, a mi atyáink és rendi növendékeink 9-en, majd a szathmári jezsuita főnök egy társával és a környékről jött plébánosok. Középen halad a pontificans infulában, az említett kanonok a mieink segédletével, a kiket a koporsó melletti fáklya- és gyertyavivők után követnek a fönnebb említett nagyméltóságú és méltóságos urak. A tanuló ifjúság, szerzetesek és pontificans oldalát a megyék lovasai szegélyezik kivont, de lebocsátott karddal és magasra tartott zászlóval. A koporsó után halad méltóságos őrgróf Bottá két század vasas lovassal, a kiknek két-két kürtöse időnkint panaszos morajt hallat recsegő kürtjéből. A koporsó eközben az udvarbeliektől a kórházig vitetik, innen hosszú fekete talárba öltözött polgároktól a zsidó zsinagógáig, a honnan tekintetes *Szuhányi* úr házáig a minorita atyáktól, innen mi hatan: Mátyás, Szeuerin, Simon,

Arzén, Illés és Zsigmond mint soron kívül állók emeljük föl és visszük a collegiumon és kerten túl.

Emlékezetes nap volt ez; az utcák megteltek gyalogos sokasággal, a mely majdnem 2000-re rúgott, leszámítva a csőcseléket és a tulajdonképeni gyászkíséretet. A megyékből kiküldött előkelőbb nemes lovasok csupa mutogatásból szerteszét száguldoztak, mintha repülnének és szokás szerint, nehogy egyik a másiknak engedni látszassék, a legválasztékosabb díszöltönyökben.

Ha láttad volna a lassú lépésben, tömött sorokban, marczona arczczal inkább csúsza, mint előre törve haladó, és karabélyait hátrafelé fordító lovascsapatot, élén a nevezett méltóságos ezredessel kivont karddal, a melynek azonban nem markolatját, hanem hegyét fogta, különféle fordulatokban délczegekedő paripáján, végre ha szemlélője lettél volna mindennek, nem tudtad volna, hová fordítsd először, hová másodszor tekintetedet, mert ezen gyászpompában egyesítve volt a nagyszerű a magasztossal; a mihez a borongó idő is járult, mert Phoebus, mintha maga is takargatná nedves szemeit, ismételten elhomályosodott, így akarván a gyászkíséretnek is némi enyhülést szerezni.

Károly városán kívül a rónáig majd megyei tisztviselők, majd kiválasztott ifjak vitték a koporsót. Midőn a Kaplonyba vezető úton közel a keresztig értek, szembeötlött a nagyszerű, majdnem oly széles, mint hosszú gyáskocsi, mindenünnen lefolyó fekete szövettel, melynek sarkai címerekkel voltak díszítve, közepén a koporsónak trónalakú helye, körülötte a gyászba öltözött család állott, a befogott lovak is feketén letakarva.

A koporsó csakhamar a nagyszerű halotti kocsira helyeztetik; a nyerítő lovak mintegy sejtven, hogy úrnőjüknek tetemeit viszik, a szokottnál lassabban lépegetnek, hogy ekként tovább

szolgálhassanak neki. Mások is kocsijokra szállnak, lépésben követve a gyászkocsit, hiszen az azon nyugvónak tiszteletére történik ezen gyásznapi. Akiknek nem volt fogatjuk, a kik közé tartoztak a nép, a tanuló ifjúság, a szegény szerzetesek, a főnökök kivételével, azok útközben énekszóval és könyörgésekkel engesztelték az Istent az elhunytért.

Nem kétlem, hogy tudni szeretnéd a gyászkíséret mennyiségét és rendjét. Ha ismered a kereszt helyét Kaplony felé és Kaplony falvát, ilyen hosszúságban és szélességben terjed az el. Gondold hozzá, hogy az út közepét a halotti kocsi foglalta el, oldalain haladt a nagyméltóságú generális, a nagyméltóságú Guadagni, a méltóságos generális Splényi és méltóságos gróf Károlyi Ferencz kocsija, ezek mellett pedig vasas lovasok, nép és más ilyféle tömeg nyüzsgött.

Mintegy negyedfél órakor érkeztünk Kaplonyba étlenül. A ferenczrendi atyák az ő területükön maguk emelték le a koporsót és vitték tiszteletteljesen a templomba, a hol egy 9 lépcsős nagyszerű ravatal volt felállítva. Rendbe hozatván mindenütt a fáklyák, csakhamar megkezdődik az ünnepélyes gyászmise ugyanazon pontificanssal és segédletével; majd meg egy Kassáról meghívott (mert ezen föld nem terem gyümölcsöt az Urak asztalára) Szt-Ferencz reformált rendjéből való atya mond valódi szónokhoz méltó beszédet, a mely hogy mennyire indította meg a hallgatók szíveit, nem elég hinni, azt le is kellene írni.

A sváboknak is jutott gyászbeszéd, melyet az Istenigéjének rendes kaplonyi hirdetője mondott a Basilikán kívül. Ezen beszédben neveztetett először Szentnek a boldogult. Engedje Isten, hogy Rómában is olyanul hirdettessék ki.

Ezek után, hogy immár a földnek adassék át a mi földi, a gyászkíséret csoportja követvén a Pontificanst az előzőnél fokozottabb kesergésbe tör ki, mintha mindenikök saját veszteségét siratná és fájlalná. Azonban ez levén a temetés rendje, a rézkoporsóba helyezett tetem a

szokásos szertartásokkal a kriptába vitetik és a kedélyek fölötté nagy bánatával és kimondhatatlan felindulásával végső nyugvó helyére tétetik, a hol az utolsó napig, melyen velünk együtt Ítéletre fog megjelenni, nyugodjék békességben.

Mindez mintegy hetedfél órakor végződött; utána a várban szokás szerint vendégség volt, a melyen elfogyasztott 4 ökör, 12 szekér hal, 50 bárány, 16 juh, 18 hordó bor, mert 2000-re rúgott a vendégek száma, hét konyhán számos szakács izzadván munkájában.

A szomszéd atyákra kegyesen mosolygott a szerencse, mert ők kapták az összes temetési járulékokat: a 6 lovat, a kocsit, a fekete szövetet, a gyertyákat, fáklyákat, címereket. Szolgáljanak mindazok az ő szent szerzetük javára és növekedésére, ne irigyelje tőlük senki se.

IV. The mottoes of the emblems for Sándor Károlyi's funeral

Source: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, P 1501, 148. ladula/4.1. 285–263.

(Columna)

1. Constanti in Deum pietate
2. Conservator Fidei et Propagator
3. Sacrarum Plantator Familiarum
4. Verus Patriae civis, qui publice salutis causa vitam et bona sacrificavit
5. Pius inter Regem et Regnicolas Mediator
6. Amoris nunquam amplius dissolubilis inter Regem et Regnum conciliator
7. Insignis fortitudine Belli dux
8. In Hostes mansuetudine
9. In locis Comitatus
10. In Egenos Liberalitate
11. In operibus magnificentia et Magnanimitate
12. In Laboribus assiduitate
13. Nullis unquam fractus adversitatibus
14. Singulari prudentia Moderator rerum
15. Consiliorum Magnitudine
16. Sapientia Duce praesentibus prospicere et future praevidere ac providere novit
17. Commissarius ad Regni utilitatem primus et summus Director
18. Securitatis et Tranquillitatis Domesticae conservator

19. Servitium Summi principis cum publica Regni Salute et utilitate conjunxit
20. Improborum exstirpator
21. Bonorum promotor et protector
22. Patriotarum a Tartaris Liberator
23. Novarum Coloniarum Fundator
24. Titulis Bonis que auxit Familiam Suam haereditaryis
25. Ogunos Causantibus Judex
26. Partium Regni transtybiscanarum Decus Gloria et columna
27. Populi Universi deliciae
28. Vita bonus mortis superavit timrorem
29. Fame pressis maramorosiensibus amvorum procurarit benefiensi

V. The inscriptions of Antal Károlyi's castrum doloris in Nagykároly and Kaplony on 5th of July 1792

Source: The original-sized inscriptions can be found in the Archive of the family. See: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), Károlyi Archive, T 20, 125/1–26. ("Inscriptiones Lapidales ad Castra doloris in Károly et Kaplony occasione inhumationis Suae Excell'ae denati Comitis Antonii Károlyi de Nagy-Károly etc. erectae factae, ac ad Archiv dei 5 Julii 1792.")

The verses of the castrum doloris in Nagykároly was published by János Hannulik. This indicates the arrangement of the inscriptions on the castrum doloris as well. One copy in: National Archives of Hungary (Budapest), P 1503, 2, d. Károlyi Antal, pp. 180-183.).²⁰²

A. The inscriptions of the castrum doloris in Kaplony

In Scuto, quid fuit ad

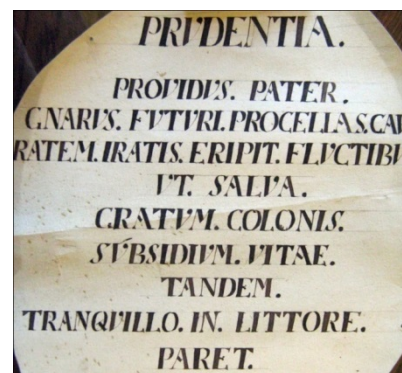
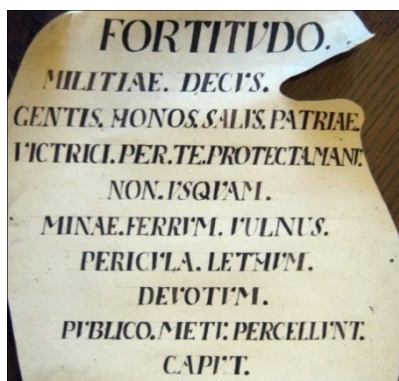
Statutam...:

Iustitiae: [...> verse]

Prudentiae: [...]

Temperantiae: [...]

Fortitudinis:[...]



²⁰² Ode in tristissimum obitum excellentissimi Comitis Ant. Karolyi facta AB Ioanne Chrysostomo Hannulik e Schol Piis Devotissimo ejusdem Excellent. Maecenatis sui Cliente et recitata dum triduo exequiae celebrarentur 27. Septembr. Kaplonini. 28 et 29. Karolini 1791.

In **Pyramide 1**, quae **Insigne Inclytae Familiae** Karoliniae gerebat pictum: Coniugis orbutu naestissim coniux... [...]

In **Pyramide 2**, quae **Insigne Comitatus Szatmariensis** pictum exhibebat: Praeses Pater Instaurator Szathmár [...]

In **Pyramide 3** haec fuit **Inscriptio**: Piarum scholarum sodales [...]

Pyramis 4. hanc praeferibat Incriptionem: Pupilli adflicta miseram [...]

Ad pedem molis Funebis haec legebantur: Patria cuius maximi meritorum [...]

Circa Arcum Imaginis Excellentissimi comitis mortui, quae in apice molis funebis collocata fuit, haec fuerunt inscriptia: Imago cuius optumi [...]

Infra **Gladios, Baculos, Pileos** et caetera **honorum Insignia** hoc fuit additum: Uirtutum meritorum que insignia [...]

B. The inscriptions of the castrum doloris in Nagykároly

TUDOMÁNY A FEGYVERT HA JÓL KORMÁNYOZZA/FEGYVER A TUDOMÁNYT
ILLY NAGY BETSBE HOZZA.

LÁDD MENNYIRE ÉRHET A TÖRVÉNYNEK ÚTJA/EGYEDÜL EZ MINDEN
BOLDOGSÁGNAK KÚTJA.

AZ SZERENCSE VÁLTOZÁSA/ NEM FURDÁLTA SZIVEMET/IRIGY NYELVEKNEK
FONDORLÁSA/ MEG NEM SÉRTÉ MELLEMET.

ÖRÖM S ÜRÖM MAJD EGYÜTT JÁR/ NINTS ÁLLANDÓ VIGASSÁG/ HASZON JO
KEDV S VÉLETLEN KÁR/ ÉN ELŐTTEM TSAK HIVSÁG.

MÉLYSÉGES ÁLTALLÁTÁSA/ MINDEN BAJT MEGELŐZÖTT/ EGYENLŐ ELME
JÁRÁSA/ SOK PERT S VESZÉLYT MEGGYÓZÓTT.

IGAZSÁGNAK MÉRTÉKÉVEL/ A TÖRVÉNYT IGAZGATTAM/A TÖRVÉNYNEK
ÉRTÉKÉVEL/IGAZSÁGOT FOLYTATTAM.

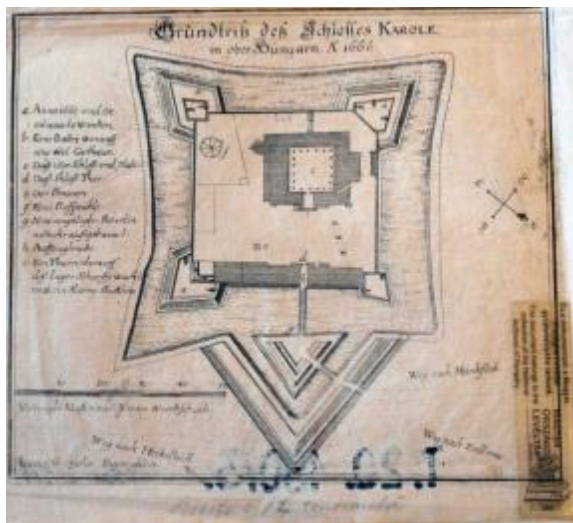
AZ HAZA HŰSÉGE/NEMZET DITSÓSÉGE/IME FEKSZIK! /BÖLTSESSÉG
MAGZATTYA/TUDOMÁNYOK ATTYA/ ITTEN NYUGSZIK.

NAGY LÉLEK! EZEKRŐL GONDODAT LETETTED/EZEKÉRT AZ EGET JUTALOMUL
VETTED

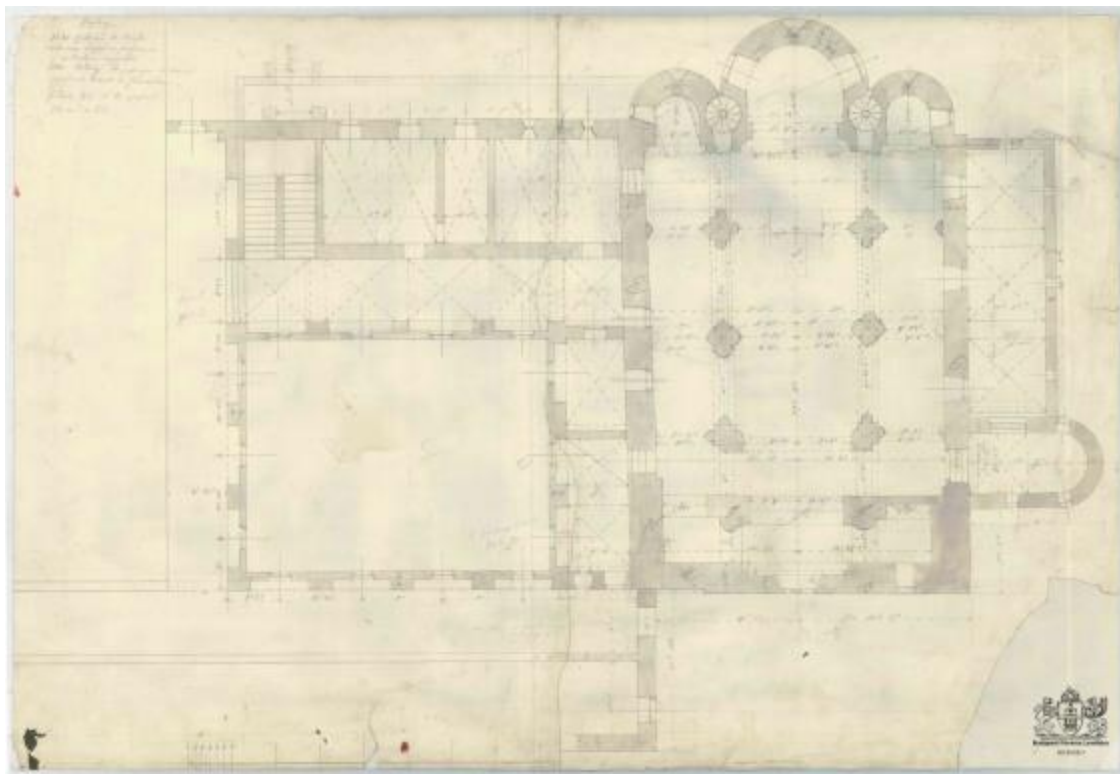
Illustrations



1. The administrative units of Hungary in the 18th century (Nagykároly is indicated by black circle)



2. The Károlyi castle in Nagykároly before its baroque reconstruction (1792–1794)



3. The floor-plan sketch of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony, drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. Budapest City Archives, Budapest. Inv. nr. : XV.331/5-1.



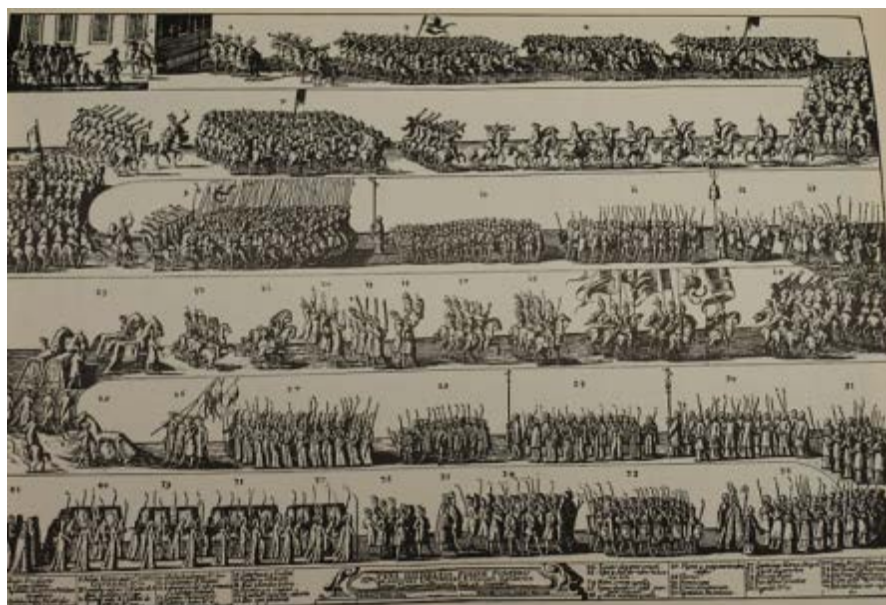
4. The southern façade of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest Collection of architectural drawings: Inv. nr: K 3203.



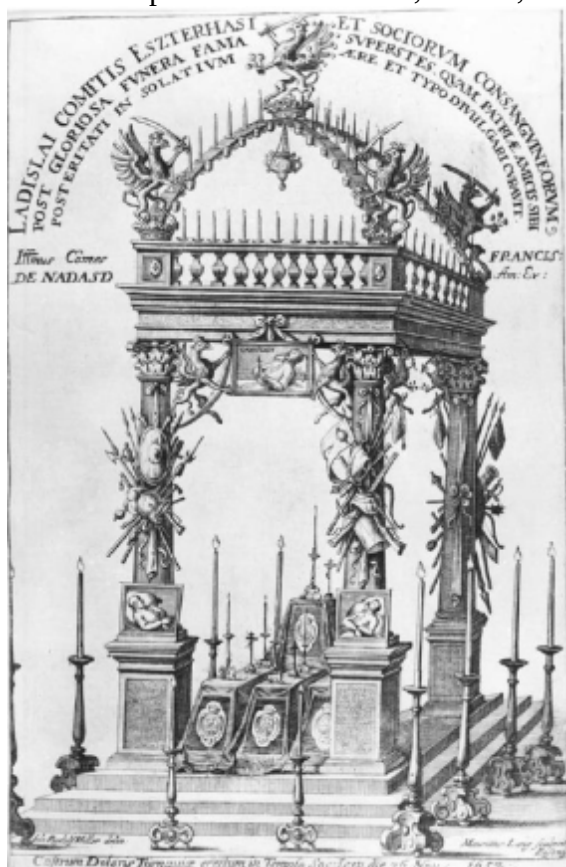
5. The mausoleum of the Károlyi family in Kaplony



6. The mausoleum of the Károlyi family in Kaplony (drawing from the early 20th century)



8. The funeral procession of László, Ferenc, Tamás and Gáspár Esterházy (1652)



9. The castrum doloris of László, Ferenc, Tamás and Gáspár Esterházy (1652)



10. Miklós Esterházy's coat of arms (1645)



11. László Esterházy's coat of arms (1652; Fraknó/Forchtenstein)



13. The funeral procession of László, Ferenc, Tamás and Gáspár Esterházy (1652), detail.



14. The funeral procession of Emperor Maximilian II. (1577), detail.



15. The funeral of Ferenc Károlyi, detail (mace, sword, Hungarian headgear carried together with the funeral flag by three armoured men and followed by the black-dressed rider, the impersonator/alterego of the deceased)



16. Krisztina Barkóczy's coffin (†1724)



17. Krisztina Csáky's coffin



18. The coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi



19. The coffins of Antal and József Károlyi



20. Details of the coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi



21. Crypt under the Loreto-Chapel in the Augustinian Church in Vienna



22. Krisztina Csáky's coffin (†1736) in Kaplony



23. Károly József Batthyány's coffin (†1772) in Németújvár (Güssing, Austria). Artist: Balthasar Ferdinand Moll



24. Sándor Károlyi's coffin (†1771) in Kaplony



25. The tomb of emperor Joseph I, Vienna, Imperial Crypt (†1711)



26. The tomb of emperor Joseph I, Vienna, Imperial Crypt (†1711), detail.



27. The Barkóczy coat of arms on Krisztina Barkóczy's coffin



28. The Csáky coat of arms on Krisztina Csáky's coffin



29. The Károlyi coat of arms on Sándor Károlyi's coffin



30. The Károlyi coat of arms on Ferenc Károlyi's coffin



31. The Károlyi coat of arms placed next to Antal Károlyi's coffin



32. The coffin portraits of Sándor, Ferenc and Antal Károlyi Károlyi's coffin



33. The portrait of Sándor Károlyi with the scene of surrender at Nagymajtény (Moftunu Mare) in the background



34. Drawing of a decorative crest of plumes in the Károlyi Archive



35. Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Textile Collection.



36. Pattern of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms. National Archives of Hungary, Budapest



37. Ferenc Károlyi's funeral coat of arms. Kaplony (Capleni, Romania).



38. Antal Károlyi's funeral coat of arms. Piarist Church of Nagykároly (Carei, Romania)



39. The coat of arms of the Károlyi family on the diploma of donation



40. Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms



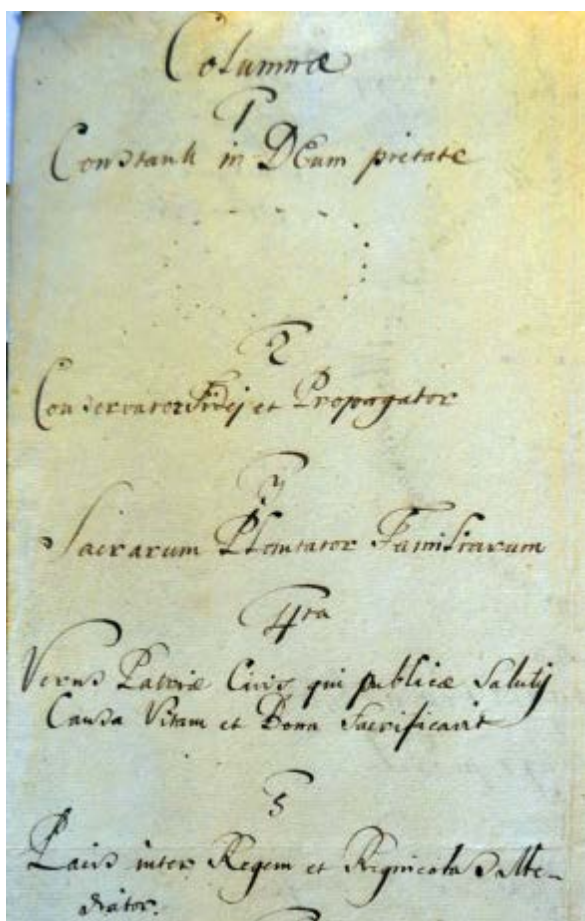
41. The epitaph and funeral „weapons” of Gábor Bakos (1666). Csetnek (Štítník, Slovakia) evangelical church



42. Epitaph of Francisc I. Rákóczi (1676), Kassa (Košice, Slovakia)



43. Draft of Sándor Károlyi's funeral decoration (1744)



44. The mottoes of the emblems of Sándor Károlyi's funeral decoration (1744). Detail.

PATRIA .
 CUIUS . MAXIMI .
 MERITORUM . GRATAM . PERENNEM . QUE . MEMORIAM .
 SIGNIFICATURA .
 PIIS . MANIBUS . BENE . PRECATUR .
 IN . REGENDIS . UERO . BONIS .
 VICARIA . POTES TATE . FUNCTI .
 QUI . QUE . AB . OBSEQUIIS . FUERE . SINGULI .
 SUPREMUM . OFFICIUM . LUCTU . EXHIBENT .
 UT . PIORUM . CLIENTUM . FIDEM .
 CINERES . QUOQUE . SENTIANT .

ANTONII . TEMPERANTIA .
 QUOD .
 IN . POTENTIA . HONORUM . SPLENDORE .
 OPULENTIA .
 MODUM . TENERE . NOUIT .
 ET .
 ALIENI . NUNQUAM . APPETENS .
 SUI . IN . EGROS . LARGA .
 SEMPER . MALUIT . POTIUS .
 RETINERE . EXCOLERE .
 CUMULARE . AUTA .
 QUAM . MAIORA .
 IMMODERATO . ANIMO . ACITARE .
 OPTUMI . CUIUS .
 INTEGERRUMI . VIRI .
 LAUDE . EIDEM . PARTA .
 SIBI .
 ANTONIANAE . TEMPERANTIAE .
 NOMINE . VINDICATO .
 PRO . MAXIMA .
 POSTERIS . EO . NOMINE . VENIET .

ANTONII . IUSTITIA .
 IN . PUBLICO . PRIVATO . QUE .
 RARIS . AC . INUSITATIS . EXEMPLIS .
 SEMPER . EXERCITA .
 AC RITER . DEFENSA .
 POSTREMIS . ETIAM . ANTE . OBITUM . TABULIS .
 UNICO . FILIO . IOSEPHO .
 IMPENSE . COMENDATA .
 AETERNUM . IN . ANIMIS . CIIUM .
 MONUMENTUM .
 ADMIRATIONEM . DESIDERIUM .
 HABITURA .

45. Inscriptions of Antal Károlyi's castrum doloris



46. The castrum doloris of Leopold I, Vienna, Augustinian Church, 1705.



47. The castrum doloris of the Esterházy family died at Veszegény



48. The castrum doloris of Maria Theresia in Buda (Hungary), 1781.



49. The castrum doloris of József Esterházy in Kismarton (Eisenstadt), 1748.



50. The castrum doloris of Ferenc Barkóczy (G. Leithner, 1765)



51. The castrum doloris of József Batthyány in Pozsony (Bratislava), St. Martin Cathedral, 1799.



52. Drawings of the emblematic embroidery of the flags of the Károlyi hussar regiment (1734)



53. Emblem illustration of the phoenix bird

