

“Regnavit Alexander et mortuus est.” The 1744 Funeral Ceremony of Sándor Károlyi and its Art Historical Aspects¹

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In recent decades the Hungarian cultural and art historical literature has been increasingly interested in the funeral rites of the modern era. Related studies are concerned with the varieties, visual aspects and symbolism of the funeral ceremonies as well as the artistic values of the different tools and equipment used. They focus mainly on royal, princely or aristocratic funerary practices of the 16–17th century from Hungary and Transylvania and only rarely deal with cases from later centuries. Among them we can find source publications concerning funeral regulations and case studies presenting funeral objects of artistic importance, such as the funeral coat of arms, flags, epitaphs, tombs, sepulchral monuments and the ephemeral constructions known as *Castrum Doloris*.²

In line with the discourse mentioned above, this study focuses on the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi from 1744 and on the artworks and architectural monument linked to it. Crossing historical and geographical boundaries, it will follow the research methods of previous related studies, trying to contribute to the knowledge about 18th century burial customs and funeral art.

The burial places of the Károlyi family until the mid-18th century

The Károlyi de Nagykároly family is one of the oldest Hungarian aristocratic families. They are traditionally believed to have descended from the Kaplon clan (genus), which won its possessions at the time of the Hungarian Conquest.³ 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.⁴

The first burial place of the Károlyi family was in the Benedictine monastery built in Kaplony at the end of the 11th century, which was shared with other families (Bagossy, Csomaközy, Vetéssy, Vaday) who belonged to the same Kaplony genus.⁵ By the beginning of the 17th century the monastery from Kaplony had been abandoned completely, therefore the deceased family members were buried in Nagykároly.

Nagykároly, located only at a distance of 6 kilometres from Kaplony, became the permanent residence of the Károlyi family at the end of the 15th century; the manor house and later the castle functioned as the center of the estate from this time.⁶ After

the church of Kaplony was abandoned, the medieval church of Nagykároly served as final resting place of the Károlyi family.⁷

It is interesting to mention that although from the mid-16th century this parish church came into the use of the protestant community, some Catholic members of the family such as Mihály Károlyi I. (†1626) and his wife, Borbála Segnyei de Lápispaták (†after 1648) were buried here.⁸ The reason for this is that in that period the entire county of Szatmár had only three catholic parishes, none of them situated on the estate of the Károlyi family.⁹

In the second half of the 17th century Mihály Károlyi's sons, Ádám and László were significant and active participants of the Counter-Reformation movement from Szatmár County. Ádám Károlyi invited the Jesuits to Nagykároly,¹⁰ and later his brother, László took over from the Protestants the former Virgin Mary Church with force, which was situated within the castle of Szatmár, in order to hand it over at the disposal of the Jesuits. Ádám († 1661) and László (†1686) were buried in this church.¹¹

The church of Nagykároly was taken back from the Protestants to the Catholics in 1723.¹² This was facilitated by the increase of the catholic population in the town caused by the colonization of catholic Swabians that was started in 1712.¹³ In these events Sándor Károlyi (László's son) played an important role; he founded a Piarist monastery here for the ensurance of the spiritual, ecclesiastical and educational tasks.¹⁴ During this period Sándor Károlyi's young deceased grandchildren, Sándor (†1728), Mihály (†1731), József (†1734) and Boriska Klára (†1736) were buried in the crypt located under the church.¹⁵

Before settling the Piarists in Nagykároly, Sándor Károlyi invited Franciscan monks to Kaplony in 1711. He also decided about the renovation of the deserted, ruined church, and the building of a new crypt at its southern wall. The construction works took place between 1711 and 1740.¹⁶ The character of the renovated building remained unchanged until the middle of the 19th century. In 1834 an earthquake caused such damage in the building that a reconstruction was needed. These constructions took place between 1844 and 1847. The plans of the new building and of the new crypt in the eastern continuation of the apse erected in neo-Romanesque style, were made by the architect Miklós Ybl.

The mausoleum of Sándor Károlyi from Kaplony

The idea of building a new mausoleum came about by Sándor Károlyi whose aim was to create a permanent and proper burial place for himself and his descendants. We have only little data concerning this construction. The most important sources are Miklós Ybl's surveying plans and sketches realized at around 1842 about the renovated 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.¹⁷

The mausoleum was attached to the full length of the southern wall of the church and consisted of two parts: a three-bayed Crypt and stretching westward of it a one-bayed chapel with southern semicircular termination. (Fig. 1.) The small chapel,

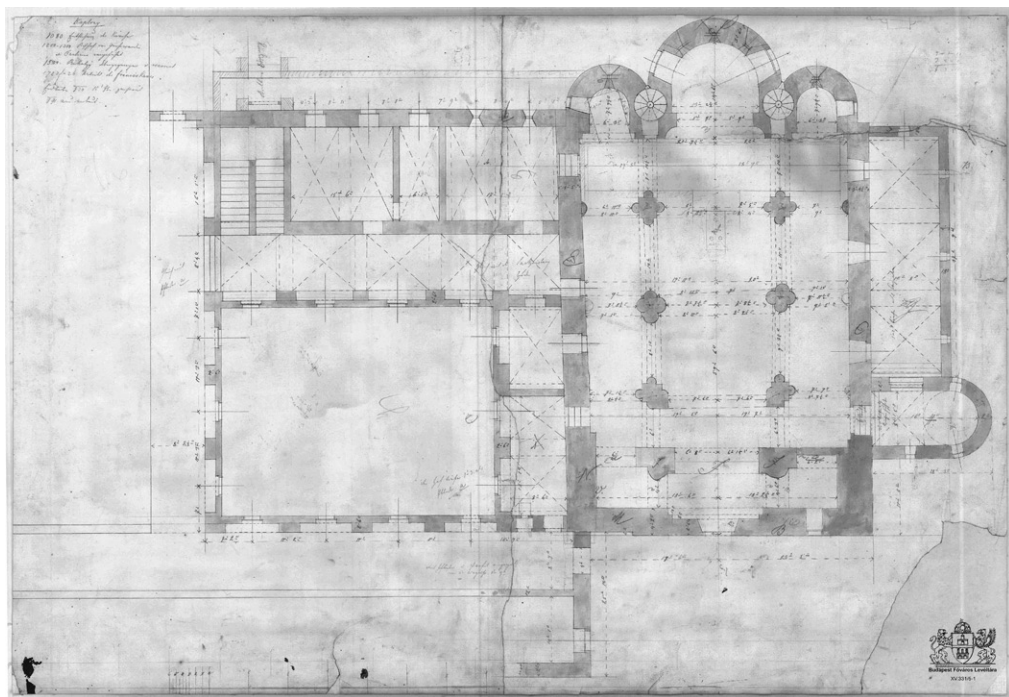


Fig. 1. The floor-plan sketch of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony, drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. Budapest City Archives, Budapest. Inv. Nr. : XV.331/5-1

crowned with a baroque bulb helmet could have been accessed via five stairs from the church. The crypt opened from this chapel, through an iron door and was sunk into the ground, thus from the outside it looked much lower than the chapel. The south wall was punctuated by three narrow windows and it had a pent roof. (Fig. 2.)

We do not have much information about the interior arrangement of the chapel, but we know from the monograph of Antal Szirmay that it contained an altar of Virgin Mary. According to the tradition the icon of Virgin Mary currently located in the cloister of the monastery corresponds to the former altar of the chapel, but this information cannot be proved due to missing archival sources.

On Ybl's sectional drawing the system of the old crypts is visible beneath the eastern part of the three naves of the church.¹⁸ The crypt with barrel-vault ceiling beneath the central nave was most probably built in the 18th century and served as a burial place for Sándor

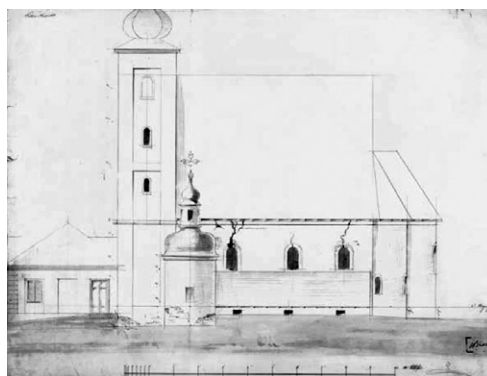


Fig. 2. The southern façade of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest, Collection of architectural drawings: Inv. Nr. K 3203

Károlyi's relatives: Judit Koháry (†1718), his mother-in-law, Krisztina Barkóczi (†1724), his wife and Krisztina Csáky (†1736), his daughter-in law.¹⁹

On the eastern side of this crypt, under the southern and northern lateral aisles, the medieval crypt with extended rectangular plan was located. This space was complemented with a north-east orientated transversal extension beneath the eastern side-apse.²⁰

The crypt built by Sándor Károlyi subsequently replaced these earlier, medieval crypts. The construction had probably been finished by 1737. This assumption is based on a chronogram published by Szirmay, which has unfortunately been destroyed.²¹ Simultaneously with the finish of the construction, the above mentioned family crypt fell out of use and its entrance was closed by a red marble slab decorated with the three coats of arms of the deceased (Koháry, Barkóczi, Csáky) who were buried here.²²

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 from Kaplony were transported here as well.

Sándor Károlyi

Sándor Károlyi, the son of László Károlyi and Erzsébet Segnyey was born on July 2nd 1669 in Nagykároly. As a result of his activity, his family rose on the social ladder; he managed to increase their wealth by accumulating great estates and by building up an outstanding political carrier. 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” at Nagykároly, 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 Commissariat 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 of the Transtibiscan district (starting from 1741).²³

Sándor Károlyi increased the family fortune with large estates and left behind more land than he had inherited. In 1708 he obtained the Erdőd, in 1722 the Csongrád, and in 1723 the Bélték (Beltiug, Satu Mare district) estates. In 1730 due to his wife's wedding dowry, the family estate was enlarged by the Surány estates, complemented with the bordering Surány-Megyer estate in the same year through purchase.²⁴

At the same time he continued to play an important role in the Habsburg lead recatholization politics; he moved catholic Swabian settlers in the almost depopulated villages of the central family estate from Satu Mare County and reacquired the churches for them from the protestant denomination. He founded two monasteries: the Francis-

can in Kaplony and the Piarist in Nagykároly. His name is linked to many ecclesiastical constructions as he was an important patron of church and chapel buildings.

The death (1743) and the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi

Sándor Károlyi died at the age of 75, on September 8, 1743. Two days later his body was placed into a wooden coffin and on the 15th of September his remains were transferred to Nagykároly to be laid out in the chapel of the castle. The acquisition of the funeral equipment (coffin, embroidered coats of arms, burial flag, candles, different textiles, etc.), the organization and preparation of the funeral ceremony and process, the sending out of death notification letters and funeral invitations was done by his son, Ferenc Károlyi. The social, political and economic situation of the family required outstanding care in planning every detail of the funeral. 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 to 22nd June, 1744.

Nagykároly belonged to the diocese of Eger, thus the burial ceremony was performed according to the so called "Rituale Strigoniense", a ritual book, published by Péter Pázmány in 1625.²⁵ Ferenc Károlyi expressed in a letter 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.²⁶ It seems in the end Ferenc Károlyi managed to carry out his will, so the bishop's role in the planning of the ceremony was limited to the liturgy only.

Some of these old local traditions are mentioned in the work of Péter Apor written in 1746 with the title "Metamorphosis Transilvaniae", where the author presents the customs of the Transylvanian nobility. These, however, were probably in use in the entire county and used by the whole Hungarian aristocratic society with slighter or bigger differences, depending on individual financial means. In his work Apor lists multiple elements and tools of the funeral customs which can be identified in Sándor Károlyi's funeral: the silk coats of arms which decorated the coffin, the funeral edifice built at the house of the deceased, covered with black draperies, the distribution of the coat of arms and candles among the members of the funeral procession, the epitaph and decorative weapons placed around the coffin, the structure of the so-called *castrum doloris*, built in the church and decorated with emblems, coat of arms, poems, candles, among others.²⁷

The funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi can be reconstructed based on its contemporary German language description, which is kept in the family archives of the National Archives of Hungary.²⁸ From this document we learn that 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 Steinerner bauten Säulen"), it was covered with black cloth, and on the sides decorated with green branches. The coffin,

placed on a 3 feet high catafalque situated in the middle of the tent, similarly to the catafalque, was covered with 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, 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 3 feet high platform, 4 steps away from the coffin. The ceremony began with the prayer *“Oremus pro fidelibus Defunctis”* intoned by the Bishop of Eger and was accompanied by various musicians. 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 Hungarian preaching was delivered from a provisional pulpit by Gergey Tapolcsányi, theology professor and the superior of the Piarist monastery from Nagykároly, followed by a sung ode consisting of 180 verses and a dirge.²⁹ During the Hungarian service the provincial of the Minorite order preached in German for the Swabians in another tent. After the liturgy the participants followed the coffin in a pre-defined 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 8 groups, two squadrons of the Beleznay hussar regiment conducted 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 lead by 14 officials (*“Hoff-Beamten”*) in green cloths. The gilded copper coffin (*“Kupfer Künstlich getriebene 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 ended by the troops of the county.

At the entrance of the marketplace the body was taken over by 12 county officials, than by the Franciscans, Minorites and Piarists in succession. 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 monk,³⁰ 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.

The funeral sermon of Sándor Károlyi featured a number of theatrical elements, which fit organically into the context of the Transylvanian burial traditions and rites, carrying significant medieval content. The importance of this example lies in the fact that it incorporates elements reflecting a period of transition. We can notice that besides the ambition for representing prestige as well as theatricality specific of the baroque era, the personality cult of the deceased also has an important role. Some items were simplified, for example the two alter egos personifying the dead person – a characteristic element of the earlier centuries that originated from the chivalric culture – disappeared, but the armored horseman carrying the funeral flag, and his two companions carrying objects symbolizing the military merits of the deceased can be interpreted as a reminiscence of this tradition.

It should also be pointed out that 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 – 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.³¹

These visual elements of the funeral (the mace, the sword and the headgear with crest, the coat of arms, the funeral and the various military flags, the decorative sad-

dles and horse tools, the mortuary horses covered in black, the horse-drawn hearse with a layered structure, and the copper coffin) are the most important elements of the funeral rite and beside their cultural and historical importance they have a remarkably artistic significance as well.

Funeral supplies

According to Szirmay the cost of a funeral was 30,000 forints.³² A relatively long period was at the disposal of the family for the acquisition of the funeral supplies. The most important accessories of the funeral include the coat of arms, flags, the coffin, the objects exposed next to the coffin indicating the military career of Sándor Károlyi, the ephemeral architectural constructions like the building erected in the castle's park or the *castrum doloris* from Kaplony.

Funeral coat of arms or epithaphs

In Hungary during the 17th–18th centuries the funeral coat of arms or epitaphs were important elements of the funeral ceremonies. They had two important parts: the coat of arm of the family of the deceased and an inscription containing information about his or her pedigree, social status, wealth and death. They can be divided into two groups: those which were hung on the wall of the churches to keep the memory and assure the representation of the deceased in the ceremonies, made of precious metal or of painted and gilded wood, and the second group of painted coats of arms with ephemeral characters made for the purpose of the ceremony specifically. 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. In this group belonged the coat of arms made usually in a large number, which was distributed among the members of the procession.

Before presenting Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms we need to take a look at the history of the family's coat of arms. 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 (1585–1626) gained the title of baron from King Matthias II, 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.³³ When on April 5th 1712 Sándor Károlyi received the title of count from emperor Charles VI in recognition of his merits, the coat of arms of the family, according to the habits of the time, was expanded with the coat of arms of their related families. The form of the new coat of arm 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 appear armorial elements from



Fig. 3. Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Textile Collection. Inv. Nr. 1907. 123. Embroidery on taft-silk. 124x96 cm. 1744. Published by: László Baják

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 Seghnyey (de Lapispatak), Koháry and Thurzó families are lying. The supporters of the coat of arm are two double-tailed lions, each holding a silver and red colored swallow-tailed flag, surrounded by military emblems.³⁴

We learn from the description of the funeral of Sándor Károlyi that the coffin of the deceased was covered with black textile from which they hung six coats of arms, embroidered with metallic filament ("6 auf das reichst von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität"). These are probably equivalent with the baron's coat of arm, which was taken over by the other families belonging to the Kaplony gens as well.³⁵

The supplies from Sándor Károlyi's funeral include an embroidered silk-taft epitaph, today part of the Textile Collection of the Hungarian National Museum.³⁶ (Fig. 3.) The funeral arms were very popular in that period, and they were painted mostly on paper, wood and rarely on silk; the embroidered funeral coats of arms were uncommon because of their costliness and long production period, therefore in most of the cases only the funeral flags of the aristocracy were decorated with embroidery.

The description of the funeral is not mentioning this epitaph with outstanding artistic value, but it is presumable that it was placed in front of the catafalque from where after the funeral ceremony it was moved onto the wall of the crypt or chapel from Kaplony in order to keep the memory of the deceased. It is important to note that it is the earliest epitaph known related to the Károlyi family. The later coats of arms were made using different techniques, the coats of arms of Ferenc Károlyi and Antal Károlyi were embroidered on silk, but the later ones, made during the 19th–20th centuries were more simple and painted on paper.³⁷

The 124×96 cm epitaph of Sándor Károlyi is embroidered with coloured 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 with the one depicted in the diploma of awarding them the title of count. Among the differences it can be mentioned that in the case of the epitaph the crown on the shield only has 5 pearls instead of 11 and the trophy of weapons (flags, gun-barrels, cannonballs, drums) was completed with additional elements (military pick, trumpets, blue flags with two tails, similar to the flags of the Károlyi cavalry regiment, 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:³⁸

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[ati]s Act[ualis] Int[imus] et Ex[celsi] Co[nsilii] R[egiae] Loc[um]t[enen]tis Con[siliarius] G[ener]alis 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

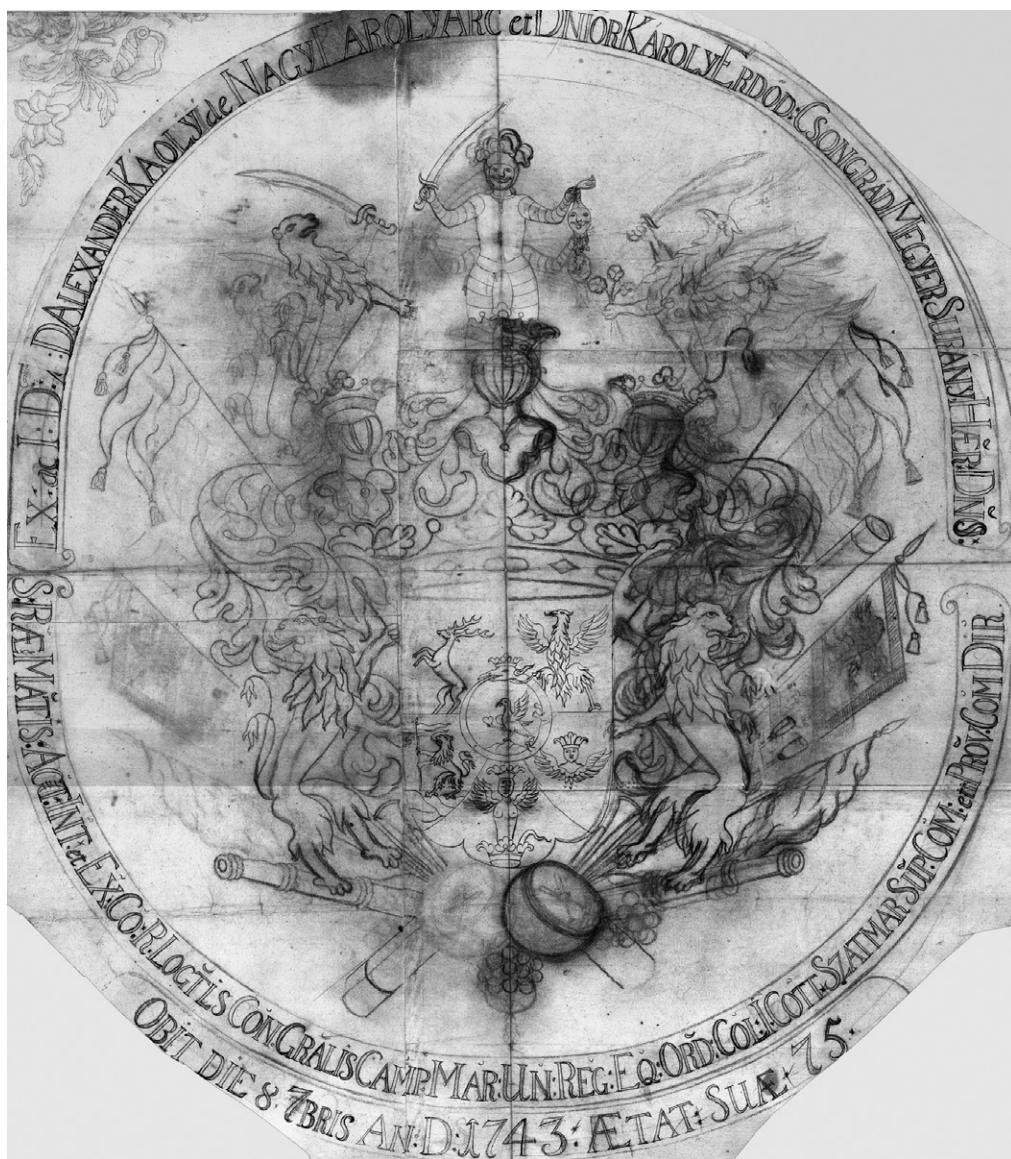


Fig. 4. Pattern of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. National Archives of Hungary, Budapest. P 392. Lad. 8. No. 207. Pencil on paper, in multiple assembly parts. 1744.
Photo: Erika Czikkelyné Nagy

Most probably the model for the pattern of the embroidery was the coat of arms of the family from the diploma of donation or a copy of this drawing.³⁹ (Fig. 4) In this schematic pattern of the funeral coat of arms the following improvements can be noticed: the armorial bearings above the helmets were enlarged, the abbreviated form of the family name on the inscription ribbon was spelled out fully and the word "comitis" was inserted in front of the name. The designer of this sketch sought accuracy primarily in the elaboration of the main components of the coat of arm, the secondary and



Fig. 5. Ferenc Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. The Collection of Ecclesiastical Art Mészleányi Gyula, Szatmárnémeti (today Satu Mare, Romania). Embroidery on taft-silk. 1758. Photo: Éva Puskás

supplementary items such as the symmetrically organized trophies around the shield were outlined only indicatively and only the floral decoration of the upper right corner was worked out entirely.

Unfortunately, the embroiderer of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms cannot be identified from the collection of documents of the burial. 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 arms, which Sándor Károlyi had made for his hussar regiment in 1734⁴⁰ and the funeral coat of arm for Ferenc Károlyi in 1759.⁴¹ (Fig. 5)

As the coat of arms from the epitaph of Sándor Károlyi – regarding its structure, the embroidery technique and quality – corresponds with the coat of arm from the drum flags and from the epitaph of Ferenc Károlyi, we can conclude 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 epitaph were ordered from the same city too, from embroidery master Stephan Molnár ("Stephan Molnár bürgerliche Goldstücker" "Varró Molnár István"), who had performed similar tasks for the family beforehand and who might have had the sketches for the Károlyi coat of arm.

Sándor Károlyi's coffin and its analogies

Today the coffin of Sándor Károlyi is situated in the crypt built by Miklós Ybl. So far, the building and its interior furnishing, as well as the coffins with outstanding artistic values escaped the attention of art historians. 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 were not supported by archival sources.



Fig. 6. Krisztina Csáky's coffin. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper. 1736. Photo: Júlia Bara

In chronological order the coffin with the earliest date of manufacturing belonged to Krisztina Csáky, the wife of Ferenc Károlyi. The countess died on February 28, 1736 and she was buried on March 20. 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.⁴² (Fig. 6.) 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 a lion head. 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 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



Fig. 7. Sándor Károlyi's coffin with Ferenc Károlyi's coffin in the background. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper. 1744 and 1758/1759 respectively. Photo: Júlia Bara

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.⁴³

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. (Fig. 7.) 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.⁴⁴ 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 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.⁴⁵

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 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.⁴⁶ There is no written information regarding his studies and oeuvre, but his works should 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 most well-known were Johann Nicolaus and Balthasar Ferdinand Moll, the masters of the tin sarcophagi of Emperor Charles VI., Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa in the Imperial crypt in Vienna.⁴⁷

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 formers are placed on feet modelling helmets and breastplate wearing human skulls. On their sides and lid the same number 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.

Although Ferenc Károlyi's coffin is almost an exact copy of his father's, the two coffins differ in a few details. 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 cru-



Fig. 8. The coat of arm of the Károlyi family from Sándor Károlyi's coffin. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper, colored. 1744. Photo: Júlia Bara



Fig. 9. Sándor Károlyi's coffin portrait. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Painted on copper. 1744. Photo: Júlia Bara

cifixion 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 IHS enriched with a cross, a heart and three arrow figures. The Károlyi's coat of arms in both cases is moulded from a separate copperplate and is attached to the head sides of the lids. (Fig. 8.) The structure and the coloring of the coat of arm 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. (Fig. 9.) 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 fur-lined 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.⁴⁸

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Other funeral supplies

The funeral supplies without doubt included a funeral coat of arms painted on paper or silk as well, however, these did not survive the centuries. For the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi in 1759, for example, 200 coats of arms painted on paper and 100 painted on silk were ordered from Daniel Schmideleli, the above mentioned painter from Pozsony.⁴⁹ After the funeral sermon these, along with lit candles and torches, were distributed among the people according to social rank. Women received candles only.⁵⁰ Apart from this, coats of arms were placed on the black-coated altars of the church from Kaplony: three on the high altar and two on both side-altars.⁵¹

Unfortunately, the funeral flag was also lost. This was probably two-tailed, broi-dered on black material and with the coat of arms of the Károlyi family, according to the tradition and to the funeral flag visible on the drawing of Ferenc Károlyi's funeral process.⁵²

The items placed next to Sándor Károlyi's bier were also an important part 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 earlier, on which the count ap-

pears in front of the scenes of the surrender on the Majtény (today Majcichov, Slovakia) plain, dressed in festive clothes almost identical to the clothes visible on the funeral portrait, wearing a fur headgear with a decorated crest of plumes, a sword in a jewelled sheath and a gilded silver mace.⁵³ 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 from gold decorated with 100 precious stones and the same number of pearls.⁵⁴ In all probability similar military objects were placed around the bier of the deceased count.

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

The funeral supplies include Sándor Károlyi's *castrum doloris* as well. This ephemeral architectural construction was placed in the church from Kaplony and served as a place for the coffin of the deceased. Unfortunately, we do not have visual sources to research it, only a schematic written draft. This tells us that it was decorated with the coat of arms of the deceased and of his parents (László Károlyi and Erzsébet Segnyey), as well as of 27 emblems.⁵⁵ The tent-like building constructed for the bier on the day of the burial was most probably a spectacular edifice as well. The fact that this venue of the funeral sermon created an atmosphere similar to a theatre is reflected in the description of the funeral, in which it is named "Theatris" or "Schau - Bünnen".

The funeral of Sándor Károlyi was an important event of the social representation characteristic of the baroque era. It also underpinned his family's cult. The supplies of the funeral ceremony were used not only as visual elements of the ceremony, but later they became the most important appurtenances of the crypt in Kaplony, proclaiming the social status and pedigree of the deceased and his descendants.

Notes

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- 2 The list of the related publications is large; we are just mentioning 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: Péter Szabó, *A végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány (Last Honours: The Aristocratic Funeral as a Spectacle)* (Budapest: Magvető, 1989); Idem, "Temetkezési kultúránk újabban felfedezett forrásai elé," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 102 (1998) Nr. 5–6: 744–760; Idem, "A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszertartáson," (The Role of the Armor in the Aristocratic Funeral), *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986) Nr. 1: 115–124; Idem, "Uralkodói temetéseink kérdéséhez," (On the Question of our

- Regal Funerals) in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra (Hungarian Court Culture in the Renaissance)*, ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest, 1987), 324–337; László Baják, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum címeres halotti emlékei (Armored Funeral Supplies in the Hungarian National Museum)*, vol. XIX of *Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historica* XIX. (Budapest, 2007); Klára Garas, “Halotti kultusz, címerek, ravatalképek, epitáfiumok,” (Funeral Cult, Coats of Arms, Paintings of Catafalques, Epitaphs) in *Magyarországi festészet a XVII. században (17th Century Painting in Hungary)*, (Budapest, 1953), 71–81; Enikő D. Buzási, “17th Century Catafalque paintings in Hungary,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 21 (1975): 87–124; Géza Entz and András Kovács, *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei (The Coats of Arms of the Church in Street Farkas, Cluj-Napoca)*, (Budapest-Kolozsvár: Balassi-Polis, 1995); Géza Galavics, “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* 5 (1974): 497–508; Mária Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon I. (Baroque Sculpture in Hungary I.)* (Budapest, 1959).
- 3 About the history of the family see: Gábor Éble, *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével (The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines)*, (Budapest, 1913).
 - 4 Gábor Éble, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története I-II. (History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly I-II.)*, (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1911).
 - 5 We have little information about the early period of the history of the church and about the persons buried here. According to Antal Szirmay, here were buried in stone sarcophagus the mortal remains of László (+1585), István, János and Ferenc Károlyi. See: Antal Szirmay, *Szatmár vármegye fekvése, történetei, és polgári esmérete II. (Location, History, and Civil Description of County Szatmár II.)* (Buda, 1810), 51–52.
 - 6 Gábor Éble, *A Károlyi grófok nagykárolyi várkastélya és pesti palotája (The Károlyi Family’s Castle in Nagykároly and its Palace in Pest)*, (Budapest, 1897); György Asztalos, *Nagy-Károly rendezett tanácsú város története 1848-ig (The History of Nagy-károly until 1848)* (Nagykároly, 1892. Reprinted: Debrecen, 2004), 74–86.
 - 7 This medieval church was dedicated to All Saints and formerly was situated in the vicinity of the today’s Piarist church.
 - 8 Parish Archive from Nagykároly. Inordinated: “HISTORIA DOMUS” (Chronicle of the Piarist monastery from Nagykároly). 18; National Archives of Hungary (hereinafter: MOL), P 1507. 17. d./e.: Sándor Károlyi’s memoir intitulated “*Providentia Dei*” 5–6, 17, 41.
 - 9 Szirmay, 1809, I.13; *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Szatmár vármegye (Counties and Towns of Hungary: County Szatmár)*, ed. Samu Borovszky (Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, 1908), 171.
 - 10 Kálmán Géresi, *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára IV. (The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly IV.)* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), CXLII. 346–350.

- 11 Ágnes Kovács, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 19–20; Éva Gyulai, "Kegyúr és káplán – Károlyi Sándor gróf és Kelemen Didák minorita missziója," (Patron and Chaplain: the Mission of Count Sándor Károlyi and Didák Kelemen to Friars Minor) in *Tanulmányok Kelemen Didák tiszteletére (Essays in Honour of Didák Kelemen)*, ed. Zita Horváth (Miskolc, 2008) (Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis: Sectio Philosophica, tom. XIII, fasc. 1), 74–75.
- 12 MOL, P 1507, 17/1.f. – Sándor Károlyi's diploma for the protestant community of Nagykároly.
- 13 István Vönház, *A Szatmár megyei német telepítés (German Settlement to County Szatmár)* (Pécs, 1931).
- 14 József Vénig Zernye, *A piaristák működése Nagykárolyban a XVIII. században (Piarists in Nagykároly in the 18th Century)* (Kolozsvár, 1935) (unpublished doctoral thesis), 7; Gábor Éble, *Károlyi Ferencz gróf és kora, 1705–1758 (Count Ferenc Károlyi and his Era, 1705–1758)* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1893), 148.
- 15 Parish Archive from Nagykároly: Copia Visitatione canonicae Episcopalis, 1777. 3.
- 16 Szilveszter Terdik, "Kaplony monostorának újjáépítése Károlyi Sándor (1669–1743) korában," (Rebuilding the Monastery of Kaplony During the Era of Sándor Károlyi [1669–1743]) in *A Nyíregyházi Jósza Múzeum Évkönyve Vol. LI. (Nyíregyháza, 2009)*, 335–369.
- 17 National Office of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: KÖH), 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: *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon (Paradisum plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary)*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 446–447: Cat. Nr. V.54–56; Budapest City Archives (hereinafter: BFL), Budapest, XV.331/5–1. (floor plan sketch) Published: Béla Zsolt Szakács, "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. Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 242.
- 18 KÖH, Collection of architectural drawings, Inv. Nr. K. 3204. Published: ed. Imre Takács, 2001, 447; ed. Tibor Kollár, 2011, 244. (Béla Zsolt Szakács)
- 19 Éble, 1913, 76.
- 20 See Miklós Ybl's plans about the church in which he marks the floor plan of the crypts. BFL, XV.331/5–1. Published: Szakács, 2011. 242.
- 21 The text of the inscription: „VnVs Sándor károLI e seMIne kapLIon/ perbene seLegIt sIbI sorte faVentibVs astrIs”, See Szirmay, 1810, 50–51.
- 22 Éble, 1913, 76. In the second half of the 18th century these coffins were transported to the new mausoleum, but the others probably remained at their original places. In 1991 when the floor of the church was changed, the workers founded under the marble slab the entrance to the crypt and fragments of the medieval walls, but there was no professional excavation.

- 23 Éble, 1913, II.
- 24 Éble, 1911, XI–XVI; Kovács, 1988, 196–210.
- 25 Antal Miskei, “Eszterházy Károly egri püspök liturgikus könyve (1768),” in János Makai, ed., *Acta Academiae Pedagogicae Agriensis, Sectio Historiae. Nova Series. Tom. XXXV.* (Eger, 2008), 89–96.
- 26 “Tudván az mostani szokást és tartván attúl ne talán Excellentiád kegyes rendelése ahhoz szabadni kívánná az temetést [...] abba az egybe esedezünk kegyes gratiájáért méltóztassék megengedni, hogy ő méltósága temetését földünkön szokott tisztelettel tehessék meg.” MOL, P 1501. 148. lad. 4.1./40.
- 27 Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae. Avagy az erdélyi régi szokások és rendtartások, az kik voltak s múltanak, s újak származtanak* (1736) (*Rhymed Funeral Oration Which Was Recited and Sung on the Occasion of the Funeral of Count de Nagykároly General Sándor Károlyi, in Nagykároly, June 22, 1744*), (Bukarest, 1978), 122–134.
- 28 MOL, P 1502. 148. Lad./ 4.l. 1–8.
- 29 Gábor Éble, *Nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi Sándor tábornagy temetése alkalmával 1744. június 22-én Nagy-Károlyban részint elénekelt, részint elmondott verses búcsúztató*, (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1888).
- 30 The text of the funeral oration was published in 1747 at the Royer Typography from Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) with the title: „*Világ Biró Nagy Sándor, az az: Méltóságos Nagy-Károlyi Gróf Károlyi Sándornak Országglása 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).
- 31 Szabó, 1989, 120–137.
- 32 Szirmay I, 1809, 116.
- 33 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, 1913, 21.
- 34 Éble, 1913. 3–29.
- 35 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 reformat church from Farkas street in Kolozsvár (today Cluj Napoca, Romania). Bibl.: Entz and Kovács, 1995, Cat. 4. 53.
- 36 Baják, 2007, 50–52.
- 37 At present the majority of them are kept in the crypt of the Károlyi family from Kaplony and in the Piarist Church from Nagykároly (founded by Antal Károlyi). The embroidered epitaphs includes 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 crypt from Kaplony, together with two other paper coats of arms from the 20th century. Lately the funeral coat of arms of Ferenc Károlyi from Kaplony was res-

taurated by Emese Varga, the co-worker of Satu Mare County Museum from Satu Mare. A painted funeral coat of arms of Antal Károlyi is kept in the National Archives of Hungary and in the Petőfi Literary Museum from Budapest, while the funeral coat of arms György Károlyi (1802–1877) is preserved in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. See: Baják, 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.

38 According to László Baják. See: Baják, 2007, 50.

39 MOL, P 392. Lad. 8. No. 207.

40 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.

41 MOL, P 1502. 7. / 4. b./ 2. 12.

42 Parish Archive from Nagykároly: "HISTORIA DOMUS". 7–10; *Gróf Károlyi Ferenc-né, született Csáky Krisztina halála 1736. február 28-án, temetése ugyanazon év márcz. 20-án* (*The Death of Mrs. Count Ferenc Károlyi, née Krisztina Csáky, on 28th February 1736, her Funeral on 20th March in the Same Year*) ed. Gábor Éble, (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, n.d.).

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

44 MOL, P 398. 32716. The letter of Miklós Eötvös to Károlyi Ferenc (25th January 1744.)

45 MOL, P 1502. 4./4/b.: The letter of Demeter Rácz to Antal Károlyi, written on 16th November 1758. 8.

46 Aggházy, 1959, 188; SAUR, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* Vol. 33. (München–Leipzig, 2002), 296. (I. Bardoly); *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* Vol. 10. eds. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig, 1914), 465; Stefan Rakovszky, *Pressburg und seine Umgebung* (Pressburg, 1865), 80; Tivadar Ortway, *Pozsony város utcái és terei* (Pozsony, 1905), 367; Anna Petrová-Pleskotová, "Bratislavskí výtvarní umelci a umeleckí remeselníci 18. storočia," *Ars* 4 (1970) Nr. 1–2: 215. and *Ars* 6–8 (1972–1974): 288; About the construction of the chapel see: Mária 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: Gyula Prokopp, "Levéltári adatok Georg Raphael Donner pozsonyi éveihöz," (Archival notes for the Pressburg Stay of Georg Raphael Donner) *Ars Hungarica* 6 (1978) Nr. 2: 333 (329–339).

47 Thieme and Becker, ed., Vol. 25. 1931, 40–41; Aggházy, 1959, 88–89; Hawlik-van de Water, 1993, 51–55.

- 48 See the bill of the painter for Ferenc Károlyi's coffin portrait, written at 11th October 1759: MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 3.
- 49 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 9.
- 50 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 69.v.
- 51 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 56.
- 52 MOL, P 1502. 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. (drawing. Dimension: 15x193 cm) Partly published in Szabó, 1989, 124–127.
- 53 Hungarian Historical Gallery, Inv. Nr. 83.7.
- 54 About the ornamental weapons of the Károlyi family: Ferenc Temesváry, "Díszfegyverek Károlyi-gyűjteményéből," (Parade Armors from the Károlyi Collection) *História* 1 (1979): Nr. 3, 35.
- 55 MOL, P 1501. 148. lad. /4.1. 285–263.