

Collected Privately, Presented Publicly: The Collections of the Esterházy Princes and the Public in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

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The Esterházy family was the most important family of the Hungarian aristocracy, producing politicians, bishops, generals and a prime minister. Their collections, built up over centuries, were opened to the public as early as the nineteenth century, the first being a picture gallery in their palace in Vienna. This collection was sold to the Hungarian state in 1871 and is now the basis of the Museum of Fine Arts. After 1867, their most important historical objects were increasingly often loaned to the first historical exhibitions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Budapest and Vienna. This raised the standard of these exhibitions, allowed experts and the public to become acquainted with objects from private collections in Hungary, and enabled the lenders to present the history and significance of their families in the context of the history of the country and the nation, in the spirit of social responsibility. This study uses historical sources to describe the process of object lending and the public presentation of private collections.

Keywords: Esterházy princes, private collection, historical exhibitions, publicity, nineteenth century

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The central royal court of Hungary ceased to exist in 1526 and House of Habsburg went on to rule the country from Vienna. This meant that, unlike other European countries, the royal collections did not go on to form the basis of the great national cultural institutions created in the nineteenth century – the national museum and library. In the beginning, national collections in Hungary were shaped much more by private donations and individual offerings, a leading role in this was taken by Count Ferenc Széchenyi (1754–1820), who offered his books, coins and maps for the benefit of the nation. The deed of gift was signed by the Hungarian King Francis I on 26 November 1802. With this, he laid the foundations of two public institutions: the National Széchenyi Library and the Hungarian National Museum, although these

two institutions were legally separated only in 1949.¹ While the collection of Ferenc Széchenyi can be considered Hungarian in the case of the library, the museum material that continued to grow during the nineteenth century – from archaeological objects to applied arts and natural science objects to fine art – is of extremely mixed quality and cannot in any way be considered “Hungaricum”.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian Parliament also contributed to the growth of the National Museum’s collection by purchasing the collection of Miklós Jankovich (1773–1846). However, gifts – mainly from the nobility, ecclesiastical dignitaries and the bourgeoisie – remained typical, for instance, the donation of 140 paintings by László János Pyrker (1772–1847), Archbishop of Eger, in 1836.²

The Széchenyi offering was not followed by similar large-scale actions on the part of the aristocracy, but by the second half of the nineteenth century, a clear trend emerged whereby private aristocratic collections entered the public space, albeit in different ways, contributing to certain aspects of museumisation. This process can be examined through archival sources, taking the example of the Esterházy family. In this article, I review the appearance of the collections of one of the richest Hungarian aristocratic families of the period in historical exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the Compromise (1867), and examine how the strictly private collection gradually became part of the cultural public.

The collections of the Esterházy princes

Over the past 400 years, the Esterházy family has been among the most prominent and wealthy of the Hungarian aristocratic families. Its members have become palatines, bishops, generals, travellers, writers, ministers and, in one case, prime minister. The rise to power of the small noble family from Pozsony County began with the ambitious Miklós Esterházy (1583–1645), who became the most important politician in the Kingdom of Hungary. He acquired large estates in Western Hungary, and in their centres – Kismarton and Fraknó – he established residences worthy of his rank. The development of the family’s collections began during his life, but was only completed during the reign of his son and the princes who succeeded him. Prince Pál Esterházy (1635–1713) already possessed a large treasury, library, archive, picture gallery and armoury. The majority of the valuable objects were kept in the fortified castle of Fraknó, while in the palace of Kismarton a *Kunstammer* (a collection of notable objects, cabinet of curiosities), a gallery and a library were established. In 1695, Pál Esterházy created a trust for the unification of the most valuable assets, which were always inherited by

¹ KOVÁCS, Tibor. Fejezetek két évszázad múzeumtörténetéből [Chapters from two centuries of museum history]. In: PINTÉR, János (ed). *A 200 éves Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményei*. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2002, pp. 9; MONOK, István. *Cara patria ac publica utilitas. Széchenyi Ferenc könyvtáralapítása [Ferenc Széchenyi and his foundation of the library]*. In: *Századok*, Volume 138, 2004, pp. 744–748; MONOK, István. *A könyvtár múzeuma vagy a múzeum könyvtára? Egy közép-európai történet magyar példákkal [The library of the museum or the museum of the library? A Central European story with Hungarian examples]*. In: DRASKÓCZY, János – VARGA, Júlia – ZSIDI, Vilmos (eds). *Universitas – Historia. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Szűgyi László tiszteletére*. Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2018, pp. 567–575.

² MIKÓ, Árpád (ed). *Jankovich Miklós (1773–1846) gyűjteményei [The Collections of Miklós Jankovich]*. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2002. november 28. 2003. február 16. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002; KISS, Péter. *A magyarországi első nyilvános képműkiállítás és a Pyrker-képtár története (1812–1949) [The first public exhibition of paintings in Hungary and the history of the Pyrker Gallery]*. In: *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, Volume 38, 2002, pp. 7–32; SZIGETHI, Ágnes. *A Pyrker-képtár Budapesten [The Pyrker Gallery in Budapest]*. In: *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, Volume 38, 2002, pp. 33–44.

the eldest son. Among the eighteenth century princes, Miklós “splendour-loving” Esterházy (1714–1790) stands out. On the shores of Lake Fertő, he built one of the most beautiful Baroque–Rococo-style Hungarian palaces, Eszterháza, which housed a magnificent collection of porcelain and a silver chamber. The opera house he founded played orchestral works conducted by Joseph Haydn.³

The Esterházy collections and their collections in the nineteenth century

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the great collections were spectacularly completed, thanks to the passionate collecting work of Prince Miklós Esterházy II (1765–1833).⁴ In addition, for the first time in the history of the family, in 1811 the prince opened to the public a gallery located on the first floor of his house in Laxenburg.⁵ In 1814, he transferred the collection to his garden palace in Mariahilf; for several decades it was one of Vienna’s attractions, along with the mineral collection and library also located there.⁶ As Stefan Körner presented in his pioneering monograph, Miklós Esterházy II created one of the most significant art collections in Europe during the three decades following 1793. He accumulated about 153,000 objects in palaces on Vienna, Laxenburg, Kismarton and others, but this came at a high price.⁷ The entail, burdened with huge loans, became insolvent in 1828, and Miklós Esterházy II had to hand over the management of his entire property in Hungary in 1832.⁸ After his death in 1833, his son (Antal Pál Esterházy III, 1786–1866) and then his grandson (Miklós Esterházy III, 1817–1894) were forced to resolve the family’s financial difficulties by selling real estate and assets, including Mariahilf Palace. In 1867, they the famous Esterházy diamond jewels up for auction in London.⁹ The sale of the Esterházy gallery in Vienna was also part of this process.

³ More about the history of the collections see SZILÁGYI, András. *Az Esterházy-kincstár* [The Esterházy Treasury]. Budapest: Helikon, 1994; SZILÁGYI, András (ed). *Az Esterházy-kincsek. Öt évszázad műalkotásai a hercegi gyűjteményekből* [The Esterházy treasures. Artworks of five centuries from the princely collections]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2006–2007.; PÁSZTOR, Emese (ed). *Az Esterházy-kincstár textíliái az Iparművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményében* [Textiles from the Esterházy Treasury in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2013; SZILÁGYI, András (ed). *Műtárgyak a fraknói Esterházy-kincstárból az Iparművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményében* [Artefacts from the Esterházy Treasury in Fraknó in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2014.

⁴ MELLER, Simon. *Az Esterházy-képtár története* [The history of the Esterházy Gallery]. Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1915; GARAS, Klára. Die Geschichte der Gemäldegalerie Esterházy. In: MRAZ, Gerda – GALAVICS, Géza (Eds). *Von Bildern und anderen Schätzen. Die Sammlungen der Fürsten Esterházy*. Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 1999, p. 118; KÖRNER, Stefan. *Nikolaus II. Esterházy und die Kunst. Biografie eines manischen Sammlers*. Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 2013.

⁵ KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. Esterházy..., pp. 236–237.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 292–295. The gallery was open to the public until 1865, as evidenced by the surviving guest book. see RADOCSAY, Dénes – GEREVICH, Lászlóné. Az Esterházy-képtár látogatói 1849–1865 [The visitors of the Esterházy Gallery]. In: *A Szépművészeti Múzeum Közleményei*, Volume 28, 1966, pp. 166–174.

⁷ KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. Esterházy..., p. 363.

⁸ Ibidem, pp. 354–357.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 364.

Tab. 1: *The owners of the fidei-commissum in nineteenth century*

Prince	Time of reign
Miklós Esterházy II (1765–1833)	1794–1833
Pál Antal Esterházy III (1786–1866)	1833–1866
Miklós Esterházy III (1817–1894)	1866–1894
Pál Esterházy IV (1843–1898)	1894–1898
Miklós Esterházy IV (1869–1921)	1898–1921

From private to public galleries

Pál Antal Esterházy III was, in fact, forced to sell the gallery. This act met the demand, which was gaining more and more ground in Hungary, to have access to quality collections in Pest with the capacity to shape the public's taste. The prince may also have been reassured by the fact that Emil Dessewffy, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, promised a suitable exhibition space for the gallery in the academy's headquarters, which were being built at that time. The paintings, engravings and drawings were transported to Pest in June 1865, where they were showcased to visitors on 12 December on the second and third floors of the academy building, across a total of 14 rooms.¹⁰ However, the exhibition of the deposited collection did not solve the financial problems of the Esterházy family. After his death, Pál Antal Esterházy III was followed by Miklós III, to whom the asset manager recommended the sale of the gallery in 1867.¹¹ Over the next three years, negotiations took place between the representatives of the Hungarian state and those of the family regarding the purchase price, but it was difficult to raise the huge amount required. It was then that Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), who returned home from emigration, became a key player. As president of the Society of Fine Arts from 1867 and director of the Hungarian National Museum from 1869 – and also as a member of parliament – he put pressure on the government regarding the purchase. Pulszky described in his memoirs that he and his old acquaintance, Director of the National Gallery in London, Sir John Boxall – who was sent to Pest to inquire about the collection – spent four days examining and appraising the paintings of the Esterházy gallery one by one. The thorough survey and Pulszky's financial calculations convinced the Minister of Finance Károly Kerkapoly that the state was making a good investment: the sale contract was signed on 8 December 1870 and reasserted by Law XI of 1871.¹² According to this contract, 637 paintings, 3,535 drawings, 51,301 engravings and 305 books became the property of the Hungarian state; they still form the core material of the Museum of Fine Arts, opened in 1906. Later, Miklós Esterházy III sold another of his collections: the mineral collection was bought by Andor Semsey, who generously donated it to the Hungarian National Museum.¹³

¹⁰ Emil Dessewffy to Pál Antal Esterházy, Vienna, 3. March 1861.; MELLER, *Az Esterházy-képtár...*, p. 187; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, Gabriella. *Az Esterházy képtár a magyar fővárosban* [The Esterházy Gallery in the Hungarian capital]. In: *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából*, Volume 28, 1999, pp. 237–239.

¹¹ MELLER, *Az Esterházy-képtár...*, pp. LXX–LXXI.

¹² PULSZKY, Ferenc. *Visszaemlékezések* [Memories]. In: *Budapesti Szemle*, Volume 34, 1883, pp. 73–76; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, *Az Esterházy képtár...*, pp. 240–244.

¹³ *Pesti Hírlap*, November 4. 1882; KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. *Esterházy...*, p. 365.

Further steps towards the public

Miklós Esterházy II opened his collection to visitors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and his son, Antal Pál, took the gallery to Hungary and made it a public treasure for the Hungarian public. However, it is worth looking at the policy of the Esterházy princes towards the public and public opinion in a wider context. During the reign of Antal Pál Esterházy III, the family appeared more and more prominently in Hungarian public life. One of the signs of this was the patronage of scientific and professional associations and civil associations, for example, by paying membership fees or in other forms. The Society of Hungarian Doctors and Naturalists, which, contrary to its name, had historians, art historians and archaeologists among its members, held its eighth General Meeting in Sopron in 1847. The prince was invited to be the honorary chairman of the event. He hosted an evening in the casino on the first day and on August 15 he also hosted the scientific society in Kismarton, where the Prince's orchestra played, the castle's vicar held a mass, the castle garden and the castle were opened to visitors, and dinner was provided to round off the trip.¹⁴ It was then that the participants decided to establish the Hungarian Geological Society, which the Prince, "being a huge and generous promoter of all good, useful and public-purpose enterprises", subsequently supported with 400 pengő per year.¹⁵



Fig. 1: *Fraknó Castle, 1900.* Photo by Fortepan.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, Fraknó Castle gradually opened its doors to visitors, and by the end of the century the fortress had already become an established tourist attraction. Here, in the *Kunstkammer* rooms created by Pál Esterházy at the end of the seventeenth century, old and exotic treasures were held. Space was also given to the ancient gallery, historical weapons, and a huge quantity of material from the archives of the family estates, the

¹⁴ HALÁSZ, Géza (ed). *A Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók 1847. augusztus 11–17. Sopronban tartott VIII. nagygyűlésének vázlatá és munkálatai* [Outline and proceedings of the 8. meeting of Hungarian Physicians and Natural Scientists]. Pest, 1863. p. 8.

¹⁵ KOVÁTS, Gyula. *Első jelentés a Magyarbani Földtani Társulatról.* Pest, 1852, p. 4.

so-called “economic archive”.¹⁶ Burgenland Regional Library has preserved two guest books from Fraknó which contain the names of visitors to the castle between 1886–1906 and 1907–1928.¹⁷

Antal Pál Esterházy III took further steps towards public access, allowing research to be undertaken in the archive, which had until then been closed to the public. Historians such as Mihály Horváth, Wenzel Gusztáv and László Szalay were given permission to study documents there.¹⁸ Not only archival documents but also sixteenth-to-eighteenth-century treasury objects (which even then, would have been called old and historical) found their way to the outside world. As early as 1860, two counts, Edmund Zichy and János Waldstein, proposed a plan for an antiquities exhibition in Pest, to which Antal Pál Esterházy III wanted to contribute “a room’s worth of art treasures”.¹⁹ The plan was only realised in the spring of 1867 when, in the building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a mixed historical-art exhibition organised by the Fine Arts Society could be viewed for three months; however, the Esterházys were not listed among the lenders.²⁰

Loan of artworks for exhibitions

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, exhibitions that spread from the practice of the art trade played an increasingly important role in European culture. Due to their attraction to the public, exhibitions began to conquer the fields of industry and commerce as well. The successful world exhibitions (first held in London in 1851), the ever-increasing role of the state, the consolidation of national public collection networks and the work of professional and civic associations had a favourable effect on the development of a new kind of publicity. A series of public-attracting exhibitions, initially intended primarily to illustrate the history and successful survival of the Hungarian nation, began in 1876 in the old–new capital, Budapest.²¹

In the following sections, I will list some of the exhibitions in Budapest and Vienna up to the start of the twentieth century to which Miklós Esterházy III lent artefacts. It was thanks to these exhibitions that, piece by piece, some of the family’s treasures were shown to the public – alongside objects from other collections. The *Kunstammer*, ancient gallery, furniture, textiles and weapons kept in Fraknó remained almost untouched for more than 150–200 years within the castle’s thick, cool walls, but from the 1870s, they were increasingly accessible to the public.

Industrial and Historical Exhibition, Budapest, 1876

An exhibition, initiated by Madame Paulai Zichy, wife of Ferenc Paulai Zichy, was organised in 1876 for the benefit of the victims of the spring floods. A call for the submission of “in-

¹⁶ RESS, Imre. Hajnal István, a kismartoni hercegi levéltáros [István Hajnal, princely Archivist in Kismarton]. In: *Korall*, Volume 15–16, 2004, p. 294.

¹⁷ The signature of the guest books: Burgenländische Landesbibliothek (Mattersburg, Austria) Nr. 15844-B és 15844-B-P.

¹⁸ KUNT, Gergely – VISKOLCZ, Noémi. Fejezetek az Esterházy hercegi család levéltárának kutatástörténetéből (1847–1945) [Chapters from the research history of the archives of the Esterházy family]. In: *Tumul*, Volume 91, 2018, p. 108.

¹⁹ *Vasárnapi Ujság*, June 10, 1860, p. 291; KISS, Erika. ...*az mi kevés ezüst marhácskám vagyok...* Ötvösművek a három részre szakadt Magyarországon [Goldsmith’s works in the divided Hungary]. Budapest: Opitz, 2022, p. 31.

²⁰ *Vasárnapi Ujság*, March 31, 1867, p. 151; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, Az Esterházy képtár..., p. 251.

²¹ SINKÓ Katalin. Kiállítási nyilvánosság [Exhibition publicity]. In: PAPP, Júlia – KIRÁLY, Erzsébet (Eds.). *A magyar művészet a 19. században* [The Hungarian art in the nineteenth century]. Budapest: Osiris, 2018, pp. 461–465; KISS, Az mi kevés..., p. 35.

dustrial and historical monuments” was published in the daily newspapers on 12 April 1876. Members of the organising committee included ministers, politicians and experts.²² In the following four weeks, approximately 2,000 items were sent or brought in by those involved. The exhibition itself opened on 10 May – not in the academy building, where it was first planned, but in the four upstairs rooms of Alajos Károlyi’s palace behind the National Museum. Due to the lack of time, the arrangement of the objects lacked organisational concept. In addition to aristocrats, ecclesiastical and civil figures, Emperor Franz Joseph and Archduke Joseph also made some Hungarian-related pieces available: a portrait and armour of Louis II, as well as reliefs of King Matthias and Queen Beatrix.²³ Perhaps it was the king’s generosity that motivated Miklós Esterházy III to include his objects in the hastily organised exhibition, but we know that his children’s former tutor and close advisor, Abbot Zsigmond Bubits (1821–1907), also advocated this. The correspondence and other documents of princely archivist János Mandl and private secretary Johann Patzill also shed light on this. According to the lists of treasures sent to Pest, the Esterházy sent paintings, textiles, gold and silver items, weapons, horse tack, and furniture from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including now well-known emblematic pieces such as the Vezekény decorative plate, solid silver chairs and a silver table, King Lipót I’s coronation cloak, a table clock and a portrait of Anna Júlia Esterházy.²⁴ In total, more than 50 objects were included in the exhibition, making Miklós Esterházy one of the most generous lenders.

The preparation of the treasures, their packing, their transport from Fraknó to Vienna, and their transport from there by train to Budapest was managed by Mandl, based on Patzill’s instructions. Mandl accompanied the objects and remained there until the end of the exhibition.²⁵ He wrote to the Prince’s secretary details about the events, such as the number of visitors and the income. For example, on 21 May, Mandl reported that the Hungarian King Franz Joseph visited the exhibition, spending more than an hour in the halls and listening to lectures by experts Flóris Rómer and Zsigmond Bubits in Hungarian.²⁶ Miklós Esterházy III was unable to travel from Vienna to Budapest due to illness, but he received the information from his private secretary with interest, expressed pleasure on examining the exhibition catalogue, and sent a special greeting to Abbot Bubits.²⁷ According to a journalist writing for *Pesti Napló*, Bubits was a kind of living catalogue of the exhibition; he knew the history of the Esterházy treasures particularly well and presented them to those interested.²⁸ Together with the art historian Imre Henszlmann, Bubits also compiled the catalogue, presenting the objects of the exhibition in

²² *Fővárosi Lapok*, April 12, 1876, p. 393; SZILÁGYI, *Az Esterházy-kincstár...*, p. 53–54; KISS, *Az mi kevés...*, pp. 31–32.

²³ *Fővárosi Lapok*, May 10, 1876, p. 501; *Pesti Napló*, May 11, 1876. (without page number)

²⁴ Jegyzék azon tárgyakról, melyek főméltóságú herceg Esterházy Miklós úr részéről a magyarországi iparmű-kincsek és történelmi emlékek kiállítási és átvételi bizottságnak elküldettek [List of objects sent for the historical exhibition by Prince Miklós Esterházy]. National Archives of Hungary, Esterházy Archives (henceforth NAH EA) P 114, G/4, pp. 25–27.

²⁵ János Mandl german letters to Johann Patzill, Budapest, 19. May, 29. May, 4. June 1876. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 8–15.

²⁶ János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Budapest, 29. May 1876. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 21–23; see *Fővárosi Lapok*, 23 May 1876, p. 553.

²⁷ Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Bécs, 1876. május 30. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 5–7.

²⁸ *Pesti Napló*, 24 May 1876 (without page number).

Hungarian and German,²⁹ and invited the famous photographer of Pest, György Klösz, to take pictures of the most beautiful objects.³⁰

Abbot Bubics was responsible for the earliest known photographs of the pieces of the



Fig. 2: Ornamental saddles from the Esterházy treasury, 1876. Photo by György Klösz.

included György Ráth and Ferenc Pulszky, and Károly Pulszky became the secretary of the exhibition. The purpose and program of the exhibition and the stages involved in its preparation were determined, and a collection was initiated to cover the costs.³⁴ The first calls for public donations appeared at the beginning of June 1883. At that time an exhibition regulation developed by the committee was also published which primarily served to reassure the owners that their possessions would be carefully handled and reliably guarded. The goal of the organisers was twofold: to gather materials in order to showcase examples of goldsmiths' works to domestic industrialists, and to provide scientists with the opportunity to analyse the history

Esterházy treasury. In an album published in November 1876, 146 recordings on cardboard with Hungarian and German inscriptions were selected,³¹ from which 24 were compositions of Esterházy objects (sometimes several objects are shown in one photograph).

The art history exhibition closed on 15 June. 18,400 visitors were recorded; the revenue reached almost 15,000 forints, which the organisers considered a great success.³²

National Exhibition of Goldsmiths, Budapest, 1884

György Ráth, the director of the National Museum of Applied Arts, planned a large goldsmith's exhibition as early as 1882, an idea that took official form when, in March 1883, Ágoston Trefort, Minister of Religion and Public Education, authorised its organisation with the involvement of the Hungarian National Museum.³³ On 12 March a central committee was formed, chaired by Arnold Ipolyi and Count István Keglevich; members

²⁹ BUBICS, Zsigmond – HENSZLMANN, Imre. *A magyarországi árvízjárosultak javára... rendezett műipari és történelmi emlékek-kiállítás tárgyainak lejtroma*. Budapest, 1876; also published in German: BUBICS, Zsigmond – HENSZLMANN, Imre. *Katalog der zum Besten der Überschwemmten Ungarns zu Budapest im Palais des Grafen Alois Károlyi im Mai 1876 veranstalteten Ausstellung kunstgewerblicher und historischer Denkmäler*. Budapest, 1876.

³⁰ *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 12 November 1876, p. 731.

³¹ *A Hon*, November 9, 1876, (without page number); KLÖSZ, György (ed). *A magyarországi árvízjárosultak javára... rendezett műipari és történelmi kiállítás kitűnőbb tárgyainak lejtroma* [List of the most outstanding objects of the art and history exhibition for the benefit of flood victims in Hungary...]. Budapest, 1876.

³² *Fővárosi Lapok*, June 18, 1876, p. 647.

³³ SZALAY, Imre. A kiállítás története [The history of exhibition]. In: *A magyar történelmi ötvösmű-kiállítás lejtroma*. Budapest, 1884. p. II.; KISS, Az mi kevés..., pp. 33–46.

³⁴ *Pesti Hírlap*, March 13, 1883, p. 7.



Fig. 3: *The Vezekény Plate from the Esterházy treasury, gold-plated silver, 1876. Photo by György Klösz.*

of works produced by Hungarian goldsmiths.³⁵

The exhibition was opened on 17 February 1884 by Minister Ágoston Trefort. Arnold Ipolyi gave a speech in praise of Hungarian goldsmiths' art and Ferenc Pulszky led the guests around the five halls.³⁶ It was a novelty that in February, when night falls early, the opening hours were extended with electric lighting. The aforementioned central committee addressed Miklós Esterházy III in a personal letter:

The purpose of this exhibition could hardly be achieved, and it would certainly remain significantly truncated,

if the famous goldsmith works of the Prince's treasury were missing from it.³⁷

The committee also indicated in the letter that Zsigmond Bubics was among the members of the committee, and that he would be happy to undertake the selection of objects. The letter was accompanied by a printed invitation and a list of regulations governing a historical jewellery exhibition to be held in 1883, thus showing that the organisers had thoroughly prepared for this exhibition and were acting in a uniform manner, following protocol. Miklós Esterházy III accepted the commission's request, and on his behalf the princely secretary, Patzill, notified archivist János Mandl that he had entrusted "Monsignor Bubics" with the selection of the appropriate objects.³⁸ On 9 November 1883, we know that Bubics was in the Fraknó treasury selecting pieces that "will be given to the goldsmith's exhibition according to the order of our gracious lord the Prince".³⁹ On behalf of the central committee, Bubics not only visited Prince Miklós but also another aristocratic family in Körmend, the Batthyánys, with the same goal, but much less success.⁴⁰

The local princely administration of the Esterházy also brought in many changes to ensure the objects were returned in the same condition as they were handed over, which required thorough examination and accurate documentation. In a list containing 48 items under 42 item numbers, the description, size, weight, inventory number and price of each piece was

³⁵ Az Országos Ötvösmű-kiállítás szabályzata [Rules of the National Goldsmith's works Exhibition]. In: *Pesti Hírlap*, 8 June 1883, p. 11.

³⁶ *Pesti Hírlap*, 18 February 1884. (without page number)

³⁷ István Keglevich, Ferenc Pulszky, György Ráth, Károly Pulszky to Miklós Esterházy, Budapest, 28 October 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 288–289.

³⁸ A Központi Bizottság Fölvívása, Budapest, May 1883 [Call of the Central Committee, printed]. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 291–292; Az 1883-ban rendezendő történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás szabályzata [Rules of the Historical... Exhibition, printed]. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 294–297; Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 7 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 339–341.

³⁹ Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 5 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 270.

⁴⁰ Károly Pulszky to Zsigmond Bubics, Budapest, 28 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 356–357; *Fővárosi Lapok*, 10 December 1883, p. 1842.

included.⁴¹ Goblets, cups, jugs, jewellery, bowls, mirrors, belts, knives, daggers and saddles were included among the various objects collected by aristocrats from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.



Fig. 4: Jug and goblet from the Esterházy treasury, 1884. Photo by Antal Weinwurm.

On the instructions of the prince's secretary, János Mandl had to copy the text of their own inventory verbatim into the so-called Announcement List – which had to be issued in two copies, one for the central committee, one remaining with the prince – and to note separately anything known about the provenance of the objects.⁴²

The value of eight of the 48 items loaned to the exhibition by the Esterházy family was estimated at more than 2,000 forints. The most valuable was a gold goblet, valued at 4,800 forints. The total value of all Esterházy items in the exhibition was 45,244 forints.⁴³ To understand these amounts, it is worth knowing that the annual support received by the Hungarian National Museum in these years was 4,000 forints, and it only had limited opportunities to increase this.⁴⁴ The crates were set off on 16 January 1884 and arrived in Budapest on 20 January.

During the exhibition, the most beautiful and important objects were drawn by the students of the Model Drawing School and photographed by photographer Antal Weinwurm,⁴⁵ but these were not published in book format. Edited by János Szendrei, a booklet was published that contained “photographic illustrations” of 15 objects, among which was only one Ester-

⁴¹ Jegyzéke Főméltóságú herceg Esterházy Miklós úr által az ötvösmű kiállításra beküldött ötvösműveknek [List of goldsmith's objects sent for the goldsmith's exhibition by Prince Miklós Esterházy], Fraknó, 18. January 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 378–386. (German version), pp. 331–337. (Hungarian version).

⁴² Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 8 December 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 352–354.

⁴³ János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Kismarton, 31 December 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 347–348.

⁴⁴ PAPP, Júlia. *A Rummy-serleg története* [The story of the Rummy goblet]. Budapest: Kairosz, 2008, p. 66.

⁴⁵ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 13 April 1884, p. 579; PAPP, A Rummy-serleg..., pp. 53–54.

házy treasure: a decorative goblet with the figure of a woman holding a mirror on top.⁴⁶ Due to great interest from the public, the exhibition was extended and the prince gave permission for the objects to remain.⁴⁷ After closing on 3 June, items could be collected by their owners from 6 June.⁴⁸

Millennium National Exhibition, 1896

At the end of the nineteenth century, Hungarians prepared to celebrate the thousandth anniversary (i.e. the millennium) of the conquest and settlement in the Carpathian basin. Although the exact date of the conquest could not be determined, the ceremony was held in 1896 based on a symbolic political decision. Part of the celebration was the Millennium National Exhibition, for which preparations began as early as 1893 with the establishment of an organising committee. The chosen location was Városliget in Budapest, where 240 pavilions illustrated the place, achievements and successes of Hungarians in Europe at the time. The history of the Hungarians in the exhibitions of the main historical group were intended to be presented in a representative environment: designed by Ignác Alpár, new buildings grew out of the ground which displayed the details of the country's 21 architecturally significant buildings – castles, castles, churches and monasteries, plus a replica of Transylvania's Vajdahunyad Castle standing in the centre.⁴⁹ In March 1894, the Executive Committee of the Historical Group, chaired by Count Béla Széchenyi, sent out the first invitations to the owners of ecclesiastical and aristocratic collections asking for loans, but applications arrived only slowly.⁵⁰

During the organisation of the exhibition, Prince Miklós Esterházy III (1817–1894), who had led the family since 1866, died in Vienna on 28 January 1894. He was succeeded by his son, Prince Pál IV (1843–1898), who shared his father's liberal views regarding the historical collections of the Esterházy family. In the summer of 1894, through Zsigmond Bubits – at that time the Bishop of Kassa and asset manager of the princely estates of the Esterházy family – the prince assured Minister of Trade Béla Lukács, who was also the chairman of the exhibition, that

all rarities and valuable objects from the castles of Eszterháza and Fraknó, which the historical group will consider worthy of this, will be readily transferred for the purposes of the exhibition, for example, complete room furnishings from the times of Louis XIV and XV will be displayed in interiors: apart from the furniture and old pictures, the services are extremely valuable etc. Artefacts from the time of Mária Theresa, II, Joseph's bed, etc. such interesting things that will present the medieval and last century industrial art in full fidelity to the public's eyes.⁵¹

Prince Pál Esterházy IV's offer was truly impressive: he handed to the directors a huge collection of objects which can be considered almost unique in that age. This process, which

⁴⁶ SZENDREI, János. *Országos Magyar Történeli Ötvösmű-kiállítási emlék* [National Historical Goldsmith's Exhibition]. (Ed), DIVALD, Károly. Budapest, 1884.

⁴⁷ Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 27 April 1884. f. 184.

⁴⁸ János Lipcsey to János Mandl, Budapest, 2 May 1884. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 352–354.

⁴⁹ *1896: Magyarország az Ezredévi Kiállítás tükrében* [1896: Hungary in the light of the Millennium Exhibition]. (Ed), Varga, Katalin. Budapest: Atlasz, 1996; VARGA, Bálint: *Árpád a város fölött. Nemzeti integráció és szimbolikus politika a 19. század végének Magyarországon* [Árpád over the city. National integration and symbolic politics in late nineteenth century Hungary]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Központ, 2017, pp. 33–37.

⁵⁰ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 21 June 1894, p. 1465.

⁵¹ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 10 June 1894, p. 1371.

involved a great deal of organisation and resources, was not recorded in the Prince's archives in as much detail as in previous exhibitions. There are no complete and detailed rental lists, although we can get a glimpse of individual phases with the help of documents and contemporaneous press reports. On 14 December 1895, the first shipment of 950 items, mostly from the weapons collection of Fraknó Castle, was sent from Vulkapordány railway station to Pest via Győr. The press praised the military history collection, particularly because the project to create a military museum in Budapest had for a long time been unsuccessful.⁵² The directors tried to keep the objects together, placing them in rooms 22–27 of the Renaissance building. In addition to weapons, interested parties could once again view a fair number of pieces that had already been presented at previous exhibitions in Budapest, such as the Vezekény plate, an equestrian statue of László Esterházy, goblets and cups, a beautiful dress belonging to Éva Thököly, and a piano decorated with silver plates.

The Millennium National Exhibition, whose chief patron was the Hungarian King Ferenc József, opened on 2 May 1896 in the presence of the monarch. After the failure of the 1848–1849 War of Independence, the public considered the royal power to be the pillar of Hungarian freedom. An exciting new feature of the historical exhibition was Jenő Radisics's concept to present details of the unique Eszterháza Castle which reflected the lifestyle of the eighteenth-century nobleman.⁵³ At that time, the aristocratic residences were of course not open to the public, although journalists were increasingly allowed in to report on the castle's spaces, furnishings and artistic treasures, as well as the life of the family.⁵⁴

It was a new idea in the history of exhibitions to bring castle rooms – in this case from Eszterháza – “to life”. This concept was realised in the Renaissance part of the historical building in the City Park. One corridor and six rooms were furnished in the manner of Eszterháza Castle, their interiors decorated in a manner identical to the original spaces, partially supplemented with original furniture, artefacts and paintings. The wallpaper for the rooms, along the door and window frames, flooring, some furniture, stoves, and fountains were made by the famous interior architect and furniture manufacturer of the time, Max Schmidt.⁵⁵ The costs were not borne by the Hungarian state but by Pál Esterházy who, accompanied by her director of livestock, inspected the works in progress in March 1896.⁵⁶ A corridor decorated with panoramas of Eszterháza and Bratislava as well as paintings led to the Esterházy rooms. From there, the visitor entered the *salle a terrain* or *sala terrana*, that is, a cooling room with a fountain in its centre. This room, with its glass chandeliers, mirrors and painted murals with flower garlands, exuded a charming Rococo atmosphere. The rooms opened into each other. There was a room decorated with Chinese black inlays and furniture covered with gold brocade fabrics. Maria Theresa's room, with the four-poster bed in which Maria Theresa once slept and the famous musical armchair. In the drawing room, portraits of Carl III and Maria Theresa painted by Martin Meytens hung and Louis XVI-era furniture and Japanese porcelain dishes covered in blue

⁵² *Pesti Hírlap*, 14 December 1895, p. 8.

⁵³ RADISICS, Jenő. *A magyar művészeti ipar az ezredéves kiállításon* [The Hungarian art industry at the millennial exhibition]. In: *Magyarország történelmi emlékei*. (Ed), Szalay, Imre. Budapest, 1896, pp. 416–417; VADÁSZI, Erzsébet. *Magyar Versália* [Hungarian Versália]. Budapest: Műemlékek Állami Gondnoksága, 2007, pp. 181–182.

⁵⁴ DEÁK, Farkas. *Az Eszterházyak egyik kastélyában* [In one of the Eszterházy castles]. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, July 14, 1874, p. 158; DEÁK, Farkas. *Nagy-Höflein*. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 11 August 1874, pp. 796–797; VAJDA, Viktor. *Az Eszterházyak várkastélya* [The castle of the Eszterházy]. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 21 June 1877, p. 682; VAJDA, Viktor. *A kismartoni kastély* (The castle in Kismarton). In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 6 March 1879, p. 256.

⁵⁵ VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália..., p. 179.

⁵⁶ *Pesti Hírlap*, 12 March 1896, p. 9.

silk caught the eye. In the green room, furniture covered with green silk from the time of Louis XVI was placed alongside Viennese porcelain flowerpots and a baroque clock. Finally, in the octagonal room, in addition to the Esterházy portraits, a foot carriage, pictures of the officers of the Esterházy hussar regiment and six embroidered armchairs enriched the overall picture.⁵⁷



Fig. 5: Reproduction of Maria Theresa's bedroom in Esterházy Castle, 1896. Photo by Antal Weinwurm.

The Millennium National Exhibition closed on 4 November 1896. After its demolition, Pál Esterházy donated pieces of the interior decor to the Museum of Applied Arts.⁵⁸ By the beginning of November 1896, the exhibition had received approximately 2.9 million visitors.⁵⁹ Photos were taken of the spaces and objects of the historical exhibition, including the Esterházy rooms. Antal Weinwurm's images are now archived in the Museum of Applied Arts; some of them were published by Erzsébet Vadászi in her study.⁶⁰

The Historical Exhibition of Vienna (Historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien), 1883

The Esterházy princes, who had several palaces in Vienna, were happy to spend a lot of time in the imperial city. The richness of the prince's collections was also known to the museum specialists there, hence Miklós Esterházy III would not have been surprised when the mayor of Vienna, Eduard Uhl, asked him to make his artefacts available for the historical exhibition to be held in 1883. That same year, Vienna organised a commemorative celebration (*Säkularfeier*) for the 200th anniversary of liberation from the second Turkish occupation, commemorating the heroic defenders and liberators. On 12 September 1683, in the Battle of Kahlenberg, the international force under the leadership of Polish King John III Sobieski and Prince Charles of

⁵⁷ 1896-iki ezredéves országos kiállítás: a történelmi főcsoport hivatalos katalógusa. 2. füzet. A renaissance-épület földszintje [The 1896 national millennial exhibition: Official catalogue of the historical section. Booklet 2. Ground floor of the Renaissance building]. Budapest, 1898, pp. 362–363.

⁵⁸ VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália..., pp. 182–183.

⁵⁹ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 3 November 1896, p. 4.

⁶⁰ VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália..., pp. 184–188.

Lorraine defeated the Ottoman armies of Kara Mustafa, who had been besieging Vienna for months. The Hungarian palatine, Pál Esterházy, also took part in the fighting and was wounded. The traumatic experience of occupation by the Turks was one of the defining events of Vienna's early modern history. The background of the exhibition was not a national or provincial initiative but specifically a capital initiative, and the organising committee was largely made up of city politicians from Vienna. The program and invitation compiled for February 1883 were also sent to Austrian, Polish and Hungarian public institutions and private individuals with collections. The newly completed town hall was chosen as the location of the exhibition.⁶¹ The professional administration was entrusted to Karl Weiss, who had been the director of the letter and library of the city of Vienna since 1874. He designed the painting and sculpture program of the new City Hall, and also gained experience in organising exhibitions during the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna.⁶²

So, through Miklós Esterházy III's private secretary, Johann Patzill, the prince instructed the archivist János Mandl to compile a list of pieces that fit the concept of the proposed exhibition. Objects could be declared on forms until the end of May and had to be sent to Vienna by July 15.⁶³ Mandl soon came up with the list and, as an addition, proposed exhibiting 86 original Turkish letters in the estate of Palatine Miklós Esterházy (1583–1645).⁶⁴ At the same time, the Viennese organisers sent their own experts to Fraknó.⁶⁵ On 6 June 1883, together with city councillor Josef Matzenauer; Dr Josef Karabacek, professor of history at the University of Vienna; Sigmund L'Allemand, professor at the University of Fine Arts; and the aforementioned Karl Weiss⁶⁶ visited the historical castle. The Prince generously entertained them with lunch at Fraknó Castle Inn, in the course of which a hefty amount of the Kismarton winemaker's product was consumed.⁶⁷ The selection process resulted in a collection of 36 objects, including two portraits of the Polish king John III Sobieski, who distinguished himself in the liberation of Vienna; a portrait of Pál Esterházy; a 1683 war flag with the Esterházy coat of arms and the inscription *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*; a Turkish war flag; and Sobieski's rosary (rosarium, Rosenkranz) and his atlas from 1683; as well as Turkish booty weapons and a tent. In the census finalised on 15 June 1883, the inventory number, precise description, dimensions and value (8,107 forints) of the objects were included. Karl Weiss received the shipment in Vienna on 18 July 1883.⁶⁸

The historical exhibition opened on 12 September, the anniversary of the Battle of Kahlenberg, in the presence of the emperor, by the mayor of Vienna, Eduard Uhl.⁶⁹ Among the 1,302 objects presented in the eight rooms of the City Hall were those from Fraknó. One of the

⁶¹ See the project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: Türkengedächtnis <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/tuerkengedaechtnis/>, accessed 8 February 2023.

⁶² <https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at>, accessed 8 February 2023.

⁶³ Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 23 March 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 155–158; Anmeldung Formular. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 101–102 and pp. 161–162.

⁶⁴ János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Kismarton, May 1, 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 159–160.

⁶⁵ Central directorate to János Mandl, Kismarton, May 19, 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 96.

⁶⁶ T. Karl Uhlirz to János Mandl, Vienna, 3. June 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 94.

⁶⁷ Jegyzék a Bécs városi történelmi kiállítás bizottmányai tagjainak folyó évi 6-án Fraknón történt megvendégelése alkalmával felmerült költségekről (List of expenses, 6 June 1883). NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 236.

⁶⁸ Consignation über die Gegenstände, welche in der Forchtensteiner fürstlich Esterházy'schen antiquitaeten Sammlung für die Historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 120–122 (incomplete); NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 242–247 (complete).

⁶⁹ Eduard Uhl to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, September 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 165.

technical innovations of the exhibition was electric lighting, which made it possible to remain open in the evening. A total of 163,000 visitors were counted at the exhibition, which ended on 5 November. In this exhibition, like previous ones, Esterházy objects were photographed with the permission of the prince,⁷⁰ then they were returned in mid-November.⁷¹

International Music and Theatre Exhibition (Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen)

This largescale exhibition was originally supposed to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart but, at the suggestion of Princess Pauline Metternich, the musical theme was expanded to include theatre as well. Ultimately, the series of events that opened on 7 May 1892 in the Prater area under the patronage of Archduke Carl Ludwig was much more and more complex than a professional exhibition, being accompanied by music and theatre programs, concerts and performances. Its thematic focus was on Vienna and Austria – the invitation mentioned manifestations of Austrian genius in song and drama – but more broadly, it was intended as a celebration of the musical and theatrical life of the Habsburg Monarchy and, even more broadly the whole of Europe.⁷²

The Esterházy family was not left out of this. The organisers – especially the music history professor Guido Adler, who contributed as an expert – coveted the Esterházy's collection of personal objects belonging to Joseph Haydn, who had worked as a *Kapellmeister* in Kismarton at the end of the eighteenth century. Miklós Esterházy III readily promised these, all the more so because he himself had a role in this exhibition, as the deputy chairman of the committee responsible for the artistic program.⁷³ The prince received an official invitation to take on this role on 4 August 1891, signed by the chairman of the exhibition's organising committee, Alexander Markgraf Pallavicini.⁷⁴ In the following weeks, archivist Lajos Merényi compiled a long list, from which Guido Adler selected pieces that fit the concept of the exhibition. Adler's list included 27 items, mainly musical manuscripts and books.⁷⁵ The shipment, carefully packed in crates, was sent to Vienna in mid-April, by which time the number of objects had grown to almost 100 items.⁷⁶ Among them were Haydn's documents, such as his certificate of honorary citizenship from the city of Vienna from April 1804, other awards and medals, the text of the oratorio *Die Schöpfung* with comments by Gerhard van Swieten, the original score of the Farewell Symphony, and various instruments: Haydn's violin, a baryton made in 1660, and two glass trombones.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 9 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 111.

⁷¹ T. Karl Uhlirz to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, 16 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 107.

⁷² The printed call and programme. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 655–657; ANTONICEK, Theophil. *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen. Wien 1892*. Wien, 2013. <http://www.dtoe.at/Texte/ausst92haupt.pdf>, accessed 8 February 2023.

⁷³ ANTONICEK, *Die Internationale Ausstellung...*, pp. 31 and 67.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 632–635.

⁷⁵ Alexander Markgraf Pallavicini and Guido Adler to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, 29 March 1892. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 637–638.

⁷⁶ *Anmeldung zur Beschickung der Fach-Ausstellung für Musik, Theaterwesen Wien 1892*. Vienna, 14 April 1892. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 667–681.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*; About Haydn's legacy see PAPP, Viktor. Haydn nyomában (In the footsteps of Haydn). In: *Napkelet*, Volume 4, 1926, Nr. 2, pp. 133–140.

Conclusion

The second half of the nineteenth century brought an unprecedented development of cultural life in Hungary. Fifteen new museums were created and the state provided permanent budget support to culture. These new institutions tried to legitimise their existence by attracting the public and with spectacular events. The exhibitions slowly developed a protocol; being on the organising committee conferred status and ensured the quality of the event and the organisation was carried out by professionals who tried to make the process smooth, with administrative flair similar to European standards. The still very incomplete materials of the museums of the time were supplemented with objects borrowed from other institutions and private individuals, from which both parties benefited. As a result, the quality of the exhibitions rose, experts and museum professionals were able to become acquainted with domestic works, and lenders could present the history and significance of their institutions and families in the context of the history of the country and the nation in the spirit of social responsibility. For this purpose, they made not insignificant sacrifices, since they, for example, bore the costs of moving objects and the risk of loaning them. In the table below, I summarise details of the ten exhibitions which took place between 1876 and 1900 at which the princely family was represented through its objects.

Tab. 1: *Exhibitions with objects lent by the Esterházy princes 1876–1900*

Title of the exhibition	Place	Duration
Industrial and Historical Exhibition	Budapest, Károlyi Palace	10 May 1876 – 15 June 1876
National Book Exhibition of Budapest	Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences	5 March 1882 – 16 May 1882
National Exhibition of Goldsmiths	Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, gallery	17 February 1884 – 3 June 1884
The Historical Exhibition of Vienna marking the 200th year anniversary of liberation from the Ottoman siege	Vienna, City Hall	12 September 1883 – 5 November 1883
The Historical Exhibition of Budapest, marking the 200th anniversary of the capital's reclamation from the Ottomans	Budapest, City Park Museum	15 August 1886 – 1 November 1886
Grand Goldsmith Exhibition	Vienna, Palais Schwarzenberg	22 April 1889 – 22 June 1889
Costume Exhibition	Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie	17 January 1891 – 30 March 1891
International music and theater exhibition	Vienna, Prater	7 May 1892 – 9 October 1892
Millennium National Exhibition	Budapest, City Park	2 June 1896 – 4 November 1896
Paris World Exhibition	Paris	15 April 1900 – 12 November 1900

An interesting accompanying phenomenon of the exhibitions is the use of the technical innovations of the time. Here we can mention the spread of electric lighting and, especially, photography, which enabled the first visual recording of important pieces from state and private

collections. The Esterházy princes, as representatives of the Austro-Hungarian, appeared at exhibitions in Budapest and Vienna from 1876 as generous lenders. This had the effect of greatly improving how they were perceived by the public, as well as improving the stereotypical image of aristocrats.

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