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## The Private Aristocratic Library of Jozef Esterházi (1682–1748) in His Čeklís Mansion (Bernolákovo, Slovakia). Pilot Research<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This study is a piece of pilot research on the aristocratic library of Count Jozef Esterházi in his Čeklís Mansion (the present-day Bernolákovo in Slovakia). The main source for the research comprises the extant catalogue of this library from the year 1749, currently deposited in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, and its published transcription. The authors present some basic biographical data of Jozef Esterházi and, in this context, discuss the character, development, and orientation of his library from various perspectives. They also inform about Poland-related items in Esterházi's collection, including a seventeenth-century print related to Poland, which the authors of this study identified among the holdings of the University Library in Bratislava.

**Keywords:** history of book culture – aristocratic library – Esterházi Jozef (1682–1748) – eighteenth century – Kingdom of Hungary – Čeklís (present-day Bernolákovo, Slovakia)

**Słowa kluczowe:** historia kultury książki – biblioteka magnacka – Esterházi Jozef (1682–1748) – XVIII w. – Królestwo Węgier – Čeklís (dzisiejsze Bernolákovo, Słowacja)

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<sup>1</sup> This study was written as part of *APVV-22-0130 Aristocratic Libraries of the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries in Western and Central Slovakia* project.

## Introduction

Jozef Esterházi (1682–1748, Josephus Eszterhazy de Galantha, Josephus Esterhazius, József Eszterházy, Josephus Eszterházy) was a member of the younger Forchtenstein line of the Esterházis, one of the most renowned aristocratic families of Kingdom of Hungary. This study is a piece of pilot research on his library in the Čeklís Mansion (the present-day Bernolákovo in Slovakia), whose manuscript catalogue is deposited in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. Nobody has dealt with research on this library in depth and only partial pieces of information are available. Although it was a fideicommissary library that was to remain intact, its holdings did not survive in their entirety due to the social developments after World War II. Today, we are aware of its books deposited in the University Library in Bratislava and in the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava, but there is no complete register of these books. Therefore, we are planning to deal with this precious library collection in the future, too.

### Jozef Esterházi (1682–1748) – Basic Biographical Data

In 1754, six years after the death of J. Esterházi, his detailed biography was written by the Slovak and Hungarian historian Gabriel Kolinovics (Kolinovič Šenkvičský) under the title *Posthuma Memoria Josephi Eszterházy de Galantha* on the request of the Esterházi family<sup>2</sup>. This work by Kolinovics is an example of an scientific biography, which he undertook probably because of J. Esterházi's connection to Croatia and Slavonia – J. Esterházi was a Croatian ban and G. Kolinovics had Croatian roots<sup>3</sup>. The main source for Kolinovics consisted of J. Esterházi's own manuscript memoirs<sup>4</sup>. Count János Eszterházy, the author of a 1901 book on the Esterházis titled *Az Eszterházy család és oldalágainak*

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2 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma Memoria Josephi Eszterházi De Galantha...*, Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis Societ. Jesu, 1754, University Library in Bratislava, shelfmark 22.D.12320.

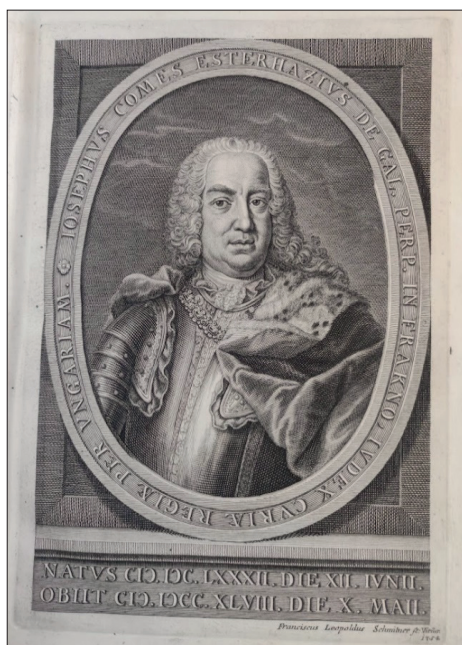
3 M. Ambrúžová-Poriezová, E. Juríková, *Illustres Eszterhazianae Gentis Heroes: Obraz Eszterházyovcov v príležitostných tlačiacich z prostredia historickej Trnavskej university*, [in:] *Zborník príspevkov*

*z medzinárodnej odbornej konferencie "Vplyv šľachtických rodov na európske kultúrne dedičstvo" konanej v rámci projektu TREASURES Poklady strednej Európy. Kultúra, príroda, hudba z programu cezhraničnej spolupráce Interreg V-A SK-AT v Smoleniciach, 15. – 16. novembra 2022 ako súčasť cyklu MALÉ OSOBNOSTI VEĽKÝCH DEJÍN – VEĽKÉ OSOBNOSTI MALÝCH DEJÍN VIII*, Bratislava 2022, pp. 37–47, [online] [https://www.snm.sk/swift\\_data/source/sidelna\\_budova/2023/M%20C3%BAze%20C3%A1%20web/HuM/Zborn%20C3%ADk%20z%20konferencie/zborn%20C3%ADk%20A4%20online%20Hudobn%20C3%A9%20m%20C3%BAzeum%20Smolence%2022.pdf](https://www.snm.sk/swift_data/source/sidelna_budova/2023/M%20C3%BAze%20C3%A1%20web/HuM/Zborn%20C3%ADk%20z%20konferencie/zborn%20C3%ADk%20A4%20online%20Hudobn%20C3%A9%20m%20C3%BAzeum%20Smolence%2022.pdf) [accessed 18.09.2023].

4 *Josephi Eszterházi Vita, quam in Latine sibi scripsit. Libri Memoriales, seu protocolla Actorum, & Institutionum per Dynastias ejusdem, Semphaviam, Tataeam, Gestesiam.*

*leírása*<sup>5</sup>, which summarizes the most important pieces of information about the life and activities of J. Esterházi, also quoted (besides other sources) from Kolinovics's work.

Figure 1. Jozef Esterházi (engraved by Franz Leopold Schmittner, Vienna 1754)



Source: G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma Memoria Josephi Esterházyi...*, Tyrnaviae 1754, University Library in Bratislava

Jozef Esterházi was born on 12 June 1682 in Pápa<sup>6</sup> (in present-day Hungary) as the second son of Count František Esterházi (1641–1683), the founder of the younger Forchtenstein line of the Esterházis, and Countess Katarína Tököli (1655–1701)<sup>7</sup>. He had two brothers, Anton and František, and four sisters (his other siblings did not live to adulthood). His paternal grandfather was the Palatine of Hungary, Mikuláš Esterházi (1583–1645), and his grandmother was Countess Kristína Nyáry (1604–1641). J. Esterházi was also related to the Transylvanian Prince Imrich Tököli, the brother of his mother, Katarína.

From his early childhood, Jozef was being prepared by his parents for a career in the Church. After his studies at the Jesuit Grammar School in Sopron

5 J. Eszterházy, *Az Eszterházy család és oldalágainak leírása...* [A Description of the Eszterházy Family and Its Lines], Budapest 1901, pp. 153–157, [online] <http://real-eod.mtak.hu/5543/1/000909556.pdf> [accessed 17.06.2023].

6 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma...*, p. 7.

7 J. Eszterházy, *Az Eszterházy...*, p. 153.

and Győr, where he graduated in 1691, he began his humanistic studies at the University of Trnava in Trnava, where he gained a doctorate in philosophy. During his university studies in Trnava, he compiled several works on Aristotle's physics, logic, and metaphysics. Towards the end of the year 1700, after graduating from Trnava at the age of eighteen, he began to study theology at the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum Roman Catholic Seminary in Rome. For health reasons, unable to tolerate the climate there, he left the seminary after only five months. From 1701, he lived in Vienna with his stepfather, Count Ján Jakub Löwenburg, the third husband of his mother, K. Tököli<sup>8</sup>, and he privately studied mathematics, engineering, architecture, military science, and German language there. In addition, he wrote theological theses. Jozef's stepfather, Löwenburg, held not only important public functions, such as imperial secret counsellor and President of the Hungarian Chamber, but was also the General of the Imperial Army. It might have been under his influence that J. Esterházi gave up a career in the Church at the age of twenty-three (in 1705) and became a soldier, devoting the rest of his life to a military career. By the side of the emperor, he participated in some decisive battles against František II Rákóczi in Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711) and excelled as a soldier in several successful battles in the war against the Turks. In addition to a successful military career, Esterházi had an impressive political one, too, and these two were intertwined throughout his life. In 1708, he became a royal counsellor and, a year later, a royal chamberlain. In 1711, he was appointed as the Governor of Komárom County and was inaugurated into that function in 1713. From among public functions, he achieved the rank of Imperial Grand Marshal in 1723 and, a year later, he became the President of the Table of the Seven, the highest court in the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1733, he was appointed as the Ban of, and Secret Counsellor for, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. During the Turkish military campaigns of 1737–1739, he led his army as far as Bosnia and acquired the rank of General of Cavalry and, in 1741, the rank of Field Marshal and Commander of the Imperial Army of Transdanubia. That was the year when his political career peaked – he was appointed as Land Judge, replacing Count Ján Pálfi, and applied for the post of Palatine of Hungary. In 1744–45, he participated in the Silesian campaign, leading his army unit of ten thousand in the Silesian War of the Austrian Succession.

J. Esterházi married twice. In November 1710, he married Countess Mária Franciska Eck (Egkh) (1681–1739), and they had a son named Jozef. Their other children died in infancy. A year after the death of his first wife, on 21 November 1740, J. Esterházi married Countess Antónia Sauer, but had no

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8 Jozef's mother died in early 1701.

children from this second marriage. On 10 February 1731, he wrote a testament in favour of his son Jozef, who became his majority heir. J. Esterházi senior spent the last years of his life in Pressburg, where he died of oedema at the age of sixty-six on 10 May 1748. He is buried in Eisenstadt (in present-day Austria). His only surviving son, J. Esterházi junior (1714–1762), had no heir and this line of the Esterházis became extinct with his death. His estate was therefore inherited by the descendants of his uncle, his father's brother František Esterházi<sup>9</sup>.

### Jozef Esterházi's Library in His Čeklís Mansion (Bernolákovo, Slovakia)

The construction of the Baroque mansion in Čeklís (the present-day Bernolákovo in Slovakia), which took place from 1714 to 1722, was commissioned by J. Esterházi. From its erection, he stayed mainly in Čeklís, as this became his main seat. That is also the reason why he concentrated his aristocratic library there. After the death of J. Esterházi junior, the mansion was inherited by his uncle František Esterházi and, subsequently, by his cousin F. Esterházi junior. The latter also used it as his seat and kept extending the library in the mansion. In the mid-eighteenth century, Elek Fényes described Čeklís as a lovely, multilingual Hungarian-Slovak-German small town<sup>10</sup>, dominated by the mansion with its beautifully furnished rooms, stunning views of the Carpathian Mountains, and a neat garden in the French style<sup>11</sup>. The mansion was owned by the Esterházis until 1945 or 1947, when it was confiscated<sup>12</sup>. Its last owner, Karol Esterházi, fled from the mansion shortly before the end of World War II. The mansion in present-day Bernolákovo was fully restored in 2017. Its design ranks it among the most splendid Baroque mansions in the territory of present-day Slovakia.

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9 J. Eszterházy, *Az Eszterházy...*, pp. 153–157.

10 Besides inhabitants from Austrian and German regions, the German community consisted also of people from Silesia.

11 E. Fényes, *Magyarország geográfiai szótára : Cseklész (Lanschütz)* [The Geographical Dictionary of Hungary: Cseklész (Lanschütz)], [in:] *Arcanum*, 1851, [online] <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyarorszag-geografiai-szotara-fenyes-elek-BAB-C3/c-BB203/cseklez-lanschucz-BB2C9/> [accessed 14.06.2023].

12 Á. Karczag, T. Szabó, *Felvidék és Kárpátalja erődített helyei, I. kötet* [The Fortified Places of Upper Hungary and Subcarpathia, Volume I], Budapest 2018, [online] <https://karpathaza.hu/varak-hrady-castelli-karczag-szabo-cseklez-esterhazy-kastely/> [accessed 19.06.2023].

Figure 2a, b. The Čeklís Mansion (Bernolákovo) – contemporary condition



Source: [online] <https://theresiachateau.business.site/> [accessed 19.06.2023]

Since Count J. Esterházi was a modern European man of his time and his mansion in Čeklís was a centre of socio-cultural life, his aristocratic library had an important place in it. It was not a hereditary family library, as its foundations were laid by J. Esterházi himself at the time of his grammar school or university studies at the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, at the latest. Its most significant expansion took place after the designation of some rooms in the mansion specifically for the library. A significant acquisition consisted of the complete, extensive fideicommissary library of Štefan Pavol Munkáči, a notary in Trnava, which J. Esterházi purchased after Munkáči's death in 1723 on the request of the latter. Along with the library holdings, he also purchased the library furniture from Munkáči's widow, all for two thousand guilders<sup>13</sup>.

13 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma...*, p. 24.



Esterházi's library in his Čeklís Mansion was built “on the highest pedestal of respect”<sup>14</sup> and “as a tool to refine the spirit”<sup>15</sup>. It stood out by its elegance and by the diversity of its books, languages, and sciences<sup>16</sup>. The library was a manifestation of the lifestyle and position of J. Esterházi, who considered books to be sources of information. More than merely to collect books, his aim in acquiring them was to study, enjoy reading, and grow intellectually and spiritually. This is revealed, among others, by the testimony of Kolinovics about J. Esterházi's motivation to purchase scientific literature in Venice, inspired by Plutarch's poems on the transience of time which can be overcome only by literary talents – a spirit sanctified by literature and literary activities<sup>17</sup>. In accumulating literature, J. Esterházi placed emphasis on quality rather than quantity. As Kolinovics noted on his library:

Although the volumes in the library do not amount to thousands, it consists of a selection of the most significant authors and editions, German and domestic, British, Spanish, Swedish-Danish, Dutch, Italian, and French, most widely read ones. Not even the largest library matches up to it in quality<sup>18</sup>.

In his 1783 description of the Čeklís Mansion, J.G. Stegmüller (under a pseudonym G.E. Rottenstein) emphasized that, although the library in the mansion was small, it was very precious<sup>19</sup>.

J. Esterházi marked his ownership of his books with a printed heraldic ex libris with the year 1724 in two versions. The design of this ex libris reveals that its owner built the library not only for his own studies, but for representative purposes, too. Although not all the books of Esterházi have an ex libris, the date of the ex libris reveals that the expansion of the library intensified after the construction of the mansion and the dedication of special rooms in it for the library. Esterházi's heraldic ex libris, with the coat of arms of the Esterházis of Galanta, depicted a griffin – a legendary animal with the head and wings of an eagle and the torso and paws of a lion, standing upright on two feet on a royal crown and with a crown also on its head, with its tongue out, and with a sword in one paw and a triple rose in its other paw. The representative character

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14 Ibidem.

15 Ibidem, p. 25.

16 Ibidem, p. 23.

17 Ibidem, pp. 12–13.

18 Ibidem, p. 32.

19 G.E. Rottenstein [J.G. Stegmüller], *Reisen durch einen Theil vom Königreich Ungern, seit dem J. 1763, Zweiter Abschnitt*, [in:] *Johann Bernoulli's Sammlung Kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder – und Menschenkenntniss dienender Nachrichten*. Zehnter Band, Berlin-Leipzig, 1783, p. 213, [online] <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11448776?page=194,195> [accessed 27.06.2023].

of Esterházi's library in his Čeklís Mansion is evidenced also by the uniform Baroque binding with ornamental decoration and gilding on his extant and already identified books – the sixteenth-, seventeenth – and eighteenth century prints currently deposited in the University Library in Bratislava.

Figure 3a, b. Jozef Esterházi's heraldic ex libris in two versions



Source: University Library in Bratislava

Figure 4a, b. Bindings of the books of Jozef Esterházi.







Source: University Library in Bratislava

One of the last owners of the library in the Čeklís Mansion was Michal Esterházi (1853–1906). The last revision of the library in the mansion was carried out in 1920. That was when all the books were stamped with the seal *Esterházi Hitbizományi Könyvtár Cseklész 1920* [Esterházi Fideicommissary Library Čeklís 1920] or a paper sticker of Viktor Dušek, a notary public in Bratislava managing the estate of M. Esterházi, including its library section, was glued onto them<sup>20</sup>.

Unfortunately, J. Esterházi's library from the Čeklís Mansion did not survive intact. When the Esterházis left their mansion in the spring of 1945 after the end of World War II, the locals began to loot it and stole even some precious books from the library<sup>21</sup>. By the mid-twentieth century, the collection had been scattered among several memory institutions in Slovakia, probably mainly the University Library in Bratislava and the Slovak National Archive in Bratislava, as a result of the confiscation of aristocratic estates by the state after World War II throughout Czechoslovakia. Further research will focus on the identification of the books of this collection.

### The 1749 Catalogue of Jozef Esterházi's Library

The fundamental source for research on the aristocratic library of J. Esterházi in his Čeklís Mansion consists of its extant handwritten catalogue drawn up by Samuel Székely de Doba and completed on 30 April 1749, as its dating

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20 R. Ragač, *Az Esterházyak cseklézi hitbizományi könyvtárának újonnan fellelt része = Novonájdená časť esterházyovskej fideikomissnej knižnice v Bernolákove* [The Newly Discovered Part of the Esterházy's Fideicommissary Library in Bernolákovo], [in:] *Az Esterházyak fraknói ifjabb ága = Mladšia fraknovská línia Esterházyovcov*, Senec 2017, p. 453.

21 Ibidem.

reveals<sup>22</sup>. The catalogue was produced roughly a year after the death of J. Esterházi for the inheritance proceedings. When translated from Latin, the title of the catalogue reads: “*Catalogue of the Books Found in the Library of Count Jozef Esterházi in Čeklis Near Pressburg, Completed in April 1749 by Samuel Székely de Doba, Lieutenant, Commissioned by the Same Count*”<sup>23</sup>. It was Esterházi’s wish to never divide his library and to keep its holdings intact as a whole – in legal terms, it therefore constituted a so-called fideicommissary library. De Doba, a professional soldier and later a historian, was a collector of books himself. They knew each other with J. Esterházi well, as de Doba served as an officer in Esterházi’s regiment and joined him in the Italian military campaign in 1746.

The 1749 catalogue of Esterházi’s library contains eight hundred and eighty-one entries of books in total. While being bound, the pages of the manuscript catalogue were mixed and are not in the right order in the original source. However, the editors of the published duplicate of the catalogue tried to recover the original, correct sequence of the pages.

The books in the catalogue are classified into seventeen sections according to their subject and placement in the library in bookcases (*theca*) and on shelves (*scabellum*). According to contemporary testimonies, Esterházi’s library was not only precious but well-organized, too<sup>24</sup>. During 1731, Jozef arranged his library according to specializations and assigned a prominent place to history. He kept the complete collection of Byzantine books published in the Royal Printing House in Paris (*Typographia Regia; Regia Lutetiae Typographaei Officina*)<sup>25</sup> in one place. The classification of the books in the catalogue directly reflects the physical deposition of the books in the library proposed by its owner. The principles of this division were followed even by the later owners of the library, as its more recent, 1816 catalogue documents. The sections of the books in the catalogue are as follows:

Bookcases (*Theca*):

I Libri Prohibiti Venales (Banned Books for Sale (or Exchange, as the text of the catalogue specifies in the marking of this group<sup>26</sup>))

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22 The manuscript catalogue is in a bound form and is kept in the Manuscripts Section of National Széchényi Library in Budapest (under shelfmark OSZK Kézirattár, Fol. Lat. 4.) A duplicate of the catalogue was published in: M. Balázs, B. Keserű, *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak V. 1643–1750* [Private Libraries of Hungary V. 1643–1750], Budapest 2010, pp. 115–145, [online] [http://misc.bibl.u-szeged.hu/28986/1/ad\\_013\\_5.pdf](http://misc.bibl.u-szeged.hu/28986/1/ad_013_5.pdf) [accessed 25.06.2023].

23 *Catalogus Librorum qui in Bibliotheca Comitis Josephi Eszterházy, in Cseklesz prope Posonium reperiuntur confectus mense Aprili 1749 per Samuelem Székely de Doba Locumtenentem ex Ejusdem Comitis legatione.*

24 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma...*, p. 11.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 31.

26 *Theca* nr. I. libri prohibiti Vendendi vel cambiandi.

- II Militares et Mathematici (Military Science and Mathematics)
- III Diversi minores Scriptores (Various Minor Writers)
- IV Byzantini Graeco Latini Editiones Parisienses (Byzantine, Greco-Latin Parisian Editions)
- V Diversi minores (Various Minor Books)
- VI Historici Recentiores (Recent Historians)
- VII Diversi in folio historici et Scholastici (Various Historical and Scholastic Books of Folio Format)
- VIII Diversi minores (Various Minor Books)
- IX Venales Scholastici (Scholastic Books for Sale)
- X Libri Sacri (Sacred Books)
- XI Diversi historici omnes in folio super his sunt Mathematici et diversae delineationes Architectonicae (Various Historians, All in Folio Format, above them Mathematics and Various Architectural Drawings)
- XII Architectonicae Diversi minores (Various Minor Books on Architecture)
- XIII Oeconomici de cura Equorum, Dictionaria et auctores Classici ac Juridici aliqui (Management of Horse Care, Dictionaries and Some Classical and Legal Authors)
- XIV Juridici (Legal)
- XV Historici diversi (Various Historians)
- XVI Scriptores Hungarici et Selecti diversi, ac qui in duplici exemplari prostant (Writings of Hungarian and Various Selected Writers and Duplicate Copies)
- XVII Geographi (Geographers)

Under the list of the seventeen sections of books in the catalogue, there is a note that the books “which are on the floor were donated to the Capuchins of Tata”<sup>27</sup>. J. Esterházi was a patron of the Capuchins of Tata. He donated land to them for the construction of their convent and, in 1747, he enlarged their library by donations of the library and library furniture of Bishop František Ladislav Medňanský, Canon of Esztergom<sup>28</sup>. The books donated to the Capuchins, mentioned by the cataloguer, are not part of the list of books in the 1749 catalogue. This suggests that the catalogue does not contain all the books of Jozef Esterházi held in his mansion in Čeklís. Moreover, some of the books that were part of the collection were not registered by the cataloguer, as he only noted that they were placed above the catalogued titles. Presumably, they were minor prints of a small format and of little significance. He did not catalogue the drawings and other sketches that were between the books in the library, either

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27 Qui sunt in Terra, illi consecrati sunt capucinis Tatensibus.

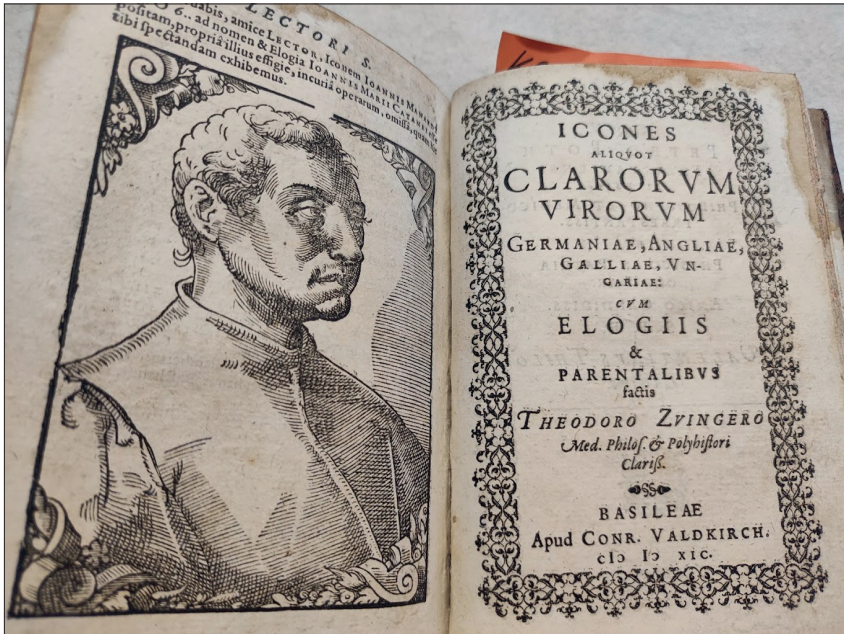
28 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma...*, p. 249.

(although he entered a note in them in the respective places of the catalogue). The number of entries in the catalogue (eight hundred and eighty-one titles) therefore does not correspond to the overall capacity of the library holdings, as there were demonstrably more books. The catalogue also contains manuscripts, marked by the cataloguer as *Ms.*

The books were arranged on the shelves according to the topic and following format: books of large folio format were placed first and they were gradually followed by books of smaller formats. Presumably even the shelves of the library furniture were adjusted to the formats of the books and differed in height accordingly. If there were not enough books in a certain format, an empty space was left on the shelf.

The entries of the books in the catalogue contain the following bibliographical details: the first name and surname of the author, a significantly shortened title of the work, the place and year of its publication, and sometimes even its format. The titles are mostly written in their original version, which enables us to analyze the languages, too.

Figure 5. T. Zwinger, *Icones Aliquot Clarorum Virorum...*, Basel 1589



Source: University Library in Bratislava

J. Esterházi was an active user of his library for study and representative purposes. The thematic and lingual composition of his collection corresponds to his interests, erudition, professional career, hobbies, and language skills.



Jozef was a passionate reader. Kolinovics gives a testimony about his reading experiences. As he notes, Jozef would read for more than six hours a day whenever he could. During holidays, he would often hide with a book in a corner so that nobody disturbed him in reading<sup>29</sup>. In 1730, he delved into reading the second volume of Josephus Flavius on the history of the Jews and the Jewish war, which also contained Flavius's biography, noting enthusiastically after five days of reading how valuable the book was<sup>30</sup>. He is said to have read Paolo Giovio's *Illustrium Virorum Vitae* with the biographies of renowned men often<sup>31</sup>. His active reading habits are documented not only by the references to it in his biographical literature, but also by the fact that he wrote numerous notes and underlined several passages of texts in his books.

According to a pilot analysis of the catalogue, thematically the largest number of books are on theology, history, works of Hungarian (Kingdom of Hungary) writers, philosophy (scholastics), a smaller representation had military science, mathematics, law, geography, architecture, technology, mechanics, and economics.

Figure 6a, b. Illustrations of a rotary machine for books and a water pump in A. Ramelli's, *Le Diverse Et Artificiose Machine...*, Paris 1588.



Source: University Library in Bratislava

29 Ibidem, p. 32.

30 Ibidem, p. 28.

31 Ibidem, p. 32.



The library also contained some works of ancient writers, poetry, drama, dictionaries of various languages, books on horse care, newspapers, and other periodicals. The large number of historical and historico-political writings was due to Esterházi's actual need to gain an insight into social and political developments and to understand their historical contexts. Similarly, the philosophical, legal, and theological works and the writings on geography and economics provided important knowledge and information for a social, religious, and cultural outlook and social career. His study of literature on military science was related to his military career. Architecture was not only his hobby, for he utilized his knowledge gained from literature on architecture for the construction, reconstruction, or renovation of his mansions. The collection also contained specialized literature on horse care, and this suggests that Esterházi loved horses.

Lutheran literature containing "banned books for sale or exchange" was also relatively numerous in the catalogue (about eighty-three titles). The collection was alive, Esterházi kept adding and exchanging books. Surprisingly, there are too many books for sale or exchange in the catalogue: about two hundred and three titles (out of which a hundred and twenty were specifically for sale), which represents roughly a quarter of the complete registered collection. The presumption that S. Székely de Doba was fulfilling Esterházi's wish to catalogue the library may mean that Esterházi himself was planning to sell the books registered among the books for sale in the catalogue in his lifetime. Besides theological writings of Lutheran theologians, the books for sale also contain works of ancient literature, grammatical and philosophical works, dictionaries, and even the complete Latin *Bible* and some works of the Holy Fathers. Our further research will focus on the comparison of the entries of books in the 1749 catalogue with the more recent, 1816 catalogue of Esterházi's library in the Čeklís Mansion, which can be found among the manuscript collections of the University Library in Bratislava<sup>32</sup>. If the respective books are not stated in the more recent catalogue, their sale or exchange must have actually taken place.

As for their language, books in Latin figure in the largest number in the library, and they are followed by books in German, Hungarian, French, and Italian. In addition, there were books in Greek and Hebrew, mostly in bilingual editions with Latin. One document even includes the Illyrian language (a Latin-Illyrian dictionary). There are no books in Slovak or Czech in the catalogue. However, the collection contained a number of books related to Slovakia, Bohemia, and Polonia, either in terms of territory, authorship, or content. It should be noted that the language composition of Esterházi's library corresponds to the trend

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32 *Catalogus Librorum qui Cseklészii in superiori et inferiori Illustrissimi Domini Iosephi E Comitibus Eszterházy Bibliotheca 1816 continentur*, University Library in Bratislava, shelfmark Ms 953.

of the language composition of the aristocratic libraries of his time and reflects his foreign language skills. Esterházi's library contains numerous dictionaries and books on grammar, e.g., French and Italian, which points to his active use of the collection for studying foreign languages. There are also works on architecture, military science, and history in Italian and various historical writings in French. Esterházi was undoubtedly an active user of these languages, and of German, which he perfected at his stepfather's in Vienna.

Figure 7a, b. J. Case, *Sphaera Civitatis...*, Frankfurt am Main 1589, with the handwritten ex libris of Štefan Pavol Munkáči.



Source: University Library in Bratislava

As for the chronological composition of the library, all the books listed in the catalogue were acquired by J. Esterházi himself – the youngest books were acquired in the year of his death, in 1748, while the oldest ones comprise two post-incunables from the year 1513<sup>33</sup>. The five registered books in the catalogue with publication dates after Esterházi's death had to be added to the catalogue additionally. The library also contained a book published in 1747 with regulations for organizing military ceremonies that belonged to J. Esterházi's son, Jozef Esterházi junior. This book was also added to the catalogue by de Doba<sup>34</sup>.

33 *Erasmii de Copia Verborum* (Kolín 1513) and *Ovidii Metamorphosis* (Venice 1513).

34 *Regulament und unumänderlich gebräuchliche Observations-Punkten sowohl im Militär-Ceremoniel, als oeconomicis...*, [Sine loco] 1747.

Geographically, Esterházi's books came mainly from the territory of Germany, France, Kingdom of Hungary, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy, as well as from some other European countries, like Bohemia or Poland. They partially follow Esterházi's journeys over Europe when he could acquire them himself. We know that, when he was returning home from his studies in Rome in April 1701, he paused in Venice and bought several scientific books to develop "his mind"<sup>35</sup>.

From among the volumes in Esterházi's library, dozens of books (including manuscripts) were identified among the holdings of the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava, which Radoslav Ragač addressed in his study<sup>36</sup>, and sixteen prints of the sixteenth century and one seventeenth-century print were discovered in the historical library collections of the University Library in Bratislava. We will deal with the latter in a separate study.

The younger catalogue of the library in the Čeklís Mansion, of 1816, bears witness to a further enrichment of its holdings. At that time, the library (as the title of its catalogue also suggests) was owned and managed by a relative and namesake of its founder – another Jozef Esterházi (1791–1847)<sup>37</sup>. In less than seventy years of the death of the founder of the library, over eight hundred volumes were added to its collection<sup>38</sup>. This catalogue, bound as a book, bears witness to systematic, professional librarianship. The entries on the books were added to it continuously, as the books were acquired. For this reason, some pages in the individual thematic sections of the catalogue are left blank for new entries. We are planning to examine this catalogue in depth, too.

### Poland-related Books in Jozef Esterházi's Library

Pilot research has confirmed the presence of at least five Poland-related books in the 1749 catalogue of Jozef Esterházi's library. Out of these, two titles are related to Poland territorially, having been published in Wrocław:

- a drama in German by a German poet and playwright from Silesia, Daniel Casper (von Lohenstein), titled *Agrippina*, with copper engravings and portraits of ancient personalities (Wrocław : Esaias Fellgibel, 1665),
- John Owen's book of epigrams, titled *Epigrammata* (Wrocław, 1694).

The other Poland-related books pertain to the history of Poland in their contents or by their author:

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35 G. Kolinovics, *Posthuma...*, p. 12.

36 R. Ragač, *Az Esterházyak...*, pp. 447–453.

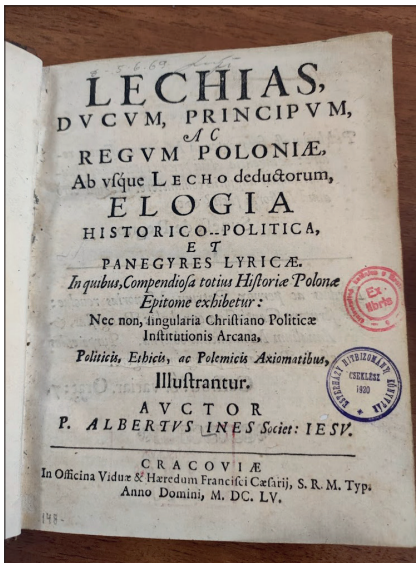
37 The grandson of the cousin of J. Esterházi junior, of František Esterházi III (1715–1785).

38 According to this catalogue, the library consisted of a thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight volumes of books and eighty-eight maps in 1816.

- *Historia Polonica* by the fifteenth-century humanist Jan Długosz in two volumes, listed in the catalogue without any details of its publishing,
- *Polonicae Historiae Corpus: Hoc Est, Polonicarum Rerum Latini ... scriptores...* by Johann Pistorius Niddanus (Basel : Sebastian Henricpetri, 1582),
- *Lechias, Ducum, Principum, Ac Regum Poloniae...* with poems about the history of Poland by the Polish poet Albert Ines, listed in the catalogue without any details of its publishing<sup>39</sup>.

We tried to identify these Poland-related books in the holdings of the University Library in Bratislava. We managed to identify the last item above, Ines's book of poems, *Lechias...*<sup>40</sup> It contains the historical seal of the aristocratic library in Čeklis of 1920 and the notarial sticker of V. Dušek, the notary in Bratislava who oversaw the estate of Michal Esterházi. The front pastedown bears marks of a removed, printed ex libris of Jozef Esterházi. The book was published in Kraków, in the printing house of the widow and heirs of Franciszek Cezary (Franciscus Caesarius) in 1655.

Figure 8a, b. A. Ines, *Lechias, Ducum, Principum, Ac Regum Poloniae...*, Cracoviae 1655.



Source: University Library in Bratislava

39 The library must have undoubtedly contained other works related to Poland, too. These will be the subject of our further research.

40 University Library in Bratislava, shelfmark 25.D.16025.

There is also another work in the catalogue which appears to be related to Poland. In this case, however, the cataloguer made a mistake and registered the work of the German historian Konrad Samuel Schurtzfleisch without stating the details of its publishing under the title *Schurtzfleishii Opera Historico Polonica*. This was obviously his writing *Opera Historico Politica* and the cataloguer erroneously entered “Polonica” instead of “Politica” in the title of the work. Consequently, this is not a Poland-related book.

It cannot be ruled out that J. Esterházi acquired some Poland-related books during his stay in Silesia when he participated in a military campaign in 1744–1745, leading his regiment in the Silesian War of the Austrian Succession. Further research will try to identify these titles in Esterházi’s library among the holdings of memory institutions.

## Conclusion

In the mid-eighteenth century, Esterházi’s library was famous in Hungary for being a modern aristocratic library. Presumably, its example will enable us to also examine the influence of the aristocracy on Slovak intellectual and national history in the future, including the utilization of the holdings of this library by the nationalist Anton Bernolák, the codifier of the first literary Slovak language at the time of the Slovak National Revival, who was working in the Esterházi’s court in Čeklís as a Catholic curate. The town of Bernolákovo, as Čeklís is called today, was named after him.

Further research on the aristocratic library of J. Esterházi will focus on the reconstruction of its holdings and on an in-depth analysis of this library in terms of its utilization and reception. We will also deal with the fate of the library in the Čeklís Mansion from the time of J. Esterházi’s death until the mid-twentieth century.

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