

Marina Bregovac Pisk

independent researcher
samostalna istraživačica

Medveščak 22,
Zagreb, Croatia

marina.bregovac.pisk@gmail.com
orcid.org/0000-0001-7446-7605



Matea Brstilo Rešetar

Croatian History Museum
Hrvatski povijesni muzej

Matoševa 9
Zagreb, Croatia

m.brstilo@hismus.hr
orcid.org/0000-0001-9736-7148



Subject review
Pregledni rad

UDK / UDC:
75.041.5(497.5)"18"

DOI:
10.17685/Peristil.64.3

Received / Priljeno:
3. 10. 2021.

Accepted / Prihvaćeno:
16. 11. 2021.



Insignia of Honour on Three 19th-Century Portraits of Croatian *Bans*

Znamenja i simboli časti na primjeru tri banska portreta iz 19. stoljeća

ABSTRACT

During the 19th century, Croatia saw a succession of nineteen *bans* (vice-roys) and *banal* deputies,¹ and the likeness of most of them has been preserved in portraits. They were not often depicted with state insignia and dignity symbols; therefore, the three representative portraits to be presented in this paper, those of Ignjat Gyulay, Josip Jelačić and Ladislav Pejačević, are the more interesting. In their own way, these portraits are a testimony of the political position of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia within the Habsburg and, later on, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as well as the role and authority of the Croatian *ban*.² They are works by prominent painters and are kept in the holdings of the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb.

KEYWORDS

ban (viceroy), Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, portraits, 19th century, Ignjat Gyulay, Josip Jelačić, Ladislav Pejačević, Croatian History Museum

APSTRAKT

Tijekom 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj se izmijenilo devetnaest banova i banskih namjesnika, većinom zabilježenih portretima. Budući da na njima nisu često prikazivani s državnim obilježjima te simbolima banske časti, rad donosi uvid u tri reprezentativna banska portreta iz vremena Ignjata Gyulaya, Josipa Jelačića i Ladislava Pejačevića. Isti svjedoče o političkom položaju Trojedne kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije unutar Habsburške, a potom i Austro-Ugarske Monarhije te ulozi i ovlastima bana. Djela su istaknutih slikara i čuvaju se u fondusu Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja u Zagrebu.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

ban, Trojedna kraljevina Hrvatska, Dalmacija i Slavonija, portreti, 19. stoljeće, Ignjat Gyulay, Josip Jelačić, Ladislav Pejačević, Hrvatski povijesni muzej

Introduction³

During the 17th and 18th centuries, prominent members of Croatian noble families as well as the *bans* among them were often portrayed with symbols stressing their importance: their social and political role, or military status. The status of the person portrayed was mostly accentuated by his attire and family coat of arms. Portraits of *bans* sometimes also depict their insignia as symbols of military, judicial and governmental power: the *banal* flag or *banderium* (symbolising military power) and sceptre (symbolising judicial and governmental power) given to the *ban* at the ceremonial installation.⁴ Symbols of *banal* rule and power can be seen on some 18th-century Croatian portraits, when the ceremony of their installation took on the form of a representative festivity.⁵

In the first half of the 19th century, *bans* were often portrayed in Hungarian military attire, as cavalry generals.⁶ Acting as the representative of imperial power in Croatia, the *ban* was also the military commander-in-chief; therefore, his uniform was also a symbol of his rank. During the middle and the second half of the 19th century, military uniforms tended to be replaced with magnate's attire, the military element losing its importance after the demise of *Ban Jelačić*.⁷ This was primarily due to the influence of modernization processes after the abolition of feudalism and estate-based social structures as well as the gradual development of modern civil society, whose influence would become visible, amongst other things, in civil servants' dress.⁸ Due to the changes in iconographic representation on portraits, it is important to stress the fact that, in the period following the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), the *ban* could no longer be an active military officer,⁹ and regained his former honours and dignities as a 'ban of civil standing'.¹⁰ The above-mentioned changes are noticeable on the three portraits that are analysed in this paper, encompassing practically the whole 19th century.

Portrait of *Ban* Ignjat Gyulay de Maros-Németha and Nádaska

Count Gyulay (Sibiu [Hermannstadt], September 11th, 1763 — Vienna, November 11th, 1831) is a descendant of a noble family which gained the title of Austrian barons in 1694; they became counts of Transylvania [Siebenbürgen] in 1701. He began military service as cadet in 1781, serving in infantry regiments. From 1788 to 1791, as a major, he participated in the Austro-Turkish War. In 1790, he became lieutenant colonel and commanding officer of the Croatian volunteers. Excelling in combat, in 1794 he became knight and, in 1799, commander of



1
Johann Peter Krafft, *Ignjat Gyulay of Maros-Németha and Nádaska*
Vienna,
c. 1830–1831.
Croatian History Museum, Zagreb,
inv.n. HPM-96649

Johann Peter Krafft, *Ignjat Gyulay od Maros-Németha i Nádaska* Beč, oko 1830–1831. Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zagreb, inv.br. HPM-96649

the Military Order of Maria Theresa. On the 400th anniversary of the Order of the Golden Fleece, May 22nd, 1830, he became a knight of that Order. As artillery general, his decorations also included the Grand Cross of the Order of St Stephen (1830).¹¹

Gyulay was Croatian *ban* from 1806 until his death in 1831.¹² In 1823, he became the commanding general in Bohemia, in 1829 the commanding general in Vienna, and in 1830 the president of the Imperial War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*). In 1808, he bought a palace on the western side of St Mark's Square in Zagreb's the Upper Town, had it refurbished and enlarged, using it from then on as the *ban's* (viceroy's) residence and offices.¹³ Portraits of *Ban* Gyulay and Emperor Francis I¹⁴ were commissioned from the Viennese painter Johann Peter Krafft (Hanau/Hesse, 1780 — Vienna, 1856).¹⁵ They were intended for the Zagreb County Hall, from where they were donated to the newly founded National Museum in 1855.¹⁶

Gyulay's state portrait¹⁷ (fig. 1) presents him full-length, in a bright red Hussar uniform and white dolman trimmed with brown fur, the Military Order of Maria Theresa, Order of the Golden Fleece decorated with diamonds and Commander's Cross of Bavarian Military Order of Max Joseph around his neck. On left side of his chest, he wears the Army Cross of 1813 and four grand stars of various Orders: the Austrian Imperial Order of Leopold, Bavarian Military Order of Max Joseph, Russian Order of Saint Alexander Nevsky and Russian Order of St Anna (the highest Russian military decoration), all given to him in 1813 for outstanding



2
Johann Peter Krafft, *Portrait of Ignjat Gyulay*, detail with decorations

Johann Peter Krafft, *Portret Ignjata Gyulaia*, detalj s odlikovanjima

3
Johann Peter Krafft, *Portrait of Ignjat Gyulay*, detail with banal flag

Johann Peter Krafft, *Portret Ignjata Gyulaya*, detalj s banskom zastavom



4
Johann Peter Krafft, *Portrait of Ignjat Gyulay*, detail with sceptre and family coat of arms

Johann Peter Krafft, *Portret Ignjata Gyulya*, detalj sa žezlom i obiteljskim grbom

5.
Coat of arms of the counts Gyulay, I. Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, plate 43



Grb grofova Gyulay, I. Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, tabla 43

services to the Austrian crown.¹⁸ (fig. 2) He carries a sabre and holds a busby in his right hand. A chest in the foreground to the right is decorated with the coat of arms of the counts Gyulay (fig. 4), while his position as Croatian *ban* is defined by the sceptre¹⁹ laid on top of it as well as the *banal* flag behind him, decorated with the coats of arms of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia (fig. 3 / fig. 4). In his major work, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*,²⁰ Ivan Bojničić presents a detailed description of the coat of arms of the counts Gyulay,²¹ which tallies exactly with the coat of arms on his portrait (fig. 5). This large portrait, painted in the best tradition of portraits of former centuries, still has an undertone of Baroque splendour in its richness of material and colour, showing both the *ban's* noble lineage and the insignia of his power. It should be noted that this is probably the last state portrait on which symbols of *banal* honour and power were iconographically correctly depicted, thereby honouring the estate-based and governmental institutions.



Portrait of Ban Josip Jelačić

Count Josip Jelačić of Bužim (Petrovaradin, October 16th, 1801 — Zagreb, May 20th, 1859), son of Baron Franjo Jelačić,²² was schooled at the *Theresianum* in Vienna from 1809 until 1819, thereafter starting his military service as ensign in Galicia. Advancing in rank, in 1831 he became captain in Ogulin, Croatia, in 1837 major in the 48th Infantry Regiment, stationed in Zadar, and *aide-de-camp* to the governor of Dalmatia, Count Wenzel Vetter von Lillienberg.²³ In 1841, he became lieutenant colonel of the 1st Banal Regiment in Glina, advanced to the rank of colonel in 1842, soon becoming the commanding officer of the regiment. In March 1848, King Ferdinand appointed Jelačić as the Croatian *ban*. He was festively inaugurated in Zagreb on June 4th and 5th, 1848, in the tumultuous year that was marked by revolutions against the Habsburg Monarchy. As a loyal officer, Jelačić fought numerous battles in Hungary and participated in the siege of Vienna and the crucial Battle of Schwechat at the end of October 1848, entering the besieged city on November 1st, 1848.

Among numerous preserved portraits of Jelačić (paintings and prints), Franz Schrotzberg's portrait done in Vienna in 1850 is certainly the most well-known one (fig. 6). Schrotzberg (Vienna, 1811 — Graz, 1889)²⁴ portrayed Jelačić in his so-called installation uniform for

the first time in 1849 (portrait commissioned by Bishop Strossmayer),²⁵ and then again, a year later, after Jelačić's marriage to Countess Sophie Stockau: *Ban* Jelačić commissioned his portrait together with the portrait of his young bride.²⁶

The new *ban* was portrayed²⁷ in a special so-called installation uniform,²⁸ which he wore on two occasions only: during the festive inauguration (1848) and in the procession celebrating the Feast of Corpus Christi that was held in Zagreb in the following year (1849). Although Jelačić was at the time of his installation a high-ranking officer of the Austrian army, instead of the uniform of a cavalry general usually worn by Croatian *bans*, he chose the attire closely linked to the Croatian national revival (Illyrian movement), thereby declaring himself as one with his people.

He wore a white jacket, dark blue trousers, and a red cape. Each of those garments has a symbolic meaning: his white jacket was tailored after the Illyrian *surka*, a jacket favoured by members of the Croatian national revival, while the blue trousers might signify his connection to the Austrian military.

The red cape shows a deep bond with his loyal troops, the *Sereshans* [Sereshaner], well known for their red capes (fig. 7).²⁹ It is held in place by a so-called mag-nate's chain, decorated with symbols of the Croatian national revival: a six-pointed (in this case eight-pointed) star and crescent moon, the same motif appearing also on his busby.

6.

Franz Schrotzberg,
Ban Josip Jelačić
Vienna, 1850
Croatian History
Museum, Zagreb,
inv.n. HPM-77844

Franz
Schrotzberg,
Ban Josip Jelačić
Beč, 1850.
Hrvatski
povijesni muzej,
Zagreb, inv.br.
HPM-77844

7.

Carl Goebel, *EIN
SERESSANER*
Vienna, 1848
Croatian History
Museum, Zagreb,
inv. n. HPM/
PMH-24483

Carl Goebel, *EIN
SERESSANER*
Beč, 1848.
Hrvatski
povijesni
muzej, Zagreb,
inv. br. HPM/
PMH-24483



Jelačić's installation uniform is not only in harmony with the ideology of the Illyrian Movement, but also expresses the *ban's* 'personal national commitment'.³⁰ That uniform and his tricolour installation flag represent a turning-point in the political and social life of Triune Kingdom after the abolition of slavery (1848) and creation of a modern society built in spirit of liberal civil society.

The year after Jelačić's installation, in 1849, the public display of the Croatian national revival and its symbols was prohibited.

Jelačić held the title of count at the time the second portrait was painted,³¹ yet there is no sign of a family crest or coat of arms, nor any symbol of his position as *ban*. That is not surprising, as both Schrotzberg's portraits of Jelačić were initially intended for semi-official display. The second portrait commissioned by Jelačić was probably intended (together with the portrait of his wife) for his newly-acquired estate Novi Dvori near Zaprešić, but was actually on display in the Red Salon of the *Ban's* Court (*Banski dvori*), certainly at the time of the christening of Jelačić's daughter Ana,³² and possibly until his death in 1856.

Portrait of *Ban* Ladislav Pejačević

According to Ivan Bojničić in his *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*,³³ the Pejačević family originally came to Slavonia from Macedonia around 1690. Count Ladislav Pejačević of Virovitica (Sopron [Ödenburg], April 5th, 1824 – Našice, April 7th, 1901), of the Našice branch of Pejačević family, studied law in Pécs [Fünfkirchen] and, after getting his degree, entered civil service in 1842. He was the grand notary of the Virovitica County, and later a judge at the *tabula banalis* in Zagreb. Pejačević was also imperial and royal chamberlain and privy advisor. He distinguished himself as a member of Croatian Parliament from the pro-Hungarian Unionist Party, and member of the parliamentary delegation that signed the Croatian-Hungarian Agreement (1868), receiving for his commitment the Order of the Iron Crown, First Class. Later, he became the Croatian *ban* (1880 to 1883).

The portrait was in all probability given to the National Museum by the Zagreb Municipality (fig. 8), as it displays the coat of arms of Zagreb in the upper part of its frame (fig. 9 / fig. 10).

Károly (Karl) Lotz (Bad Homburg vor der Höhe, 1833 – Budapest, 1904)³⁴ was one of more prominent Hungarian artists of the last quarter of the 19th century, which indicates that the Zagreb Municipality had carefully chosen the artist for this big commission. Count Pejačević is shown in full figure,³⁵ standing

8.
Károly (Karl) Lotz,
Ban *Ladislav*
Pejačević
Budapest?, 1886
Croatian History
Museum, Zagreb,
inv.n. HPM/
PMH-2685

Károly (Karl)
Lotz, *Ban*
Ladislav
Pejačević
Budimpešta?,
1886.
Hrvatski
povijesni muzej,
Zagreb, inv.br.
HPM/PMH-2685

9.
Zagreb coat of
arms, upper
middle part of
the frame of the
portrait of Ladislav
Pejačević
Croatian History
Museum, Zagreb

Grb grada
Zagreba, gornji
središnji dio
okvira portreta
Ladislava
Pejačevića
Hrvatski
povijesni
muzej, Zagreb



beside a table to the right. He is dressed in black and dark grey Hungarian magnate's dress, sporting a sabre,³⁶ the sash of the Order of the Iron Crown (First Class) with the great star of the Order on his right side. His filigree belt, buttons and decorative chain holding the overcoat are encrusted with semi-precious stones. His busby is placed on the table to the right, which is decked with a colourful carpet showing folk motifs, popular at the end of the 19th century.³⁷ The coat of arms in the upper right corner of the portrait corresponds perfectly to Bojničić's drawing (fig. 11 / fig. 12). The portrait of Ladislav Pejačević is an example of the state portraits painted after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement, showing the former *ban*³⁸ in magnate's attire, together with his sabre and family coat of arms,

10.

Zagreb
coat of arms,
Ivan Bojničić,
1897.
Croatian
History Museum,
Zagreb, inv.n.
HPM-83261

Grb grada
Zagreba, Ivan
Bojničić, 1897.
Hrvatski
povijesni muzej,
Zagreb, inv.br
HPM-83261

11.

K. Lotz,
*Portrait of
Ladislav Pejačević*,
detail
(family coat
of arms)
Croatian History
Museum, Zagreb

K. Lotz,
*Portret
Ladislava
Pejačevića*,
detalj
(obiteljski grb)
Hrvatski
povijesni muzej,
Zagreb

12.

Coat of arms
of the counts
Pejačević,
I. Bojničić,
*Der Adel von
Kroatien und
Slavonien*,
Plate 103

Grb grofova
Pejačevića
I. Bojničić,
*Der Adel von
Kroatien und
Slavonien*,
Tabla 103



but without insignia (flag and sceptre), in accordance with judicial acts stated in the Settlement, which defined the *ban* as of civil standing.³⁹ The respectability of the *ban*'s honour had diminished considerably, and his military authority ceased completely. The *ban* was appointed by the king after a proposal by the Hungarian minister-president. The symbols of the *ban*'s honour were not necessary any more, since, according to the Settlement, Croatian sovereignty and independence were reduced to limited autonomy in administration, judiciary, schooling and religious matters. Liberal-bourgeois influences on the way of portraying and presenting the nobility are also unquestionable, but they become of less significance.

In support of this, and relating to the provisions of the Settlement and its impact on official state portraits, it is interesting to note that one of Count Pejačević's predecessors, *Ban* Levin Rauch de Nyek (1869–1871), a prominent member of pro-Hungarian Unionist Party, under which the Settlement was conducted, chose to be portrayed without the *banal* 'insignia', but with magnate's jewellery decorated with scenes from early Hungarian history.⁴⁰ Count Pejačević's jewellery, on the other hand, is beautifully crafted, but neutral as far as motifs go.

It is also interesting to note here that Count Dragutin (Karoly) Khuen-Héderváry (Jeseník [Gräfenberg near Freiwaldau], Bohemia, 1849 — Budapest, 1918), *Ban* of Croatia from 1883 to 1903, was portrayed by Vlaho Bukovac, a very prominent Croatian painter, in 1893, also wearing magnate's attire, but without any *banal* insignia or family coat of arms. That official portrait was commissioned by the Croatian government and intended for the festive hall of the Department of Religion and Education in Zagreb.⁴¹

Conclusion

Portraits of three 19th century *bans* from the Croatian History Museum Collection of Paintings present good examples of how political and social events affected a gradual change of the position of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, incorporated in the Habsburg, and later on Austro-Hungarian, Monarchy, as well as the role and authority of a Croatian *ban*. In the iconographic depiction of the institution and person of the *ban*, who was usually chosen from members of high aristocracy or high-ranking military, two insignia are expected: a flag and a scepter as symbols of their military, judicial and administrative power. In relation to their presence or absence in the analysed portraits, the following can be concluded:

The portrait of *Ban* Gyulay from the first half of the 19th century is an example of a state portrait that fulfils the idea of iconographic presentation of an estate-based society and presents his role as representative of imperial power in Croatia, obvious in the displayed insignia, which declare his military, judicial and governmental power.

The portrait of *Ban* Jelačić presents an exception and must be regarded as a result of a private initiative as well as in context of his role after the revolutionary events of 1848. Notwithstanding the circumstances of its creation, this portrait testifies to changes in the political and social life of the Triune Kingdom after the abolishment of serfdom. With his tricolour installation uniform, the *ban* showed not only his liberal-civilian ideas, but also the idea of the unification and independence of the Croatian lands within the Monarchy. During the second half of the 19th century, due to the reorganization of the Monarchy according to the dualistic principle and by the conclusion of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement in 1868, the position of Croatian *bans* had changed, and their role substantially diminished. The portrait of the former *Ban* Pejačević is in reality a litmus paper of bourgeois influence as far as the usage of status symbols goes: the family crest in particular as well as his style of dress. Above all, this portrait and the previous one testify to the political life and governmental and judicial conditions in the Triune Kingdom, which persisted until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

This work has been partly supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-9364 *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*.

Proofreading: Boris Blažina

NOTES

- 1 For centuries, Croatia had governors who ruled in the name of the monarch and wore the title *ban*; their duties and power can be summarised in the term viceroy. The *ban* was appointed by the king, guided by a proposal by the Croatian Parliament, and the function was usually held by noblemen or high-ranking military officers. The *ban* was the head of government, military and judiciary, functioning as the king's deputy, though his political authority was often limited.
- 2 The Triune Kingdom was a political and judicial name for the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, which was ingrained since the 19th century in accordance with the political and social aspirations for the unification of the Croatian state region. The disunity of the Croatian lands manifested itself up until the middle of the 15th century, in documents issued separately by the *bans* of each of the three kingdoms (*regnum Croatiae*, *regnum Dalmatiae*, *regnum Slavoniae*). From the middle of the 15th century, the title of *Ban* of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia was introduced, but without any implications for the political interconnection of Croatian territory. It was not until the second half of the 16th century that the area of the Triune Kingdom became more strongly connected, with the sessions of the unified Croatian Parliament playing a distinctive role. The unification took place primarily in the domain of the Habsburg Monarchy, also depending on the relations between the Croatian-Slavonian and Hungarian Parliaments. After the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, Dalmatia, which became part of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1815, was increasingly mentioned in political relations. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, Croatian representatives at joint parliamentary assemblies demanded the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia, regularly using the term Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, or the Triune Kingdom. "Trojedna kraljevina", *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, accessed November 21st, 2021, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=62423>.
- 3 This work has been partly supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-9364 *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*.
- 4 The ceremony of enthronement, or *banal* installation, gained its form through the centuries. The first mention of the ceremony is to be found in the 15th century, at the time of King Sigismund of Luxembourg, who in 1435 issued a decree stating that all those chosen as *bans* of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, and *bans* of Slavonia, had to give a pledge "in the hands of the King or a deputy chosen by him". More in: Šerčer, *Znamenja vlasti i časti*, 31–44.
- 5 For example, portrait of *Ban* Ivan V Drašković (1699–1733), made when he was in office between 1732 and 1733, today part of the Collection of Paintings of the Croatian History Museum, inv. no. 2421. It should be noted that the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia painted on this portrait does not reflect the actual state of affairs: the *ban's* powers encompassed provinces of Croatia and Slavonia, where basic institutions of Croatian power and statehood existed.
- 6 The Croatian *ban* (*banus*, viceroy) was until 1921 the highest-ranking state official in Croatia and Slavonia, and until the mid-19th century often a military commander as well.
- 7 By the second half of the 19th century, the age-long wars with the Ottoman Empire were finally over. Josip Jelačić was the last Croatian *ban* (1848–1859) who also embodied the duties of supreme military commander of the Military Border and governor of Rijeka and Dalmatia. "Ban", *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, accessed September 14th, 2021, <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=5627>
- 8 On April 24th, 1852, in the period of Bach's Absolutism (bureaucratic centralism), directives on the dress-code of state employees for the Kingdom of Hungary (of which Croatia was a part) were issued. *Ban* Jelačić was strongly opposed to that dress-code, which called for officials to be dressed in the green colour of a Hungarian uniform, i.e. the Hungarian national colour, stating his displeasure because the emperor had not taken into consideration the 'national specificities of these countries'. Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*, 76–77.
- 9 Hrvatsko-ugarska nagodba, Članak 51. [Croatian-Hungarian Settlement, Article 51] *Sbornik zakona i naredabah valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju za god. 1868. (Komad I.-VI., br. 1-19.)*. In all probability that article reflected the Hungarian fear of the military role played by *Ban* Jelačić during the revolutionary years 1848/1849.
- 10 Hrvatsko-ugarska nagodba. *Sbornik zakona i naredabah valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju za god. 1868.*, Članak 53.
- 11 "Gyulay, Ignjat (Ignàc)", *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, accessed on September 13th, 2021, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=38>

- 12 After his death in Vienna, his body was transferred to Zagreb and interred in St Catherine's Church of the Jesuit Order in the Upper Town. Gyulay's wife Julijana (†1830) and son Ignjat (†1818) had already been interred at St Catherine's. Their memorial plates were put up in St Apollonia's chapel of the church in 1843. Levaj, Baričević and Repanić Braun, *Akademska crkva sv. Katarine*, 358.
- 13 Until that time, Croatian *bans* had no permanent seat in Zagreb, using either their own houses or various inns in the Upper Town. The palace known as Banski Dvori (*Ban's Court*) is at present the seat of the Croatian government.
- 14 Krafft's signed and dated portrait of Francis I (1827) is also part of the Collection of Paintings of the Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-2680. Gyulay's portrait is dated in 1830-1831 due to him being painted with the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he received in 1830.
- 15 Krafft came from Hanau to Vienna in 1799 and started his studies at the Academy in F. H. Füger's class. From 1802 to 1804, he was in Paris at J. L. David's studio. In 1808, he visited Rome and, upon his return to Vienna, started painting portraits and various important events. In 1823, Krafft was named professor of history painting at the Vienna Academy, and in 1828 the emperor himself appointed him director of the Royal Collection of Paintings at the Belvedere. See: Frodl-Schneemann, *Johann Peter Krafft*, 158.; Hülbauer, *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 242.; Husslein-Arco, Bechler and Johannsen, *Johann Peter Krafft*.
- 16 Gyulay's portrait endured a somewhat more complicated journey to the National Museum than the emperor's portrait: in 1965, the Zagreb Municipal Assembly handed the portrait for storage to the Zagreb Municipal Museum; from there it was loaned to the *Banski dvori*, and finally given to the Croatian History Museum in 2011.
- 17 Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM-96649. Oil on canvas, 235 × 150 cm, unsigned, in original wooden gilded frame, 261.5 × 173.5 cm.
- 18 Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 80-81, accessed on September 13th, 2021, <https://austria-forum.org/web-books/wurzbach06de1860kfu>
- 19 The sceptre is preserved in Croatian History Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. HPM/PMH-620. The flag depicted in the painting has unfortunately not been preserved.
- 20 Published by Bauer und Raspe in Nürnberg as a part of Siebmacher's *Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch* (1896).
- 21 Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, 58. Tafel 43.
- 22 Franjo Jelačić (Petrijnja, 1746 - Zala-Apathy, 1810), Austrian general, knight of the Military Order of Maria Theresa.
- 23 More on "Vetter von Lilienberg, Wenzel", *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, accessed on September 15th, 2021, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=12002>
- 24 Franz Schrotzberg was schooled from 1825 to 1831 at the Academy in Vienna. During the 1850s and 1860s, he was a very popular portraitist of Viennese high society, creating between 700 and 800 portraits, often reproduced in lithographs.
- 25 Schrotzberg's portrait of Jelačić dated in 1849 is in the collection of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), currently on loan to the Croatian Parliament.
- 26 Schrotzberg's portrait of Countess Sophie Jelačić nee Stockau is also part of the Collection of Paintings of the Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-2744. More on Jelačić's choice of portraitist in: Bregovac Pisk, "Josip Jelačić's Acquisition of Objets d'Art," in *Glazba, umjetnost i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Europi i Hrvatskoj 1815.-1860.*, 403-420.
- 27 Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM-77844. Oil on canvas, 144 × 111 cm, signature bottom right (scratched) 'Schrotzberg Wien 1850'; in original deep gilded frame, 178.5 × 145 cm.
- 28 Jelačić's installation uniform, together with his installation flag and jewellery, is part of the Collection of Items of Everyday Life of the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb. Recently published in detail in: Smetko, *Uspomene (na) jednog bana*, 38-39.
- 29 *Sereshans* (Seressaner in German, Serežani in Croatian), often called Red-Coats, were border-troops established at the beginning of the 18th century, dressed in a specific combination of traditional folk attire, wearing red capes to distinguish themselves from other troops. *Sereshans* followed *Ban Jelačić* in battles he fought in Hungary and Austria in 1848/1849 and excelled in them, with the citizens of Vienna being particularly interested in them (even visiting their camp outside the city) during the siege of Vienna (See: Grössing, *Der Kampf um Wien im Oktober 1848*, 12. Their name was derived after *sereg*, a Hungarian word for 'army'.; "Serežanin", *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, accessed on November 11th, 2021, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=55476> and Bregovac Pisk, *Zbivanja 1848. - 1849.*, 14-17, 76-94.)
- 30 Smetko. "[...] uz narodni duh, narodni jezik, neka vlada i narodna nošnja!" *Historijski zbornik* 70, No. 2 (2017): 365-393, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/193924>
- 31 Jelačić was the son of Baron Franjo Jelačić. In 1849, he received the highest military decoration of the Austrian Empire, becoming commander of the knightly Order of Maria Theresa, and thereby also a count.
- 32 Jelačić and his wife had only one child, their daughter Ana Josipa Franjica Serafina (December 20th, 1854 - September 11th, 1855). The christening was held on December 26th, 1854, in the Red Salon, where the portraits of the *ban* and his wife in national attire were displayed. Neustädter, *Ban Jelačić i događaji u Hrvatskoj*, 312.
- 33 Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, 142-143, Tabla 103.
- 34 Lotz was taught painting by Marastoni and Weber in Pest. In 1852, he was a pupil of Carl Rahl in Vienna. Returning to Hungary in 1860, Lotz painted views of the *Puszta*, frescoes of historical scenes and portraits, soon becoming one of the most prominent painters in Hungary. See: Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 64-65; Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, 413.
- 35 Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-2685. Oil on canvas, 238 × 140 cm, sign. bottom right: 'f. Lotz K · 1886'; in original deep wooden gilded frame, 280 × 180 × 10 cm. Published in: Najcer Sabljak and Lučevnjak, *Likovna baština obitelji Pejačević*, 184-185; Najcer Sabljak and Lučevnjak, *Umjetnost slavonskog plemstva*, 90-91, 199.
- 36 The sabre is part of the Weapons Collection of the Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-7308.
- 37 E.g. a portrait of Svetozar Miletić (1894) by Vlaho Bukovac, Croatian History Museum, inv. no. 33316. Miletić is seated on a sofa upholstered with fabric and adorned with geometrical folk motives. Side-tables covered with fabric decorated with such motives are also to be found on a state portrait of Francis Joseph I by Josip Bauer (1890/1891) in Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-8766 as well as on a portrait of Radoslav Rubido de Zagorje et Zich by Josip Hohnjec (1893), Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-8768.
- 38 Pejačević was *ban* from 1880 to 1883, and Lotz portrayed him in 1886.
- 39 See endnote 11.
- 40 Rauch's portrait by Josip Franjo Mücke in the Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-2778. More on Rauch's magnate's jewellery in: Šercer, *Znamenja vlasti i časti*, 119., cat. no. 124.

- 41 Vlaho Bukovac, Portrait of Dragutin (Karoly) Khuen-Héderváry, oil on canvas, 152 × 94 cm, written on the obverse: 'slikao: V. Bukovac / 1894.'. Croatian History Museum, inv. no. HPM/PMH-8725. The portrait was finished and exhibited in 1893 and 1894, and in 1896 at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest. Published in: Najcer Sabljak and Lučevnjak, *Umjetnost slavonskog plemstva*, 200.

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SAŽETAK

Znamenja i simboli časti na primjeru tri banska portreta iz 19. stoljeća

Tijekom 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj se izmijenilo devetnaest banova i banskih namjesnika, većinom zabilježenih portretima. Iako različite provenijencije, portreti Ignjata Gyulaya, Josipa Jelačića i Ladislava Pejačevića predstavljaju zanimljivost jer prisustvom odnosno izostankom državnih insignija i simbola banske vlasti svjedoče o političkom položaju Trojedne kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije unutar Habsburške, a potom i Austro–Ugarske Monarhije. Djela su izuzetnih slikara, a sva tri portreta čuvaju se u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju u Zagrebu.

Zastava i žezlo kao glavni simboli banove vojne, upravne i sudske vlasti, često krnje-tijekom povijesti, zastupljeni su na portretu bana Gyulaya s početka 19. stoljeća dok portret bana Jelačića po svemu predstavlja iznimku te ga se mora promatrati kao privatnu inicijativu i u kontekstu položaja kojega je uživao nakon revolucionarnih zbivanja 1848. godine. Isti nam svjedoči o promjenama u političkom i društvenom životu Trojednog kraljevstva nakon ukidanja feudalizma. Trobojnim instalacijskim odijelom u kojem je portretiran glasno su iskazana banova osobna politička stajališta odnosno liberalno-građanske ideje te ideologija ujedinjenja i samostalnosti hrvatskih zemalja u okviru Monarhije.

Tijekom druge polovice 19. stoljeća, a napose preuređenjem Monarhije na dualističkom principu i sklapanjem Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe 1868. godine, mijenja se i položaj bana čija je čast znatno umanjena. Portret bana Pejačevića zaista jest lakmus papir građanskog utjecaja u pogledu korištenja staleskih simbola još uvijek prisutnih kod korištenja obiteljskog grba te načina odijevanja no, prije svega, kao i prethodni, svjedoči o političkom životu i upravno-pravnom položaju Trojednog kraljevstva koji će se zadržati sve do raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije.

MATEA BRSTILO REŠETAR graduated history and art history in 2003 at the University of Zagreb. Since 2004, she has been employed at the Croatian History Museum as a Senior Curator of Heraldry and Sphragistics Collection, and from 2016 she has been the directress of the Museum. She has participated in various exhibition projects and published professional and scientific papers in the field of museology, heraldry, sphragistics and contemporary Croatian history, with an emphasis on Croatian military nobility and the Homeland War. She is currently participating in the project *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*, funded by Croatian Science Foundation.

MARINA BREGOVAC PISK, PhD is a graduate of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb, Croatia, where she gained a degree in Art History and English Language and Literature. She received her master's degree at the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb in 2003, and her Ph.D. in 2012. From 1982 to 2020, she curated the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Sculptures at the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb. She is the author of two catalogues of museum collections as well as the co-author of several catalogues of temporary exhibitions, and has participated in various exhibition projects of the museum she worked at as well as of other Croatian and foreign museums. Her main field of interest are portraits in paintings and prints ranging from the 17th to the end of the 19th century. She is currently participating in the project *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*, funded by Croatian Science Foundation.

MATEA BRSTILO REŠETAR diplomirala je povijest i povijest umjetnosti 2003. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Od 2004. zaposlena je u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju, viša je kustosica Zbirke heraldike i sfragistike, a od 2016. godine ravnateljica Muzeja. Uz izložbene projekte, objavljuje stručne i znanstvene članke iz područja muzeologije, heraldike i sfragistike te suvremene hrvatske povijesti, s naglaskom na hrvatsko vojno plemstvo i Domovinski rat. Trenutno sudjeluje u projektu *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*, financiranom od Hrvatske zaklade za znanost.

Dr. sc. MARINA BREGOVAC PISK diplomirala je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu povijest umjetnosti i engleski jezik i književnost. Na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti istog fakulteta magistrirala je 2003. i doktorirala 2012. godine. Od 1982. do 2020. godine radila je kao kustos, potom i muzejska savjetnica na Zbirci slika, grafika i skulptura Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja u Zagrebu. Autorica je dvaju kataloga muzejskih zbirki te autorica i koautorica nekoliko kataloga povremenih izložaba. Suradivala je na raznim projektima muzeja u kojem je radila, kao i drugih hrvatskih i stranih muzeja. Njezino su glavno područje interesa portreti u slikarstvu i grafici od 17. do kraja 19. stoljeća. Trenutno sudjeluje u projektu *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*, financiranom od Hrvatske zaklade za znanost.