

History of the Fine Arts Collection of the Valpovo Landowners

Fine Arts Collection of the Valpovo Landowners in the Context of Existing Research

With the arrival of noble families to the area of Slavonia and Sylvania, after the end of the wars against the Ottomans (end of the 17th / beginning of the 18th century), a process of creating fine arts collections started in their domiciles, a process that has continued until the beginning of the Second World War. During the war and the period immediately after the war, the collections were devastated to a lesser or greater degree and most of them became part of the holdings of Croatian museum and gallery institutions. Their preservation at museums has not only contributed to their preservation during very uncertain times, it has also established foundations for professional organisation and valorisation. However, social circumstances did not allow the academic community to engage in the topic of the collections of noble families more thoroughly, because the topics of nobility and their heritage were undesirable in ruling circles. The basis for the research of fine arts collections of the most significant noble families from the area of Eastern Croatia was established just recently, primarily in the master's thesis, and later the doctoral dissertation of Jasminka Najcer Sabljak.¹ The public were introduced to the significance of those collections in the context of regional, but also national cultural heritage, at the exhibition *Slavonia, Baranja and Syrmia – Founts of European Civilisation*, held at Klovičevi dvori in Zagreb, in 2009.² The text of the exhibition catalogue outlined the design for the systematic presentation of the fine arts collections of noble families from this area, which was planned for implementation as part of the museological project *Hidden Treasure of European Nobility*. It would be used to display the fine arts heritage of the families Pejačević, Odiscalchi, Eltz, Hilleprand von Prandau, and Normann-Ehrenfels, in the way designed by J. Najcer Sabljak made while she was the head of the Collection of Paintings from the 18th and 19th Century at the Museum of Fine Arts in Osijek, a museum institution where most of the preserved art from the collections of noble families from Eastern Croatia ended up.

1 Najcer Sabljak, J. Likovna baština obitelji Pejačević iz Galerije likovnih umjetnosti u Osijeku. Magistrski rad. Zagreb : Filozofski fakultet, 2007; Najcer Sabljak, J. Umjetničke zbirke vlastelinskih obitelji u Slavoniji i Srijemu. Doktorski rad. Zagreb : Filozofski fakultet, 2012.

2 Najcer Sabljak, J. Likovna ostavština velikaških obitelji. In: Slavonija, Baranja i Srijem : vrela europske civilizacije. Kusin, V.; Šulte, B. (ed.). Sv. 2. Zagreb : Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske : Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2009, p. 464–469.

3 Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučevnjak, S. Likovna baština obitelji Pejačević : exhibition catalogue. Osijek : Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 2013.

4 Najcer Sabljak, J. Likovna baština kneževa Odiscalchi – od Lombardije i Rima do Iloka. Osijek : Muzej likovnih umjetnosti ; Zagreb : Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti ; Ilok : Muzej grada Iloka, 2015.

5 Najcer Sabljak, J. Slavenska plemićka baština u kontekstu europskih integracija. In: Zbornik 3. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti. Žrnjevac, A. (ed.). Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2013, p. 157–163.

6 Lučevnjak, S. Arhitektonska baština obitelji Pejačević i Mihalović – na tragu klasicizma. In: Klasicizam u Hrvatskoj : zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa. Kraševac, I. (ed.). Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2016, p. 147–165.

7 Najcer Sabljak, J. The Art Heritage of Noble Families of Slavonia and Srijem in the Context of the European Legacy. In: Zbornik radova III. međunarodnog znanstvenog simpozija Gospodarstvo istočne Hrvatske – vrijanja i razvoj. Osijek : Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera ; Ekonomski fakultet, 2014, p. 553–561.

8 Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučevnjak, S. State authorities and the heritage of noble families of eastern Croatia. In: Art and Politics in Europe in the Modern Period : programme and book of abstracts. Danjanović, D.; Magaš Bilandžić, L.; Miklošević, Ž. (ed.). Zagreb : Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2016., p. 121–122.

As part of that project, in 2013, an exhibition called *Fine Arts of the Pejačević Family* was realised, which opened in Osijek and then featured as a guest exhibition in Zagreb, Našice, Virovitica, Vukovar, Požega, Đakovo, Dubrovnik, Ruma (Republic of Serbia), and Sopron (Republic of Hungary).³ The planned exhibition of the collection from Ilok was not realised, but the research has been published in 2015, in a book on the fine arts heritage of the Odiscalchi family.⁴ J. Najcer Sabljak presented copper-plate etchings and copper-plate engravings from the collections of noble families from Slavonia and Sylvania in 2015, as part of the VII Days of Graphics at the Museum of Fine Arts in Osijek. The realisation of the exhibition projects about the Valpovo landowners is currently in progress, as well as an exhibition of the fine arts heritage of the Eltz family.

Apart from the planned and realised exhibitions, the heritage of the noble families from Eastern Croatia was also discussed at professional and scientific meetings. J. Najcer Sabljak participated in the 3rd Congress of Croatian Art Historians in Zagreb in 2010 and she talked about the research and presentation of the heritage of Slavonian and Sylvania noble families in the context of European integrations.⁵ A segment of the fine arts heritage of those families was presented by J. Najcer Sabljak and Silvija Lučevnjak in 2014, at the scientific-professional meeting *Classicism in Croatia*, held at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb.⁶ In the same year, J. Najcer Sabljak participated in the III international symposium *Economy of Eastern Croatia – Vision and Development in Osijek*⁷ With the topic of fine arts heritage of the most important noble families of Eastern Croatia. In 2016, J. Najcer Sabljak and S. Lučevnjak held a lecture on the way the authorities treat the heritage of noble families, at the international conference *Art and Politics in Europe in the Modern Period*, at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.⁸ Those public presentations were aimed at introducing the public with the most significant historical fine arts collections in this part of Croatia, which are not only relevant for our national art history, but also for European art history, and especially the history of collecting, which has still not achieved it's earned status in our art history.

The museological projects in Croatia have only recently started promoting research into fine art collections and collectors as a special approach to art and cultural heritage. Another indicator of those shifts are the mentioned exhibitions and publications, as well as some exhibitions held in the last several years at the museums in Zagreb, which displayed valuable historical and more recent collections.⁹ However, theoretical discussions on the topic are still relatively rare in our country, while the processes for the encouragement and popularisation of interdisciplinary research and the presentation of the topics of collections and collecting have been intensively implemented in European and American cultural circles. Such experiences can and should be an encouragement to us, so we would devote the appropriate attention to those aspects of cultural heritage.¹⁰ A relatively small circle of museum scientists and art historians from Eastern Croatia has been engaged in research into the history of the fine arts collection of the Valpovo landowners, as part of investigations into the opus of specific artists, directions in art, or related topics, or the history of the development of holdings of museum institutions.¹¹ The Valpovo Regional Museum has recently, with exhibitions and the update of their permanent museum exhibition, dedicated more attention to the heritage of the Valpovo landowners, which included their fine arts heritage, which was the continuous subject of research for J. Najcer Sabljak.¹² She organised the results of that research in her doctoral thesis, and she publicly presented and set the basics for further elaboration of the topic with her presentation *Art Collections of the Landowning Families in Slavonia and Sylvania, with Special Emphasis on the Art from the Valpovo Castle*, held at the Valpovo Regional Museum, in June of 2012.¹³ She presented further research at the 4th Congress of Croatian Art Historians in Zagreb in 2016, with her lecture *The Valpovo Collection of Rudolf and Julija Normann*.¹⁴ Comprehensive overview and valorisation of this collection, as an important segment of family heritage, is one of the prerequisites for the reconstruction of the Valpovo castle in the process of its necessary restoration.¹⁵ The fine arts collection of the Valpovo landowners is specific because it developed in the circle of two families, the family of barons Hilleprand von Prandau and counts Normann-Ehrenfels, but considering that it includes art that connects the location of collecting and the continuity created after the transfer of the collection on the basis of family heritage, we can treat it as a single unit. Considering that the collection was primarily created and developed in the residential space of the Valpovo

9 The exhibition *The Magnificent Vranyczony Family – Artistic, Historical, and Political Outline of the Life of a Noble Family* was held in 2016, at the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and several exhibitions were held as part of the cycle in which private collections were presented in public institutions, at the Art Pavilion – *Virgine Collection : Masterpieces of the Croatian Modern Art Period*, 2015; *The Collection of Pavle Bejanski : Pearls of Modern Art*, 2015/16; *Masterpieces of the Honžeković Collection*, 2016; *Roglić Collection*, 2017, and at the Modern Gallery – *Kolley Collection: Missing Genius*, 2018.

10 For example, since 1989 the publishing institution Oxford University Press, as a department of Oxford University, is publishing the *Journal of the History of Collections*, which features not only texts relevant for the various aspects of collecting, but also announcements and reviews that include seminars, conferences, and exhibitions dedicated to that topic. In the United States of America, since 1983, the Getty Research Institute, which covers various forms of visual arts, including collections and collecting, through its research projects, library, exhibitions, publications, and especially digital databases, is active in Santa Monica. In that regard, the database Getty Provenance Index is extremely significant, because it contains information on collections, art auctions, and other information which is helpful in the research of the art market and especially the provenance of the pieces, so they are also a relevant source for the history of art collections.

11 The following individuals wrote the most on these topics Jelica Ambruš, Branka Balen, Stjepan Brločić, Predrag Goll, and Oto Švajcer. Mr. sc. B. Balen has, as a curator and later the director of the Gallery of Fine Arts in Osijek, as it was called then, initiated the realisation of the exhibition on the Valpovo landowners, which did not materialise at the time.

12 Paušak, M. Otavština plemićke obitelji Prandau-Normann. Valpovo : Ustanova za kulturne djelatnosti „Ante Evetović-Mirojubi“, Muzej Valpovštine, 2009.; Vodič kroz zbirke Muzeja Valpovštine : povodom 60 godina djelovanja Muzeja Valpovštine. Paušak, M. (ed.). Valpovo : Ustanova za kulturne djelatnosti „Ante Evetović-Mirojubi“, Muzej Valpovštine, 2017.

13 Lazar, K. Nepoznata umjetnička crta valpovačkih grofova. In: Valpovština info, no. 125, 14 June 2012, Valpovo

14 Najcer Sabljak, J. Valpovačka zbirka Rudolfa i Julije Normann. U: Institucije povijesti umjetnosti : raspored i knjiga sažetaka : 4. kongres hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti, 24. – 26. 11. 2016. Zagreb : Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2016., p. 33–34.

15 Zgege, V.; Petrić, K.; Uzelec, Z. Idejni prijedlog korištenja dvorca Prandau-Normann u Valpovu. *Informatica Museologica* 25(1999), Zagreb, p. 35–45.

16 Aulthal – burgen Austria. URL: <http://www.burgen-austria.com/archiv.php?id=482> (14/11/2017). The information and the recordings of Hochhauser's art were made available to the authors of the paper in 2011 by Ms Antoinette Croy, the owner of the Aulthal castle.

17 This artist's opus has not been fully investigated, but recently it was the subject of the work by Anna Schirlbauer, who made the results of her research available to the authors of the paper. Schirlbauer, A. Ephraim Hochhauser – ein kaum bekannter Malerkollege von Troger, Maulbertsch und Meyens (hand-written paper, 2017).

castle, in this paper we will refer to it as the *Valpovo Collection* and it will be described chronologically, i.e. its development will be observed starting with the period when it was under the care of the Hilleprand von Prandau family, then the Normann-Ehrenfels family, and finally, we will be addressing its fate during World War II and the period after that war, when it was partially devastated and partly preserved in museum institutions.

Hilleprand von Prandau Family and the Valpovo Collection

The beginning of the formation of the *Valpovo Collection* is connected to the arrival of the family of barons Hilleprand von Prandau to Valpovo, after they were granted the Valpovo Estate in the beginning of the 18th century. Considering their social status and financial means, that family was able to buy and collect art in their palace in Vienna, which we know was located on Rennweg and was known as *Prandausches Gartenschloss*, even before they arrived to Valpovo, as well as in several buildings at the family properties in Styria and Lower Austria, but we currently have no more information on those collections. In the context of this paper, we need to point out the castle Aulthal in the Mura valley, which was bought by Petar II Antun Baron Hilleprand von Prandau in 1738. It is quite a small castle, but its façade is very similar to the main entrance to the Valpovo complex, which may indicate that it was used as a model for its construction. The Baron gave the property and the castle as a gift to his son-in-law Johann Wilhelm von Pfeffershofen, so the portraits of Petar, his son-in-law Pfeffershofen, and Petar's daughters Marija Josefa married Pfeffershofen and Marija Franziska¹⁶ are still kept there. The pieces are the work of the Austrian portrait artist Ephraim Hochhauser, made in 1740.¹⁷ This artist was educated at the Academy in Vienna, studying the works of renowned portrait artists like Martin van Meytens, so their order is an indicator that the family wanted and was able to acquire pieces from the Viennese court artists from the beginning of the 18th century. It is interesting that Hochhauser painted two more portraits of Petar and a portrait of his second wife, Marija Kristina nee Lattermann, and he is also considered to be the author of the portrait of the first wife of Petar's son, Baron Josip Ignjat Žigmund, Marija Viktorija nee von Jabornigg und Gamsenegg. Those portraits had been preserved in the *Valpovo Collection*. This indicates that Hochhauser had the status of a *family painter* and he was hired for many years to paint portraits of the members of the Hilleprand von Prandau family.

However, even though the dates and the location of the mentioned portraits are known, the time of their arrival to Valpovo is uncertain. The beginning of the creation of the *Valpovo Collection* must be observed in view of the circumstances regarding the permanent residence of the members of the Hilleprand von Prandau family at the Valpovo Estate. Even though Baron Petar started building a castle over the remains of the medieval fort in the first half of the 18th century, by connecting the fort with the new Baroque two-floor southern façade, the family has not been permanently living in Valpovo, but even at that time, the inventory of the residential space was relatively representative and decorated with art pieces, primarily graphics.¹⁸ However, it has been determined with certainty that the oil painting *Throne of Mercy*, by the author Johann Franz Michael Rottmayr von Rosenbrunn, was acquired for the castle chapel in 1730 in Vienna, and that painting still has an important place among religious paintings in Croatia and it is connected to the Central European cultural circle of some of the best Baroque painters.¹⁹ The choice of the reputable artists indicated that the family decided to acquire valuable artistic achievements by the best contemporary painters for the inventory of the Valpovo castle. The landowning family took up permanent residence in Valpovo after Petar's son Josip Ignjat moved here, after his wedding with his third wife, Marija Ana Eleonora nee Countess Pejačević of Virovitica, in 1791. Another significant event that affected the castle was the catastrophic fire on New Year's Eve of 1802, during which the art from this space was surely damaged. After the inspection of the biographical data, it is interesting to point out that the oldest son of Josip Ignjat and Marija Ana, Karl Ludwig, was born in Osijek in 1792, and the youngest son, Anton Gustav, was born in Valpovo in 1807. Those facts lead to the conclusion that the Valpovo castle was reconstructed and furnished as a family residence during the period of almost fifteen years, and Josip Ignjat started creating a representative park next to the castle.²⁰ That was probably the time when the family portraits from Vienna arrived to Valpovo, along with some religious paintings and portraits of rulers, which remained preserved in the *Valpovo Collection* as a typical set of paintings in a collection of a noble family from the 18th century. Josip Ignjat and his wife continued with the development of the family collection by ordering representative Classicist portraits from the Austrian painter Johann Anton Zitterer. It is known that Josip Ignjat maintained

^[18] Perčić, Lj. Inventar valpovačkog dvorca iz kolovoza 1736. godine. Osječki zbornik 29(2009), Osijek, p. 203–216.

^[19] Balen, B. Zbirka slika 18. i Zbirka slika 19. st. U: Sakralna umjetnost iz zbirki GLUO. Osijek: Galerija likovnih umjetnosti Osijek, 2003., p. 6; Cvetnić, S. Slikarstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. In: Hrvatska i Europa : kultura, znanost i umjetnost. Sv. 3. Barok i prosvjetiteljstvo (XVII – XVII stoljeće). Golub, I. (ed.). Zagreb : Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti : Školska knjiga, 2003., p. 660–661; Perčić, Lj. Valpovačka župna crkva i dvorska kapelica između 1722–1736. Scrinia Slavonica 9(2009), Slavonski Brod, p. 99–124.; Repanić-Braun, M. Baroko slikarstvo – odjaji oltarnih slika. U: Slavonija, Baranje i Srijem : vrata europske civilizacije : katalog izložbe. Katin, V.; Šule, B. (ed.). Sv. 2. Zagreb : Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske : Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2009., ed. 383.; Repanić-Braun, M. Baroko slikarstvo u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj : povjest i spomenici. Pils, M. (ed.). Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti : Školska knjiga, 2010.; Turjak Podmanicki, M. Austrijski i njemačko plemstvo – promotori i nositelji baroknog stila početkom 18. stoljeća na području istočne Hrvatske. Godišnjak Njemačke zajednice 22(2015), Osijek, p. 271–281.

^[20] Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. Dvorci i perivoji u Slavoniji : od Zagreba do Iloka. Zagreb : Šćitaroci, 1998.

^[21] Perčić, Lj. Komnetij-Haus zu Valbo – prigol poznavanju kazališnog života u Valpovu od 1809. do 1823. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann. Osječki zbornik 28(2007), Osijek, p. 127–143.; Perčić, Lj. Prilog poznavanju glazbenog života u Valpovu od 1790. do 1825. godine u svjetlu arhivskih fondova obitelji Prandau i Normann. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 22(2006), Osijek, p. 115–140.; Perčić, Lj. O usguzju limuna, ananasa i grganjim staklenicima u Valpovu. Valpovački godišnjak 12(2007), Valpovo, p. 29–56.; Perčić, Lj. Kazalište u Valpovu od 1809. – 1823. godine : prigol poznavanju kazališnog života u Valpovu od 1809. – 1823. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda HR-DAOS-476. In: Vijemeji pristoru u hrvatskoj dramskoj književnosti i kazalištu. Zagreb : Osijek : Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glabe, Osijek za povijest hrvatskog kazališta : Hrvatsko narodno kazalište : Filozofski fakultet, 2007., p. 45–58.; Perčić, Lj. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo na početku uprave baruna P. A. Hillepranda. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 24(2008), Osijek, p. 75–97.; Perčić, Lj. Graditelj kazališta na majuru : Antun (Anton) Hartmann (1749. – 1830.). Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 31(2015), Osijek, p. 101–116.

^[22] Najcer Sabljak, J. Klasicizam u likovnim zbirkama slavonskog plemstva. In: Znanstveno-stručni skup Klasicizam u Hrvatskoj : program i knjiga sažetaka. Kraševac, I.; Račić Stojanović, I. (ed.). Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2014., p. 17.

^[23] The castle Rothenthurn in Austria was built in 1880 by Konstantin Count Normann-Ehrenfels and his wife Marijana nee Baroness Hilleprand von Prandau. Maria Ana was her grandmother on her father's side. The authors of this paper would like to thank the current owners of the castle and the inheritors of the family Normann-Ehrenfels, Mr Georg Baron von Pereira-Arnstein and his wife Marija, for their hospitality and their willingness to allow us to inspect the fine arts and archival collections of the castle Rothenthurn. We would also like to thank Nikola Baron Adamović, who provided us with this contact.

^[24] Szabo, A. Velikaška porodica Hilleprand von Prandau i obitelji njezinih doprinosa razvoju hrvatske kulture i prosvjete. Glasnik arhiva Slavonije i Baranje 11(2011), Osijek, p. 65–74.

^[25] Stanić, D. Zaboravjeni valpovački baron Karlo Prandau (1792. – 1856.) – vijeđan glazbenik i skladatelj. Valpovački godišnjak 8(2003), Valpovo, p. 7–32; Ajnović-Malinar, I. Hilleprand von Prandau, Karlo. URL: http://enciklopedija.lmkn.hr/clanak.aspx (14/11/2017)

^[26] *Johann Stadler. In: Biographisches Lexicon des kaiserthums Oesterreich. Von Wurzbach, C. (ed.). Sv. 37. Wien, 1878, p. 55–56.

his connections with Vienna, so he was certainly keeping up with the situation regarding the fine arts scene in the centre of the Monarchy.²¹ Therefore, the family was able to choose one of the better quality portrait artists in view of the *Empire style*, and considering that the background of one of his portraits features a compilation of several vedute of Valpovo, that raises the question of whether the painter ever visited Valpovo.²² This could be the turning point which signals the shift from collecting by importing works of foreign artists to “importing” a foreign artist who would visit Valpovo at least one in a while and paint here for the family collection. Due to everything mentioned so far, we can consider Josip Ignjat and his wife to be actual founders of the *Valpovo Collection*. It is interesting to point out that two miniatures, obviously from the heritage of Marija Ana Baroness Hilleprand von Prandau nee Countess Pejačević, of her parents were found in the collection from the castle Rothenthurn.²³ They were brought to that space from Valpovo, so we assume that some art pieces from the home of her parents arrived with Marija Ana to the Valpovo Collection.

In the following generation of the family, two members left a particularly deep mark in the area of culture. The brothers Karl and Gustav barons Hilleprand von Prandau were especially active in the area of music, following the example of their mother, Marija Ana, who managed the Valpovo Estate after the death of her husband, all the way until 1831, and then turned it over to her sons and retreated to her palace in Pecs. In that city she became famous as a benefactor and a music lover. For example, Pajo Kolarić and Franz Liszt²⁴ performed concerts in her house. This affinity toward music was inherited by her son Karl, known as a skilled pianist and composer.²⁵ Unfortunately, we have no more information about the interior of his castle in Donji Miholjac (the so-called old castle) and other places where he lived for a time (Eger, Pecs, Vienna). We can only assume that the art preserved from his heritage, along with the documents about music, were brought to Valpovo by his brother Gustav. The only piece of art that places him in the context of his work in music is in the *Valpovo Collection* today, it is a very interesting portrait graphic of him from 1845, the author of which is probably Johann Stadler, a portrait painter and lithographer from Vienna.²⁶ In it, Karl is shown next to an instrument resembling a physharmonica, which was invented by Anton Haeckl in 1821 and which was supported by Karl, with the notes to a

symphony by a German violin virtuoso, composer, and conductor Ludwig Spohr.²⁷

In the context of the *Valpovo Collection*, a much more significant mark was left by Karl's brother, Gustav Baron Hilleprand von Prandau. He was known as a lover of music and art, a skilled organ player, and a great patron of the Croatian culture and education.²⁸ For example, he was one of the donors for the establishment of the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, the founder and president of the Music Society in Zagreb, and he is also mentioned as a donor to the Viennese association *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, which is better known under the name *Wiener Musikverein*. He particularly distinguished himself during the construction of the palace of this association and the acquisition of the great concert organ for the so-called Golden Hall (built in 1870).²⁹ As a memorial for that significant contribution, at the central stop on the organ prospect there is the inscription: *GUSTAV FREIHERR / von PRANDAU / hat der Erste zum Bau dieses / WERKES 1000 ft gespendet / am 19 Jänner MDCCCLXIX*.

With his wife Adela nee Cseh von Szent-Kátolna, he acquired art which bring the late Biedermeier, Romanticism, and Academic Realism styles to the *Valpovo Collection* in the middle of the 19th century. The orders were partly from respected foreign authors (Friedrich Amerling, Carl Rahl), and partly from renowned domesticated artists like Hugo Conrad von Hötzdendorf and Josip Franjo Mücke. Among those artists, a special place belongs to the works by the excellent Austrian Biedermeier painter Amerling and the domesticated Mücke, considering that they consist of a series of portraits in both cases. Friederich Amerling made successive portraits of the three Gustav's daughters for the collection: Two portraits of Marijana and one each of Alvina and Stephanie.³⁰ His portrait of Alvina Baroness Hilleprand von Prandau married Countess Pejačević is considered to be the pinnacle of portrait art in Croatian fine arts collections and the research of Amerling's complete opus in private and public collections in Europe shows that this portrait is one of his best works.³¹

Josip Franjo Mücke was also hired to paint a series of portraits of the members of the Hilleprand von Prandau family, and of the family they were already related to by that point, Normann-Ehrenfels, as the artist who was at the time intensively working for the nobility and the wealthier families from the cities in Eastern Croatia, so the *Valpovo Collection* keeps a series of works that comprise a significant segment of his opus,

especially portraits.³²

Baron Gustav also showed a sense for fine arts and local heritage in the case of the monument of Matija Petar Katančić, which was placed near the Medieval tower of the Valpovo castle in 1873, and later relocated to a new location in front of the main façade. Incidentally, there are very few sculptures in all of the collections of Slavonian and Syrmian noble families when compared to the number of paintings, therefore, the only preserved portrait sculpture of relatively small dimensions in the *Valpovo Collection* is that much more significant. It is a study of a bust with the likeness of Baron Gustav, the author and the date when it was created have not yet been determined. Considering that there is a photograph in which Gustav is recorded in very similar clothes, this sculpture was a model that was to be used after his death to create a bust of standard dimensions. It is interesting to point out that the *Podgorač Collection* keeps the portrait bust of his daughter Alvina, with similar artist's handwriting, made by a reputable sculptor József Engel.³³ Therefore, Gustav's portrait sculpture can also be considered as a piece created in the circle of Hungarian authors of the second half of the 19th century.

Along with a series of family portraits, during the collecting period of Baron Gustav and his wife Adela, a landscape by Hugo Conrad von Hötzdendorf from 1856 was acquired, which is not only representative because of its dimensions, but also because of its equipment. Namely, that large oil on canvas is placed in the original, profiled, and richly articulated wood frame. That painting is an *homage* to Slavonian forests, which were starting to be exploited more intensively during Baron Gustav's time at the Valpovo Estate, and it represents an interesting shift from the usual theme of family portraits, which are dominant in the *Valpovo Collection*. The painting has left a significant mark in the development of Romanticist landscape painting with the theme of the forest, within the national borders and in Hötzdendorf's opus.³⁴ In the context of forest landscapes, it is interesting to mention that even the most significant forestry expert at the Valpovo Estate, Adolf Danhelovsky, in his book on the work technology in Slavonian oak forests *Abhandlung über die Technik des Holzwaaren-Gewerbes in den slawonischen Eichenwaldern* (edition 1873), used a series of drawings (probably made by his own hand) of forest workers. Their artistic value is modest, but their documentary and historical value is exceptional, and the drawings were later reproduced in numerous publications, but without crediting the author, or the original.³⁵

^[27] *Ludwig Spohr. In: Biographisches Lexicon des kaiserthums Oesterreich. Von Wurzbach, C. (ed.). Sv. 36. Wien, 1878, p. 215–217.

^[28] Stanić, D. Baron Gustav Prandau (1807. – 1885.) – ljubitelj glazbe i mecen. Valpovački godišnjak 12(2007), Valpovo, p. 145–152; Radušić, T. Hilleprand von Prandau. URL: http://hbl.lmkn.hr/clanak.aspx?id=7630 (14/11/2017).

^[29] Blätter der Erinnerung an den Bau und die Eröffnung des neuen Hauses der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien 1870. Wien : Verlag der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1870., p. 46.

^[30] We assume that the portraits were ordered before they were to be married and considering that Marijana was married twice, there are her portraits before she was married to Count Zichy and the portrait before her wedding to Count Normann-Ehrenfels. The *Valpovo Collection* keeps the second (in order they were painted) portraits of Marijana and Alvina.

^[31] Grabner, S. Friedrich von Amerling 1803. – 1887, katalog izložbe Belvedere, Beč, 2003.; Balen, B. Dva portreta Friedricha Amerlinga iz fundusa Galerije likovnih umjetnosti u Osijeku. Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice 20(2015), Osijek, p. 75–78.; Najcer Sabljak, J. mentioned work, 2009., p. 469.; Kraševac, I. Likovna umjetnosti i umjetnički obrt u 19. stoljeću. In: Hrvatska umjetnost : povijest i spomenici. Pils, M. (ed.). Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti : Školska knjiga, 2010., p. 488–489. J. Hradilová and H. Milerová from the Alma laboratory in Prague investigated Amerling's paintings on the basis of pigment from his famous portraits. The research included both Amerling's portraits in Osijek (Marijana and Alvina's) in 2008, as well as Marijana's portrait in Levoča. Based on pigment analysis, they reached the conclusion that the first portrait was the one of Marijana, which is located in Levoča today, then her portrait which is kept in Valpovo, then the portrait of Stephanie, and Alvina's portrait was the last one to be painted. For the creation of Alvina's portrait, Amerling was using zinc white as a new addition in the later stages of his work, which provided the portrait with special colour qualities. Hradilová, J. and Milerová, H. (2010) Painting technique of portraits painted in the 19th century by Friedrich von Amerling. In: Acta Artis Academiae – The story of Art-Atwork Changes in Time. Prag, 2010., p. 137–164.

^[32] Balen, B. Josip Franjo Mücke 1821. – 1883. Osijek : Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad : Galerija likovnih umjetnosti u Osijeku, 2000.

^[33] Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučević, S. mentioned work, 2013, p. 242.

^[34] Najcer Sabljak, J. Šuma u slikarstvu Slavonije. In: Šuma i slikarstvo Slavonije. In: Šuma i slikarstvo, kiparstvo, književnost, produkt dizajn iz ciklusa priroda (Šuma, vode, zemlja, more). Polkečić Stosić, J. (ed.). Zagreb : Umjetnički paviljon u Zagrebu : Hrvatski drveni klaster, 2017., p. 48.; Najcer Sabljak, J. Slavonika šuma u djelima Huga Conrada von Hötzdendorfa i Adolfa Wildingera. In: Slavoniske šume kroz povijest : zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavonskom brodu 1. – 2. listopada 2015. Župan, D.; Skenderović, R. (ed.). Slavonski Brod : Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2017., str. 281–295. URL: http://histwood.hispb.hr/istwood/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Zbornik-Slavoniske-sume-kroz-povijest.pdf (14/11/2017.)

^[35] Župan, D. Školovanje slavonskih šumara u Mariarubnu (1813 – 1867) i posebnim svrtom na Adolfa Danhelovskog. In: Slavoniske šume kroz povijest : zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavonskom brodu 1. – 2. listopada 2015. Župan, D.; Skenderović, R. (ed.). Slavonski Brod : Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2017., p. 281–295. URL: http://histwood.hispb.hr/histwood/

The Normann-Ehrenfels Family and the Valpovo Collection

The Normann-Ehrenfels family entered into the context of the development of the *Valpovo Collection* in 1852, after the marriage of Heinrich Fridrich Konstantin Count Normann-Ehrenfels and the widow Marijana Countess Zichy nee Baroness Hillebrand von Prandau. The married couple resided in the Bizovac manor, and near the end of Konstantin's life they bought the castle Rothenthurn in Austria. Even though they did not live in Valpovo, several pieces of art from the *Valpovo Collection* can be linked directly to this married couple. The pieces in question are the portraits of the Normann-Ehrenfels family and their relatives, among which there is a specific series of miniature portraits. They include a miniature portrait of Marijana made using the technique oil on wood, by the Viennese Biedermeier painter Karl von Saar, as well as its pair showing the likeness of the young Count Konstantin, which was later equipped identically by the family and, despite the fact that it is not signed, it was attributed to the same author. The series of miniatures also contain four portraits of Konstantin's ancestors, i.e. paired portraits of two married couples. The portrait of Konstantin's grandfather Philipp Christian Friedrich Count Normann-Ehrenfels, created according to a painting by a famous German Classicist painter Philipp Friedrich von Hetsch from 1812, shown with a knightly Order of the Golden Eagle and the knightly Bavarian Order of St Hubert. Its pair is the portrait of his wife, Francisca Henrica Augusta nee Baroness von Harling. The other married couple are Konstantin's father Karl August Ludwig Friedrich and his mother Karoline Friedrike nee Baroness von Weiler. These four paintings comprise the *gallery of ancestors*, of oval shape, framed in rectangular, style-appropriate frames, and the paintings also contain painted family coats of arms. Along with these two married couples, the gallery series of miniature portraits also included an aquarelle painting with the likeness of his grandfather on his mother's side, Friedrich Baron von Weiler, shown in the armour of a knight. We can rather safely assume that all the miniatures of Konstantin's ancestors without dates were created 1908. by Josef Steiner, according to original portraits from the beginning of the century, and they comprise the *gallery of ancestors* of the families Normann-Ehrenfels and Edle von Vest.

Baron Gustav lived several years longer than his son-in-law Konstantin, so the next person who could have an influence on the development of the *Valpovo Collection* was his grandson Rudolf Joseph Count Normann-Ehrenfels, who married Julijana nee Edle von Vest in 1890, several years after taking over the Valpovo Estate. This married couple left the most significant mark in the history of the *Valpovo Collection* with their acquisitions, but also with their care for the materials already collected. Thanks to their affinity toward collecting and patronage, the collection was enriched with many high-quality pieces made by Croatian artists, therefore, in the beginning of the 20th century, after collecting the works of foreign and domesticated artists, they started adding pieces made by

domestic artists to the *Valpovo Collection*. During that process, the role of Count Rudolf as a patron of the arts and an esteemed member of the Society of Croatian Artists was especially important.³⁶ Within the context of that engagement, the most important event was the purchase of art pieces at the exhibition set up by that society in Osijek, in late 1906, which was organised by the art and literary critic Radoslav Bačić in the representative hall of the Virovitica County building, after the exhibit, sponsored by Banica Elizabeta (Lila) Countess Pejačević, ended its run in Zagreb.³⁷ This event had a positive response from the public, but before the arrival of the married couple Normann-Ehrenfels to Valpovo there were no significant purchases. After Rudolf and Julijana bought the most expensive pieces for the *Valpovo Collection*, the exhibition was a significant financial success during its stay in Osijek, because all the other collectors from the area started buying and ordering pieces made by domestic authors.³⁸ So the representative pieces that we consider to be the most significant during the Croatian Modern Period art became parts of the *Valpovo Collection*.³⁹ In includes the *Wave*, the painting by Menciije Klement Crnčić, *Trenck's Pandurs* by Bela Čikoš Sesija (both paintings are from 1906), and *Cemetery in Kuna* by Celestin Medović, a painting originally displayed at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900.

The support for young Croatian authors continued with the hiring of the portrait artist from Zagreb, Joso Bužan, who painted portraits of the members of the Normann-Ehrenfels family in Valpovo in 1909 and 1910. The collection preserved only the portraits of Count Rudolf and his daughter Vera as a girl. A new representative portrait of Count Rudolf was also painted by Vladimir Becić in 1912. Apart from completing the collection with family portraits, at the First Art Exhibition of Croatian Writers and Artists in Osijek, in 1910, one of the modern landscapes was acquired, painted by the Slavonian painter Dragan Melkus called *Slavonian Idyll*. The family of counts also helped local artists, so they hired a painter originally from Valpovo for one of the last portraits in the collection, Izidor (Iso) Jung, who made a made a portrait in 1930 of Rudolf's and Julijana's daughter-in-law, Marija-Theresa Laura Antonija Countess Normann-Ehrenfels nee Baroness Apfaltrern von Apfaltrern wearing traditional clothes of Bizovac.

The affinity of Rudolf and Julijana toward fine arts and the development of cultural life in Croatia is also demonstrated by the donations of items given as support to the founding and operation of museums and galleries in Osijek and Zagreb. They donated numerous objects to the Osijek museum, like the dolls wearing traditional clothes and the valuable collection of numismatic items. In 1922, they donated the painting *Paul the Apostle* by Carl Rahl, from the heritage of Pavle Count Pejačević, to the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb.⁴⁰ In that context, their support to the institutions founded and supported by the Bishop of Đakovo Josip Juraj Strossmayer is particularly significant, so a certain political discourse can be gleaned from those activities, a discourse which was also supported by the head solicitor of the Valpovo Estate, the reputable lawyer from

Osijek, Dragutin Neumann.⁴¹ Count Rudolf obviously shared the patriotic positions advocated by Strossmayer with Neumann, a man of similar age as him, his compatriot, and a person who enjoyed his full trust. For the 50th anniversary of his service as a bishop (in 1900), the Count presented him with a representative crozier that he ordered from Vienna.⁴² The Bishop reciprocated for that sign of appreciation and the Count received a gift from Strossmayer in the shape of a large pendant for a necklace chain in the shape of the Latin cross.⁴³ After the Bishop died, in 1907, the Count donated a memorial plaque bearing the image of Bishop Strossmayer, the work of the Austrian medal maker Rudolf Marschall, to the newly-founded gallery institution, currently the Modern Gallery in Zagreb.⁴⁴ Rudolf and Julijana intensified the care for the inherited art collection, not only through orders and purchases of new pieces, but also through restoration of old art pieces, making copies of paintings, as well as applying family coats of arms on the existing family portraits. In 1902, Rudolf sent two paintings to be restored by the painter in Osijek, Dimitrije Marković. One of them is specified in the documents as Titian's *Venus and Amor* and the other one as *Judith and Holofernes*, work by a Dutch school.⁴⁵ However, the paintings have not been preserved in the collection, so it is difficult to determine if the information is correct.

Regarding the application of the coats of arms on the family portraits, thorough preparations for that intervention were undertaken, in order to make sure that the added coats of arms adhere to heraldic rules. The Valpovo Regional Museum keeps a folder of drawings of the coats of arms belonging to the families of the Valpovo landowners and the families related to them (Lattermann, Pejačević, Vest...). The drawings were made by the renowned Austrian heraldist Ernst Krahl.⁴⁶ This folder was used as a model for the painters, who added, or painted, coats of arms on almost all family portraits in the *Valpovo Collection*.

The largest intervention to the collection was made by Rudolf and Julijana when they ordered copies of the existing family portraits and commissioned the painting of several new ones, in miniature form. This was a somewhat late phenomenon in the context of the history of European painting, because the last rise of popularity for the miniature was in the middle of the 19th century, before photography appeared, which replaced the miniature as a painting *genre*. However, Rudolf and Julijana obviously felt the need to copy and complete the *gallery of ancestors*, as the most significant segment of their collection, and reaffirm the portrait miniature with their order, which resulted in one of the most significant such (sub)collections in Slavonia.⁴⁷ The most important part of those activities was the hiring of the Austrian painter Joseph Steiner, portrait artist, landscape and *genre-scene* painter, and graphic artist, who was educated in Vienna and Berlin and worked as a magazine illustrator and poster, advertisement, and postcard designer.⁴⁸ From 1906 to 1908, Steiner painted the portraits of the ancestors of the members of the

families Normann-Ehrenfels, Hillebrand von Prandau, and Edle von Vest in several occasions, the portraits of the Emperor Charles VI and King Friedrich I of Württemberg, who were the greatest contributors to the rise of the Normann-Ehrenfels family, and he probably painted the family coats of arms on some of the older portraits. Steiner copied paintings in the family collections in Valpovo, Vienna, and Rothenthurn, which is evident from the signatures on the back of the miniatures.

The creation of new miniatures was done very purposefully, because the collection already contained a set of older miniatures, like the portrait of Alvena Baroness Hillebrand von Prandau married Countess Pejačević in the aquarelle technique on ivory, from the period around 1850, painted by the famous Austrian portrait miniaturist Adolf Theer. In this case, Steiner painted the portrait of her husband, Pavle Count Pejačević, as a pair to the existing piece regarding the equipment and dimensions, probably using a photograph as a model. Aside from Steiner, in the beginning of the 20th century the family also ordered miniatures from other authors, or received miniatures as gifts. So the collection contains two miniatures on ivory, with identical dimensions and equipment, showing the members of the Normann-Ehrenfels family. One of them is signed as *Abel 1906. Stuttgart*, and we assume that the other one was made by the same German painter. They are probably portraits of Rudolf's uncle Carl Ludwig August Friedrich Count Normann-Ehrenfels and his son Carl Wilhelm Christoph.

A peculiarity of the *Valpovo Collection* are the three miniatures in ivory of the French royal house, but they represent materials older than Steiner's copies. They are of Marie Antoinette and two children, Elisabeth de Bourbon, and Louis XVI with children. The miniatures copy details from the paintings of famous authors, like the portrait of Marie Antoinette, by the French painter Vigée-Lebrun.⁴⁹ Those are made in the second half of the 19th century, and we assume that the members of the Hillebrand von Prandau or Normann-Ehrenfels family bought them at one of their trips, and brought them into the collection in that manner. They are placed in exceptionally luxurious, hand-made, bronze and porcelain frames with gilding and rich decorations in the shape of stylised curls and the symbols of the French house, the crown, monograms, or *fleurs-de-lis*, and a decorative bow on the top of the frame.

Aside from the portraits and some landscapes, during the period when Rudolf and Julijana were managing the collection, it was complemented with paintings with other themes. Considering that hunting was of special interest to many generations of the family, as a particularly important form of social entertainment, and that the interior of the Valpovo castle was luxuriously decorated with hunting trophies, which is evident from the preserved photographs, they also had paintings with related themes. One such piece is a painting made using the oil on asbestos technique, showing St Hubert, the protector of the hunt. The painting was created

wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Zbornik-Slavonske-sume-kroz-povijest.pdf (14/11/2017)

36 Maruševski, O. Društvo umjetnosti 1868. – 1879. – 1941.: iz zapiska Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Zagreb : Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2004, p. 155–156.

37 Švajcer, O. Likovna kronika Osijeka 1850. – 1969. godine. Osijek : Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 1991, p. 62.

38 Bačić, R. Likovna umjetnost u Osijeku. In: Jubilarni almanah Kluba hrvatskih književnika i umjetnika u Osijeku. Osijek : Klub hrvatskih književnika i umjetnika, 1929, p. 126–132.

39 Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučevnjak, S. Hrvatska moderna u zbirkama slavonskog plemstva (hand-written text submitted for the proceedings of Zvonko Maković, 2018).

40 Ivanković, G. M.; Grubičić, A. 125 godina Muzeja Slavonije u Osijeku. Osijek : Muzej Slavonije, 2002, p. 14–15; Najcer Sabljak, J. Skriveno blago podgoračkog dvorca. Oječki zbornik 30(2011). Osijek, p. 166.

41 Kužen, D. Prilog za životopis Dragutina Neumanna. Glasnik arhiva Slavonije i Baranje 11(2011), Osijek, p. 289–305.

42 Ivanković, M. G. Josip Juraj Strossmayer u Osijeku : exhibition catalogue. Osijek : Muzej Slavonije, 2015, p. 10, 53–55.

43 Kept at the collection of the castle Rothenthurn in Austria.

44 Najcer Sabljak, J. mentioned work, 2012.

45 Švajcer, O. mentioned work, 1991, p. 56.

46 ***Krahl, Ernst August. URL: http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_K/Krahl_Ernst-August_1858_1926.xml (14/11/2017)

47 Šimičić, A. Ljupki čuvari uspomena : portretna minijatura iz Zbirke slika i okvira Muzeja Slavonije : exhibition catalogue. Osijek : Muzej Slavonije, 2014.

48 Maryška, Ch. Steiner, Joseph. URL: [http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/frameseyes \(14/11/2017.\)](http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/frameseyes (14/11/2017.))

49 ***Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Elisabeth-Vigee-Lebrun> (14/11/2017)

in Vienna in 1910 and it is equipped with richly articulated, massive wood frame that contains the coat of arms of the Normann family. The collection also included representations of the building owned by the Normann-Ehrenfels family and their relatives. For example, there is a preserved miniature aquarelle landscape showing the Ehrenfels castle in the Württemberg territory (middle of the 19th century). Though they are of lower artistic value, the representations of the Valpovo castle and the other buildings at the Valpovo Estate are particularly significant because of their cultural and historical importance. The miniatures collection also holds one oil on wood painting that shows the park in front of the castle in Valpovo, made in the 19th century. An aquarelle made around 1900 was also preserved, which shows the Valpovo castle, the dirt road leading up to it, a carriage, the surrounding buildings, and the statue of the Mother of God on a high pedestal. The aquarelle was painted by Franjo Červenka, and the work indicates an artist of modest skills. Another veduta of Valpovo from this period dates to 1918 and it shows the old tower of the Valpovo castle, the work of an undetermined artist with the initials *A. K.* The third veduta of the Valpovo castle is from 1930, made by the author Izidor (Iso) Jung. Apart from the paintings, the collection also contained vedute created as paintings, drawings, graphics, and framed photographs of various locations and buildings at the estate.

The *Valpovo Collection* also keeps two bronze sculptures of the legendary English king Arthur, and the Gothic king Theodorik. The sculptures were acquired by Count Rudolf in Austria, at one of his many travels, and they represent reduced replicas of the famous bronze sculptures from the grave of Maximilian I at the court church in Innsbruck. The sculptures were probably created in the second half of the 19th or the early 20th century, and they were probably acquired because of their decorative function, and as memorabilia, but they are a valuable indicator of all the things that were collected in the relevant period. After they were acquired, they were used as decoration for one of the representative salons of the Valpovo castle, as is evident from the preserved photographic documents.⁵⁰ Another preserved item from the *Valpovo Collection* is the study of a bust of Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau and the sculpture *Venus de Milo*, as bronzed plaster, with an unidentified author and the period when it was made. Considering that the replicas of sculptures from Classical Antiquity were somewhat of an imperative in collections of the nobility, such a piece is expected, but the circumstances related to the time and the specifics of the acquisition of the sculpture are not known.

Valpovo Collection Near the End of its Lifespan

The previous chapters outlined the chronology of the creation of the *Valpovo Collection*, i.e. its development through orders, purchases, copies of art, and other methods for adding to a collection. This chapter attempts to view the final stage of its existence *in situ*, i.e. in the space of the Valpovo castle, during the period just before World War II. Along with all the art collected by the members of the Hillebrand von Prandau and Normann-Ehrenfels families, and which have mostly included portraits of family members, the thing that makes the *Valpovo*

Collection stand out is the fact that in the beginning of the 20th century an entire other art collection became a part of it. It is the *Podgorač Collection*, which was created during the 19th century, in the castle of Pavle Count Pejačević and his wife Alvina nee Baroness Hillebrand von Prandau in Podgorač, a settlement near Našice.⁵¹ Its creation and development has been described in detail in the overview of the fine arts heritage of the Pejačević family, and the thing to point out here is that the purchase of the collection, and with that probably the preservation of the collection as complete unit, is again the work of Rudolf and Julijana. The collection has been bought in 1902, as part of the movable property of the Podgorač Estate.⁵² But it was removed from the space of the Podgorač castle only after the death of Count Pavle in 1907, and moved to the Valpovo castle, where the art from it became a part of the inventory and merged with certain parts of the *Valpovo Collection*.

The best insight into the quality and content of the *Valpovo Collection* is provided by the document titled *MOBILAR-INVENTAR, der Gräflih Normanschen Schlosses u. Herrenhausses VALPOVO*.⁵³ It was written by hand, in German, and dated March of 1938. About one hundred pages offer a detailed description of the inventory of each room in the Valpovo castle, the castle chapel, and the separate building called *count's house* in Valpovo, where Count Rudolf lived at the time (away from the family), as well as several smaller buildings which are a part of the castle. Even though the primary purpose of this list was to identify the objects for stock-taking and expressing their financial value, the list can be used to reconstruct the number and type of art, which are clearly indicated in the lists for specific rooms. The deficiencies of the list for the purpose of studying the *Valpovo Collection* include the relatively brief information on specific pieces of fine art, because the exact title of the piece of art is often not stated, only if it is a portrait, veduta, or similar. The authors are mentioned only for the most representative pieces, like the oil on canvases, and the dimensions are also stated for those. Along with the type (painting technique) of the piece, the list also states the information on the frame of the piece of art, i.e. painting (e.g. wood, gilded, black...), but when it comes to pieces that the list-makers considered to be of no significant financial value (usually graphics and drawings), there are none of the above-mentioned material information. However, regardless of these deficiencies, the list offers an interesting summary image of the *Valpovo Collection* during the period and it is also valuable as comparative materials along with the collection lists after World War II. The list contains approximately 400 items for which it is possible to definitely determine their status as an art piece. This number of course includes the art from the *Podgorač Collection*, which was already a part of the inventory of the Valpovo Castle at the time, and was drawing special attention from the visitors, among whom Konstantin Danhelovsky (Donji Miholjac, 1857 – Vienna, 1939) stands out, a lawyer, teatrologist, collector, and court advisor. He, as the son of Adolf Danhelovsky, the administrator of the Valpovo Estate during a period of many years, was visiting Valpovo regularly and he wrote an interesting article about it, in which he is excitedly talking about the quality of the paintings that arrived from

Podgorač.⁵⁴

The following table shows the analysis of the content of the collection according to the technique indicated in the list:

Technique	Number of art pieces
Oil on canvas	138
Painting	184
Aquarelle	21
Drawing	2
Miniature	2
Graphic	4
Lithograph	21
Copper-plate etching or copper-plate engraving	6
Woodcut	2
Sculpture	1
Wooden sculpture	1
Relief	3
Plaque	2
Painted coat of arms on leather	6

The authors of the list included many art pieces under the general category *painting*, probably because they were unable to accurately determine the technique of the piece, so this probably includes some graphics, drawings, and maybe even photographs. It is also interesting to notice that the category *miniature* only includes two items, which are precisely defined as paintings of the members of the family *in golden frames with 20 miniatures in brass frames*. The authors of the list are obviously placing the existing miniatures from the *Valpovo Collection*, of which there were many, in another category, probably in *paintings*. The relatively low number of mentioned graphics (33) is also surprising, so we believe that they were partly included in the category *paintings*, and the list-makers probably did not find them as a part of the inventory in the space, because they were without frames or in folders. Considering the specific qualities of the graphic medium (multiple originals, wide distribution, relatively simple acquisition...), it is difficult to reliably analyse these pieces regarding the category of time and the method of acquisition, but there are valuable pieces here as well, in the context of other collections of noble families.⁵⁵ Portraits are a dominant theme in the collection. It is also interesting to observe the method of the distribution of art pieces in specific rooms:

Castle complex

	Number of art pieces
First floor	
Young count's writing room	3
Dressing room	7
Bedroom	12
Small salon	15
Large salon	88
Older countess's salon	19
Dining room	8
Children's room	9
Countess's room	11
Older countess's bedroom	25
Library	3
Hallway in front of the guest room	1
Guest room no. 1	11
Guest room no. 2	10
Guest room no. 3	5
Guest room no. 4	29
Second floor	
Small salon no. 1	18
Room in the tower	1
Room above the large salon	7
Small salon no. 2	13
Baroness Prandau's bedroom	3
Dining room	6
Foyer	1
Without a floor designation	
Household office	6
Secretary's office	9
Administration office	8
Castle chapel	
Sacristy	2
Chapel	6
Oratory (chapel choir)	1

Count's house

Salon	34
Small salon	9
Bedroom	16

It is obvious that the *piano nobile* of the Valpovo castle was the first floor of the entryway into the castle complex, where most of the art pieces were located in the representative *large salon*, and the salon in the so-called count's house was also furnished with many art pieces. A significant amount of art pieces was in the bedrooms of Count Rudolf and Countess

50 Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. mentioned work, 1998, p. 131.

51 Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučenjak, S. mentioned work, 2013, p. 45–51.

52 Branković, N. Vlastelinstvo Podgorač u posjedu valpovačkog vlastelinstva. Valpovački godišnjak 5(2000), Valpovo, 99–108.

53 Kept at the archives of the Rothenthurn castle.

54 Danhelovsky, K. Altösterreichische Maler in einem jugoslawischen Schlosse. Neue Blätter für Gemäldekunde 3/4(1922), Vienna, p. 68–69.

55 Najcer Sabljak, J. Bakrorezi i bakropisni iz plemičkih zbirki Slavonije i Srijema : exhibition catalogue. Orijek : Muzej likovnih umjetnosti, 2015.

Julijana. A detailed inspection of the list also provided some insight into the personal affinities of the collectors. For example, Rudolf's salon is where the plaque with the image of Strossmayer *in gold, silver, and bronze, in a mahogany frame* was displayed, which confirms the previously described relationship between the Count and the Bishop. Julijana's salon and bedroom are dominated by the portraits of family members and several religious paintings.

The list also enables the reconstruction of family life in the period. Countess Julijana was a permanent resident of the castle at the time, the list refers to her as the *older countess*, and her son Rudolf Junior with his wife Terezija lived there at least occasionally, the list refers to them as the *young count and countess*. It is interesting to point out that even in the 1930s a room on the second floor of the castle is called *Baroness Prandau's bedroom*, which means that its inventory remained unchanged since the time of Rudolf's mother Marijana Normann-Ehrenfels nee Hilleprand von Prandau, or even his grandmother Adela Hilleprand von Prandau nee Cseh.

Many art pieces in Countess Julijana's room and its position right next to the library indicate that the countess had a significant place in the context of the *Valpovo Collection* and the relationship toward the family heritage. She took special care about the equipment of the paintings, so she placed labels or even wooden tags with biographical information that she wrote herself in German Gothic script on the frame, the sub-frame, or on the back of the family portraits, sometimes she even glued articles cut out from periodicals. All the miniatures have been treated in such a manner, so we can assume that numerous copies of family portraits in this form were ordered just because of Julijana's care, so that the *gallery of ancestors* of the *Valpovo Collection* would be as complete as possible. The awareness about the importance of the portrait as a memory of the family left as inheritance to later generations was especially high in her case, which was noticed by her contemporary, the historiographer Andreas Lutz, in his description of the Valpovo castle as well.⁵⁶ Thanks to him, the fact that the biographical information about the members of the family in the portraits was given to Julijana by her mother-in-law, Marijana Countess Normann-Ehrenfels nee Hilleprand von Prandau, was preserved.

Julijana's engagement is unique in the context of our noble collections, considering that she granted additional value to the family art collection with her activities, regarding its thematic coherence and its historiographic, or biographic references. With these actions, Julijana not only achieved the necessary social legitimisation as the reason for collecting, but also expressed a personal affinity of a connoisseur and lover of art, because through her inscriptions on the art pieces, she added the necessary documents, as a true museum professional would when managing a collection. This work required long, meticulous, and dedicated effort on every art piece, so Julijana stands out among our collectors as a true example of a person that *enhances the significance of*

individual creative energy and strength...⁵⁷ through the act of collecting. Her emotional sensibility was expressed not only through her outstanding part in the creation of the fine arts collection, but also through numerous social activities. She was the president of the Valpovo Red Cross (she especially contributed to it during the First World War), she contributed to the foundation of the Croatian Reading Room in Valpovo, the Valpovo Music School, the Croatian singing society "Katančić", and she was also the sponsor of the flag of the Valpovo Firefighting Association. Her special care for the library heritage of the Valpovo landowners has also been noticed.⁵⁸

Within the context of the *Valpovo Collection*, it should also be pointed out that over time the Valpovo landowners constructed several more buildings which certainly contained art pieces (manor in Donji Miholjac, manors in Bizovac and Koška, castle Jelengrad along the Drava next to Petrijevci, palace in Osijek, various so-called hunting lodges at the estate, etc.), but the inventories of those spaces are not known to us. The case of the castle Jelengrad, built by Rudolf's older brother Gustav Rudolf Karl Kaspar Count Normann-Ehrenfels, who lived there with his wife Hermina, is especially interesting. But the castle was robbed in 1918 and it is considered that most of the movable property was either destroyed or taken. Count Gustav spent the last years of his life in the castle Premstätten near Graz, which was bought by his wife in the beginning of the 20th century. His widow Hermina sold the entire inventory of the castle at an auction several months after he died, in late 1927.⁵⁹ The published catalogue of that auction demonstrated the luxurious furnishings of that space, where some of the rescued inventory from Jelengrad might have been transferred, but the lists do not contain objects that can definitely be designated as his property.

Thanks to the inventory list of the Valpovo castle from 1938 and some preserved photographs at the Valpovo Regional Museum that document its interior space, the content of the *Valpovo Collection*, even the arrangement of the art pieces in the space, are relatively well known. There is a possibility that a detailed inspection of the photographic materials preserved in the Valpovo castle will reveal more interesting information regarding this.

Within the overview of the development of the *Valpovo Collection*, it is necessary to point out that after each new wife entered the family, the collection became larger for a certain number of art pieces that the bride would bring from her family home, or new pieces would be ordered for the collection, usually portraits of her parents and ancestors. But the process also went in the other direction, so apart from these acquisitions, we must also consider the fact that the art pieces would be taken away when a female member of the family got married. So, for example, two Amerling's portraits were taken away from the *Valpovo Collection*. The older one is the portrait of Marijana Hilleprand von Prandau, later married Normann-Ehrenfels, which, after her daughter Ana got married

to Hilarius (Vidor) Count Csáky, ended up in her new home in Slovakia and it is now a part of the holdings of the museum in Levoča.⁶⁰ The museum in Levoča also keeps a representative portrait of Ana Countess Csáky nee Countess Normann-Ehrenfels from 1899 and a paired portrait of her husband from 1910, both painted by the author Hedwiga Friedlander. This is especially interesting, considering that no portraits of Ana were preserved in the *Valpovo Collection*. The same museum also keeps the portrait of Ana's son, Gustav Count Csáky, from 1935, who was married to his cousin, Vera Countess Normann-Ehrenfels, but her portrait was not preserved in this museum collection. Amerling's portrait of Stephanie Hilleprand von Prandau ended up as property of the Mailáth family after she got married, today probably with the inheritors of her daughter Etelka, who was married to Margrave Pallavicini. Searching through other collections to which art pieces from the *Valpovo Collection* were taken after marriages represents an important step in understanding the development of this collection, and often those are the only locations where portraits of some members of the family were preserved. Those collections are also important as a source of comparative archival materials, specifically photographic materials.

Valpovo Collection During the War and in the Period After the War

The *Valpovo Collection* mostly remained preserved during World War II and the period after the war, thanks to a series of circumstances and the fact that the members of the Normann-Ehrenfels family remained in Valpovo during that period. Count Rudolf died in May of 1942, Rudolf Junior and his family were living in Rothenthurn, and during the war, Countess Julijana was living in the castle, who was joined by her daughter Maria Ana and her husband Lothar pl. Berks with her granddaughter Julijana, when they moved in from Podgorač.⁶¹ The most valuable paintings from the *Valpovo Collection*, mostly family portraits, were put away by Julijana in the clergy house of the nearby church in Valpovo, but the remaining materials were still in the castle. Fortunately, the castle suffered no significant damage during the war, but the family was shaken by the tragedy of Lothar and Marija Ana pl. Berks's imprisonment in the Valpovo camp after the new government was established, where Lothar ultimately died in 1945. After she was stripped of her rights and her wealth, Countess Julijana continued living in Valpovo with her daughter Marija Ana, but she was not allowed to live in the castle. Under some unknown circumstances, she managed to hide away a part of the inventory of the Valpovo castle, mostly furniture, books, and utility items (e.g. porcelain sets, figurines, vases, jewellery), with Margita Pavliček, a former employee (probably a cook) of the castle. Those items were not found until 1963, and then they were granted to the Valpovo Regional

Museum by the decision of the Municipal Court in Valpovo, so a part of the gallery of ancestors from the *Valpovo Collection* was returned to the castle.⁶²

In October of 1945, a museum professional from Osijek, dr. sc. Danica Pinterović, as the representative of the Committee for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia (acronym KOMZA), inspected the castle and stored all the items she considered to be valuable from the artistic and culture and history perspective in a safe place, in one of the rooms on the second floor of the castle. It is interesting to point out that one of the interred prisoners from the Valpovo camp, Oto Švajcer, was hired as her assistant.⁶³ That was the first time he saw the art materials that he researched and published later, as a prominent fine arts critic and chronicler of art events, which is evident not only from the materials he published, but also from the hand-written materials he left behind.⁶⁴ The second visit from the KOMZA committee, headed by D. Pinterović, was on 20 December 1945, at which point the list of materials was made, and the staff of the Children's Home that was housed at the castle took over the care for the safety of the stored items. The following inspection of those materials was done by the representatives of the KOMZA Collection Centre from Zagreb in September of 1946, when they found that it was kept in a safe place and made a somewhat more detailed list of the stored items (the total of 98 listed units of materials, including many paintings), and they corrected some errors and deficiencies noticed in the previous list.⁶⁵ By the end of that year, the Osijek museum (Museum of Slavonia today), as the KOMZA collection centre for the area of Eastern Croatia, managed to organise the transport of the objects from the Valpovo castle to Osijek, because there was a danger that the Children's Home in Valpovo would be closed and the rooms would be left unattended. In the meantime, the property of the noble family Normann-Ehrenfels was confiscated and it was being treated as state property. The taken materials (96 units of materials were listed) mostly contained pieces from the former *Podgorač Collection*, while the most valuable portraits of the families Hilleprand von Prandau and Normann-Ehrenfels still remained in Valpovo.⁶⁶ We assume that KOMZA did not know where Countess Julijana placed them, because otherwise they would certainly be taken to the Osijek museum, along with the rest of the inventory from the Valpovo castle: furniture, artistic crafts objects, and a very valuable family library. The remaining art pieces and objects from the castle were kept by Countess Julijana in Valpovo until 1952, when she was allowed to move to Austria. Considering her advanced age and the fact that her daughter Maria Ana pl. Berks died in 1951 in Valpovo, she surely wanted to spend the last years of her life at her family estate in Rothenthurn, where her son Rudolf was living with his family. Before she left, she decided to store the remaining pieces from the *Valpovo Collection*, about 50 paintings, in

56 Lutz, A. Das slawonische Haus der Freih. Hilleprand v. Prandau und die Entstehungszeit der deutschen Niederlassungen in der Walpacher Herrschaft – Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Art und Siedlungsgeschichte. In: Auslandsdeutsche Volksforschung. Beyer, H. J. (ed.). Sv. 2. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1938, p. 352.

57 Vujić, Ž. Donator i donacija: ususret muzeju hrvatskih slikarica rođenih u 19. stoljeću: exhibition catalogue. Zagreb: Muzej Grada Zagreba, 2017, p. 6.

58 Vinaj, M. Knjižnica Julijane Normann: ogled o ženskoj knjižnoj zbirci. Oječki zbornik 29(2009), Osijek, p. 327–336; Vinaj, M. Kulturno-povijesna i znanstvena ishodišta spomenike knjižnice Prandau-Normann. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 29(2013), Zagreb, Osijek, p. 77–93.

59 Inventar des Schlosses Premstätten, 1927. URL: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kende1927/14/11/2017>

60 Spišské múzeum in Levoča is a part of the Slovak National Museum (Slovenské národné múzeum) with the seat in Bratislava. After World War II, a part of the heritage of the family of counts Csáky, from their neo-Rococo castle in the settlement Spišský Hrádok, was transferred there. These materials were made available to the authors of this paper by the director of the museum pl. dr. Mária Novotná, for which we offer our genuine thanks, as well as to the people who made this contact possible, univ. prof. em. dr. Miroslav Csáky (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Kulturwissenschaften und Theatergeschichte) and prof. dr. sc. Vlado Obad from Osijek.

61 Kurtović, A. A. Pl. Berks i Ostržac: tragovima jedne obitelji. Banja Luka: Cvičak, 2017, p. 172.

62 Arhiva MV, Rješenje Općinskog suda u Valpovu RI-13/1963-6 od 22. travnja 1963. u nedatiranom prijepisu; Pusiak, M. Tiskana ostavština valpovačkih vladstina: katalog izložbe. Valpovo: Ustanova za kulturne djelatnosti „Ante Esetović-Minculjak“, Muzej Valpovašine, Valpovo, 2015, p. 9.

63 Arhiva MSO, spis 269/45. Izvještaj D. Pinterović, Osijek, 31. Oktobar 1945.

64 Radoš, V. Oto Švajcer – bezvremeni opus: intelektualna ostavština Ota Švajcera u Galeriji likovnih umjetnosti. Osijek: Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 2014.

65 Arhiva MK RH, spis KOMZA 355/46. Zapisnik KOMZA-e, Valpovo, 26. Septembra 1946.

66 Arhiva MSO, spis KOMZA 10/46. Zapisnik KOMZA-e, Osijek, 1946.

the Osijek museum.⁶⁷ These were the most valuable art pieces from the collection, and the list included other objects from the castle inventory (e.g. clocks, samovar, photographs...) and three sets of magnate jewellery (each of the sets include a sabre, belt, cape chain, spurs, buttons, and a kalpak decoration), which can be seen in several portraits of Count Rudolf. In July of 1952, Rottmayr's painting of the *Holy Trinity (Throne of Mercy)*, from the Valpovo castle, was also stored in the Osijek museum.⁶⁸ Approximately fifty pieces of art, mostly miniatures and graphics, remained in the Valpovo castle, along with artistic crafts objects and some movable property. Those materials later became part of the holdings of the Valpovo Regional Museum. Thanks to the efforts of KOMZA, but also the efforts of Countess Julijana, the *Valpovo Collection* is the most preserved collection from the noble circles of Eastern Croatia today. Most of the art from the collection has later been transferred from the Museum of Slavonia to the holdings of

the Museum of Fine Arts in Osijek, where it is an extremely valuable part of the painting collections from the 18th, 19th, and 20th century, and some of those art pieces were displayed for a long time in previous permanent exhibitions of that institution. Today, a part of the *Valpovo Collection* is in the holdings of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek and the Valpovo Regional Museum. But a detailed inspection of the inventory of the Valpovo castle from 1938 and its comparison with the current condition of public collections indicates that the non-inventoried or undetermined materials of these, but also other Croatian museum institutions, contain more objects from the *Valpovo Collection*, while it must be concluded that the other items are either in private collections and therefore unavailable to the public, or destroyed.*

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⁶⁷ Arhiva MSO, spis 502/52. Popis predmeta Julije Normann koji su 19. lipnja 1952. preneseni iz Valpova i pohranjeni u Muzeju Slavonije u Osijeku. Osijek, 21 July 1952.

⁶⁸ Arhiva MSO, spis 445/52. Prijenos slike Presveto Trojstvo. Osijek, 11 July 1952.