

# La representación de la majestad en las monarquías de Hungría y España bajo la casa de Austria: arte e historia cultural (siglos XVI–XVIII)

The Representations of Power and Sovereignty in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Spanish Monarchy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries

Az uralkodói és hatalmi reprezentáció a Magyar Királyságban és a Spanyol Monarchiában a 16–18. században

MTA BTK TTI, 2016. április 5–6.

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities,  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

5–6 April 2016

Budapest

Conference Programme



Anonymus, Alegoría de la victoria contra los turcos en el asedio de Viena de 1683.  
Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid

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Programme of the *Spanish Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte*

*MTA BTK TTI „Lendület” – “Holy Crown of Hungary” Research Group*

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities,  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences



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Bölcsészettudományi  
Kutatóközpont

**Történettudományi  
Intézet**

*Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas*

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## TUESDAY 5 APRIL 2016

- 9.30 *Gyűlekezés a Zenetudományi Intézetben / Meeting in the Conference Room of the Institute of Musicology (HAS) – 1014 Budapest, Táncsics Mihály u. 7.*
- 10.00 *Opening of the conference / Official opening*  
**Pál Fodor** (General Director of the Research Centre of Humanities, HAS)
- 10.15 *Welcome*  
**Tibor Martí** (Secretary of the conference)

### Session 1 – Chair: Pál Fodor

#### *Representation and Ceremonies of the House Habsburg in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

- 10.30–10.50 **Géza Pálffy** (MTA BTK TTI, Budapest)  
*Funerals and Coronations: Dynastic Heraldic Representation in Central Europe from 15<sup>th</sup> to the Early 17<sup>th</sup> Century*
- 10.50–11.10 **Alfredo Floristán Imízcoz** (Universidad de Alcalá)  
*From the Royal Coronation to the Oath of the Heir: Ceremonies of Majesty of Habsburgs in Spain (Navarre, 1494–1592)*
- 11.10–11.30 **Borbála Gulyás** (MTA BTK MI, Budapest)  
*Tournaments at the Hungarian Royal Court in the Late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century*
- 11.30–11.50 Discussion
- 11.50–12.00 Coffee break

### Session 2 – Chair: Géza Pálffy

#### *Madrid and Vienna: Connections between the Habsburg Courts in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*

- 12.00–12.20 **Zoltán Korpás** (Postdoctoral researcher, Budapest)  
*Quarrelling Brothers. Relation between Charles V and Ferdinand I with Respect to Issues Related to Hungary*
- 12.20–12.40 **Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro** (CSIC, Madrid)  
*Several Circumstances Related to Holy Roman Empress and Queen Consort of Hungary Maria in Madrid, 1582–1603*
- 12.40–13.00 Discussion
- 13.00–15.00 Lunch

### Session 3 – Chair: Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro

*The Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs in the Period of the Hegemony of Spain*

- 15.00–15.20 **Bernardo J. García García** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)  
Concordia orbis habenis Austriaca sub pace viget.  
*The House of Austria as Protector of the Universal Concord*
- 15.20–15.40 **Rubén González Cuerva** (CSIC/IULCE, Madrid)  
*The King of Hungary and the Cardinal of Toledo: Warrior Cousins and the Creation of a Common Dynastic Image around the Two King Ferdinands (1631–1635)*
- 15.40–16.00 **Tibor Monostori** (Postdoctoral researcher, Budapest)  
*The Kingdom of Hungary in the Discursos of Saavedra Fajardo*
- 16.00–16.20 Discussion
- 16.20–16.40 Coffee break

### Session 4 – Chair: Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño

*Representation and Ceremonies of the Habsburg Dynasty in the Context of the War of the Spanish Succession*

- 16.40–17.00 **Cristina Bravo Lozano** (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla)  
*Pietas in the Mirror. The Missionary Representation of King Charles II*
- 17.00–17.20 **János Kalmár** (EKF, Eger – ELTE, Budapest)  
*The Declaration of Archduke Charles of Habsburg to King of Spain (1703) and His Inauguration into the Aragonese Kingship (1706)*  
(French lecture)
- 17.20–17.40 Discussion
- 18.00 Dinner

WEDNESDAY 6 APRIL 2016

### Session 5 – Chair: Bernardo J. García García

*The Most Important Order of the Habsburg House: the Order of the Golden Fleece*

- 10.00–10.20 **Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)  
*The Bestowal of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Central Europe during the Embassy of the Marquis of Borgomanero in Vienna (1681–1695)*
- 10.20–10.40 **Roberto Quirós Rosado** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)  
Che vuole illustrarlo quanto sia mai stato da lui antecessori.  
*Charles VI and the Golden Fleece, between Monarchy and Empire (1709–1713)*

- 10.40–11.00** **Tibor Marti** (MTA BTK TTI, Budapest)  
*The Hungarian Members of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century:  
 The Importance of the Order of the Habsburg House in Hungary*
- 11.00–11.20 Discussion
- 11.20–11.40 Coffee break

### Session 6 – Chair: János Kalmár

#### *Representation and Propaganda of the House Habsburg in Arts*

- 11.40–12.00** **Álvaro Pascual Chenel** (Universidad de Alcalá)  
*Images of the End of a Dynasty. Regis Officium and Representation of the Majesty  
 during the Reign of Charles II of Spain*
- 12.00–12.20** **Nóra G. Etényi** (ELTE, Budapest)  
*Interests and Values in the Representation of Printed Sources on the Coronation  
 of Joseph I as King of Hungary (1687)*  
 (German lecture)
- 12.20–12.40** **Fanni Hende** (PPKE BTK, Budapest)  
*Political Representation at the Coronations of Hungarian Kings in the First Half of  
 the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (The Coronation of Joseph I in 1687 and of Charles III in 1712)*
- 12.40–13.00 Discussion
- 13.00–13.15 **Concluding Remarks** | Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño  
 and Géza Pálffy
- 13.15–14.50 Lunch
- 15.00–16.00 Guided tour in the National Archives of Hungary

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# Abstracts

## Funerals and Coronations: Dynastic Heraldic Representation in Central Europe from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the Early 17<sup>th</sup> Century

*Géza Pálffy*

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Research into symbolic communication, representation of power as well as the role of ceremonies and rituals has been in the vanguard of historical investigation for the last few decades. This fact is underlined by numerous research projects, conferences and edited volumes on the subject. The present paper concentrates on a so far neglected aspect of the field of dynastic representation. Its focus is the heraldic representation of Central European dynasties (Habsburg, Hunyadi, Jagiellonian and Luxembourg) at late medieval and early modern coronations and royal funerals. There are several reasons why these royal events are worth studying. According to Richard Bonney's famous classification the 15–17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe were the age of dynastic states. On the other hand, John Elliot spoke of European composite monarchies when considering the same period. In the context of these interpretations the present paper seeks to answer the following questions: What role did coats of arms and flags with coats of arms play in late medieval and early modern dynastic representation? On which monuments and at which ceremonies did they appear? What function did they fulfil at coronations and royal funerals? To what extent did they represent dynastic composite monarchies or particular kingdoms? Did the heraldic representation of different dynasties influence each other? Which monuments or events had long-lasting significance? Are there examples of heraldic mistakes in these representations of power? What kind of interdisciplinary possibilities are there in this field of research?

## From the Royal Coronation to the Oath of the Heir: Ceremonies of Majesty of Habsburgs in Spain (Navarre, 1494–1592)

*Alfredo Floristán Imízcoz*

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From 1350 to 1494, the majesty of French dynasties in Navarre was demonstrated with solemnity during their ceremonies of coronation. The reciprocal oath between the king and the people of Navarre (c. 1234) lost its original relevance towards the rituals of the sacral unction, the coronation, the rising on the shield and the enthronement. After the Castilian conquest (1512), the Spanish Habsburgs suspended *de facto* these functions of majesty in the cathedral of Pamplona, even though they promised to maintain them. Instead, the reciprocal oath recovered the central place that it had occupied previously. The heir Princes

of the Spanish Monarchy, Philip II and Philip III, swore solemnly the laws and privileges of the kingdom in the face of the Navarre's Parliament (1551 and 1592), a ceremony that the viceroys continued until 1817.

## **Tournaments at the Hungarian Royal Court in the Late 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> Century**

*Borbála Gulyás*

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Chivalric spectacles were among the instruments of the *representatio maiestatis* of the princely courts of Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Court festivals and tournaments were also frequently held in the Kingdom of Hungary in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Present paper aims to give a short overview of some outstanding chivalric events organized by the Hungarian Royal Court especially for dynastic occasions such as coronations (e. g. 1476, 1502, 1563, 1572), weddings (e. g. 1476, 1502), or diplomatic meetings (e. g. 1495, 1501). These events will be examined based on written and pictorial sources: historical works, delegates' accounts, festival books, flyleaves, and archive materials, e. g. court account books.

## **Quarelling Brothers. Relation between Charles V and Ferdinand I with Respect to Issues Related to Hungary**

*Zoltán Korpás*

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One of the less known chapter of the relationship between Charles V and Ferdinand I is the manifestation of the politics and sovereignty of the two brothers with respect to the affairs of Hungary. My intention is to show how their relationship and authority had progressed behind the military, financial and diplomatic support provided by Charles V to Ferdinand I for the fights against the Ottomans. One important aspect is the mechanism of sharing authority and power that had been stabilized through different family agreements and negotiations prior to the battle of Mohács (1526). But the unexpected death of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia on the battlefield caused a smaller trouble between the two brothers. Both of them examined „within house” who was entitled to inherit the two crowns. This aspect can be identified also in the coat of arm of Charles V where the arms of Hungary appeared as part of the arms of the Naples Kingdom. A further aspect of the royal representation are the mechanism and content of embassies, as well as the careers of the envoys sent by both of the brothers to each other's courts. The second part of my presentation will cover this topic, with special attention to the activities and opinions of those ambassadors in relation to the issues in Hungary.

## **Several Circumstances Related to Holy Roman Empress and Queen Consort of Hungary Maria in Madrid, 1582–1603**

*Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro*  
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When Maria of Austria (1528–1603), (Holy Roman Empress), wife of Maximilian II became a widow, she decided to return to Spain to avoid living a life full of fears due to heresy. Although her arrival to Spain (Spring 1582) was celebrated, it wasn't accompanied by any luxury. Her death wasn't commemorated as we could have expected it, since the Spanish royal court in 1603 was in Valladolid, not in Madrid. In fact, she was not commemorated by great triumphs, but by writings, published several years after her decease. Carrillo (1616) and González Dávila (1655) wrote extensive biographies to this noble woman. But did the content of these laudatory works correspond to reality? For what purpose were they written? What kind of reality do they correspond to?

## **Concordia orbis habenis Austriaca sub pace viget. The House of Austria as Protector of the Universal Concord**

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The political and allegorical rhetoric employed to acclaim the cooperation between both branches of the House of Austria is showed through the iconography of many Joyous Entries. In this paper, the international role in favour of universal Concord and Peace claimed by the Habsburgs in this kind of public ceremonies celebrated in several Flemish cities for the reception of the Archdukes Ernest (1594) and Albert of Habsburg (1595 and 1599-1600), or the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand of Austria (1635) will be analysed in a comparative way.

## **The King of Hungary and the Cardinal of Toledo: Warrior Cousins and the Creation of a Common Dynastic Image around the Two Ferdinands (1631–1635)**

*Rubén González Cuerva*  
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In 1631, the wedding of the King of Hungary Ferdinand (the future Ferdinand III) with the Spanish infanta Maria Anna of Austria opened a new phase of rapprochement and cooperation between the two branches of the House of Austria. The signature of the Catholic League (1632) and especially the Battle of Nördlingen (6 September 1634) are



among the most important milestones in this successful period of military alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain. In the aforementioned battle, the Catholic army was commanded by Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, his cousin and brother-in-law. The image of the two Ferdinands embodied the dynastic union and offered a new iconography of the House of Austria which emphasised its division into two branches, different but harmonious. This message, however, was neither promoted at the imperial court nor at the Spanish one, but in the Catholic Low Countries. There, Rubens designed the iconographic programmes for the lavish Joyous Entries of the Cardinal-Infant in Antwerp. The subjacent significance of these images was the tie between the Flemish territories and the triumphant House of Austria, far from unpopular mentions to the Spanish nation.

## **The Kingdom of Hungary in the Discursos of Saavedra Fajardo**

*Tibor Monostori*

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*Conservación, remedios and reputación*: key words a 17<sup>th</sup> century statesman in Spain kept in mind when he was thinking about sustaining and upholding the military and political power of the Spanish Monarchy, selecting the right reason of state to use, writing about the weak economy and commerce of the world empire and about the ways of how to keep the many parts of the Monarchy in one. Saavedra Fajardo managed to invent a valid reasoning and a theoretical structure in order to defend and justify the Spanish and Catholic cause during the Thirty Years' War. It was aligned with the real Spanish foreign policy and aimed at convincing the imperial states and princes of the Holy Roman Empire to support Spain and the dynasty in their fight against France, the Dutch and to maintain the peaceful hegemony of the Casa de Austria in Europe. The role of the Kingdom of Hungary at the edge of the Spanish System, at the edge of the Holy Roman Empire and at the edge of the *Universitas Christiana* was a small, but important piece in the argumentation of the murciano.

### **Pietas in the Mirror.**

## **The Missionary Representation of King Charles II**

*Cristina Bravo Lozano*

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The piety and deep religious zeal of Carlos II have been usual aspects to identify the royal person. The devotion of the king to the Holy Form and Immaculate Conception knew different ways of iconographical representation along his reign. This paper focuses on the analysis of this sacred image throughout the rhetoric articulated by Irish missionaries in their memorials and dedications of theological works for confessional aims, and the exaltation of the majesty in the liturgical ceremonies and courtly events celebrated in the chapel of the Spanish embassy in London and The Hague. These interpretative elements put the *pietas* of Carlos II in front of the mirror to understand new perspectives on the factual application of such political facet.

## **The Declaration of Archduke Charles Habsburg to King of Spain (1703) and his Inauguration into the Aragonese Kingship (1706)**

*János Kalmár*

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Since the matrimony of the Catholic Kings, there was no coronation in Spain. Instead, in the early modern times, rulers went into office by an inauguration ceremony in the kingship separately of Aragon and Castile. Archduke Charles – who was the Austrian Habsburg pretender of the Spanish crown during the Succession War – was inaugurated three years after he was declared to king of the Spanish Monarchy in Vienna in 1703, to become ruler of the kingdom in Saragossa declared by the Estates of Aragon. His rival, the Duke of Anjou, was already enthroned to king of Castile as Philip V in Madrid in 1700. Based on unpublished sources, the lecture presents the inauguration ceremony of the Archduke to the Aragonese kingship and the discussion at the Viennese Court concerning his declaration to ruler of Spain.

## **The Bestowal of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Central Europe during the Embassy of the Marquis of Borgomanero in Vienna (1681–1695)**

*Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvarriño*

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During the embassy of the Marquis of Borgomanero in Vienna (1681–1695) the bestowal of the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece was an essential part of the strategy to bring the Central European aristocracy closer to the Spanish monarchy. In this way, the symbolic capital of the Order was an attempt to compensate for the crown's precarious economic means and strengthen a hypothetical 'Spanish party' in the Habsburg monarchy in Vienna.

## **Che vuole illustrarlo quanto sia mai stato da lui antecessori. Charles VI and the Golden Fleece, between Monarchy and Empire (1709–1713)**

*Roberto Quiros Rosado*

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The distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece, military institute of Burgundian origins and the main dynastic symbol for the Spanish Habsburg branch, lived a turning point during the War of the Succession (1701-1714). The bifurcation of the political destiny of the Monarchy of Spain between Philip V of Bourbon and Charles III of Austria caused that the Golden Fleece's chains would be given in both Spanish courts. Prior to the Bourbon case, when it began to decline slowly, King and Emperor Charles III/VI decided to return the political capital to that insignia, through a selective and conspicuous award to the European elites who

supported his dynastic cause. This presentation tries to show these details and causality. Also, the physical representation of the religious-political ceremonial of the Order in Vienna after his restoration by the Most August House will be analysed.

## **The Hungarian Members of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century: The Importance of the Order of the Habsburg House in Hungary**

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The presentation focuses on those five Hungarian politicians of the 17<sup>th</sup> century who were members of the Golden Fleece. I would like to present the aims and motivation of the Habsburg dynasty behind the concessions, as well as show the importance of the concessions in the personal career of the Hungarian members of the Order. It can clearly be stated that the concession of the Order of the Golden Fleece was the result of a conscious, „strategic” political decision in all cases. The most important political figures of the Hungarian Kingdom were the palatine and the archbishop of Esztergom. Although the Spanish ambassadors had contact with both of them, they could only become member of the Order of the Golden Fleece when their political-military activity in Hungary had successfully supported the interests of the dynasty. At the same time, the concession of the Order was a very important milestone in the career of the members. In case of four people (of the five analysed) it is clear that they received further advantages. The membership helped them to integrate effectively into the highest levels of the Habsburg Monarchy’s political elite, their relationship network widened, and their reputation grew in the imperial court in Vienna.

## **Images of the End of a Dynasty. Regis Officium and Representation of the Majesty during the Reign of Charles II of Spain**

*Álvaro Pascual Chenel*

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In a Catholic monarchy, it was expected that religion played a transcendently important role. Not just from a spiritual standpoint, but far beyond that, it came to be one of the basic premises of the political and dynastic identity of the Habsburgs. Based on this, a complex theological conception of politics was constructed and all available means of rhetoric and persuasion in Baroque society were mobilized for propagandistic dissemination. In particular, art in the service of faith became a useful instrument as the “broadcaster” of all visually transmitted ideology. In this respect, the two pillars that supported the *Pietas hispanica* -distinctive signs and mystic unifying agents- carried special importance: Eucharistic and Immaculist devotion professed by the monarchs of the House of Austria. By this means, a complex political-confessional and propagandistic discourse used to the representation of His Catholic Majesty was articulated.

## **Interests and Values in the Representation of Printed Sources on the Coronation of Joseph I as King of Hungary (1687)**

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A great variety of high quality printings were published on the occasion of the Coronation of Joseph I as King of Hungary. Full figure portraits and equestrian portraits, carefully composed allegories, thesis sheets, broadsheets, royal almanacs, series of drawings, emblematic books, weekly news and detailed articles appeared on the coronation in numbers never seen before. As it is reflected by this phenomenon, the analysis of the new power relations of Central Europe after the final pushback of the Ottoman Empire provides unique opportunities to examine the representation of power at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The effective propaganda machine of the war against the Ottoman Empire fought in a federal system provided an opportunity for active and legitimate involvement for several centres of power in the political public of the Empire. Changes of the legal and political relationship between the Habsburg Monarchy and Hungary was one of the major issues of the international political discourse of the era. Modernized and effective arguments of first-line artists, well-prepared diplomats and talented journalists presented the public policy of Hungary under Emperor Leopold I. in international media, especially for the public of the Holy Roman Empire. Joseph, heir to the throne as a child, symbolized the promise of peace and renewal in a new political era. In addition to the declaration of Hungary as a hereditary monarchy, the interests of the Kingdom as well as the representation of the political importance of the Hungarian estates appeared. This was due to the modern propaganda of Palatine Pál Esterházy, as well as to the ability of the power centres to enforce their interests in developing a new balance of power.

## **Political Representation at the Coronations of Hungarian Kings in the First Half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (The Coronation of Joseph I in 1687 and of Charles III in 1712)**

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The lecture will present the coronation of King Joseph I in 1687 and Charles III in 1712. Leopold I called together the Hungarian diet in Pozsony after the recapture of Buda from the Turks, and after the movement of Francis II Rákóczi. At the diet of 1687 the Hungarian Estates gave up their right to elect the king, and Joseph I was crowned. Charles III called together the diet for his inauguration and the codification of the treaty of Szatmár, which closed the Rákóczi movement. I will analyse the issuing of the diploma inaugurale, which was the result of the political debate and negotiations between the future king and the estates, and which, furthermore, reflected the political situation. Finally, this paper will present the symbols of the ceremony at both the above-mentioned coronations emphasizing the representation of the hereditary reign codified in 1687, namely the differences between inauguration of Joseph I *vivente rege* and Charles III.

