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Martina Vyskupová

The state portraits of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary were created in such a way as to appropriately accentuate her right to the Hungarian throne and at the same time respect the hierarchy of a female ruler in a culturally conditioned social form with powerful patriarchal models of relations. As with other portrait types of female rulers, the artists had to take into account her feminine side and the identity of Maria Theresa as rex femina. The coronation and especially the specific equestrian likeness, referring to the Hungarian coronation, represented one of the most significant thematic sources for the later presentation of the queen.

Keywords: Maria Theresa; portrait; rex femina; Queen of Hungary; coronation; Hungary; 18th century

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The significance of the Hungarian coronation for Maria Theresa

In the 18th century, the coronation of the Hungarian king was an important part of the communication strategy of the Habsburg dynasty. Since 1563, when Maximilian II (1527–1576) was crowned King of Hungary, Bratislava (Prešporok, Pressburg, Pozsony) had been the coronation site of the kings of Hungary and the seat of the Hungarian authorities, administrative bodies and various public institutions. It gradually became the centre of political and social life in Hungary. From 1687, with the accession of Joseph I (1678–1711) to the Hungarian throne, the Hungarian parliament enacted the Habsburgs' hereditary claim to the Hungarian crown and throne, with only the first-born son of the previous ruler becoming king. From 1711, Hungary was consolidated following occupation by the Ottoman Empire and after numerous uprisings, initiated by the Hungarian and Transylvanian estates, especially against the Habsburgs. The signing of the Peace of Szatmár calmed relations with Emperor Charles VI (1685–1740), who on this basis had the right to the Hungarian throne and from 1711 ruled the Kingdom of Hungary as Charles III. The Hungarian aristocrats secured their feudal privileges and the preservation of the estates settlement. In 1713, the proclamation of the Pragmatic Sanction on the indivisibility of Habsburg hereditary possessions and securing succession by the female line of Charles VI determined that his descendants (daughters in the event of the extinction of the male line) would take precedence over the daughters of the deceased emperor, the older brother Joseph I.¹ This referred to the title of archduke and not to the title of emperor, who was elected by the imperial estates and to whom therefore no monarchical law could be applied. By 1723, the assemblies of all territories of the Habsburg monarchy, including the Lands of the Czech Crown gradually accepted the female succession, in 1724 the Austrian Netherlands also. The Hungarian Parliament adopted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723 in Bratislava, thus recognizing the right of Maria Theresa (1717–1780) to the Hungarian throne. In 1732, her husband Francis Stephen of Lorraine (1708–1765)

became the royal regent in Hungary after the death of the Palatine of Hungary, Count Nikolaus Pálffy (1657–1732).² He performed this function until the accession in 1741 of John VI Pálffy (1663–1751) as the new Palatine, when on 11 September he was recognized by the Hungarian estates as the titular co-regent of Maria Theresa. In October 1740, the Emperor died and his eldest daughter was to ascend the Hungarian throne, but she had not received the upbringing appropriate to a future ruler.³ At that time, she had to face various military conflicts, as several countries did not want to respect the imperial decree and Maria Theresa's hereditary claims. In particular, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which was caused by the rejection of her hereditary rights by the husbands of the daughters of Joseph I, the Bavarian Elector Charles Albrecht (1697–1745) and the Saxon Elector Friedrich August II (1696–1763) and the territorial demands of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Prussian King Frederick II (the Great) in Silesia, (which he finally invoked in 1741). In May 1741, the Hungarian Diet approved Maria Theresa's claim to the throne, and on 25 June of the same year the eighth Hungarian coronation took place in Bratislava with the relevant ceremonial acts in the appropriate chronological order: the act of coronation in St Martin's Cathedral, the installation of Knights of the Golden Spur in the Franciscan church, the taking of the oath in front of the Church of the Brothers of Mercy and the swinging of her sword on horseback on the coronation hill by the Danube.⁴ However, disputes with other countries persisted, mainly due to the military attacks by Charles Albrecht. In September 1741, at the memorial diet in the throne hall of Bratislava Castle, Maria Theresa (now the Hungarian Queen Maria II), appeared before the Hungarian estates, which promised her military aid, on which she was in practice dependent. They thus played an important role not only in terms of the legitimacy of her government in Hungary, but also in Maria Theresa's subsequent power victories and the consolidation of the empire. After the conquest of Prague Charles Albrecht was declared anti-king in December 1741 and was recognized by many Czech aristocrats in contrast to Maria Theresa, who was the legal successor to the Czech throne following the death of Charles VI. In February 1742, he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt am Main as Charles VII. In December 1742, the Austrian army finally managed to retake Prague. Subsequently, the Czech Estates Assembly took place and Maria Theresa was crowned Queen of Bohemia on 12 May 1743. She did not take part in the coronation in 1745 at which Francis Stephen was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation as Francis I following the death of Charles Albrecht. However, she also had political influence within his leadership.

Maria Theresa was Archduchess of Austria, the hereditary ruler of the Habsburg territories, the Queen of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia, and Queen of Bohemia, wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Emperor. Her cor-

onation as Queen of Hungary was also an important ritual due to the aforementioned events. It was the first event of its kind in the new stage of her life with her new – Hungarian – title, which she began to use after the coronation.⁵ On this occasion, several new official portrait types of Maria Theresa were created, which served principally to build up the image of the Queen and the legitimacy of her government. Even before and during the coronation, the creators presented in particular the individual established coronation acts and portraits of the new female ruler. Following the example of her ancestors, drawings, coins and medals were an important strategic tool in the monarch's media coverage. One of the most frequently used means of communication was printing in the form of leaflets and handbills, which were intended primarily for the financially less well-off classes. The first state presentations of Queen Maria Theresa include press reporting giving descriptions of the coronation ceremony, made immediately after the coronation, which were published in the *Wienerisches Diarium* newspaper. These may have been one of the sources of inspiration for the large-scale paintings illustrating the event by Franz Messmer (1728–1773) and Wenzel Pohl (active in the 18th century), created for the former Hungarian Royal Office in Vienna in 1768–1770.⁶

The significance of Hungary for Maria Theresa can also be interpreted through the Queen's relationship with her most important Hungarian adviser, the Hungarian Palatine, Count Ján Pálffy (1663–1751). In a letter of 1742 addressed to him, she described, in describing her relationship with it, that '*it serves her as a fatherland*' (from the German: *Vaterland*).⁷ In 1744, in a letter in which she called him her father, she wrote that she had confidence in the Hungarian nation, whom she perceived as loyal and brave, dear to her heart and worthy of her gratitude.⁸

Characteristics of state portraits of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary

The development and creation of the individual archetypes of the portrait presentation of Maria Theresa took place in accordance with the process of forming the regal likeness in the 18th century. In general, her state portraits were to some extent idealized and marked by absolutist symbolism, as were many other portraits of contemporary rulers of the period. In terms of the strategy of rulers' self-presentation, the aim of their media coverage was to impress the viewer. The effects of the often theatrical production of the symbolic 'ruler's body' were to ensure the uniqueness and effect of their likeness and be a declaration of power.⁹ In this sense, we find in the portraits of Maria Theresa a certain 'imperial deification'.¹⁰ The portrait presentation of Maria Theresa was largely related to the representation strategy of her parents Charles VI and Elisabeth Christine (1691–1750),

and especially to the regal presentation of her father, which emphasized the tradition of the Habsburg dynasty.¹¹ Continuity can also be observed in the work of some contemporary artists who played the role of court painters during the reigns of both rulers (for example, Johann Gottfried Auerbach and Martin van Meytens the Younger).

In the state portraits of Maria Theresa we also find some representational principles of rulers' portraits from the 17th century, which were known mainly through the cultural exchange between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs. Of importance here was a characteristic recognizability and truthfulness as a symbol of the representation of a male and female member of the ruling family. In the first chapter *L'idée du peintre parfait* of the treatise entitled *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (1699–1715) this was also highlighted by Roger de Piles (1635–1709). He emphasized the need to 'to present the nature of man from the moment he was born' (from the French: 'présent que la Nature fait aux hommes dans le moment de leur naissance').¹² In his treatise *Cours de peinture par principes* (1708) he advised painters to focus mainly on the posture and clothing of the person portrayed and to strive for a true portrayal and likeness of that person.¹³ He also dealt with facial expressions, gestures and attitudes in representational portraits, with which, in his view artists can portray human characters and passions.¹⁴

The first official representation of Maria Theresa occurred through childhood portraits, which presented her individually or as part of group compositions with her parents. Over time, artists depicted her with the hereditary archducal crown, emphasizing that she was a representative of the Habsburg dynasty. From 1736, she was also presented as the wife of Francis Stephen, mostly in a paired portrait type as the Tuscan Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, the wife of the reigning sovereign, as the official representative portrait reflecting this latest title. On the occasion of the Hungarian coronation, several types of state portraits of the young monarch were created. In the coronation portrait type, she was depicted in ceremonial attire with royal insignia in the form of a full, half or three-quarter figure, bust or medallion. One specific is the equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa, thematizing one of the acts of the Hungarian coronation, which was created within a clear political-strategic context. She was sometimes depicted in a pair with Francis Stephen, who formally held the role of her co-regent in the countries of the Habsburg succession. Nor can subsequent portraits of Maria Theresa with Crown Prince Joseph (1741–1790) be overlooked; he was portrayed in Hungarian attire to emphasize his succession to the Hungarian throne.

The portraits of the new queen were presented through various media, especially in the form of tabulae and murals and sculptures; portraits realized in print, in arts and crafts or as coins and medals were also an important part of media propaganda. Their production also strengthened the

importance of the Kingdom of Hungary, also in contrast to other kingdoms and hereditary territories of the monarchy. In addition to state portraits, there were also depictions with state-ceremonial significance, such as scenes illustrating the Hungarian coronation, especially in drawings, commemorative medals and coins, or as sculptural monuments.¹⁵ Portraits of the queen were also part of genealogies of the Hungarian kings, realized mainly as printed images or as murals. Depictions of Maria Theresa can also be found in various apotheoses of the Habsburg-Lorraine family in the sense of the *Familia Augusta*.¹⁶ The visual promotion of Maria Theresa was also served by various allegorical representations highlighting her rule.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, the face, forehead, eyes and mouth belong to public body signs as 'noble organs of self-representation, in which social identity, a sense of honour, pride are concentrated'.¹⁷ Maria Theresa's facial expression, with its hint of a smile corresponds to the contemporary social ethics and the preferred aesthetic of prominent noblewomen, or more exactly to the relevant staging portrayed in a statesmanlike fashion. The artists for the most part presented Maria Theresa 'with the qualities of a good ruler'.¹⁸ Her monarchical portraits are characterized by virtue, nobility and majesty, taking into account the particular political and social specifics to which they referred. In the middle of the 18th century, the virtue of a monarch in the performance of his function, contributing to the common good, which thus legitimized his government as an enlightened ruler, was also the subject of contemporary writings. It also corresponded to the panegyricizing of Maria Theresa, for example in the case of the panegyric *Theresiade, ein Ehren-Gedicht* by Franz Christoph von Scheyb (1704–1777), dated 1746, and dedicated to the queen on the occasion of the festivities connected with the birth of her second son Charles Joseph (1745–1761).¹⁹

It also records the queen's speech to the Hungarian aristocrats during the Hungarian coronation. It also inspired the Jesuit author Ladislav Csapodi (1724–1791), who was also active in the territory of present-day Slovakia, especially in Trnava and Bratislava. In 1750 he published the elegiac poem *Theresias*, which was intended for graduates of the Jesuit University in Trnava.²⁰ In it he emphasized the virtue of the queen and referred to the queen's speech. As part of the description of the coronation acts, he also focused on the symbolic act of swinging a sword on both sides, by means of which the ruler showed his ability to defend the kingdom from its enemies.²¹

Interesting ceremonial depiction types include the tradition of presenting important sovereign orders. Since 1764, when she founded the Royal Hungarian Order of St Stephen on the occasion of the coronation of her son Joseph as King of Rome in Frankfurt am Main, Maria Theresa was depicted as the Queen of Hungary and its founder



1 – Gilles Edme Petit after Martin van Meytens, **Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary**, engraving, etching, 1742/1743. Slovak National Gallery



2 – Daniel Schmidelli, *Maria Theresa in Hungarian coronation attire*, 1742. Bratislava City Gallery

and grandmaster in appropriate garments – a red velvet robe with gold floral embroidery, a lace bodice, lace-up sleeves, on the shoulders with a gold scarf with lace and a green velvet cloak with gold floral embroidery around the perimeter, an ermine hem and a pale red lining. Such a presentation also included the Hungarian and Czech regalia and a gold chain with the badges of the order, as can be seen, for example, in the famous depiction by Wenzel Pohl from 1765 (Hofburg, Innsbruck). Maria Theresa was the last female on the Hungarian royal throne and thus the last female grandmaster of the Order of St Stephen. Joseph II and other Hungarian rulers were portrayed naturally in the male form of the uniform of the Order. The Order of St Stephen, awarded primarily to Hungarian nobles for civilian merit, was another means of strengthening the relationship between Maria Theresa and the aristocrats.

The *body politic* and the *body natural*²² Maria Theresa in state portraits

Especially after the death of Charles VI several of the aforementioned portrait types were created,²³ representing Maria Theresa as a young, energetic successor to the Hungarian throne. In addition to the power sovereignty of the Habsburgs in Hungary, they also praised her descendants, especially the male successor Joseph II. As we have already mentioned, from the beginning of the reign of Maria Theresa, these were an important form of her representation at a time when relations between the royal court and the Hungarian estates were weakened. In particular, coronation portraits, or more exactly, portraits of the *rex femina* type, emphasized the importance of the coronation as a symbolic ritual of taking power in Hungary while at the same time reinforcing its significance. It should be recalled that in the second half of the 18th century, Hungarian society functioned from its estates, i. e. hereditary status, social and legal status were important in the social hierarchy. At the same time, the situation of women was determined by the cultural environment itself, in which men were predominant. At the coronation, Maria Theresa achieved status in the sense of *domina et rex Hungariae*, which took into account her gender and also the important competencies in the country, which until then had been in the hands of the king – a man. Benedek M. Varga explains the context of the title *rex* granted to Maria Theresa by the fact that in the 18th century there was a medieval historiographical tradition and an earlier legal process in Hungary, which indicated that women could, indeed must be considered men if they were to take power.²⁴ Thus during the coronation in Bratislava in 1741 also, Maria Theresa behaved as King of Hungary in all coronation acts,²⁵ just as in the case of the Czech coronation in Prague in 1743. The medieval tradition of *rex femineus* and earlier legal procedures aimed at prioritizing the integrity of power over the gen-

der of the heir to the throne were also respected in the representation of Maria Theresa. The image of the queen was constructed in principle on the basis of the continuity of the reign and power of the Hungarian kings. Maria Theresa was the second female successor on the Hungarian throne to be awarded the royal title *rex femina* (female king) during the coronation. We note women in various public and political positions throughout Hungarian history. Before Maria Theresa in the line of Hungarian kings was Maria I of Anjou (ruled 1382–1395; obtained the title of *rex Hungariae*) as Queen of Hungary with executive power and two with the status of *regina* (Queen), wife of the king with a certain political and social influence – Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1439–1440) and Maria of Habsburg (1505–1558).

The issue of the state portrait of Maria Theresa as the Hungarian queen should be viewed in the same way as the title *rex Hungariae* (King of Hungary) itself. We can perceive the depictions of Maria Theresa as pictorial constructs that took into account a certain media strategy and at the same time took into account her feminine identity. In reminding us of the continuity of the Hungarian kings, the coronation portraits repeated an established norm – the integrity of the preservation of the Kingdom of Hungary and, in particular, the power ambitions of the Habsburgs in Hungary. Werner Telesko speaks of the appellative and at the same time stabilizing function of the representational ruling portraits of Maria Theresa.²⁶ Based on this imagery tradition, which functioned according to certain discursive rules, her portraits emphasized a symbolic continuity of power. In the context of the social and political situation of the time, the dynastic aspect of sovereign power had not been lost and the male heir to the throne was still perceived as automatically destined to take over royal power.

From the point of view of appropriating the strategy of the male ruling depiction, the portraits of Maria Theresa give rise to an overlap of two designations, with which she was also associated in panegyrics to her in contemporary writings – ‘*Femme forte*’ or strong woman and ‘*Grand Roi*’, the grand King.²⁷ According to Sandra Hertel, ‘*Femme forte*’ was very similar to the interpretation of a male hero in that Maria Theresa is presented as virtuous, strong and capable of defending the realm.²⁸ In mythological identification portraits, she was often likened to Pallas Athena (Minerva), who by her androgynous appearance symbolized the ideal of unlimited rule.²⁹

In the power-political sense, we may consider the equestrian depictions of the Hungarian Queen in ceremonial attire as one of the most important iconographic types. The depiction of part of the coronation was directly related to the instrumentalization of the person of Maria Theresa during the Hungarian royal coronation, which had a strong ritual significance.³⁰ The portrait presentation of the Queen conforming to the aforementioned tradition of composing the royal portrait of the Habsburg ruler as the King of

Hungary was also ritual – in a representative design and with the appropriate royal insignia and stylized Hungarian clothing with a cloak. The Hungarian regalia are usually the most distinctive masculine component of state portraits, together with the cloak of St Stephen (originally liturgical cloth), which otherwise respected the feminine side of Maria Theresa. Her social status was expressed especially by her robe, her jewellery and by the overall treatment of her body.

In the portrait presentation of the Queen, especially in the first years of her rule, there is also a clear effort to depict her feminine beauty within the terms of contemporary decorum and a certain portrait naturalness.³¹ For Maria Theresa, beauty was a sign of purity, virtue, and God's blessing, legitimizing her political interests.³² Such a form of representation was also present in her ruling panegyrics, whether in written or visual sources.³³ In addition to government insignia, clothes, accessories, body treatments, postures and facial expressions also contributed to the impression of the power of the Queen in the state portraits of Maria Theresa. These elements contributed to the desired rhetoric of the image related to political propaganda and ritualization of the coronation.³⁴ The feminine charm of the person portrayed brought about another desired effect of her presentation in terms also of the other roles she played, especially as mother of the heir to the throne and wife of the Emperor.

Coronation portraits of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary

In the 16th century state depictions of the first Hungarian kings from the Habsburg dynasty Ferdinand I (1503–1564), Maximilian II and Rudolf II (1552–1612), their royal title was expressed mainly in print through the titles and the Hungarian coat of arms without the relevant insignia of power.³⁵ It is during the reign of Matthew II (1557–1619), who was crowned King of Hungary in 1608, that we see an emphasis on the importance of the Kingdom of Hungary in the state portraits of the Habsburg rulers. An emphasis on the cult of the crown of St Stephen was an important part of his power propaganda, intended to mitigate the conflicts between him and the Hungarian estates at the time.³⁶ In the new type of portrait the monarch was shown for the first time in ceremonial Hungarian costume, with kalpak, St Stephen's cloak and the Hungarian royal insignia (e.g. in the engraving by Lucas Kilian, 1611, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna).³⁷ The close connection with the ceremonial dress as a declaration of power of the successor to the Hungarian throne from the Habsburg family was also more pronounced on the occasion of the coronation of Ferdinand III (1608–1657) in 1625, who was depicted in ceremonial Hungarian clothing.³⁸ As a result of the coronation in 1687 of nine year old Joseph (I), son of Leopold I, there was significant production of state portraits of the Habsburg ruler in the representative Hungarian aristocratic dress, which he wore for the coronation.³⁹



3 – Maria Theresa in Hungarian coronation attire, 1765.

Slovak National Museum – Bojnice Museum



4 – Maria Theresa, ceiling painting, ca. 1773.

The manor house in Humenné, the Room of the Hungarian Kings

Such a strategy of mass presentation of the Habsburg ruler as the King of Hungary as one of the means of consolidating power in Hungary was also reflected in the portrait presentation of Maria Theresa. The coronation portraits of the Hungarian Queen in ceremonial attire were among the most widely distributed portrait types, especially at the beginning of her reign. They were produced in the 1740s, mainly in Hungary – in the former lands of the crown, more than thirty representative portraits have been preserved in various institutional or private collections,⁴⁰ but we can also find them in other countries of the former Habsburg Empire and Bohemian Crown. They served to represent the monarch, especially in public, municipal and church spaces, as well as in the residences of the nobility, especially of leading political and social actors.

Some of the most important depictions in terms of convincing portraiture and media efficiency can be considered the state portraits from 1742 of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary by the court painter Martin van Meytens the Younger (1695–1770) or from his workshop, which were the subject of variations and copies in various ways, especially in the first two decades of Maria's reign.⁴¹ French engraver Gilles Edme Petit (1694–1760) interpreted Meytens' portrait composition through prints with distinctive markings, which usually referred to the painter's originals (bottom left: *'Peint a Vienne en 1742 par Martin de Meytens'*; Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava). [Fig. 1] In Slovak collections, it is mainly painted coronation portraits created in the circle of this artist or copies of existing works that are preserved. The question remains, which painted coronation portrait of Maria Theresa is the first realization of this type and whether this is a Meytens composition, as even previous research into portraits as reflected in the literature does not provide a clear answer. Likewise, whether this prominent painter was inspired by personal experience as a direct participant in the Hungarian coronation when composing state portraits of Maria Theresa. In the Slovak context, one should mention the work of Daniel Schmidelli (1705/1710–1779), a graduate of the Vienna Academy, who was a pupil of the local painter Friedrich Kamauf (1725–1793) and later lived and worked in Bratislava. Schmidelli's full-figure coronation portrait from 1742 was made to a commission from the council of city officials for the purpose of its presentation in Bratislava City Hall (Bratislava City Gallery).⁴² [Fig. 2] Maria Theresa holds a sceptre in her right hand, the Hungarian crown is placed on a pillow together with the orb. In 1743, representatives of the Italian city of Bolzano also ordered a coronation portrait in the form of a half-figure of Maria Theresa with crown on her head from Meytens' workshop (Bolzano Mercantile Museum).⁴³

An emblematic example is a full-figure portrait of Maria Theresa in coronation attire (Hofmobiliendepot-Möbel Museum Wien), presented as the work of the court painter Johann Peter Kobler von Ehrensorg (active

in the second third of the 18th century) from 1751, associated with Meytens' portrait of the Queen, which could be part of the decoration of the audience chamber in the royal residence at Bratislava Castle (based on an inventory listing of the fittings of Bratislava Castle from 1781).⁴⁴ The Queen has the Hungarian crown on her head, the sceptre in her right hand, her left touching an orb placed together with a sword on a pillow. The painter also made representative joint portrait with Francis Stephen as a commander, what could mean, that this portrait (respectively both portraits) was probably created even before 1745, when he became emperor. We know based on contemporary archive material that in 1751, on the occasion of the regional assembly being held at Bratislava, representative portraits of the royal couple were ordered from Johann Peter Kobler. According to a record in one of the books of account of the Hofkammerarchiv from the year in question, they were intended for Bratislava, most likely to be located in one of the representative spaces.⁴⁵ However, it is not clear whether at Bratislava Castle, in one of the official locations or another institution. A similar composition in Royal Palace in Gödöllő, with the equestrian figure of the queen on the coronation hill on the left and a raised sword and double cross (Patriarchal cross) on the right, may be related to the reminder of the title Apostolic Majesty given to the Kings of Hungary as the expression of the supreme royal right of patronage in respect of the Catholic Church, that Pope Clement XIII (1693–1769) granted to Maria Theresa and her successors in 1758. The title 'Apostolic Queen' of Hungary (*Hungariae regina apostolica*), associated with an edict of Maria Theresa, was used for the first time in all records, acts and writings by public officials or private individuals and also by the Queen herself.

The Meytens workshop also created portraits of Maria Theresa as the Czech queen in Czech coronation clothing with relevant Czech and Hungarian insignia, imperial and archduke's crowns (after 1745, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, location Austrian Federal Chancellery⁴⁶ and in Prague Castle, Prague, without Hungarian insignia, probably the 1760s⁴⁷) identical to the portrait composition of Charles VI as a Czech King attributed to Johann Gottfried Auerbach (1697–1753) from the period around 1732, which served as their model (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Eckartsau Castle).⁴⁸ When comparing the two coronation portrait types of the ruler, it is evident that in the theme of the Hungarian queen the artists were more interested in understanding the characteristics of the subject, as well as the image type of the coronation portrait itself, especially in connection with gestures, body posture and other compositional elements. The depiction of the monarch in a Czech coronation gown – a long garment made of purple satin lined with gold lace with a characteristic Czech coronation cloak with an ermine collar and hem, a stole crossed at the

front with a belt around it, directly imitating the portrait of Charles VI, also has a naturally different symbolism and meaning in connection with the Czech coronation ceremony itself.

Based on preserved monuments, it can be said that the coronation portraits with Maria Theresa in Czech coronation attire were produced in smaller quantities, in contrast to the coronation portraits depicting her as Queen of Hungary.⁴⁹ Nor was a separate portrait type created on the occasion of the coronation in 1743, which was accompanied by the aforementioned turbulent period of social and political events related to the right of the ruler to the Czech throne. Moreover, Maria Theresa was at that time in a late stage of pregnancy with Maria Elisabeth (1743–1808). Rather, we find depictions presenting Maria Theresa as the Czech Queen in other lavish social robes in combination with a cloak or a portrait with a range of power insignia. The ruler's later depictions as queen in ceremonial attire were focused more on the production of coronation portraits of the Hungarian queen.

Among the sculptural coronation portraits of the Queen of Hungary by artists also active in Slovakia, it is worth mentioning the full-figure portrait of Maria Theresa in coronation attire with insignia by Franz Xaver Messer-

schmidt (1736–1783) from 1764–1766 (Belvedere, Vienna).⁵⁰ This is the only commission of its kind given by Maria Theresa to the sculptor.⁵¹ After the death of Francis Stephen, she also had a representative portrait of the Emperor made by this artist as a pendant to his statue (1765–1766).

The ruler's coronation portraits were also popular with Hungarian aristocrats, also with regard to their own social or political representation. From the Slovak milieu we can mention, for example, the portrait of Maria Theresa depicted in a Hungarian coronation robe with the characteristic Hungarian insignia associated with the Zay family (Baron Peter Zay /1735–1788/) in Uhrovec by a Central European artist from 1765 (Slovak National Museum – Bojnice Museum).⁵² [Fig. 3] This is a simplified version of the aforementioned composition from the Vienna Hofmobiliendepot or in the Hofburg in Innsbruck with drapery in the background in a mirror image when compared to the earlier painting. The frescoes in the manor house in Humenné from the period around 1773 represent a remarkable implementation related to the representation of Maria Theresa and also the instrumentalization of her royal power through the socio-political interests of local aristocrats.⁵³ The interior decoration of the Room of the Hungarian Kings depicting a gallery of medallions of the kings of Hungary up

5 – Festive procession of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, ceiling painting, ca. 1773. The manor house in Humenné, the Maria Theresa room



to Maria Theresa is achieved in the decorative manner of special ruling halls and reflects loyalty to the monarch and the country. [Fig. 4] In the Maria Theresa Room are presented the solemn procession of Maria Theresa and her co-regent Joseph II, the procession of Pope Clement XIV, the coronation of Joseph II and an allegorical scene depicting Francis Stephen. [Fig. 5] Illusive murals were made by prominent local nobleman Stephen XIV Csáky (1741–1810), who also owned a summer house in Vienna, Sans Souci at Iliašovce and other summer houses and gardens in Spiš. The artist is probably Martin Johann Schmidt, called Kremser Schmidt (1718–1810), who worked for the Csáky family at that time.

Ceremonial dress of Maria Theresa as the bearer of symbols and references

Ceremonial dress of Maria Theresa with the cloak of St Stephen,⁵⁴ in which she undertook the Hungarian coronation, was one of the direct references to this event. Werner Teleško speaks of feminine clothing, in which the queen was presented naturally as a woman and, which also referred to political and social events.⁵⁵

Arriving in Bratislava on the occasion of the Hungarian coronation on 20 June 1741, Maria Theresa wore



a white, gold-woven gown with blue embroidered flowers in the 'alla ungherese' style.⁵⁶ For the coronation ceremony, a characteristic coronation dress was created for her, which was interpreted in relation to Hungarian tradition. At the same time, it expressed loyalty to Hungary, or rather, was symbolic of regional identity in the meaning of *hungarus*. The circumstances around its origin are unknown. Only a report of the Hungarian Royal Chamber from the preparations for the Bratislava coronation has been preserved, which, inter alia, states the cost of its manufacture.⁵⁷ The costly coronation robe of Maria Theresa belonged to the category of formal, representative clothing regulated by court rules, by means of which Maria Theresa wanted to impress those attending the coronation. It was based on earlier Baroque dress influences, having regard to the strict Spanish etiquette characteristic of Spanish court ceremonial, while respecting the expression of Hungarian women's fashion. It consisted of a wide hoop skirt, an over skirt with floral gold embroidery, a veil apron decorated with lace, a bodice with an oval lace neckline and a white shirt with pleated lace sleeves tied with a ribbon with precious stones. In addition, the Queen was adorned with pearl bracelets, earrings, jewellery and ornaments. The silk embroidery evoking lacing with pearls, rubies and emeralds is a reference to Hungarian women's fashion, worn in Hungary especially by members of the aristocracy, yeomanry and bourgeoisie since the first half of the 17th century.⁵⁸ It later became fashionable at the Viennese royal court, especially in the 18th century. The embroidery on the bodice was complemented by a miniature portrait of Francis I Stephen with a stylized Hungarian crown above, which can be understood as a reference to his person and also to the alliance of the Habsburg-Lorraine family. Through these clothing details Maria Theresa's ceremonial attire reflected Hungarian traditions and evoked a certain national identity as a symbol of cohesion and solidarity with Hungary.⁵⁹

The tradition of using ceremonial clothing referring to regional costumes was also cultivated in the first half of the 18th century by Polish kings and Saxon electors, who had themselves crowned and also portrayed in Polish aristocratic clothing.⁶⁰ In the second half of the century, King Gustav III of Sweden (1746–1792) was also crowned and portrayed in it.⁶¹ At her coronation in 1762, the Russian Empress Catherine II (1729–1796) used her ceremonial robe to strengthen the tradition of Russian costume.⁶²

In the late 1740s and early 1750s, artists portrayed Maria Theresa in other lavish robes (especially in blue dresses with lace and embroidery), with several varieties of cloak, and often paired with her husband. She was also portrayed with several power insignia; in addition to the

6 – Carl Hirsch the Younger, **Equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary**, 1747. Bratislava City Gallery

Hungarian regalia with the Austrian Archducal crown, the Czech crown of St Wenceslas, the imperial crown of Otto I and the crown of Rudolf II. Mention may be made, for example, of the remarkable portrait of the ruler in a light-coloured dress with lace sleeves, a blue bottom skirt with gold embroidery, an upper skirt made of shiny silk with a gold, ermine-lined coat and with Hungarian insignia, supplemented by the Czech crown, from 1765–1766 (Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava).⁶³ The work is attributed to Franz Anton Palko (1717–1766), who worked for some time from the beginning of the 1740s in the service of the Archbishop of Esztergom, the Hungarian primate and patron Imrich Esterházy (1664–1745) in Bratislava.

The significance of the ruling insignia in the portrait presentation of the Queen of Hungary

An inseparable and important part of the Queen's state portraits is the Hungarian crown, the sceptre, orb and sword, as well as the specific Hungarian coronation attire, to which is attached the cloak of St Stephen. In the modern era, state sovereignty was symbolized mainly by the estates (countries), in this case the territory of the Union of the Hungarian Crown of St Stephen.⁶⁴ The Crown of St Stephen was without doubt one of the most important ruling insignia of Maria Theresa, and moved between two levels of content – as an object of worship and in the sense of its significance. It was perceived as a relic of the first Hungarian king, St Stephen, sovereign ruler of Hungary and also invisible symbol of this crown, in which he was felt to be materialized.⁶⁵ It referred to the sovereign ruling powers of the Hungarian king and at the same time to the continuity of Habsburg rulers on the royal throne.

As mentioned, the cult of the Hungarian crown arose mainly during the reign of Matthew II. In this sense, of some importance was a treatise by the Hungarian nobleman Peter Révai (1568–1622) from 1603, but very popular even into the 18th century, on the history and political significance of the Hungarian crown.⁶⁶ Let us recall that Maria Theresa, like the other successors to the Hungarian throne, had the crown placed on her head at the coronation, while the Hungarian wives of the kings had the crown held over their shoulders during the ceremony. This was another of the coronation ritual acts taken into account especially in the presentation of the ruler in the coronation portraits. Maria Theresa was depicted with the royal crown on her head especially in equestrian portraits, as well as in other portraits of the Hungarian queen in ceremonial attire. In some types of state portraits, the crown with other Hungarian insignia is placed in close proximity to her, for example, on a pillow on a low console table. In principle, it is placed in the foreground of the composition, or as part of a set of several ruling insignia, complementing the representative tone of the portrait of the Queen. Other regalia that played an important

role in Maria Theresa's portrait presentation were the sceptre and orb. We find portraits where the monarch holds a sceptre in her right hand, just as during the coronation ceremony, when it was handed to her by the primate, Archbishop Count Imrich Esterházy. In some coronation portraits, she holds a royal orb in her left hand in traditional fashion. The sword symbolizes the power of the sovereign's rule; in the depictions of Maria Theresa in equestrian portraits especially her ability to protect Hungary from its enemies.

The importance of the royal regalia is also demonstrated by the gestures of the subject. The predominant type is when Maria Theresa touches with her right (i. e. 'male'⁶⁷) hand one of the ruling insignia, be it a crown or a sceptre. In the case of the crown, she sometimes touches or points with her hand at its upper part – the cross as a symbol of religious and moral authority. In the aforementioned portrait by Schmidelli, her left hand touches the cross of the crown placed next to the orb and her right hand holds the royal sceptre in an upright position.

Touching or pointing to the royal attributes can also be found in other male and female representative period portraits. For example, unlike Maria Theresa, Russian Empress Catherine II had a new tsarist crown made on the occasion of her coronation. A characteristic feature of her coronation portraits is, in particular, holding the sceptre 'in a militant gesture' following the example of Peter I (1672–1725).⁶⁸ Examples of symbolic gestures in connection with certain power or socially determined tasks are also documented in other court portraits of members of the Habsburg and Habsburg-Lorraine families, or more exactly of the wives of monarchs (e.g. Elisabeth Christine, Maria Josepha, Maria Anna of Bavaria, Isabella of Bourbon) and other rulers and representatives of royal courts.

Equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa as a reference to the coronation of the Queen of Hungary in Bratislava

The equestrian portrait type recalled one of the ceremonial acts of the coronation in Bratislava – swinging a ceremonial sword to all four cardinal points on the coronation hill, symbolizing the readiness of the Hungarian king to defend his country. The direct depiction of the coronation as a symbol of the handover of the rule to Maria Theresa in Hungary increases its significance within her portrait presentation.

On the occasion of his coronation as Roman Emperor in 1508, the Habsburg ruler Maximilian I (1459–1519) had a separate representative equestrian portrait in armour made by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531). Later, this type of state image saw a variety of forms. Equestrian portraits of Hungarian kings from the Habsburg family also appear in reportage genre scenes, illustrating the course of the coronation. One of the oldest are the depictions of the Hungarian king on horseback while riding on the coronation hill, at



7 – Christian Wilhelm – Martin Engelbrecht, **Equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary**, engraving, 1747. Bratislava City Gallery

Crown of Emperor Rudolf II (Imperial Crown of Austria) by Jan Vermeyen (before 1559–1606) from 1602 (Imperial Treasury, Hofburg Palace, Vienna) or from the seventh volume of the *Theatrum Europaeum* from 1663, which illustrates the coronation of Leopold I.⁶⁹

The equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa in ceremonial attire represents a unique type of female regal likeness, through which she demonstrated the power, strength and ability to defend the country against its enemies, but also her ability to participate in all coronation acts in the position of king. In this presentation, the active participation of the queen in the governance and defence of Hungary was particularly important, shown by one of the coronation acts in Bratislava. Here the important insignia were the crown and especially the sword, which represented the defence of the country against its enemies and the availability of Maria Theresa to be commander in any possible war. He also respected the conditions

of contemporary rhetoric of the female body, including facial expressions, gestures and the posture initiated by sitting side saddle on a horse. A common aspect was Bratislava Castle in the background of the scene as a reference to Bratislava as the scene of the coronation. This portrait type was predominant in cabinet painting and especially in printed copies, where the artists knew how to visualize this event in a more narrative way, often with the addition of a short, sometimes literary, text. It is not certain which realization of the crowned portrait was the first commission on the occasion of this important event. One of the oldest portraits of Maria Theresa in a composition as an equestrian portrait appears on coronation medals produced to a design by Matthäus Donner (1704–1756) on the occasion of the coronation in 1741.⁷⁰ This Austrian sculptor and medallist was also the artist of a design for a commemorative medal for the Czech coronation in 1743. Probably one of the first surviving painted portraits of Maria Theresa on horseback is a smaller gouache by a Central European artist in a standard presentation of Maria Theresa in coronation attire and insignia and a sword in her right hand, sitting on a black horse without accompanying figures and with a monochrome background, which evidently originated around 1740 probably as a model for an unidentified painting (Croatian History Museum, Zagreb).⁷¹ The court painter Philippe Ferdinand von Hamilton (ca 1664–1750), who specialized in hunting scenes and depictions of horses, made an equestrian portrait to commemorate the coronation in the period after 1741–1742 (private collection).⁷² Meytens' equestrian portrait from 1741–1742 can be found in the Romanian institutional collections (Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu).⁷³ The only surviving large-scale depiction by a Central European (probably Hungarian) painter (Dr. László Batthyány-Strattman Museum, Körmend) dates from the same period.⁷⁴ Maria Theresa posed with her body turned towards the viewer, the horse from the side while in the background a wider view of the Bratislava Castle hill can be seen. A remarkable painting of Maria Theresa in the equestrian portrait type is a work from the period around 1745 (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest).⁷⁵ Martin van Meytens the Younger and probably Johann Georg de Hamilton (1672–1737) created a portrait of Maria Theresa on horseback on the coronation hill with a sword in her hand, depicted centrally against a background with Bratislava Castle on the left. The nobility of the subject is achieved mainly by the light incarnation of the skin, the lace and ornaments of the coronation garment and the sheath of the sword, which are in contrast to the dark background. Meytens the Younger also made a representative portrait of Francis Stephen (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest), which presents him in a ceremonial Spanish doublet on a black horse as a pendant to the portrait of Maria Theresa. In Slovak collections we find a painted equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa by Carl Hirsch the Younger (active in the 18th century) dated 1747 (Bratislava City Gallery), [Fig. 6] which represents a more schematic, albeit

relatively detailed version of the last mentioned painting, together with a paired portrait with Francis Stephen from the same period (Bratislava City Gallery).⁷⁶

As for sculpture on Slovak territory, this portrait type has been preserved only in the form of a fragment of a statue of Maria Theresa in Hungarian attire with a crown on her head, a scepter in her right hand and holding the reins of a horse. It was part of the exterior decoration of the Provost's Palace (property of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nitra), created by the Austrian architect and builder Franz Anton Hillebrandt (1719–1797) at the initiative of Maria Theresa in 1778–1780 in Nitra (reconstructed copy dated 1992 by Miroslav Černák in the Grassalkovič Garden in Bratislava).

The equestrian portrait type was disseminated mainly through the production of prints. One of the most propitious compositions of this type in the form of a colour print with an identification text by Christian Wilhelm (1722–1804) was published around 1745 by the Augsburg engraver and publisher Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756; Bratislava City Gallery).⁷⁷ [Fig. 7] This prototype has been preserved in several variants. In one of Engelbrecht's versions, the queen is depicted with a scepter in her hand, which, however, she had in her coronation act, i.e. before the ride to the coronation hill.⁷⁸ Using selected attributes, the artist has combined two themes that did not take place concurrently, in order to enhance her authority as a ruler. It is worth mentioning an allegorical print from 1756 by the Augsburg engraver Johann David Nesselthaler (1717–1766) with the female regent on horseback at the centre of the composition, with medallions of her family (Stadtbibliothek Trier).⁷⁹ She is surrounded by various allegories symbolizing the virtues, which interpret here as a 'miracle of our times' (from the German '*Wunder unserer Zeit*'). The composition of the equestrian portrait varied, especially by attaching accompanying figures or various attributes, especially on prints such as Johann Elias Ridinger (1698–1767; f. e. British Museum, London) or Elias Bäck (1679–1747; private collection).⁸⁰

Other rulers of the time were also depicted on horseback in various types of portraits. In the milieu of the imperial court in Russia, the equestrian portrait was popular in the women's clothing type, but also in armour as a sign of prowess and virtue, in the uniform of the Preobrazhensky regiment founded by Peter I and also in hunting costume with trousers, by means of which the female rulers emphasised the male-oriented form of their presentation. Similarly, Marie Antoinette (1755–1793), daughter of Maria Theresa, wife of King Louis XVI of France (1754–1793), was often depicted on horseback in an equestrian costume sitting astride a man's seat, for example in the works of Louis-Auguste Brun (1758–1815). Equestrian portraits of Maria Theresa mostly preserve her feminine identity in the depiction of her clothing, body positioning and in the overall posing of the monarch.

In addition to equestrian portraits in Hungarian coronation attire, the queen also appears in other representative

robes and in compositions with other meanings. In 1745, the German artist Johann Tobias Sonntag (1716–1774) made a fictional genre composition based on a period engraving, in which Maria Theresa appears on horseback in a characteristic blue dress with a red ermine at the head of Hungarian squadrons before Prague (Prague City Museum),⁸¹ emphasizing the importance of the queen in the conquest of the city and at the same time the participation of the Hungarian army in her power victories. Also interesting is an allegorical composition by the Flemish artist François Eisen (1695–1778) dated 1757, where Maria Theresa is dressed in a blue dress with a red ermine cloak sitting on a brown horse with an army in the background (Historical Museum of Lorraine, Nancy).⁸² She is accompanied by attending figures with a heraldically complicated coat of arms depicting the Habsburg heritage territories and kingdoms linked to Maria Theresa, and the coat of arms associated with Francis Stephen of Lorraine, referring to the alliance of the Habsburg-Lorraine family. The iconography of the portrait is related to a declaration of the power interests of the ruler, a member of an important ruling dynasty. The aforementioned museum also houses a paired allegorical portrait of Francis Stephen on horseback in a heroic depiction.

In conclusion

State portraits of Maria Theresa in the type of the Queen of Hungary were created mainly for viewers in Hungary over her entire reign, in the first years these were mainly the coronation and equestrian creations. Unlike the coronation portraits as Czech Queen, the portraits as Hungarian Queen were changed in various ways and continued to be produced in later years. They are defined by their dignity in depicting the body of the subject, ornamentality in the treatment of clothing, accessories and power attributes. Following the example of previous rulers, of the greatest significance are the traditional royal regalia and the Queen's dress stylized in the manner of a Hungarian costume with the cloak of St Stephen. One specific portrait is the equestrian portrait of Maria Theresa, which depicts one of the acts of the coronation – the swinging of the sword on the coronation hill. The most important creators of state portraits included the Austrian painters Martin van Meytens the Younger, Johann Peter Kobler and Daniel Schmidelli, who created one of the oldest coronation portraits for Bratislava City Hall in 1742. As with political and social representation, portraits of the queen took into account her feminine affiliation in combination with the effect of the relevant ruling power, also having regard to her role as mother of the heir to the throne and wife of the Emperor. After 1765, portraits of Maria Theresa as a widow in mourning dress with characteristic power insignia and coats of arms were another means of presenting the sovereign's public identity in the later years of her life.

Translated by Stuart Roberts

Photographic credits – Původ snímků: 1: Slovenská národná galéria; 2, 7: Galéria mesta Bratislavy; 3: Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice; 4, 5: Vihorlatské múzeum v Humennom (foto Juraj Kammer); 6: Galéria mesta Bratislavy

Notes:

¹ This was preceded by agreements on mutual succession (the *compactum mutuae successionis*) concluded in 1703 between Leopold I and his sons Joseph (I) and Charles (VI), which defined the division of lines of succession in the countries of the Austrian and Spanish successions. In the succession, the male descendants of the older Joseph the successor of the emperor on the throne were to take precedence, and after the failure of the male line, Joseph's daughters, ahead of those of Charles.

² He also acquired the then relatively neglected Upper Hungarian estates in Holíč and Šaštín, which he significantly improved; see Renate Zedinger, Franz Stephan von Lothringen und Maria Theresia, in: Elfriede Iby – Martin Mutschlechner – Werner Telesko – Karl Vocelka (edd.), *Maria Theresia 1717–1780: Strategin – Mutter – Reformerin*, Wien 2017, pp. 94–98, cit. p. 95.

³ In a letter dated 1733, Maria Theresa was described by Sir Thomas Robinson, the English ambassador to Vienna, as very ambitious and ready to rule: '[...] Sie denkt schon jetzt sehr scharf. Sie trachtet, Einblick in die Geschäfte zu erhalten. Bewundert die Tugenden des Vaters, aber beklagt sein schlechtes Wirtschaften (condemns his mismanagement). Sie hat sosehr den Ehrgeiz und die Fähigkeit zu regieren, dass sie ihn fast nur als ihren Administrator ansieht.' Cited in: *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit. Zur 200. Wiederkehr des Todestages. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 13. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1980, Wien, Schloss Schönbrunn* (exhib. cat.), Salzburg 1980, p. 37.

⁴ For more on this topic see Štefan Holčík, *Korunovačné slávnosti Bratislava 1563–1830*, Bratislava 1988, pp. 36–38. – Idem, *Korunovačné slávnosti 1563–1830*, Bratislava 2005, pp. 44–50. – Sandra Hertel, Maria Theresia als 'König von Ungarn' im Krönungszeremoniell in Preßburg (1741), in: Andrea Sommer-Mathis (ed.), *Fest – Theater – Musik. Frühneuzeit-Info* 27, 2016, pp. 110–123, cit. pp. 113–117. – Jana Luková – Zuzana Francová – Štefan Holčík, *Coronation Festivities / Krönungsfeierlichkeiten Bratislava / Preßburg 1563–1830*, Bratislava 2017.

⁵ Of the ceremonial events she completed before attaining the title of Queen of Hungary, one should mention in particular the so-called Erbholdigung of the Styrian estates to Charles VI, held in Graz on 6 July 1728 and of the Lower Austrian states to Maria Theresa in Vienna on 22 November 1740.

⁶ Mária Pötzl-Malíková, *Bratislavský hrad za Márie Terézie*, Bratislava 2008, p. 89.

⁷ Cited in: Thomas Lau, Die Standhafte – Entstehung und Funktion eines Mythos, in: Werner Telesko – Sandra Hertel – Stefanie Linsboth (edd.), *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias. Herrschaft und Bildpolitik im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2020, pp. 42–43.

⁸ Cited in: Anne-Sophie Banakas, *Les portraits de Marie-Thérèse: échange et pouvoir entre la souveraine et les élites politiques de la Monarchie* (dissertation), Université Panthéon-Sorbonne Paris – Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 2016, pp. 324, 495–496.

⁹ Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, Minnesota 1988, p. 213. – Peter Burke, *Sebeprezentace v renesančním portrétu – Obraz jako jeviště*, in: idem, *Žebráci, šarlatáni, papežové. Historická antropologie raně novověké Itálie. Eseje o vnímání a komunikaci*, Praha 2007, pp. 224–244.

¹⁰ Marin (note 9), e.g. with pp. 209–210.

¹¹ Werner Telesko, *Maria Theresia. Ein europäischer Mythos*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2012, pp. 34–35.

¹² Roger de Piles, *L'idée du peintre parfait*, Paris 1699, p. 15, 1707, p. 12. Cited by Banakas (note 8), p. 406.

¹³ Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris 1708, pp. 21, 30, 31, 276–277, 278–279. Cited in excerpts in: Banakas (note 8), p. 406, note 849.

¹⁴ Cited in: Ingrid Halászová, Konštitutívna moc reprezentácie a koncept portrétu suverénneho vládcu, in: eadem, *Pred portrétom. Úvahy o obsahoch, významoch, funkciách a reprezentačných stratégiách portrétu v ranom novoveku*, Trnava 2020, pp. 112 and 113.

¹⁵ More on this topic see Friedrich Polleroß, Kaiser, König, Landesfürst:

Habsburgische „Dreifältigkeit“ im Porträt, in: Andreas von Beyer – Ulrich Schütte (edd.), *Bildnis, Fürst und Territorium* (Rudolstädter Forschungen zur Residenzkultur, 2), München – Berlin 2000, pp. 189–218.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 204.

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Nadvláda mužů*, Praha 1998, pp. 19, 59.

¹⁸ Telesko (note 11), p. 52.

¹⁹ Franz Christoph Scheyb, *Theresiade, ein Ehren-Gedicht*, Wien 1746; http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/scheyb_theresiade01_1746 (accessed 22. 7. 2021).

²⁰ Ladislav Csapodi, *Theresias*, Trnava 1750.

²¹ Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, Pennsylvania 2011, p. 210. – Banakas (note 8), p. 484.

²² Werner Telesko also used the term 'Körperpolitik', which he identified with the politics of depiction; see Telesko (note 11), p. 74.

²³ Especially the coronation portrait, equestrian portrait, but also compositions with state-ceremonial significance, portraits as part of the genealogy of the Hungarian rulers, allegorical or genre scenes, especially from the coronation.

²⁴ Benedek M. Varga, Making Maria Theresa 'King' of Hungary, *The Historical Journal*, First View, p. 2; <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/historical-journal/article/making-maria-theresia-king-of-hungary/35CFFE-AFC1B912F569A04CB1EECA29A5> (accessed 22. 7. 2021).

²⁵ More on this topic see Fanni Hende, Die Liturgie der ungarischen Krönung von 1741 als politische Repräsentation, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), pp. 335–340.

²⁶ Telesko (note 11), p. 61.

²⁷ In a contemporary piece written after her death in 1780, Maria Theresa was again referred to as the 'Femme forte'. She was sometimes called the 'Grand Roi'; see Sandra Hertel, Der weibliche Körper als Quelle. Überlegungen zu einer höfischen Körpergeschichte zur Zeit Maria Theresias, in: Thomas Wallnig – Elisabeth Lobenwein – Franz-Stefan Seitschek (edd.), *Maria Theresia? Neue Perspektiven der Forschung, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 32, 2017, pp. 35–50, cit. p. 42.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Telesko (note 11), p. 65.

³⁰ See Marin (note 9), p. 130.

³¹ On the role of beauty in the portrait presentation of Maria Theresa the latest: Sandra Hertel, Vom Nutzen der Schönheit. Maria Theresia in Text und Bild, in: Bettina Braun – Jan Kusber – Matthias Schnettger, *Weibliche Herrschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Maria Theresia und Katharina die Große* (Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften, 40), Bielefeld 2020, pp. 273–292.

³² Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit. Eine Biographie*, München 2017, p. 249.

³³ The latest: Sandra Hertel, Die Panegyrik auf Maria Theresia. Zum Wechselverhältnis von sprachlichen und visuellen Charakterisierungen, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), pp. 148–159.

³⁴ See Marin (note 9), p. 130.

³⁵ Friedrich Polleroß, *Austriacus Hungariae Rex: Zur Darstellung der Habsburger als ungarischer Könige in der Frühneuzeitlichen Graphik*, in: Orsolya Bubyák et al., "Ez világ, mint egy kert...". *Tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére*, Budapest 2010, pp. 63–78, cit. p. 64.

³⁶ Roger Teszelszky, Ako sa história stala ideológiou: Politické názory Štefana Iľešháziho, Eliáša Bergera a Petra Révaia o uhorskej korune (1608–1619), in: Maroš Mačuha – Miloš Kovačka (edd.), *ROD Révai v slovenských dejinách, Zborník prác z interdisciplinárnej konferencie, 16.–17. septembra 2008, Martin*, Martin 2010, pp. 124–132, cit. p. 126.

³⁷ Polleroß (note 15), p. 189. – Polleroß (note 35), p. 65.

³⁸ Polleroß (note 35), pp. 65–66. See also Katalin Földi-Dózsa, Die ungarische Nationaltracht als Hofkleidung, in: István Fazekas – Gábor Ujváry et al., *Kaiser und König. Eine historische Reise. Österreich und Ungarn 1526–1918*, Wien 2001, pp. 23–28.

³⁹ Holčík, *Korunovačné slávnosti*, 1988 (note 4), p. 32.

- ⁴⁰ Szabolcs Serfőző, „Mänlich“ und mächtig: Die Inszenierung Maria Theresias als Königin von Ungarn, in: Iby – Mutschlechner – Telesko – Vocolka (note 2), pp. 107–111, cit. p. 109.
- ⁴¹ Sandra Hertel – Stefanie Linsboth, Maler im Dienste der Kaiserin, Maria Theresia als Reformerin und Mäzenin der Kunstproduktion, in: Iby – Mutschlechner – Telesko – Vocolka (note 2), pp. 142–147, cit. p. 144.
- ⁴² MZ [Marian Zervan], in: Ivan Rusina et al., *Barok. História slovenského výtvarného umenia*, Bratislava 1998, p. 482, Cat. No. 271. – Jana Luková – Martina Vyskupová, *Portraits of Members of the Habsburg and Habsburg-Lorraine Families in the Collections of the Bratislava City Gallery*, Bratislava 2017, pp. 39–41. – Stella Rolling – Georg Lechner (edd.), *Maria Theresia und die Kunst* (exhib. cat.), Belvedere Wien / Unteres Belvedere, Wien – München 2017, p. 81, Cat. No. II.24.
- ⁴³ Gerda Mráz – Gerald Schlag (edd.), *Maria Theresia als Königin von Ungarn* (exhib. cat.), Schloss Halbturn, Eisenstadt 1980, p. 160, Cat. No. 22. – Banakas (note 8), p. 490.
- ⁴⁴ Mária Malíková, Nové poznatky o zariadení bratislavského hradu v rokoch 1766–1784, *Zborník SNM – História LXXXIV* 30, 1990, p. 155. – Gerlinde Gruber, Das Bilderverzeichnis der Pressburger Burg von 1781. Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte der Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8–9, 2006–2007, p. 369. – Banakas (note 8), p. 116. The portraits of the ruling couple, created around 1770–1773 for the Audience Chamber dedicated to the house of Lorraine in the Hofburg in Innsbruck, match in detail the mentioned paintings; see Szabolcs Serfőző, Themen und Formen der Repräsentation Maria Theresias in Ungarn, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), p. 314. – Serfőző (note 40), p. 110.
- ⁴⁵ Julius Fleischer, *Das kunstgeschichtliche Material der geheimen Kammerzahlamtsbücher in den staatlichen Archiven Wiens von 1705 bis 1790*, Wien 1932, p. 60, no. 86. – Pötzl-Malíková (note 6), p. 130.
- ⁴⁶ Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), p. 456, Cat. No. 4.
- ⁴⁷ Štěpán Vácha – Irena Veselá – Vít Vlnas, *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna. Česká korunovace 1723*, Praha – Litomyšl 2009, p. 424.
- ⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 425.
- ⁴⁹ The most representative depictions include the full-figure coronation portraits from the collection of the aforementioned Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, from the so-called Habsburg Salon at Prague Castle and from the Magyar Nemzeti Gallery in Budapest and two previously known painting portraits in the form of a half-figure from Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and from the Royal Collection Trust, London. Stefanie Linsboth, Maria Theresia als Königin von Böhmen, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), pp. 356–362, cit. p. 356, note 237.
- ⁵⁰ Mária Pötzl-Malíková, The Life and Work of Franz Xaver Messerschmidt, in: *Franz Xaver Messerschmidt 1736–1783: From Neo-classicism to Expressionism* (exhib. cat.), New York – Paris 2010, pp. 17–18.
- ⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 17.
- ⁵² Marking: *Maria Theresia.. 1765 Daniel baro Peter Zay*: https://www.slovakiana.sk/kulturne-objekty/cair-ko11t8?content=CAIR_DIV_IMAGES_1&contentDo=urn:nbn:sk:cair-d03p9ms (accessed 22. 7. 2021). According to Ján Papco, this could be the work of Daniel Schmidelli. Ján Papco, *Rakúsky barok a Slovensko. Nové nálezy, atribúcie I*, Bojnice 2003, pp. 456, 457.
- ⁵³ Anna Petrová-Pleskotová, *Maliarstvo 18. storočia na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1983, p. 85, Fig. No. XLI. – Polleroß (note 15), p. 207.
- ⁵⁴ The mantle, reworked from a priest's chasuble and still preserved today, has been used at the coronations of the kings of Hungary since 1031; see Tibor Kovács (ed.), *The Coronation Mantle of the Hungarian Kings*, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest 2005.
- ⁵⁵ Werner Telesko, Herrschaftssicherung Mittels visueller Repräsentation. Zur Porträtkultur Maria Theresias, in: Eva Kernbauer – Aneta Zahradnik (edd.), *Höfische Porträtkultur. Die Bildnissammlung der österreichischen Erzherzogin Maria Anna (1738–1789)*, Berlin – Boston 2016, p. 39.
- ⁵⁶ Pötzl-Malíková (note 6), p. 63.
- ⁵⁷ A reference to 3 000 florins for the 'Coronationis Regiae Habito', which were paid by the committees as a state tax ('Landtagssteuer' or 'Taxis dietalis'), is mentioned in Hoffinanz Ungarn Akten, 16 December 1743, p. 344, FHKA; see Serfőző (note 44), p. 313. A period ceremony protocol describing the Hungarian coronation, tells us what the robe looked like. Cited: ibidem, p. 312.
- ⁵⁸ Magdaléna M. Zubercová, *Tisícročie módy. Z dejín odievania na Slovensku*, Martin 1988, pp. 101–102.
- ⁵⁹ Földi-Dózsa (note 38), p. 25.
- ⁶⁰ Serfőző (note 40), p. 109.
- ⁶¹ Irena Turnau, Russian National Dress, in: *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Warszawa 1991, p. 105.
- ⁶² Ibidem. – Ekaterina Skvortcova, Female Rulers of two Empires: Representation Strategies of Maria Theresa and Catherine the Great, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), p. 410. – Christina Strunck, The "two bodies" of the female sovereign: awkward hierarchies in images of Empress Maria Theresia, Catherine the Great of Russia and their male consorts, in: Helen Watanabe O'Kelly – Adam Morton (edd.), *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*, London 2017, pp. 64–83, cit. p. 76.
- ⁶³ Rolling – Lechner (note 42), p. 80, Cat. No. II.23.
- ⁶⁴ Ernst Kantorowitz, *Dvě těla krále. Studie středověké politické teologie*, Praha 2014 (first edition 1957), pp. 234, 284.
- ⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 219. Based on period research by the Hungarian historian Alexius Horányi from the last third of the 18th century, there are views that this is not the original crown of the King St Stephen. See Holčík, Korunovačné slávnosti, 1988 (note 4), p. 8.
- ⁶⁶ Peter Révai, *De sacrae coronae regni Hungariae ortu, virtute, victoria, fortuna, annos ultra D C clarissimae, brevis commentarius. Augustae Vindellicorum, Augustae Vindellicorum*: Mang, 1613. – Teszelszky (note 36), p. 124.
- ⁶⁷ Bourdieu (note 17), p. 28.
- ⁶⁸ Anne Sophie Banakas – Sandra Hertel, Die Gestik Maria Theresias zwischen Weiblichkeit und Majestät, in: Telesko – Hertel – Linsboth (note 7), p. 209, note 636.
- ⁶⁹ Luková – Francová – Holčík (note 4), pp. 38–39.
- ⁷⁰ Géza Pálffy – Ferenc Gábor Soltész – Csaba Tóth, *Coronatus Posonii. Bratislava coronation medals and tokens (1563–1830) / A pozsonyi magyar uralkodókoronázások érmei (1563–1830)*, Bratislava – Budapest 2014, pp. 129–130. – Sabine Haag et al., *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät. Medaillen Maria Theresias* (exhib. cat.), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien 2017, p. 78.
- ⁷¹ Marina Pisk Bregovac, Portraits of the Queen and Empress Maria Theresia in North-Western Croatia. An Overview, *Povijesni prilozii* 55, 2018, pp. 305–321. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/214655> (accessed 22. 7. 2021), cit. pp. 309, 310. – Mráz – Schlag (note 43), p. 162, Cat. No. 32.
- ⁷² Banakas (note 8), pp. 482, 483. Copies of Hamilton's portrait were also placed in Gödöllő Castle and Batthyány Castle in Hungary; see Banakas (note 8), pp. 483, 484.
- ⁷³ Banakas (note 8), p. 382.
- ⁷⁴ Serfőző (note 40), p. 108. – Skvortcova (note 62), p. 410.
- ⁷⁵ Agnes Husslein-Arco – Georg Lechner (edd.), *Martin Meytens der Jüngere*, Wien 2014, pp. 46–47, Fig. – Serfőző (note 40), p. 107.
- ⁷⁶ Petrová-Pleskotová (note 53), p. 96, note 229, p. 115. – Rolling – Lechner (note 42), p. 55, Cat. No. II.6. – Luková – Vyskupová (note 42), p. 11.
- ⁷⁷ Luková – Vyskupová (note 42), p. 96, Cat. No. 85.
- ⁷⁸ Polleroß (note 35), p. 73.
- ⁷⁹ Telesko (note 11), p. 67.
- ⁸⁰ Polleroß (note 35), p. 73, Fig. 10.
- ⁸¹ Vít Vlnas, *Praha barokní*, Praha 2017, p. 59. From the same author comes the depiction of Charles Alexander of Lorraine dated 1744 during the War of the Austrian Succession, at the head of his forces crossing the Rhine before Strasbourg (Musée historique de Strasbourg).
- ⁸² Banakas (note 8), pp. 600–601.

RESUMÉ

***Rex femina* – Marie Terezie jako uherská královna v portrétní prezentaci**

Martina Vyskupová

Korunovace Marie Terezie uherskou královnou v Bratislavě v roce 1741 byla jednou z primárních součástí komunikační strategie habsbursko-lotrinské dynastie v 18. století. V důsledku této události vzniklo zejména na začátku vlády Marie Terezie několik nových portrétních typů, které sloužily k vytváření image panovnice a potvrzení legitimacy její vlády a byly určeny především pro diváky v Uhrách. K nejrozšířenějším patřily zvláště na začátku její vlády korunovační podobizny uherské královny v ceremoniálním oděvu a s uherskými korunovačními insigniemi – uherskou korunou, žezlem, jablkem a mečem. Zhotovovaly se zejména ve čtyřicátých letech 18. století především v Uhrách, ale

i v dalších zemích habsburské říše. Na rozdíl od méně častých korunovačních podobizen české královny byly portréty uherské královny různě variovány a vytvářeny i v pozdějších letech. Osobitým typem v portrétní prezentaci Marie Terezie je jezdecký portrét ilustrující jeden z aktů korunovace – mávání mečem na korunovačním pahorku. Nežádka byla Marie Terezie zobrazována i v párovém typu portrétu se svým manželem Františkem I. Štěpánem Lotrinským či s korunným princem Josefem, pozdějším císařem Josefem II., portrétovaným v uherském oděvu, který zdůrazňoval jeho následnictví na uherském trůnu. Reprezentace královny se uskutečňovala prostřednictvím závěsných a nástěnných obrazů, sochařských prací, tisků, uměleckého řemesla nebo ve formě mincí a medailí.

K nejvýznamnějším autorům státnických portrétů Marie Terezie jako uherské královny patřili zejména rakouští malíři Martin van Meytens ml. (1695–1770), Johann Peter Kobler (činný ve druhé třetině 18. století) nebo Daniel Schmidelli (1705/1710–1779), který působil také v Bratislavě.

Obrazová příloha: **1** – Gilles Edme Petit, Martin van Meytens, **Marie Terezie jako uherská královna**, rytina, lept, 1742/1743. Slovenská národní galéria; **2** – Daniel Schmidelli, **Marie Terezie v uherském korunovačním oděvu**, 1742. Galéria mesta Bratislavy; **3** – **Marie Terezie v uherském korunovačním oděvu**, 1765. Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice; **4** – **Marie Terezie**, nástěnná malba, okolo roku 1773. Zámek v Humenném, tzv. Pokoj uherských králů; **5** – **Slavnostní průvod Marie Terezie a Josefa II.**, nástěnná malba, kolem 1773. Zámek v Humenném, tzv. Pokoj Marie Terezie; **6** – Carl Hirsch ml., **Jezdecký portrét Marie Terezie jako uherské královny**, 1747. Galéria mesta Bratislavy; **7** – Christian Wilhelm, Martin Engelbrecht, **Jezdecký portrét Marie Terezie jako uherské královny**, 1747. Galéria mesta Bratislavy