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### **Iustitia est regnorum fundamentum**

*– From Hungary to Brazil – Revolution in Europe, and the Loyalty of Hungary  
towards the Habsburgs\**

Part I.



*Hungarians! The whole of Europe is watching you now. You identify all your glory and happiness in your ancient Constitution, and I proudly use the title king of Hungary. Let's be so proud of being Hungarians, let's guard and preserve this noble tradition of your honourable nation, and let's do everything to secure the happiness of your homeland forever"*

(Francis I of Hungary, at the Diet of Pozsony, 1808)

#### ABSTRACT

*The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars most significantly affected Europe and also caused fundamental changes in America. The loyal attitude of the Hungarian nation toward the Habsburgs during these decades was fully reasonable, although Napoleon tried to provoke a rebellion in Hungary against the Habsburgs. Maria Leopoldina of Habsburg, Archduchess of Austria and Royal Princess of Hungary spent her childhood in these decades full of tension. Very interesting episode, a good part of the imperial and royal family spent the summer of 1809 in Eger, we know letters written by Leopoldina from Buda and Eger to his father.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Kingdom of Hungary, Napoleonic Wars, Revolution, Maria Leopoldina, Brazil*

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\* Recomendo este artigo aos meus bons amigos brazucas; Renan Fernandes Bastos e Victor Alan Nogueira

## Introduction

Brazil celebrated the 200th anniversary (1822) of its independence on 7 September 2022. For many in Hungary the Giant of South America means its prodigious beaches, landscapes, fantastic music, culture, legendary sport achievements, and unique gastronomy. In fact, it should mean much more for us. It is so memorable that o Cristo Redentor do Rio de Janeiro was “dressed” to Hungarian Tricolour in 2016 for the 100th anniversary of the coronation of Blessed King Charles IV of Habsburg (1916–1918) in Budapest.<sup>1</sup> In 2022 the President of Brazil, Jair Messias Bolsonaro made a historic state-visit to Hungary and in his



The first Holy Mass in Brazil (April 26, 1500), on the beach of Coroa Vermelha, in Santa Cruz Cabrália (Bahia), painted by Victor Meirelles (1860)

press statement referred to the Brazilian and the Hungarian nations as brothers.<sup>2</sup> The first, but mostly unknown connection goes back to the beginning of the Early Modern Age, to the person of Rodrigo Borgia, who issued various Bulls of Donation (1493) as Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) which granted overseas territories to Portugal and Spain.<sup>3</sup> The Borgia popes were the mayor allies of Hungary during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia was nominated the Abbot of Pétervárad by King Matthias Hunyadi, and in 1491–1492 he was a self-pretend to the Bishopric of Eger, one of the most important ecclesiastical benefits in the Kingdom of Hungary, but after he had been elected Pope of Rome, he resigned from his claim on the

Bishopric of Eger in favour of his Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.<sup>4</sup> As a result of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the territory now called Brazil was claimed for the Portuguese Empire in 1500, with the arrival of the Portuguese fleet commanded by Pedro Álvares Cabral. The place of the very first Holy Mass celebrated in Brazil in 26 April 1500 (Santa Cruz Cabrália, Bahia) is still a memorial place. Brazil remained part of the Portuguese Empire until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of course during the long centuries Hungarians also came to there,<sup>5</sup> but there was someone among them who made history; Archduchess Maria Leopoldina of Habsburg (1797–1826), Royal Princess of Hungary, who played a key role in Brazil becoming independent from the Union with Portugal. The nation-wide memory of the empress consort is still strong in Brazil, although her person – despite of its importance – is mostly unknown in the (inter)national historiography, meanwhile figures like Archduchess Maria Theresa (Queen of Hungary), Archduchess Marie Antoinette (Queen consort of France), or

<sup>1</sup> “Por ocasião do centenário da coroação do último rei húngaro, Carlos IV, beatificado em 2004 pelo Papa João Paulo II, o Cristo Redentor foi iluminado no dia 30 de dezembro com as cores da bandeira húngara” <https://braziliavaros.mfa.gov.hu/bra/news/magyar-szinekkel-vilagitottak-meg-a-rioi-megvalto-krisztus-szobrat>, accessed 6 May 2023. Let see the authentic movie about the coronation of Charles IV of Habsburg in Budapest <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MRsB7QKlmVg> accessed 6 May 2023.

<sup>2</sup> “O Presidente Jair Bolsonaro ressaltou que considera a Hungria um país irmão” <https://www.gov.br/planalto/pt-br/acompanhe-o-planalto/noticias/2022/02/presidente-jair-bolsonaro-faz-visita-oficial-a-hungria>, accessed 6 May 2023.

<sup>3</sup> Herman Vander Linden, Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal (1493–1494), *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1916), 1–20.

<sup>4</sup> Fraknói, Vilmos, *Rodrigo Borgia (VI. Sándor) Giulio Medici (VII. Kelemen) és Ascanio Sforza bíbornok, mint egri püspök-praetendensek*, Eger, 1884.

<sup>5</sup> Torbágyi, Péter, *Magyar kivándorlás Latin-Amerikába az első világháború előtt*, Szeged, 2009.

Archduchess Marie Louise (Empress consort of France) are World-wide known members of the Habsburg dynasty.

A good part of the imperial and royal family spent the summer of 1809 in Hungary as ‘refugee’ and guest of the archbishop of Eger due to the imperial capital (Vienna) was occupied by the French troops of Napoleon. We can notice that if the Hungarians wouldn’t have supported the Habsburg dynasty during the French Revolution (1789–1799) and later during the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815), the Habsburgs might not have been able to preserve their power in Central Europe, so the archduchess might never have married Dom Pedro of Bragança and thus became the future Empress consort of Brazil. The Hungarians saved the thrones of the Habsburgs in Central Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, as they had done before during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

So, there is an indirect connection – through the person of Leopoldina – between the pro-Habsburg attitude of the Hungarian Nation and the independence of Brazil, where the process was not against the royal family, on the contrary, it was prompted by them. The golden and green colours of the flag of Brazil (*Auriverde*) symbolise the respect towards the two dynasties, the gold for the Habsburg and the green for the Bragança. Part I of the study attempts to offer an overview of the legal and political position of the Habsburg dynasty in Hungary during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, the constitutional system and the political situation in Hungary, the reason for the pro-Habsburg attitude of the Hungarian nation, and particularly the residing of the imperial and royal family in Eger. Part II will analyse the key role of Leopoldina in the process of the independence of Brazil, as well as her attitude to the conflict.

### *I. The House of Habsburg and the Kingdom of Hungary during the Napoleonic wars*

The origin of the connection between the House of Habsburg and the Kingdom of Hungary goes back to the Middle Ages, to the reign of Rudolf I of Habsburg, King of the Romans (1273–1291), the founder of the dynasty.<sup>6</sup> The throne of Hungary was occupied by the House of Habsburg (after 1780 officially Habsburg-Lorraine) for centuries, for the first time between 1437 and 1457, and later continuously from 1526 to 1918.<sup>7</sup> Although the (inter)national historiography refers to the ‘Habsburg Monarchy’ (1526–1848) in Central Europe as a state, in reality it never existed as a realm. It would be much better to talk about the Habsburg Power in Central Europe. There was no common legislature, no common executive or juridical power, no common government, no common army, no common territory, no



Austria and Hungary (1835)

<sup>6</sup> Fraknói, Vilmos: *A Habsburg-ház első érintkezési Magyarországgal (1269–1274)*, MTA, Budapest, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> Sára, János: *A Habsburgok és Magyarország 950–1918*, Antheanum 2000 Kiadó, Budapest, 2001, Pálffy, Géza, *Hungary between Two Empires (1526–1711)*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2021.

common legal system.<sup>8</sup> It was exclusively the person of the monarch that was the same for all of the territories governed; the Habsburgs were the (elected) emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (after 1804 the hereditary emperors of Austria), kings of Hungary, kings of Bohemia, archdukes of Austria, etc. The Kingdom of Hungary (1000–1920) – ruled by the Habsburgs from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (1526) until the end of the First World War (1918) – always remained a sovereign state, the country had its own constitutional system, and was not a subordinated territory to the Austrian Hereditary Lands or to the (Holy Roman and later Austrian) imperial government.

The Habsburgs were monarchs of Hungary absolutely not in their own right, but in the free election by the Hungarian Diet until 1687, and after the regulation of the succession of the throne (1687 and 1723) by virtue and obligation of a coronation in a convoked Diet. Meanwhile the Austrian Hereditary Lands were governed in an absolute way from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – in Austria the monarchs were sovereigns in their own right –, in the Kingdom of Hungary they were obligated to act within the marks of the constitution, to cooperate with the Hungarian Diet, which was obviously an uncomfortable situation for them. So we can understand why the imperial government tried to break down the sovereignty and the old constitutional system of Hungary many times, but these illegal attempts always resulted only temporary and limited ‘successes’. That is why that the four-hundred-year-long Habsburg period in Hungary was full of conflicts, revolts, wars of independence, revolutions and compromises.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most emblematic represent of the ‘enlightened and progressive’ occidental feudal absolutism was Emperor Joseph II (1765–1790). True to his famous motto – “*everything for the people but nothing by the people*” –, he tried to totally eliminate the Kingdom of Hungary and sought to create a unified (Austrian/German) empire during his illegal usurpation in Hungary (1780–1790). Joseph II opposed to convoke the Hungarian Diet and refused the coronation – in Hungary the heir to the throne could become king only through the coronation in a Diet and not by the occupancy of the crown –, so his reign in Hungary was illegal. After his hostile and anti-Hungarian decade, the Diet of Pozsony<sup>10</sup> (1790) forced his younger brother and successor, Emperor and King Leopold II (1790–1792) to restore the sovereignty and the constitutional order in the country. So it was declared and clarified that Hungary was totally independent from the imperial authorities – as it was always –, and could be governed only by the legitimate King of Hungary within the marks of the constitution and the customary law of the country, absolutely not by the style of government of other countries.<sup>11</sup> In accordance of the ancient Theory of the Holy Crown, the public power was divided between the king and the *status et ordines* (nobility, clergy and the citizens of the free royal cities), so the monarch had to govern together with the *status et ordines*, and not without them. In Hungary the monarch

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<sup>8</sup> After the Compromise of 1867 in the case of the empire so called Austria-Hungary was a little bit different, a part of the executive power (the defense and the foreign affairs were common, and there was a common finance ministry for the expenditures of the Common Army, the navy and the diplomatic service) was regulated on the basis of the principals of the Acts I-II of 1723.

<sup>9</sup> Pálffy, Géza, *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században*, MTA BTK TTI, Budapest, 2016, Pálffy, Géza: Szakítások és kiegyezések évszázada. A Magyar Királyság 17. századi története új megvilágításban, *Történelmi Szemle* LVII, (2015) 51–66, Pálffy, Géza, Egy elbukott, mégis sikeres függetlenségi mozgalom – A Rákóczi-szabadságharcról hosszabb történelmi távlatban, In: *Rákóczi Emlékkönyv*, Bethlen Gábor Alapkezelő Zrt., Budapest, 2021, 14–29.

<sup>10</sup> Dobszay, Tamás: *A rendi országgyűlés utolsó évtizedei (1790–1848)*, Országház Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2019, 30.

<sup>11</sup> Márkus, Dezső (ed.): *Corpus Juris Hungarici – Magyar Törvénytár (1740–1835) [CJH.]*, Franklin, Budapest, 1901, Art. X of 1790.



was not a sovereign as it was in various Western theories, the sovereignty belonged to the Holy Crown of Hungary.<sup>12</sup> The end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – after the dictatorial and chaotic years of Emperor Joseph II – was the time to restore the harmony between the Habsburgs and the Hungarian nation. The obligation of the coronation was limited to six months after the death of the predecessor,<sup>13</sup> before the coronation of Leopold II, the Holy Crown was brought back from Vienna to Hungary<sup>14</sup> and its permanent guarding place was designated in Buda,<sup>15</sup> earlier, Joseph II had unlawfully ordered that the Holy Crown (the irreplaceable sign of power and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hungary) be taken from Pozsony to Vienna. The convening of the Diet once in three years was required again<sup>16</sup> – the last Diet was held in 1765 (!) –, and the authority of the monarch was clarified in the executive and legislative power, just as the old independence of the judicial power (Royal Curia of Hungary) was restored.<sup>17</sup> Although the Diet declared (and reclaimed) the restoration of the territorial integrity of the Kingdom<sup>18</sup> – the military zone at the Southern border of the country was created (1718) by the imperial administration after the liberation of the country from the Ottoman usurpation, and it was under the direct jurisdiction of the *Aulic War Council* –, like as the former authority and jurisdiction of the ancient institutes of the Hungarian government,<sup>19</sup> such as the Hungarian Royal Council,<sup>20</sup> the Palatine,<sup>21</sup> the Primate<sup>22</sup> or the Ban of Croatia.<sup>23</sup> The old liberties and privileges of the free royal cities,<sup>24</sup> the autonomy of the Jász-Kun community,<sup>25</sup> etc. were also in the focus.<sup>26</sup> Although the use of the Hungarian language in the public administration was reclaimed by many, finally they decided to restore the use of the Latin instead of the German which Emperor Joseph II had illegally imposed.<sup>27</sup> These articles were the answers of the Hungarian Nation to the absolutistic and illegal aspirations of the Habsburgs. Symbolises perfectly the positive rhetoric of the monarchs about the Hungarians, for instance the letters written by Leopold II to his doubled brother-in-law, Ferdinand I of

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<sup>12</sup> Ferdinandy, Gejza: *A koronázás és közjogi jelentősége*, Athenaeum, Budapest, 1893/2, 212–234, Ferdinandy, Gejza, *A királyi méltóság és hatalom Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1895, Timon, Ákos, *A Szent Korona elmélete és a koronázás*, Stephaneum, Budapest, 1920.

<sup>13</sup> *CJH*. Art. III of 1790, János M. Bak – Géza Pálffy, *Crown and Coronation in Hungary 1000–1916 A.D.*, MTA BTK, Budapest, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> The Holy Crown was brought to the imperial treasury in Vienna illegally by Emperor Joseph II, let see: Soós, István, *Koronánk a bécsi kincstárban (1784–1790)*, In: Pálffy, Géza (ed.), *A Szent Korona hazatér. A magyar korona tizenegy külföldi útja (1205–1978)*, MTA BTK TTI, Budapest, 2018, 395–480.

<sup>15</sup> *CJH*. Art. VI of 1790.

<sup>16</sup> *CJH*. Art. XIII of 1790.

<sup>17</sup> *CJH*. Art. XII of 1790.

<sup>18</sup> *CJH*. Art. XI of 1790.

<sup>19</sup> *CJH*. Art. XIV, XXXIX, LVIII of 1790.

<sup>20</sup> Ember, Győző: *A M. Kir. Helytartótanács ügyintézésének története 1724–1848*, M. Kir. Országos Levéltár, Budapest, 1940.

<sup>21</sup> C. Tóth, Norbert: *A Magyar Királyság nádora. A nádori és helytartói intézmény története (1342–1562)*, MTA BTK TTI, Budapest, 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Késmárky, István: *Az esztergomi érseknek, mint Magyarország primásának jogai és kiváltságai*, Budapest, 1896.

<sup>23</sup> Ivana Horbec: *A felvilágosult abszolutizmus és a báni méltóság. Bevezetés a horvát–szlávón rendek politikájába (1756–1790)*, In: Fodor, Pál – Sokcsevits, Dénes (ed.), *A horvát-magyar együttélés fordulópontjai Intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra*, MTA BTK TTI, Budapest, 2015, 168–174.

<sup>24</sup> Kállay, István: *A városi önkormányzat hatásköre Magyarországon 1686–1848*, Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, III Hatóság- és hivataltörténet 9, Budapest, 1989.

<sup>25</sup> Bánkiné Molnár: *Erzsébet, A Jászkun Kerület igazgatása, 1745–1876*, A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok közleményei 51, Szolnok, 1995.

<sup>26</sup> *CJH*. Art. XXV of 1790.

<sup>27</sup> *CJH*. Art. XVI of 1790, Hönich, Henrik, *Latin vagy magyar? A nyelvkérdés a diéta előtt 1790–91-ben*, In: Dobszay, Tamás – H. Németh, István – Pap, József – Szijártó M., István (ed.), *Rendi országgyűlés – polgári parlament. Érdekképviselet és törvényhozás Magyarországon a 15. századtól 1918-ig*, Budapest–Eger, 2020, 273–293.

Naples in which he uses laudative phrases (“*Mes bons Hongrois*”, “*brave Nation*”) just as the Neapolitan monarch refers to them (“*dignes Hongrais*”, “*brave Nation Hongraise*”) in his answers.<sup>28</sup>

Leopold II died unexpectedly in March 1792 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis (1792–1835) in a smooth transition. The new monarch wanted to express his goodwill toward the Hungarian nation, he clarified the ambiguous parts of the Inauguration Letter in which the monarch promises to observe the constitution, laws, customs, privileges of the country and the rights of the nation, to protect its territorial integrity etc.<sup>29</sup> In the same year, he was crowned king of Hungary in Buda.<sup>30</sup> Francis feared from the consequences of the possible expansion of the French Revolution – provoked and led by the freemasonry – in Europe, his aunt, Archduchess Marie Antoinette (Queen consort of France) was executed (1793) by the Jacobin freemasons, very interesting that the cooperation with her brother and her nephew (King Leopold II, King Francis I) “*against the interest of France*” was part of the accusations in the penal process.<sup>31</sup> It is well known that Emperor Joseph II was one of the greatest friends of the freemasonry in Europe,<sup>32</sup> but after the radicalization of the lodges and mostly after the escalation of the chaos in France, the Habsburg administration imposed increasing restrictions on these secret societies. In Hungary during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, patriotic aristocrats and nobles like Count Esterházy, Count Bethlen, Count Draskovich, Count Bánffy, Count Széchenyi, Count Batthyány, Count Forgách, Count Niczky, Kazinczy, and many others, were masons, they wanted to serve the elementary interests of the country and to defend the constitutional order against the illegal acts of the feudal absolutistic policy of the Habsburg imperial administration.

Of course, after the first news about French Revolution they suspended their activity, and left the masonry immediately (1789) to demonstrate that they do not agree with the radicalized movement.<sup>33</sup> The execution of Louis XVI of France and Marie Antoinette (1793) caused a real shock in Vienna, the known members of the masonry were removed from the public offices, later they were persecuted by the authorities. After the Martinovics Conspiracy<sup>34</sup> (1794), on the urging of Archduke Alexander Leopold of Habsburg, the Palatine of Hungary, the monarch



The coronation of King Francis I of Hungary in Buda (1792) by Cardinal Count József Batthyány, Archbishop of Esztergom and Archduke Alexander Leopold of Habsburg, the Palatine of Hungary (the last one with the insignia of the Order of St Stephen of Hungary) by Johann Peter Krafft

<sup>28</sup> *Diarium comitorum regni Hungariae*. Posenii (1792) 91, 97.

<sup>29</sup> *CJH*. Art. II of 1792.

<sup>30</sup> *CJH*. Art. I of 1792, Vajnági, Márta, A magyar rendek az 1792-es koronázáson, In: Dobszay, Tamás – H. Németh István – Pap, József – Szijártó M., István (ed.), *Rendi országgyűlés – polgári parlament. Érdekképviselet és törvényhozás Magyarországon a 15. századtól 1918-ig*, Budapest–Eger, 2020, 209–229.

<sup>31</sup> *Procès De Marie-Antoinette, Dite De Lorraine D'Autriche, Veuve De Louis Capet: Acte D'Accusation, Interrogatoire public, Dépositions, Confrontation des Témoins au Tribunal Révolutionnaire, et Jugement*, Marchands De Nouveautés, Paris, 1793, „elle avoir des rapports politiques avec l'homme qualifié de roi de Bohême et de Hongrie; que ses rapports étoient contraires aux intérêts de la France”.

<sup>32</sup> Helmut Reinalter: *Joseph II. und die Freimaurerei im Lichte zeitgenössischer Broschüren*, Wien, 1987.

<sup>33</sup> Abafi, Lajos: *A szabadkőműveliség története Magyarországon*, Schmidl H. Könyvnyomdája, Budapest, 1900.

<sup>34</sup> Ignác Martinovics was a secret agent paid by Leopold II, but after Francis had ascended the throne he was dismissed, and he organized a conspiracy against the monarch, let see: Szilágyi, Márton, Elviselni az elviselhetetlent. A Martinovics-összeesküvés elítélteinek börtönvilága, *Történelmi Szemle* LVII (2015), 121–130.



Archduke Alexander Leopold of Habsburg, the Palatine of Hungary in traditional Hungarian dress, by unknown painter (18<sup>th</sup> century)

decided to ban the freemasonry (1795) both in Austria and in Hungary.<sup>35</sup> Next year (1796) Francis convoked the Diet, in his invitation letter he talked openly about the threatening dangers,<sup>36</sup> which phrases remained part of the passed Act too:

*“This time we should act and do everything to secure our royal throne, the keep of the ancient Constitution of the country, the protection of the rights and privileges of the nobility, the preservation of the religion against all aspirations which want to terminate with the constitutional order and the Christian religion”.*<sup>37</sup>

The reaction from the part of the Hungarian Diet was very positive:

*“The Status et Ordines offered their life and blood (Vitam & Sanguinem) to defend the king and his House (Augustae Domus), the dignity of the country and the ancient Constitution (avita ejusdem Constitutione)”.*<sup>38</sup>

We can notice that the policy of the Habsburg administration during these decades focused on three main objectives in Hungary; (1) to secure the stability of the kingdom and the royal throne (defence), (2) to observe and conserve the constitution, and (3) to defend the Christian religion. These aspirations coincided with the interests of the Hungarian *status et ordines*. Francis followed the pragmatic policy of his father in Hungary, the strong and flexible cooperation with the Hungarian nation, in exchange the Diet passed the oblation (money, horses, rookies etc.) from time to time for the defence against the increasing escalation of the French Revolution in Europe.<sup>39</sup> The Diet was convened by Francis regularly, an interesting date; between 1792 and 1812 seven Diets were held,<sup>40</sup> exactly the same number as during an entire century before (1688–1790).<sup>41</sup> The first half of Francis’ reign was spent in the shadow of the escalation of the

<sup>35</sup> The decree remained in force in Hungary until 1867, but in Austria until the end of the First World War (1918), let see: Abafi op. cit. 415, Günter Kodek: *Von der Alchemie zur Aufklärung: Chronik der Freimaurerei in Österreich und den Habsburgischen Erblanden 1717–1867*, Loecker Erhard Verlag, 2011.

<sup>36</sup> *Diarium...* (1796) 7, “duntaxat, cum Regni hujus Fidelibus Statibus & Ordinibus tractare, & deliberare decrevimus, quae pro firmando Regali Solio nostro, pro defendenda avita Regni Constitutione, tuendisque juribus, & praerogativis Nobilitaribus, conservanda denique Religione, in his ad convulsionem omnis constitutionis, omnisque Religionis eversionem tendentibus hostilibus moliminibus tam pro praefenti, quam pro futuro e re necessaria fore videbuntur”.

<sup>37</sup> *CJH*. Praefatio of 1796.

<sup>38</sup> *CJH*. Praefatio of 1796.

<sup>39</sup> *CJH*. Art. VI of 1792, Art II of 1796, Art. I of 1802, Art. I of 1805, Art. I-II of 1807, Art. II and VI of 1808, Art. I of 1812, Szijártó M., István, A magyar rendek adómegajánlási joga és a 18. századi adómegajánlási rend kialakulása, *Történelmi Szemle* XLVI, (2004) 241–295, Nagy-L, István, *A 34. magyar gyalogezred tisztikara a francia háborúban (1792–1815)*, Magyarságkutató Intézet, Budapest, 2021.

<sup>40</sup> Pálmány, Béla: *A magyar rendi országgyűlések történeti almanachja 1790–1812*, Országház Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> Szijártó M., István: *A 18. századi Magyarország rendi országgyűlése*, Országház Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2016.



French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, which affected the most of Europe.<sup>42</sup> Napoleon had been pressing Francis to dissolve the Holy Roman Empire for years, and finally obligated him (1806) to do so, from that point (1804) onward Francis started to use the hereditary title *Emperor of Austria*, which made him a so-called ‘doppelkaiser’ (double emperor).<sup>43</sup> Royal



Europe after the Peace of Tilsit (1807)

families were removed by force throughout the continent. After the French invasion in Spain (1808) the Bourbons had to resign in the favour of Napoleon, they remained in home guard until the fall of the French emperor (1814), which caused the fatal collapse of the Spanish Empire in America.<sup>44</sup> By invading Portugal (1808) the House of Bragança decided to move from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>45</sup> Of course, the Habsburgs could not keep Austria and Hungary out of the conflict, both Napoleon and Francis thought that the other is the obstacle for all his plans.<sup>46</sup> After the French troops had invaded Austria again (1809) – to cause problems in the hinterlands of the enemy, Napoleon tried to get the Hungarians to rebel against the Habsburgs – a political Proclamation was issued to the Hungarian nation from the Schönbrunn Palace (Vienna) to incite a rebellion:

*‘I do not want ask nothing from you, I just want to see you becoming a free and truly independent nation. The main reason of your disgrace was the union with Austria; your blood, your goods were sacrificed for the well-being of the Hereditary Lands of Austria. Let’s be again who you were before, let’s regain your own national being. Let’s elect a monarch who lives in your country. You should not*

<sup>42</sup> Zachar, József: Háború, háború, háború...1792–1815, In: Bana, József – Katona, Csaba (ed.), *Franciák Magyarországon, 1809 (I. kötet)*, Győr Megyei Jogú Város Levéltára – Magyar Országos Levéltár – Mediawave Közalapítvány, Budapest-Győr, 2010, 15–35, Robert Goetz, *1805: Austerlitz: Napoleon and the Destruction of the Third Coalition*, Greenhill Books, 2005, Christopher Summerville, *Napoleon’s Polish Gamble: Eylau and Friedland 1807*, Pen and Sword Military, 2006, John H. Gill, *The Battle of Znam: Napoleon, The Habsburgs and the End of the War of 1809*, Greenhill Books, 2020.

<sup>43</sup> Illés, József, *A Magyar czimer és a királyi cím története 1804-től kezdve*, MTA, Budapest, 1917, Wilhelm Brauneder, *Az osztrák császári cím, Jogtörténeti Szemle*, 2017/3, 9–15, ‘Nos Franciscus Secundus divina favente clementia electus romanorum imperator, semper augustus, haereditarius Austriae imperator’ let see: *CJH*. laws of 1805.

<sup>44</sup> José María Portillo Valdés: La crisis imperial de la Monarquía Española, *Historia y espacio* 39, (2012) 160–177, Daniel Sánchez Silva, Crisis de la Monarquía Española (1808–1814) Influencia de Manuel Godoy, *Tiempo y Espacio* 61, (2014) 413–423.

<sup>45</sup> Jurandir Malerba: *A Corte no Exílio: Civilização e Poder no Brasil às Vésperas da Independência*, Companhia das Letras, São Paulo, 2000, Kenneth Light, *A viagem marítima da família real: A transferência da corte portuguesa para o Brasil*, Zahar, 2008, Laurentino Gomes, *1808: Como uma rainha louca, um príncipe medroso e uma corte corrupta enganaram Napoleão e mudaram a História de Portugal e do Brasil*, Globo Livros, 2014.

<sup>46</sup> Sándor Domanovszky: *József nádor élete I-II*, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Budapest, 1944, 215.

*fight for weak rulers anymore who are totally controlled by corrupt ministers, ministers who are paid by England, this common enemy of Europe, who based her own well-being on monopolistic trading and creating conflicts between us*.<sup>47</sup>

It is a fact that the union with Austria (so called ‘Habsburg Monarchy’) – with full of political and economic conflicts – was not the smaller bad, but the only option and guarantee for Hungary in the threatening shadow of the Ottoman and Russian Empires at that time. Despite the numerous true statements of the Napoleonic Proclamation (the illegal and harmful actions of the imperial administration against Hungary, its illegal interferes to the Hungarian internal affairs, the notorious violation of the Hungarian constitution, and so on) a rebellion against the Habsburgs was not a reality in the country at that time. Why? The Kingdom of Hungary was liberated by the Habsburgs at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century from the Ottoman occupation of more than 150 years (1541–1699/1718). The 18<sup>th</sup> century – thanks to the Rákóczy’s War of Independence (1703–11) and its result, the Compromise of Szatmár (1711) – proved to be a golden age for Hungary. Those decades secured the rebirth of the nation, the



Emperor and King Francis dressed to the grand master of the Order of St Stephen of Hungary (19<sup>th</sup> century) by Franz Xaver Stöber

reconstruction of the country; Hungary needed the political union with Austria as a common defence system under the same ruling dynasty. Especially, that the powerful Russian and the Ottoman Empires were in the neighbours, Napoleon did not mention not a word in his Proclamation that he would defend Hungary against those Great Powers. The example of Poland attests that when the French Empire collapsed at long last, the major part of Poland was re-occupied by Russia (the other parts were occupied by Austria and Prussia...), which was acknowledged (confirmed) by the Congress of Vienna (1815) later.<sup>48</sup> Not to talk about the unbearable charge which Poland had to pay to Napoleon for his ‘help and protection’. Do not forget, the Habsburgs lost two wars against the Ottoman Empire – in alliance with Russia (!) – during the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>49</sup> (1737–1739, 1787–1791), if Napoleon would have destroyed Austria, the independent but defenceless Hungary might not have been able to resist a Russian or a new Ottoman conquest. It seems to be sure that Hungary alone might have become a buffer zone between the

<sup>47</sup> Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, DKA-000330 *Napóleon kiáltványa a magyar nemzethez (15 May 1809)*.

<sup>48</sup> Brian Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon*, Harvard University Press, 2014, Acte final du Congrès de Vienne, Art. 1 “Le Duché de Varsovie, à l’exception des Provinces et districts dont il a été autrement disposé dans les articles suivants, est réuni à l’Empire de Russie. Il y sera lié irrévocablement par sa constitution, pour être possédé par S. M. l’Empereur de toutes les Russies, ses héritiers et ses successeurs à perpétuité. S. M. I. se réserve, de donner à cet État, jouissant d’une administration distincte, l’extension intérieure qu’elle jugera convenable. Elle prendra, avec ses autres titres, celui de Czar, Roi de Pologne, conformément au protocole usité et consacré pour les titres attachés à ses autres possessions”. „Les Polonais, sujets respectifs de la Russie, de l’Autriche et de la Prusse, obtiendront une représentation et des institutions nationales, réglées d’après le mode d’existence politique que chacun des Gouvernements auxquels ils appartiennent jugera utile et convenable de leur accorder”.

<sup>49</sup> Karl A. Roider: *The Reluctant Ally: Austria’s Policy in the Austro-Turkish War 1737–1739*, Louisiana State Univ Pr, 1972, Karl A. Roider, *Austria’s Eastern Question 1700–1790*, Princeton University Press, 2016.



Russian and Ottoman Empires, as happened to a good part of the Balkans during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, the bilateral relation which had deteriorated during the second half of the reign of Queen Maria Theresa and mostly under the illegal usurpation of Emperor Joseph II before, was set right under Kings Leopold II and Francis. During the reign of Francis the use of the Latin as official language in public administration was confirmed, so was the use of Hungarian



Archduke Joseph of Habsburg, Palatine of Hungary (1796–1847) in Hungarian Hussar uniform by Dietrich Monten (19<sup>th</sup> century)

in university education,<sup>51</sup> which paved the way for its use in the sessions of the Diet and in public administration.<sup>52</sup> The Diet (1808) supported the foundation of the Hungarian National Library (now called Széchényi Library after its founder, Count Ferenc Széchényi),<sup>53</sup> the establishing of the National Museum,<sup>54</sup> as well as the foundation of The Royal Hungarian Ludovica Defense Academy.<sup>55</sup> This last was named after Archduchess Maria Ludovica of Habsburg-Este – the third wife of King Francis –, who contributed 50,000 Forints for its upkeep from the funds of the Honours list proclaimed at the Coronation, her brother, Archduke Karl Ambrosius of Habsburg-Este – the recently nominated Primate of Hungary (archbishop of Esztergom) – contributed 20,000 Forints, Archduke Joseph of Habsburg – the Palatine of Hungary – contributed 10,000 Forints. The acceptance of the Napoleonic offer, the separation of Hungary from the Habsburgs would have caused the total instability, the absolute vulnerability of the country in an

extraordinary uncertain international situation (n)ever seen before. So we can diagnose that the Napoleonic offer resulted inefficient because it was far from the reality, although we know perfectly that it was not an unprepared attempt, the French Secret Service had worked much on it before the invasion.<sup>56</sup>

Despite of the numerous unresolved political and economic conflicts between the Hungarian *status et ordines* and the Habsburgs because of the abuses of power by the imperial administration, during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Habsburg dynasty and the Hungarian nation enjoyed the closest ties ever. King Francis remarked on that special bond in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Diet of Pozsony (1808):

<sup>50</sup> Henry Montague Hozier: *The Russo-Turkish War*, Legare Street Press, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> *CJH*. Art. XVI of 1790, Art. VII of 1792.

<sup>52</sup> *CJH*. Art. IV of 1805. Of course, before the Habsburg period the language of the sessions of the Diet was the Hungarian, but after 1526 the Diet started to prefer the Latin more and more.

<sup>53</sup> *CJH*. Art of XXIV of 1807, Somkuti, Gabriella, *Az Országos Széchényi-könyvtár története 1802–1918*, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, 2002.

<sup>54</sup> *CJH*. Art VIII of 1808.

<sup>55</sup> *CJH*. Art VII of 1808.

<sup>56</sup> Farkas, Gábor: A schrönbrunni kiáltvány fogadtatása, 1809 (1811), In: Bana, József – Katona, Csaba (ed.), *Franciák Magyarországon, 1809 (I. kötet)*, Győr Megyei Jogú Város Levéltára – Magyar Országos Levéltár – Mediawave Közalapítvány, Budapest-Győr, 2010, 45–53.

*“Hungarians! The whole of Europe is watching you now. You identify all your glory and happiness in your ancient Constitution, and I proudly use the title king of Hungary. Let’s be so proud of being Hungarians, let’s guard and preserve this noble tradition of your honourable nation, and let’s do everything to secure the happiness of your homeland forever”.*<sup>57</sup>

*“The convening of the present Diet and the presence of His Majesty here, his royal proposal to the Diet are the pure evidences that His Majesty does not want to act against the ancient Hungarian Constitution, he would like to respect it, to obey it faithfully and enforce it at all times. We are ready to sacrifice our talent and our life to protect our ancient Constitution against all enemies”* – responded Archduke Joseph of Habsburg, the Palatine of Hungary.<sup>58</sup>

*“The loyal ancestors of the noble Hungarian status et ordines defended the ancient Constitution of the country by sacrificing their own blood, their own life, so let us follow their example. The unique nation of Europe which still enjoys its own legal freedom and the privileges of its ancient Constitution, is the Hungarian Nation. So let’s show to all that we are the heirs of the famous noble qualities of our ancestors, the glorious Hungarian Nation. Let’s show to all what can do the Hungarian Nation united with its monarch!”* – responded Archduke Karl Ambrosius of Habsburg-Este, the Primate of Hungary.<sup>59</sup>

The political harmony between the House of Habsburg and the Hungarian Nation had never been as stronger as it was during these decades, the most important and most symbolic dignities were held unprecedented by the members of the imperial and royal family. The Palatine was the highest-ranking office in the Kingdom of Hungary from the beginning of the 11th century to 1848, from the middle of the 14th century the Palatine was elected by the Diet and nominated by the king.<sup>60</sup> In 1790 – as an act of reconciliation and as a symbol of the restoration of the harmony between the dynasty and the nation – Archduke Alexander Leopold of Habsburg<sup>61</sup> (†1795) was elected Palatine by the Diet, after his mortal accident, his younger brother, Archduke Joseph of Habsburg (†1847) was elected Palatine (1796) too by the grace of the status et ordines.<sup>62</sup> In 1808 the most prestigious ecclesiastical benefit, the Archbishopric of Esztergom was also occupied by a member of the dynasty, Archduke Karl Ambrosius of Habsburg-Este (1808–1809) – the cousin and brother-in-law of King Francis – was nominated Primate of Hungary.<sup>63</sup> The Napoleonic Proclamation to the Hungarian Nation was issued in that situation, the document invited the Hungarians to Rákos (Pest) – the emblematic place of the medieval Diets before the Habsburg period – to deprive the Habsburgs from the throne, and to elect a new monarch:

*“Hungarians! The moment in which you can regain your ancient freedom has come. You may accept my peace offer, let’s maintain your ancient Constitution in its actual form, or with any modification what you may prefer. Come to Rákos, as your*

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<sup>57</sup> *Diarium* (1808) 39.

<sup>58</sup> *Diarium* (1808) 39.

<sup>59</sup> *Diarium* (1808) 43.

<sup>60</sup> Szöcs, Tibor: *A nádori intézmény korai története 1000–1342*, Budapest, 2014.

<sup>61</sup> *CJH*. Art V of 1790, Mályusz, Elemér, *Sándor Lipót főherceg nádor iratai (1790–1795)*, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Budapest, 1926.

<sup>62</sup> *CJH*. Art. I of 1796.

<sup>63</sup> Latorcai, Csaba: Egy Habsburg a primási székben – Lotharingiai Károly Ambrus esztergomi érseksége. *Magyar Sion*, 2009/2, 262–272.





'Iustitia regnorum fundamentum'

*ancestors came always,  
let's held a real  
National Assembly and  
let me know about your  
decision".<sup>64</sup>*

The *status et ordines* of Hungary preferred to join to the military camp of the Palatine during the spring of 1809, they ignored the invitation of Napoleon to Pest. Their decision was fully

reasonable, the relation between the dynasty and the nation was get in order, the Napoleonic offer was far from the interests of the country. We can notice that the Proclamation shows perfectly the hypocrisy of the 'radical progressive policy' of the French emperor, Napoleon did not mind if the Hungarians would conserve the old constitutional system or not, the only thing that he urged was to reach the separation of Hungary from the Habsburgs. The attitude of the Hungarian *status et ordines* during these months was influenced more and more by the scary news about the French invasion of Austria.<sup>65</sup> The political and social chaos, which was the consequence of the French Revolution at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in France, was totally unacceptable for the Hungarians. The historiography estimates the number of the killed people (both civilian and military) between 3.5 million and 6.5 million during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in Europe... The *status et ordines* preferred the social progress in peace, from step by step, which finally resulted a long period (1790–1848). The Hungarian clergy did everything to defend the ancient values of the nation against the anarchic and anti-Christian intentions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>66</sup> The Hungarian *status et ordines* supported the Habsburgs, the insurrection of the Hungarian nobility, an old medieval institute which depended on the decision of the Diet, although it was offered in various occasions (1797, 1801, 1805, 1809) during the Napoleonic wars, it resulted incompatible to the modern fight.<sup>67</sup> In 1809 not all members of the House of Habsburg had the same attitude on the new war, the Italian born Maria Ludovica and her brother, Karl Ambrosius urged Francis to join the War of the Fifth Coalition against Napoleon, but the Palatine of Hungary tried to convince the monarch to keep Austria and Hungary out of the new conflict.<sup>68</sup> Finally Francis declared war on France, and sent the Primate to collect military support in the counties, we know the local dates too.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, DKA-000330 *Napóleon kiáltványa a magyar nemzethez (15 May 1809)*.

<sup>65</sup> Domanovszky: 246.

<sup>66</sup> Lukácsi, Zoltán: Napóleon a magyar katolikus prédikációkban, In: Bana, József – Katona, Csaba (ed.): *Franciák Magyarországon, 1809 (I. kötet)*, Győr Megyei Jogú Város Levéltára – Magyar Országos Levéltár – Mediawave Közalapítvány, Budapest-Győr, 2010, 75–87, 76.

<sup>67</sup> *CJH*. Art. II of 1808.

<sup>68</sup> Domanovszky 227.

<sup>69</sup> Balogh, György: *Újoncállítás Heves megyében a francia háborúktól 1847-ig*, Tanulmányok Heves megye történetéből 7, Eger, 1983.

## II. The imperial and royal family in Eger (1809)

Eger was one of the richest and most important ecclesiastical benefices in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>70</sup> After its liberation from the Ottoman usurpation (1596–1687), the city could reborn during the peaceful 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>71</sup> it is very symbolic that the Pope promoted Eger as a Metropolitan Archdiocese on the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary (1804) of its foundation.<sup>72</sup> The city of Eger had been under the jurisdiction of the (arch)bishops since its early days,<sup>73</sup> after the liberation of the city from the Ottoman occupation and usurpation (1687), the bishops – Fenessy, Telekessy, Count Erdődy, Count Barkóczy and Count Esterházy – did everything to restore its former glory, to develop the economic, cultural and scientific life of the city. Although Emperor Joseph II visited Eger various times on the invitation of Count Esterházy, but the ‘enlightened and progressive’ monarch – just as his mother, Queen Maria Theresa before – opposed consistently to give the licence and consent to found a university in the city, despite of that the construction was totally financed by the bishops and finished successfully by 1785.<sup>74</sup> The (arch)bishops of Eger were the perpetual counts (in Hungarian: *főispán*) of the united Counties of Heves and Külső-Szolnok, so the city was not just the centre of the (arch)bishopric, but the headquarters of these united counties too.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, the iconic edifices of the city were built in those decades, by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Eger became one of the most populous settlements in the country.<sup>76</sup> A perfect place to give refuge to the imperial and royal dynasty during the war. Due to the advance of the French troops in Austria in the spring of 1809, the imperial and royal court decided to leave Vienna and move to Buda. It was the second occasion within a few years, in 1805 the situation was very similar, although at that time they spent months in Kassa, the former seat of the bishops of Eger during the Ottoman period.<sup>77</sup> In May 1809 the Habsburg armies, under the command of Archduke Charles of Habsburg – the younger brother of Emperor Francis – stopped the French troops in the Battle of Aspern-Essling, from the Buda Castle the young Archduchess Leopoldina wrote a letter to her father in which she congratulated and asks the God’s blessing on the Habsburg armies.<sup>78</sup> A few weeks later Napoleon defeated the Hungarian noble army at Győr – the French troops bombarded the city of Pozsony too, the emblematic Hungarian Royal Castle of Pozsony was set on fire by Italian soldiers later – and the Austrian imperial army near to Wagram. An interesting thing; the Hungarian noble insurrection was called for the last time in the history, and as the result was not sufficient (the

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<sup>70</sup> Sugár, István: *Az egri püspökök története*, Eger, 1984, Béla Kovács, *Az egri egyházmegye története 1596-ig*, Eger, 1987.

<sup>71</sup> Breznay, Imre: *Eger a XVIII. században I-II*, Eger, 1933, Kovács, Béla, *Agria recuperata. A töröktől visszafoglalt Eger újjáépítésének első éveit, A Heves Megyei Levéltár forráskiadványai 13*, Eger, 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Horváth, István: *Az egri egyházmegye rövid története*, Eger, 2015, 8.

<sup>73</sup> Löffler, Erzsébet: Eger város jogi helyzete a török kiűzésétől 1854-ig, *Agria XVIII*, Eger, 1981, 85–97, 85.

<sup>74</sup> Petercsák, Tivadar (ed.): *Az egri Domus Universitatis és Liceum. Oktatás, tudomány, művészet 1763–2013*, Líceum Kiadó, Eger, 2013, Kiss, Péter, *Az egri érseki Liceum történetéből*, Eger, 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Porubszky, József: Az egri megye főpásztorainak különös jogairól, kiváltságairól s különféle kitüntetéseiről, In: *Emlékkönyv Kis-apponyi Bartakovics Béla egri érsek aranymiséjének ünnepére*, Eger, 1865, 173–198, 185.

<sup>76</sup> Nemes, Lajos, *Eger város önkormányzata 1687–1848, Tanulmányok Heves megye történetéből* 16, Eger, 2001, 32.

<sup>77</sup> Pap, József: Egy sikertelen kultuszteremtési kísérlet. A Szent Korona és Eger kapcsolata 1809-ben, *Acta Acad. Agriensis, Sectio Historiae* XLI, (2013) 197–212, 201.

<sup>78</sup> Bettina Kann – Patrícia Souza Lima (ed.): D. Leopoldina: *Cartas de Uma Imperatriz (Em Portugues do Brasil)*, Estação Liberdade, São Paulo, 2006, 180, “Querido papai! Com grande alegria recebo a notícia da vitória que logramos. Permita-me, caro papai, que lhe dê os parabéns, além de garantir que peço a Deus diariamente para que Ele continue a abençoar suas armas. Se Deus quiser, espero que minhas irmãs voltem logo. Enquanto isso, estou junto da irmã Luísa e tento pelo menos não esquecer o que já aprendi. Beijo-lhe as mãos e sou, como veneração filial, querido papai, sua filha obediente. Leopoldina”.

battle of Győr), the reform of the institution was cancelled forever by the Habsburgs.<sup>79</sup> On 16 June Empress and Queen consort Maria Ludovica came to Eger – the archbishop of Eger, Baron



Empress and Queen Consort Maria Ludovica (sitting in the middle) with the children, Archduke Ferdinand (left), Archduchess Maria Leopoldina (middle) and Archduke Francis Karl (right) by Bernhard von Guérard (c. 1810)

the imperial and royal court, Archduke Karl Ambrosius was installed formally by him to the Archbishopric of Esztergom<sup>80</sup> – with the children, Archduke Ferdinand, Archduchess Marie Louise and Archduchess Maria Leopoldina.

Archduke Karl Ambrosius joined them a few days later with Archduke Rudolph, and with the papal nuncio, Count Severoli, and various members of the imperial and royal court like Prince Kaunitz, Count and Countess Althan, Countess Lazansky, Count Pálffy, Count Esterházy, Count Nádasdy etc.<sup>81</sup> In July came Archduchess Maria Clementina, Archduchess Maria Caroline and Archduke Francis Karl from Várád to Kassa and later to Eger, the Holy Crown was also brought to the city from Buda.<sup>82</sup> Although Empress and Queen consort Maria Ludovica left the city in July and joined her husband in Esztergom – she heard the rumours about the claims of Napoleon on Austrian and Hungarian territories, she opposed to cede Tyrol

from the Empire of Austria, Dalmatia, Croatia and a good part of Slavonia from the Kingdom of Hungary to France –, the children remained in Eger. The archbishop of Eger did his best to make the stay of the imperial and royal family in the city enjoyable by organizing trips to the nearby mountains (Eged, Mátra) and the surrounding villages (Egerszalók, Felsőtárkány, etc.), holding festivals and dinners in various vineyards, and hosting banquets and dances in the Palace for the illustrious guests. The First Communion of Leopoldina was also in Eger, and she started to learn Italian there.

<sup>79</sup> Lázár, Balázs, A magyar nemesi felkelés 1809. évi szabályzatai, In: Bana, József – Katona, Csaba (ed.): *Franciák Magyarországon, 1809 (I. kötet)*, Győr Megyei Jogú Város Levéltára – Magyar Országos Levéltár – Mediawave Közalapítvány, Budapest-Győr, 2010, 63–73.

<sup>80</sup> Szmrecsányi, Miklós: *A királyi család és a Szent Korona egri menedékhelye 1809-ben*, Budapest, 1930, 37.

<sup>81</sup> Szmrecsányi 43.

<sup>82</sup> Soós, István: A koronázási jelvények menekítései a napóleoni háborúk korában (1805–6, 1809). In: Pálffy, Géza (ed.): *A Szent Korona magyarországi kalandjai (1301–2001)*, Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest, 2023, 329–434.



Central Europe in 1810, France took Tyrol from Austria, Croatia and a part of Slavonia from Hungary in accordance with the Treaty of Schönbrunn (1809)

In September, Archduke Karl Ambrosius died unexpectedly in Tata – he had visited soldiers in hospitals before and was infected by typhoid fever –, Leopoldina mentions her sadness over the death of her beloved uncle in the letter written to her father from Eger.<sup>83</sup> The activity of the imperial and royal family in Eger was well documented in the letters written by Marie Louise. The Peace Treaty of Schönbrunn<sup>84</sup> (1809) was signed by Francis in the Esterházy Palace (Tata), Napoleon forced Francis to cede important Austrian and

Hungarian territories in his favour,<sup>85</sup> and obligated him to do not interfere in other countries' internal affairs.<sup>86</sup> A year later (1810), Archduchess Marie Louise had to marry Napoleon under political pressure, of course, it secured a kind of peace from the part of the French aggression.

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<sup>83</sup> Kann – Souza Lima: 180–181, “Amado papai! Nessa distância tão grande que me separa do senhor, infelizmente não posso lhe transmitir pessoalmente meus pensamentos e impressões, por isso tomo da pena para fazê-lo por escrito. A morte do bom tio me entristeceu imensamente, pois eu o amava muito; também posso imaginar o pesar da boa mamãe e do senhor, principalmente porque acho que ele passou suas últimas horas de vida com o senhor. O único conforto é que agora ele não precisa sofrer mais e Deus cuidará de nós. Certamente rezarei muito por ele e por sua saúde, querido papai. O conde Wrba me garantiu que o senhor está com boa aparência, o que me alegrou muito. Minha saúde também está boa, e já não sofro mais daquelas eternas dores de garganta. Há pouco tempo comecei a estudar italiano. Acho que é bem fácil, e também nisso me esforçarei. Para aumentar a coleção que o senhor teve a vontade de me dar, tentei conseguir espécimes que se encontram aqui na região e nos montes Mátra. Já consegui uma boa parte, e passo horas agradáveis observando a coleção. Amado papai, já deve ter lido nas cartas que escrevemos à mamãe o relato da festa que o arcebispo organizou na véspera do dia onomástico de mamãe, por isso vou repeti-lo. Hoje queríamos dar um grande passeio ao monte Eged, mas as notícias que recebemos nos entristeceram tanto, que não podemos nos divertir enquanto não soubermos que a boa mamãe está bem. Os filhos da falecida camareira Handel me pediram que lhe transmitisse a súplica de não abandoná-los agora, porque os pobres órfãos estão numa situação muito difícil, com a horrível carestia em Viena. Posso esperar de sua misericórdia, bom papai, que atenderá ao meu pedido? Meu coração diz que sim, e certamente ele fala a verdade. A Baronesa Erberg me pede que lhe apresente seus respeitos, amado papai. Beijo-lhe as mãos, pedindo que mantenha sob sua profunda benevolência aqueça que permanece com a mais profunda veneração, amado papai, sua filha mui obediente, Leopoldina”.

<sup>84</sup> Szász, Erzsébet: *Békességkötés: Lichtenstein János Herceg sk., Nompère Champagny Ker. Ján. sk.*, In: *A schönbrunni béke: 1809. október 14.*, Szeged, 1992, 5–11, *Le Traité de Vienne* (14 octobre 1809) <https://www.napoleon.org/histoire-des-2-empires/articles/document-traite-de-paix-de-vienne-14-octobre-1809/> (05 06 2023).

<sup>85</sup> *Le Traité de Vienne*, Article 3.

<sup>86</sup> *Le Traité de Vienne* (14 octobre 1809) Article 15. “S.M. l’Empereur d’Autriche reconnaît tous les changements survenus ou qui pourraient survenir en Espagne, en Portugal et en Italie”.



### *Conclusions*

As we could see, the loyalty of Hungary towards the Habsburgs was in accordance with the very interest of the country, the security and the independence of the kingdom was the most important question for the status et ordines. Napoleon tried to break down the traditional monarchies in Europe, he forced the Bourbons to resign in Spain and Italy, he forced the Braganças to leave Lisbon. The Habsburgs could resist only with the help of the Hungarians. In 1809 a good part of the Habsburg family found refuge in Eger, where Leopoldina, the future Empress consort of Brazil spent three months, her first communion was also in the town.

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