



UNIVERSITÀ  
degli STUDI  
di CATANIA

# **Kings & Queens 8 “Resilio Ergo Regno”**

**Resilience, Continuity and Recovery at Royal  
Courts**

**Royal Studies Network**

**University of Catania (24<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> June  
2019)**

**Departments Educational Science and  
Humanities**



## **BOOK OF ABSTRACT**

**Opening Keynote Lecture - Monday 24<sup>th</sup> June 2019 (17:00-18:00)**  
**DISUM / Aula Santo Mazzarino**

**Francesco Benigno:**

*Alias Rex. The Minister-favourite in Seventeenth Century Europe.*

On the death of Philip II, his successor, the young Philip III entrusted the government of the Spanish monarchy to the Duke of Lerma. Thus a model of political organization was implemented which was destined to last and to become hegemonic throughout Europe, establishing itself in England, France and in the Habsburg Empire. Therefore, for about sixty years the main European monarchies was guided by individuals chosen by the sovereigns for their deep trust that they had in them, including well-known figures such as Olivares, Richelieu and Buckingham. However, the historiography has analysed these characters along national perspectives, avoiding facing the question of the existence of a model of government, such as the one of the *valimiento* or *ministeriat*, in which the common features prevail over the differences. The paper will try to explain the reasons for the emergence of this practice of delegating the royal power but also the causes of its disappearance in the 1660s, when Louis XIV's decision not to designate a principal minister at the death of Mazarin was followed by other monarchies.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1 (09:30-11:00) Dynastic Power and Monarchy during Classic period**

**DISFOR/3**

**Eleonora Pappalardo:** *Resilience in Central Asia. The Birth of the Parthian Royalty*

The lightning conquest and the short duration of the Macedonian empire in Orient were followed by a slow but inexorable social and cultural transformation that, at a more or less extent, involved regions up to Iran, Turkestan and Indus. This process was accomplished by one of formation

and codification of a new figurative and architectural language which was progressively adapted to the needs of peoples of different origins. Greek culture spread in Central Asia getting a sudden impact on local cultures and producing deep changes in religion, society, art and material culture in general. The excavations carried out at the half of the past century by the Sovietic JuTAKE expedition, followed by the ones directed by the Centro Ricerche e Scavi per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia of Turin, brought to light a monumental ceremonial royal complex in Old Nisa (Turkmenistan), where the very first Parthian kings expressed their early conception of royalty. Old Nisa (Parthaunisa) can be considered a good laboratory in order to investigate a distinct aspect of Resilience. It is one of the most ancient examples of an official and monumental centre of the early Arsacid period: a crucial time in which the social, political and cultural trends that converged into the Parthians' various arts were being developed, defined and consolidated. The monumental ceremonial complex provides valid tools useful to investigate the reaction (and, then, the "action") of a young royal dynasty seeking the right media to express its identity and convey messages about its power and rule, by mediating between Iranian substratum and new amazing Greek visual codes.

**Gaetano Arena:** *Expelling the pimps and sheltering the harlots: Justinian and Theodora against prostitution.*

In 535 AD Justinian (527-565), the emperor of the Orient, issued a measure, Novel 14 (De lenonibus), which – to curb the rampant phenomenon of prostitution in a big city like Constantinople – hit the pimps with the corporal punishment, the expulsion from the capital and, in the worst cases, the death sentence.

Ten years earlier, in 525, Justinian himself married Theodora, a woman of humble origins, a follower of the monophysite heresy, former dancer, former concubine of a rich governor, courtesan and, because of her sexually dissolute behaviour, forever branded by infamia, a destiny that hung over showbiz women and prostitutes. Infamia was a real ethical-social "stigma" that limited the rights of certain categories of individuals and ensured their legal inferiority with impediments and restrictions of various kinds, concerning both the public and the private sphere (including the matrimonial

law). Yet, Justinian, struck by the beauty and intelligence of Theodora, about fifteen years younger than him, married her, but only after having obtained the modification of a previous legislation.

Can a decisive influence of his wife be recognized in the Justinian measure of 535? The purpose of this study is precisely that of trying to understand – in testimonies of a different nature from the legal text and sometimes, but not always, hostile to Theodora – the possible traces (or even any evidence) of a direct intervention by the empress, especially as regards the fate of harlots, once removed from the clutches of their parasites, as a result of the legislation of her husband. In other words, we will try to verify if, within the imperial couple, Theodora may have been so influential on Justinian that it can be legitimately assumed that their kingdom, while not being defined as a “diarchy”, nevertheless saw a substantial complementarity of intents in social, but also political and cultural field.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1 (09:30-11:00) European Medieval Queens**

**DISFOR/1**

**Caroline Dunn:** *The Resilience of Immigrant Queens and their Ladies*

Marital diplomacy is a well-studied field of royal history, which provides us with myriad examples of young brides exchanged in marriages designed to foster or cement good relations between international monarchs. The foreign ladies and damsels who escorted immigrant queens-to-be have been much less studied, especially for medieval England. This paper highlights these women who accompanied the future consorts of England from their native homelands between 1236 (the arrival of Eleanor of Provence) and 1536 (the death of Catherine of Aragon). Their shared languages and backgrounds, together with the familiar cultural associations that they provided foreign-born queens, would have bolstered the queen’s resiliency as she navigated the strange waters of foreign shores.

In addition, these foreign ladies and damsels themselves documented cultural and political resilience and the ability to overcome adversity. They survived the anti-immigrant hostility that was often directed at the queen’s

foreign relatives and courtiers. They persisted in foreign lands, navigating unfamiliar, if not always hostile, territories, far removed from most or all of their kin. Some of these immigrant ladies-in-waiting were joined by foreign-born spouses, but many forged new family ties through marriages arranged by their queen or through their own agency. Ultimately, just as some queens were better than others at building successful relationships in their new lands, some members of the queens' foreign entourages thrived as immigrants while others succumbed to the challenges of living far from ancestral homelands and natal families.

**Diane Ghirardo:** *Resilient Queens in Medieval Southern Italy*

When the duchess of Calabria Giovanna I d'Angiò (1326-1382) was four years old, her grandfather king Robert d'Angiò named her his universal heir and future queen of Naples and Jerusalem. As the first queen of any state in the Italian peninsula, Giovanna was the target of rulers throughout Europe, who sought to claim the throne through marriage or, if that failed, through war. Beaten and virtually imprisoned by her second husband, betrayed by those closest to her, Giovanna managed to survive conflicts with a succession of popes and the general resentment of men who opposed a woman holding power.

Maria d'Engien (1369-1446), countess of Lecce and later Queen of Naples and Sicily, likewise found herself forced to battle for her territories following the death of her husband Raimondello del Balzo in 1406. Knowing she lacked the resources to resist the siege of Taranto, Maria reluctantly agreed to marry Ladislao d'Angiò Durazzo, pretender to the throne of Naples. Imprisoned by Giovanna II d'Angiò and forced to ransom both of her young sons from prison, Maria nonetheless survived two husbands and emerged from their shadows to rule in Lecce until her death. As an administrator, Maria promoted the use of the vernacular in official documents, and produced the important statutes of Lecce for her community.

In this paper I discuss the art and architectural patronage of Giovanna and Maria in southern Italy, including the memorial Giovanna commissioned in memory of her grandfather and the recently restored church of Santa Maria dell'Incoronata in Naples. I compare the latter with Maria's patronage of the

Church of Santa Caterina of Alexandria in Galatina. Both structures stand as emblems of royal authority as well as religious devotion by the two women, but perhaps more significantly, as assertions of power by women rulers at a time when their very right to rule was contested by nobles, kings, family members, and popes.

**Louise Berglund:** *‘Margareta Dei gracia Waldemari Danorum regis filia.’ Forging a strong female rulership in the patrilineal realms of Scandinavia, c. 1363-1412.*

Queen Margareta (I) of Scandinavia (1353-1412) is one of the most well-known of all the medieval Nordic regents. This paper will be devoted to an analysis of how Queen Margareta forged her rulership and how it was described by her and her contemporaries.

The phrase ‘Margareta Dei gracia Waldemari Danorum regis filia’ was used in a number of charters issued by the queen throughout her reign, underscoring one of her assets – after 1370 she was the sole survivor of the four children born to her father, King Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark (1320-1375). In 1363 she had married King Håkon Magnusson (1340-1380) of Norway, and the two had a son, Olaf. He inherited the crowns of Denmark and Norway, and on his death in 1387, his mother was hailed as the regent of the realms as an interim solution, until a male king could be secured. She adopted a successor, Eric of Pomerania, in 1388, but remained de facto ruler. Eventually her adopted son was crowned king of all the three Scandinavian kingdoms.

Queen Margareta was adept at using hereditary rights as an argument, but as neither Sweden nor Denmark were entirely hereditary monarchies at the time she needed to invoke other arguments as well. Her political philosophy and practice depended on intense diplomacy and long-term alliances, as well as the shrewd use of economic and religious currencies. Nevertheless, being a woman, relations to men remained a cornerstone of her rulership. Thus her long rule – from 1380 to 1412 – was never a given.

**Anna Jagosova:** *Elisabeth of Luxembourg (1409-1442)- Rulership of resilience or resistance?*

Elisabeth of Luxembourg, the Emperor Sigismund's only daughter who inherited the realm consisting of several titles and territories of disparate legal customs, administrative and political structures, represents a late medieval female regency par excellence; as a princess and prominent spouse as well as Duke Albert's V (II) of Habsbourg consort and duchesse of Austria trying to find her own scope at the ducal court of Vienna or later in the role of the German-Roman, Hungarian and Czech Queen-consort supporting Albert in negotiations with estates and local elites gained indispensable political skills and bound over strategic allies. After sudden death of Albert during military campaign in 1439 Elisabeth as a queen-dowager took advantage of all politic strategies and networks in order to protect the claims to the throne of her son and minor successor Ladislaus Postumus. Her regency can be characterized by justification of hereditary rights in the Lands of Czech Crown, Kingdom of Hungary or in the cradle of the dynasty Duchy of Luxembourg, securing the supremacy of the House of Luxemburg in Central Eastern Europe and proving capability of a female sovereign to bear rule. The rule of the last heiress descending from the House of Luxembourg address a larger multilayered problem of female regency, its form variety oscillating between resistance on the battlefield and resilience in domestic affairs or on diplomatic level and ruling practices in the framework of composite monarchy.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1 (09:30-11:00) Resilience of Dynasty and Kingship in Early Modern Europe**

**DISFOR/2**

**Fabian Persson:** *The Resilience of Desperate Regeneration: Efforts to Keep Dynasties Alive*

In what must have been the most embarrassing and humiliating episode of his life, King Gustaf III of Sweden called on his friend and Court Adolf Fredrik Munck for help. It was no ordinary help requested, but assistance in

perpetuating the dynasty. After a decade's marriage, the King and Queen had still not consummated their marriage and they needed expert advice on how to proceed. The plan was to provide advice and wait outside the door but when the clumsy beginners could not make things work, Munch had to be called inside the room and help hands on.

This illustrates the lengths to which early modern monarchs would go to perpetuate their dynasty. It also highlights the fact that a number of dynasties were standing on the precipice of extinction at several stages. To analyse strategies deployed by a number of rulers we can both see the importance of dynastic thinking and how the supreme importance attached to dynasty generated a multitude of new ways in which to keep that dynasty alive. It is clear most early modern princes and princesses were resilient in their efforts not to let their dynasties end with themselves.

**Tibor Monostori:** *Heinrich Schlick, the shadow first minister of Emperor Ferdinand III and the interdynastic resilience of the House of Habsburg (1637-1643)*

There are two non-negotiable statements in historiography related to the reign of Emperor Ferdinand III (1637-57). First, Maximilian von Trauttmansdorff served as his confidant and first minister, surrounded by imperial factions, but without significant competitors. Second, Spanish Habsburg diplomacy had a dominant role in Vienna when it came to foreign policy agenda setting. Recently, biographers of Trauttmansdorff (Lernet) and of Ferdinand III (Höbelt, Hengerer), and specialists (González Cuerva – Tercero Casado 2017) supported these positions.

The archives of Belgium and Spain, not researched by the aforementioned authors for the years between 1637 and 1643 show a fundamentally different picture in terms of point 1. The key detractor of the Spanish and in general, the dynastic cause emerges as Heinrich von Schlick, president of the imperial war council. Newly found, independent sources show systematically that he was in a toxic fight with Trauttmansdorff, and in military matters a counterpart to him, having equal or superior authority and power.

The loss of Breda, the battle of the Downs and the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal complicated the already difficult interdynastic relationships,



including members of the family (Leopold Wilhelm, the cardinal-infante Ferdinand or Empress Maria Anna). The Emperor needed to invent new strategies to address the external challenges and the growing power of the military (internal ones). He empowered Schlick, delegating to him political negotiations and the communication of unfavourable news, saving his royal image and increasing his room for manoeuvre, and also, making the two ministers competitors, thus increasing their performance and weakening their influence.

**Katarzyna Kosior:** *A Resilient Institution? Henri I of Poland (III of France) and the Revival of the Polish Court after the Fall of the Jagiellonians*

In July 1572, Sigismund August, king of Poland-Lithuania, died without an heir, bringing an end to the Jagiellonian dynasty. Poland had been an elective monarchy since the late fourteenth century, but the Jagiellonian dynasty was essential to maintaining the personal union with Lithuania until a constitutional union was established in 1569. This opened the way for the election of Henri Valois, Duc d'Anjou, in April 1573. By the time he arrived in January 1574, the Polish royal court had been defunct for eighteen months. Henri was famously reluctant to come and fled Poland in June 1574 to become king of France. But in the six months of his residence in Poland, Henri revived the court with his presence and actively shaped it. By analysis of the extensive surviving financial accounts of Henri's Polish court, to date untouched by historians, this paper aims to understand the process of re-establishing a royal court after a lengthy interregnum in the context of elective monarchy. But resilience is often connected to adaptability. Did the revived court function largely as it had, or did it morph into something new under the influence of Henri, the first ever foreign ruler to sit on the Polish-Lithuanian throne?

**Micheal Bregnsbo:** *"We Alone Will Know": King Frederick VI of Denmark and his Regime Coping With the Impacts of the Defeat of 1814*

Having sided with Napoleon, the Danish monarchy had been dragged down by his defeat and had in 1814 had to cede Norway to Sweden, thereby losing

5/6 of its area and thus becoming the greatest loser territory-wise of the Napoleonic Wars. Furthermore, a monetary breakdown followed. Yet, Frederick VI (crown prince regent 1784-1808, king 1808-1839) and the absolutist regime that had existed since 1660 remained. However, recent research has demonstrated that popular dissatisfaction both with the system and with the king personally was widespread. But King Frederick obstinately refused any changes of the system. How did the king and his regime manage to survive? Besides resorting to increased control, police surveillance and repression, the rhetoric of the spokesmen of the system and the public staging of the royal family will be emphasized. Thus, the protagonists of the system often referred to the age of peace, prosperity and reforms prior to the Napoleonic Wars. Furthermore, a liberal discourse was increasingly being included in the official endeavours to justify the system publicly. Both were aiming at encouraging loyalty and devotion to the system. These aims were also publicly encouraged by staging the king as a well-meaning, caring and modest father of the country and the royal family as an affectionate, nuclear family with which large parts of the rising middle classes were supposed to be able to identify emotionally.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.2 (11:30-13:00) Medieval Monarchy and Strategic Resilience**  
**DISFOR/3**

**Francesco Barone:** *Frederick II and Muslim resilience in western Sicily (1221-1246).*

Frederick II (d. 1250) is the great ruler who in 1196 inherited the crown of southern Italy on which the Normans already reigned, and that he inherited as the only son of Constance of Hauteville (d. 1198). From his father, the Germanic emperor Henry VI of Hohenstaufen (d. 1197), he inherited the imperial title in 1220, after various vicissitudes. He was an emperor of strong character, opposed by powerful enemies like the popes of Rome and the rich communal cities of northern Italy. He is also remembered for his interest in some aspects of Islamic culture, from falcon hunting to science and philosophy. With the Mediterranean Muslim world he had a complex

relationship, especially from the political point of view, and particularly within his Sicilian kingdom. In order to preserve their cultural and religious identity, along with the economic bases of their lives, during the thirteenth century the Muslim communities of western Sicily carried out a well-organized rebellion against their lords of Monreale's Church of Santa Maria la Nuova. It was a particular phenomenon of resilience by a confessional minority which, between 1221 and 1246, required the military intervention of Emperor Frederick II, who was forced to fight the power of a small but proud Saracen emirate barricaded on the mountains of Palermo hinterland. An emirate constituting a real state within the state, whose destruction sanctioned the end of Sicilian Islam. The last Muslims of Sicily found a new life in the fortified city of Lucera, in Puglia, transferred there by Frederick II who allowed them to live in safe and protected conditions, serving the emperor without having to renounce to their faith and their customs

**Elisa Vermiglio:** *Rebellions, calamities and strategies of Resilience during the Norman Rule of William II*

William II is remembered by medieval historiography as one of the Norman sovereigns who gained such great popularity that he earned the epithet "the Good." This was the result of his policy of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups. However, the rule of William II was marred by various traumatic events both of a political nature, such as the Messina uprising of 1168, and natural character, as the earthquake of 1169. Finally, also on a personal level the sovereign had to face a dynastic problem given the lack of male heirs from. In this paper I intend to analyze some traumatic events between Margaret of Navarre's regency and Guglielmo II's rule, and their reverberation in Norman society. At the same time the strategies adopted by the sovereign in the events that affected Sicily will be analyzed. It is also interesting to focus on the popular psychological structures in relation to the dominant hierarchy and the influence of Christianity, with its premonitory signs of an apocalyptic matrix, on medieval thought.

**Maria Aurora Garzon Fernandez:** *In a Royal Key: the shapes of Compostela in the Kingdom of Leon.*

During the reign of Alfonso IX (1188-1230), the cathedral of Compostela saw the completion of the Portico de la Gloria and the western facade, as well as the renovation of the church decoration. Artists from across Europe worked in that project bringing together floral patterns from Bourgogne, lines from British manuscripts and textures from Silos (Burgos) that contributed to generate what has been known as the “style of Master Matthew.”

In the first quarter of the 13th century, the shapes and motifs that characterized the new cathedral started spreading throughout Galicia (Ourense, Carboeiro, Portomarin), but also around the realm of Alfonso IX: Zamora, Benavente, Toro, Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. While artists that worked in Compostela helped disseminating the new language, sculptors from various backgrounds reinterpreted these new shapes. Coincidentally, this phenomenon took place within the very clear boundary of the Kingdom of Leon not affecting the sculptural movements that were developing in the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile.

This paper seeks to explore this circumstance arguing that the “style of Matthew” was used in Leon in contexts directly related to Alfonso IX, such as the royal cities of Toro and Benavente, or the Church of la Magdalena, in Zamora, where the mother of the king was buried. Thus, the portals that were carved imitating Compostela were not seeking to copy the spiritual center, but were designed in a royal key.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.2 (11:30-13:00) Resilient Iberian Queens**

**DISFOR/1**

**Diana Pelaz:** *Resilient Women. Legitimacy and aspirations to the throne in the crown of Castile at the end of the sixth century.*

The death of King Pedro I of Castile by the hand of his half-brother, Count Enrique de Trastamara, meant a change in the Castilian dynastic line. The

daughters of Pedro I, Doña Constanza and Doña Isabel, took refuge in England, where they married the Duke of Lancaster and the Duke of York, respectively, while the Count of Trastámara and his wife, Queen Juana Manuel de Villena, had to take care to appease the kingdom and strengthen their position in the government of it. For this, Doña Juana developed her activity as Queen of Castile, in addition to actively participating in the construction of a healthy image of the royal couple in the pacification of the border with Portugal, where the war with King Fernando I lasted, that also claimed the throne of Castile to be considered with greater legitimacy than King Enrique II. Around these three women, and more specifically around Doña Constanza de Castilla and Doña Juana Manuel, two projects that aspire to take over the throne of Castile are forged, based on the legitimacy of these two women. Their tenacity and that of their husbands, despite the adversities to take over the throne or to maintain it, in each case, will entail the implementation of different strategies and theoretical models that will be studied in this paper, with the purpose of observing the commitment of both women to the throne of Castile, as well as the form according to which the interests of the males of their family are intertwined, in a communication strategy that both start and that will be received by the territory Castilian in a different way.

**Theresa Earenfight:** *Catherine of Aragon as the Embodiment of the Power of Resistance*

This paper explores how Catherine of Aragon deployed vast stores of the power of resistance from 1529, during the divorce proceedings until her death in 1536. It does so by taking a cue from Michel Foucault's theory on power that emphasizes resistance as one aspect of the multiplicity of power relations. Foucault argues that power is more than just an expression of will or coercion. It is relational, dispersed, embodied, constantly in flux and changes through discourse and negotiation. He points out that resistance, which can appear at first as weakness, is actually the reciprocal counterforce of power. Thus, where there is power, there is resistance.

Catherine's resistance to Henry during the divorce is legendary, yet it has never been studied as anything other than the sad, almost pathetic last-ditch actions of a weak woman. I argue that it was hardly pathetic, that it is a clear

marker of the power she still possessed and exercised. Except for her famous defiant speech at the legatine court convened at Blackfriars, Catherine's resistance seems less visible in the records. But it was very real indeed. During and after the divorce, Henry did everything he could to limit her power. He confined her to townhouses and castles, restricted her finances, and limited her guests. The relationships with her subjects formed *vis-a-vis* the Queen's estates served as leverage until Henry took them away definitely in November 1533. She was placed under a cruel form of house arrest and feared as a focal point for opposition to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. In short, she was a political "hostage" until the day of her death. Through it all, she very skillfully and strategically used her resources—family, friends, political allies, people affiliated with her former reginal lands—to push back against Henry's actions. Henry's fear of her is the clearest sign of her power. He so feared Catherine's power, even under house arrest, that he refused to let even her closest friends—Charles Brandon, Henry's childhood friend, and María de Salinas, Lady Willoughby, one of her closest female friends—or the Spanish ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, visit her.

This paper analyzes the familiar narrative sources such as state papers, letters, diplomatic records, the divorce papers, and chronicles through the Foucauldian lens to correct the impression of Catherine as a passive queen by examining what she did, the women and men with whom she worked at court, and the relationships—political, familial, personal, diplomatic, religious—of the women at her court that were integral to Tudor kingship. Seeing Catherine of Aragon in this way, one that is not constrained by culturally contingent notions of gender, opens a window to a new formulation of Catherine as queen.

**Zita Rohr:** *Tales of Fire and Ice: Manifestations of Queenly Resilience in Late Medieval Aragon and France*

By examining the cases of Violant de Bar (d. 1431), queen-consort of Aragon-Catalonia, and her daughter, Yolande d'Aragon (d. 1442), queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, this paper will discuss two very distinct manifestations of queenly resilience; one, 'fiery' marked by overt and highly visible female intervention, the other, 'icily' pragmatic marked by prudence and 'discreet'

dissimulation. Many factors informed these two very different strategies of queenly resilience manifested by mother and daughter respectively. On occasion, these two highly intelligent and self-aware stateswomen worked in tandem, deploying their significant queenly dignities and superficially opposing methodologies in order to achieve a desired outcome for the good of their ‘firm’—an early manifestation of the good cop/bad cop psychological tactic in negotiation for arriving at a carefully planned and desired outcome.

Violant de Bar, third consort of Joan I of Aragon *el Caçador* (d. 1396), rarely, if ever, took a backward step—even when confronted by the simmering anger and overt rejection of her as a suitable replacement consort for his heir by her father-in-law, Pere III/IV *el Cerimoniós* or *el del Punyalet*, king of Aragon. Violant’s daughter, Yolande was more circumspect, yet equally determined, in her approach to governing and in overcoming the obstacles to her political survival occasioned by the disinheritance of her son-in-law Charles de Ponthieu, later Charles VIII of France, as well as the turbulence of the closing stages of the Hundred Years War. Yolande certainly took careful note of her mother’s example, but she seems also to have consciously absorbed many political lessons by observing the strategies of resilience employed by María de Luna (d. her mother’s sister-in-law and successor to the post of queen-consort of Aragon.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.2 (11:30-13:00) Disease plague and the Bourbon Dynasties  
DISFOR/2**

**Cinzia Recca:** *The terrible calamity of smallpox at the Neapolitan Bourbon Court of Ferdinand IV: the rulers between resilient and resistant actions.*

The threat of smallpox has created tension among the Bourbon court of Naples and that of Vienna since the beginning of the betrothal of King Ferdinand and Maria Carolina of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

In Vienna the Empress Maria Theresa began to consider the marriage of her little girls while they were still mere children and being anxious to ally herself closely with the Bourbon, she resolved to marry several sons and daughters to members of that family. But since 1761 a terrible plague of

smallpox stroke the imperial family and it turned her matrimonial strategies. At the beginning in fact, the Empress had chosen the archduchess Johanna who was betrothed to the King of Naples, but when in 1762 Johanna was afflicted with smallpox she substituted the archduchess Josepha. On October 15th 1767, when the archduchess was ready to leave for Italy she died in the arms of Emperor Joseph, and also archduchess Josepha was victim of smallpox. So after this dreadful loss the Empress Maria Theresa decided to inoculate the rest of the family. Immediately after the death of Josepha the court of Spain and Vienna contrived a solution to propose another archduchess to the king of Naples. Maria Carolina was the third and last archduchess to become the Queen of Naples.

The paper aim to analyse how the terrible plague of smallpox revolutionized and shocked the Neapolitan courtly life of King Ferdinand and Maria Carolina. The two ruler, in front of this terrible disease that caused the loss of several children, reacted in two different way: Maria Carolina just back from her family loss of her brother and sister, she became a fervent promoter of the inoculation but she had to face against the resistance of her husband and of her father in law, who were totally disagree with the entry of inoculation at Court.

**Giacomo Lorandi:** *«I want to be inoculated». The inoculation of the Infant of Spain Ferdinand of Bourbon-Parma (1751-1802) by Swiss doctor Théodore Tronchin and the European catholic dynasties' point of view about fighting smallpox.*

In 1764 the Swiss doctor Théodore Tronchin (1709-1781) was called by duke of Parma-Piacenza-Guastalla Philip the 1st Bourbon-Spain after his son, the Infant of Spain Ferdinand, asked him to be inoculated. He was the nephew of the Louis XV de France from her mother and Philip V of Spain from his father. Ferdinand's decision was taken after the death of his mother Louise-Elisabeth de Bourbon (1727-1759) and his sister Isabelle de Bourbon-Parma (1741–1763).

My speech will be divided in 3 parts:

1- The querelle of inoculation from the catholic monarchies point of view, in particular from king of France Louis XV's one. I choose him for the



debate about fighting smallpox in his country during the 18th century and for the mainstream role of French monarchy in Europe.

2- The inoculation of the young Ferdinand, from the point of view of his family, the court of Parma and his doctor.

3- The inoculation of the Infant of Spain from the perspective of the others monarchs of catholic countries, most of them member of his family, such as king Charles the 3rd of Spain or Mary Theres of Austria. In this way it's possible to underline the change in way of thinking about inoculation, and, more generally, the progress in treat diseases of the mid-18th century, of Europeans monarchies.

**Gabriella Tigani Sava:** *A rickety throne: Ferdinand II of Bourbon and the "revolutionary cholera"*

This paper is an abstract of a chapter of my doctoral thesis, which I currently completing at the University of Pisa and University of Malta, under the supervisions of Profs. Alberto Mario Banti and Dominic Fenech.

Mine is an attempt to adopt a cultural approach for a subject worthy of further studies, namely the spread of cholera in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under the reign of Ferdinand II of Bourbon, who succeeded his father Francis I in 1830.

The terrible epidemic hit the realm between 1835-1837, aggravating its vulnerable conditions and putting at risk a rickety throne. It caused, in fact, not only a great number of victims and riots, but also a "moral abyss" reinforced by fears, old superstitions, and false belief. As it is known, in the insular part of the kingdom, the Bourbon monarchy was blamed to spread the epidemic, through some secret agents tasked to punish the secessionists. On the basis of a wide range of sources as well as newspapers, diaries, memoirs, medical reports, poems (such as a pretty ironic anti-cholera work) and also iconographic sources, I will try to investigate, above all, how king Ferdinand II addressed the health (and political) emergency; what was the perception of the cholera-morbus among the population and experts (D. Rotondo, a Court physicians, for instance, claimed that cholera was a nervous disease that affected men and women animated by strong passions); how the epidemic produced social divisions and was exploited both by the revolutionary propaganda, in order to influence political change, and, at the

same time by royalists who wanted to save the kingdom from the liberal revolution.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.3 (14:30-16:00) Economics, Dynastical Houses and Resilience in Early Modern Europe**

**DISFOR/3**

**Helder Carvahal:** *Economy, Monarchy and Resilience: princely household and political stability in early modern Portugal.*

This paper examines the role of princely households as factors of political stability in the Portuguese monarchy during the early modern period. Literature has stressed the investment made on royal descendants (especially second male sons) during the dynasty of Avis (1385-1580) and what type of consequences this investment provoked within the relations among Crown and nobility. With the rise of dynasty of Braganza (1640-1910) to the Portuguese throne, the same policy of providing extensive houses and resources to these princes continued and even suffered a legal and institutional boost, materialized on the creation of the House of Infantado (1654). Nevertheless, little is known about the economic platform that supported these houses and their redistribution network. Likewise, it is not certain if the investment in earlier periods was similar to its counterparts in Braganza dynasty, as different political contexts eventually might have promoted changes in such policy. It will be argued that there was a strong continuity between all the period here analyzed and respective practices implemented by both dynasties, leading those to an increase in political stability and, thus, an increase in resilience of the monarchy itself. In order to demonstrate this argument, an analysis of three benchmarks - focusing the descendants of monarchs João I (r.1385-1433), Manuel I (r.1495-1521), and João IV (r.1640-1656) - will be made. It will be examined how much did the monarchy invested, what type of resources were at the stake and how did these efforts helped to promote political stability and resilience.

**Charlotte Backerra:** *Economic Relations as Foundation of a Resilient House of Hesse.*

The House in its entirety is seen as the model for dynastic rule in early modern Europe.

Even in times of family feuds, inheritance conflicts, and territorial splits, the dynastic and legal fiction of a united dynasty was often upheld against outside forces trying to encroach on lands or rights. With marriages to distant or near family members and reciprocal inheritance treaties, separate branches of a ruling dynasty could show their intent to keep the house together. The House of Hesse underwent such a traumatic split after the death of landgrave Philip the Magnanimous in 1567. Even though he wanted his sons to inherit and to rule together, the territories of the House of Hesse were separated; especially the sons by his first wife divided the lands into four parts. But the outside representation of different branches often concealed the reality of common economic and educational institutions, common rule over smaller parts of the dynasty's territories, and an economy dependent on each region.

The proposed paper aims to analyse how economic factors helped dynasties to stay united despite splits and conflicts. In the long-term, economic dependencies and relations could lead to a re-unification of parts or the entire house. Hesse – divided since the late sixteenth century, but still resilient as one of the powerful dynasties of the Holy Roman Empire – will serve as an example to illuminate these points.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.3 (14:30-16:00) Resilient evidences Medieval English Queens  
DISFOR/1**

**Matthew Firth:** *The Martyr and the Mother: Political Rhetoric in the Minority Rule of Æthelred II*

King Æthelred II 'the Unready' (978-1013/1014-16) reigned for 38 years, longer than any other Anglo-Saxon king. However, Æthelred's remarkable

longevity as King of the English is often lost within the narrative of a reign infamous for political discord driven by a fractious nobility and a resurgence of viking aggression. A narrative that portrays a king ill-equipped to face these challenges, whose strategic decisions failed to arrest the conquests of the Danish kings Sweyn (1014) and Cnut (1016), and who is more often characterised as irresolute than resilient. Nonetheless, that Æthelred reigned for four-decades despite the fraught political milieu in which he operated does speak to a certain resilience, a trait which, this paper proposes, finds its origins in Æthelred's rise to power. It was the assassination of Æthelred's half-brother King Edward 'the Martyr' (795-798) that brought Æthelred to the throne, aged only 10-12 years. Of the murder, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle declares that the 'English race had not done a worse deed than this' – it was an inauspicious start to the young ætheling's reign, though there is no implication of Æthelred's involvement in his brother's death. Most contemporary accounts place blame upon a conspiracy of nobles, with later renditions of the tale accusing Æthelred's mother, Ælfthryth. The shifting nature of the narrative is not incidental, but rather the aspect of the resilience of Æthelred's reign that this paper will explore: a conscious appropriation of Edward's death to augment the legitimacy of his successor's rule.

**Michael Evans:** *The Resistance of Two Medieval Queens of England: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of France*

Eleanor of Aquitaine (queen of England from 1154-89) and Isabella of France (1308-27) have much in common; both have attracted sensationalist and often negative reputations, especially in popular history and fiction; both are often regarded as exceptional figures and claimed as proto-feminists by some modern commentators; both continued to wield power and influence after the reigns of their husbands; and both rebelled against the kings to whom they were married. This paper will focus on the last of these, their acts of resistance: Eleanor played a part in (and may have instigated) the rebellion against Henry II in 1173-4, while Isabella led an invasion which overthrew Edward II in 1326-7. These rebellions had opposite outcomes; Eleanor was defeated and imprisoned, while Isabella became de facto ruler of England after the deposition of her husband.

In this paper I will compare the roles of queens in these two rebellions. Should these acts of resistance be viewed as individual acts that can be explained by personal circumstances (an approach stressed in popular history) or as more “political” actions? How do they reflect the related roles of king- and queenship, and why did the complementarity of these roles break down? Should we view Eleanor and Isabella as exceptional, or can their acts of resistance be compared to the careers of other medieval queens, enabling us to place their individual acts of resilience within the broader context of queenship in the Middle Ages?

**Elena Woodacre:** *Resilience in the face of Intradynastic Conflict: Joan of Navarre and the ‘Crisis Years’ of 1415-1422*

Joan of Navarre faced a very challenging situation as dowager queen of England. Instead of a life of quiet retirement after the death of her second husband Henry IV of England in 1413, Joan initially continued to be the first lady of the realm, as the ‘beloved mother’ of her stepson, Henry V. Yet tensions between England and France were steadily increasing and Joan found herself in a position where her loyalties were very divided as open conflict approached. She had close connections on all sides being not only the stepmother of the English king but close cousins to the King of France, the powerful duke of Burgundy and all the of French ‘Princes of the Blood’ as she herself was half Valois. Her children from her first marriage included Jean V, Duke of Brittany and Arthur, Duke of Richmond who was making his mark as a military man. As the pivotal battle of Agincourt loomed, Joan was in a no win situation with close relatives on both sides of the conflict. After Henry V’s famous victory, she led masses of Thanksgiving back in London to celebrate his success, yet many of her relatives had been killed and her own son, Arthur, had been captured.

Arthur’s capture was the beginning of a series of incarcerations for her family. Arthur was brought back to England, where she had the opportunity to meet with him while he was held for ransom. Yet in October 1419, before Arthur could secure his own release, Joan herself was arrested on a charge of witchcraft and detained by her stepson Henry V-going swiftly from ‘beloved mother’ and queen to an accused witch and prisoner. To make matters worse for Joan and her family, in 1420 at the same time that Arthur

and Joan were held in England, Joan's sons Jean V and Richard were seized by the Penthièvres, a rival branch of the ducal house of Brittany, who contested Jean V's right to the duchy. This paper will examine this extremely turbulent period in the life of Joan of Navarre, which I have termed her 'crisis years', when the dowager queen had to negotiate divided loyalties in a challenging political landscape and survive the threat to her life, and that of her beloved sons. This paper will demonstrate that Joan's ability to weather deaths to members of her family, the imprisonment of her sons and endure her own incarceration-which lasted until August 1422, long after her sons were released, is a demonstration of queenly resilience in the face of extreme adversity.

**William Arguelles:** *A Portrait of A Queen in Mourning: Reconstructing the text(iles) from Elizabeth of York's Privy Purse Expenses*

Almost certainly the worst year of her life, the Annus Horibilis of 1502-03 is not just the last year of Elizabeth of York's life, but the year she loses her eldest child and the crown prince, suffered through a difficult pregnancy, and died in childbirth on her thirty-eighth birthday. The year is also the only year where surviving financial records exist from the Queen's Wardrobe, providing a unique vantage into the elegiac and elegant experiences of the former White Princess. By examining the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, a fuller portrait of the queen's personal garments, consumption habits, and charity can be seen. Through careful analysis and reading, the text(iles), garments which now only exist in text form, can be rediscovered, gesturing at what this queen truly wore. The narrative that emerges from her expenditures is a highly resilient but morose queen, striving to support her family in these trying times. By cross-referencing the documentary evidence here with other archival resources, such as the Royal Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII, it can be seen how some royal duties and expenditures were balanced out, financially if not publicly, between the royal couple. In totality, the aim of this project is to discover a new angle on the last year of the first Tudor Queen's life.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.3 (14:30-16:00) Adaptation and Transformation: 18<sup>th</sup> century Spanish and Italian Monarchy  
DISFOR/2**

**Cristina Bienvenida:** *Political Adaptation of Maria Cristina of Bourbon during the years of her Regency*

The regency of Maria Cristina de Borbon (1833-1840) was not a quiet stage since the social and political point of view. The queen was proclaimed Regent during the minority of her daughter's age, at the same time that the various political parties pushed her to define a Constitution and the establishment the new structures of the new liberal State. This was complicated by the Regent's behaviour who was married in secret to a Guardia de Corps. In the midst of these complications, Maria Cristina took a series of decisions about guardianship of her daughter and the Government of the nation that were contradictory because it was to renege on her ideas, all supported by some political factions representing the changes in the new society which is what I am studying.

**Ainoa Chinchilla:** *Resilience in front of the revolution: the defence of the dynastic interests of Carlos IV and María Luisa of Parma before the changes of the late 18th century*

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the capacity of resistance of the Spanish monarchs, Carlos IV and María Luisa of Parma, to face the outbreak of the French Revolution. A political change that brought out in all the European monarchies the fear of losing their power and their crown. The Spanish kings were not exempt from this fear. Therefore, we intend to know how they tried to counteract the changes inherent in the process of ending the Ancien Régime, which could shake the foundations of their power.

In addition, through the study of their own letters, kept in the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Archivo General de Palacio of Madrid, we want to clarify how they tried to maintain their dynastic interests and their large overseas territories through the exercise of political pragmatism. First, they will face the revolution following the dynamics of confrontation of the European monarchies. Later, they will change their tactics, becoming the

first court that is allied with the new French revolutionary government. To do this, we must focus on knowing what was their way of acting in each of the stages and what were the reasons that made them make those decisions.

**Natalia Gonzalez:** *The transformation of the Spanish Royal House at the end of eighteenth century*

This paper focus on the transformations suffered by the structure of the Spanish Royal House during the second half of the eighteenth. Through this investigation we will settle the antecedents of the change of the paradigm of the Court system, since the reforms carried out by the ministers Ensenada in 1749 and Squilace in 1761. These changes led to the new organization and function that the Constitution of Cadiz gave to the Spanish Royal House, which crystallized in the reign of Fernando VII (1808-1833).

**Adriana Luna Fabritius:** *The Crisis of the War of the Spanish Succession and the Search of an Italian Monarch: Victor Amadeus II*

The death of Charles II in 1700 created a political crisis in several Italian states. Around this matter and how the new European balance of power would affect the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies, some political actors accomplished all kind of initiatives. For instance, some Neapolitan noble men searched with no success their independence from the Spanish monarchy in 1701 -better known as the Conspiracy of Machia-, that had already opted for the Bourbon dynasty.

Amongst the several reflections on the future of the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies emerged the one of the Genoese political philosopher Paolo Mattia Doria. An inhabitant of the kingdom already since de last decade of the seventeenth century he experienced in his own skin the failure of the conspiracy, el return of the kingdom to the sphere of influence of the Habsburg Empire in 1714, and finally the declaration of Independence by Charles of Bourbon in 1734. Evaluating the fortune of these political experiments his proposal evolved into the possibility of building the unity of Italy headed by Victor Amadeus II king of Sardinia.

From 1728 based on an analysis of the Italian culture in comparison with the French and the British, Doria started to shape the idea that the best option



for the kingdom of Naples was neither the Bourbon nor the Habsburg vias, but the Italian one built on the political and administrative skills of the Victor Amadeus II.

Regarding Victor Amadeus II's competences to accomplish this enterprise, Doria argued that despite he wanted to be like the other princes absolute and despotic, lord of his subjects, and he followed, like the others practical and mercantile politics, he did not neglect the vital office of ruling his states with civil and military virtues that are the only very means by which states are stable and maintained. That is, in Doria's view Victor Amadeo's promotion of virtues is what had made his subjects free and unable to suffer the power of the absolute power of the prince.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.4 (16:30-18:00) Family, rank and resilience**

**DISFOR/2**

**Beatriz Van Zeller: *A Natural Resilience- Alfonso the "Old Duke"***

Afonso, the natural son of João the 1st of Portugal, was born out of wedlock while his father was the master of a great military order. As fate and the people would have it, his father became the king of Portugal. The king did not forget about his firstborn, that he legitimized, married properly, providing him with a noble title and rank.

The king married and had other children. Afonso was about twenty years older than his halfbrothers, but while his father was alive, that did not stand in the way for him to be a part of the Portuguese royal family.

After the king's passing and after the death of his heir, everything changed. Afonso went from being an active part in the Portuguese government to represent a menace to the plans of the regent, his half-brother, Pedro. The game changed and Afonso had to play his cards right to make sure that he did not lose what was his by right and by his father's choice.

The fact that Afonso, the eldest of all the king's sons, was the last one to die, seems to stand as a proof that his resilience (in life as in politics). With this paper, I aim to show the way how pure resilience allowed him to evolve

from being the natural son of a clergy man to becoming the first Duke of Bragança.

**Ana Maria Rodrigues:** *Male Ambition, Family Disaster and Female Resilience: Isabella of Urgell (1409-1469)*

Royal women seldom had the opportunity to reign or to wield any kind of authority upon others. Yet their lives were often dramatically affected by the actions of their male family members. My study concerns an extraordinarily resilient woman who recovered from several traumatic experiences and not only maintained her spirit and dignity but was able to pass her lineage's claim to the throne onto her eldest male son.

Isabella was the eldest daughter of infanta Isabella of Aragon and the count James II of Urgell, one of the candidates to the throne of Aragon when King Martin the Humane died in 1410 without a legitimate heir. However, in 1412 Fernando of Trastámara was chosen instead of him and James rebelled against the new king; he was defeated, deprived of his titles and possessions, and sent to prison. His wife and daughters were cloistered in a monastery.

In 1428, Fernando's son Alphonse V married his sister Eleonor to Edward, the Crown Prince of Portugal and Isabella to his brother Peter. When King Edward died in 1438, Peter forced Queen Eleonor into exile and became Regent for his nephew Alphonse of Portugal. Yet when Alphonse became of age he accused his uncle of treason. Peter died in 1449 in a battle against his nephew; his titles and possessions were expropriated and Isabella and her children took refuge in monasteries. Eventually, Peter was rehabilitated and Isabella recovered her fortune. In 1464, much by her intervention, her eldest son, also named Peter, was called by the Generalitat of Catalonia to become their king; alas, he died in 1466. Isabella passed away three years later, having survived all her children except for one, Philippa.

**Silvia D'Agata:** *The situation of downgrading: The case of Branciforti of Mazzarino the patrimonial struggle an aristocratic family at the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century.*

Francesco and Fabrizio Branciforti, leading exponents of the most important Sicilian aristocracy, respectively father and son, were the protagonists of an

affair that revealed a hidden aspect of power through their economical and patrimonial choices, aimed to the maintenance of the status; where marriage strategies and political alliances have reflected the need to create a network of relationships to support the preservation of social prestige. The quarrel that has opposed father and son manages to reveal the dense network of relationships that the family has entertained with the local notables and with the top of the Hispanic monarchy, in particular with the viceroys and is capable of showing the different levels of political bargaining activated by the two characters at the two centers of power: the court of Palermo and the one in Madrid. In fact, as the new royal ministers changed, it also changed the political framework of alliances and alignments, marking decisive changes in the course of both the viceregal and the Madrid courts, in favor of the first or the other.

Francesco gave spark to the conflict blaming his father for being incapable of managing the assets of the family, so that he claimed a full control and the power to alienate and to mortgage them. On one side: Fabrizio, Great of Spain, and on the other Francesco, Marquis of Militello, as well as husband of Johanna of Austria, daughter of the hero of Lepanto. In order to avoid the risk of downgrading to urge the marquis and his wife to request the intervention of the duke of Feria and to denounce to the Council of Italy the corrupted behavior of his father-in-law. A contention that took place in phases, the results of which from time to time depended on the political alignment of the characters inscribed in the various government establishment.

Such a dispute was an image of the transnational network between various figures and informs us of the strategies put in place to save the assets; moreover, it witnesses the capacity for resilience in front of the risk of downgrading. It's here evident the emerging image of a complex economy of the family where the dispute over the money has been intertwined with the fear of the exhaustion of power, privileges, and honor.

**Vincenzo Liggio:** *“Among the annoying contingencies:” female wilfulness and resistance of rank. Marguerite Louise d’Orlèans and Anna Maria Franziska von Sachsen-Lauenburg among the writings of the diplomacy.*

Resistance through rank and the redefinition of spaces and contexts in which the exercise of female power is permitted. This, in the secretarial papers analysed in the light of the most relevant archival excavations, has allowed us to review the forms by means of which the last grand duchesses of Tuscany were able to withstand the male demands at the service of the *raison d’état*.

The historical and political structure of the grand duchy of Tuscany between the 17th and 18th century presents itself within the framework of the European powers as greatly weakened in its economic and financial aspects but also its social and religious ones. The long reign of Cosimo III and the sterile dynastic and familiar alliances constitute one of the problematic nodes in which the topic of female resistance is inserted.

The image of unhappy spouses that the often romanticised dissemination has presented, is in my opinion not wholly truthful in regard to the actual dimensions of a practice of resistance through an intensive correspondence in which the lay and the religious diplomats became protagonists. Women withstood the persuasive rhetoric thanks to an indomitable and determined willpower. Rank certainly, the networks of protection and favours but also the attachment to the territories of origin appear to be persistent motives on which the languages are articulated and take root. The possibilities by means of which the grand duchesses chose to practice resistance whilst safeguarding their own honour and role, appear to be intelligently explained and modulated within a courtly education and a diplomatic practice that does not escape the women themselves, whilst allowing the manners of emotiveness to provide singular tones that make the cases under examination particularly open to readings that are closer to that of the history of emotions and gender, which has allowed us to focus the analysis on aspects that have not always been considered by classical historiography.

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June**

**SESSION 1.4 (16:30-18:00) Queenship and Resilient Attitudes**

**DISFOR/1**

**Estelle Paranque:** *Treats to the English Crown. Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart as Prisoner.*

Elizabeth Tudor was born on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1533 at Greenwich Palace. Nine years later, her half-French half-Scottish cousin, Mary Stuart, came to life in Linlithgow, Scotland, changing the course of history and the Tudor-Stuart dynasties. The lives of the two cousins were about to be intimately intertwined. Scholars have looked at the relationship of the two women and have focused on their rivalry.

This paper is more interested in drawing an unexpected parallel between the Princess Elizabeth who was imprisoned by her sister in 1554 and Mary Stuart who knew the same fate after fleeing to England in 1568 and remained in custody for twenty years under the control of her cousin Elizabeth I. It highlights their similarities and differences in times of danger. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the different rhetorical techniques used by the two cousins and to reveal the women behind the two queens through their own words at a time when both cousins were endangered.

There are, however, differences which need to be addressed first. While they were both the next legitimate heir to the throne and had a different confession to that of the then reigning monarch, when Elizabeth was imprisoned by her sister Mary I (1553-1558), she was only a princess and a twenty-one year old woman. On the contrary, Mary Stuart was an anointed Scottish queen who was much more experienced but had to face turmoil and uprisings in her native country and was forced to flee to England. Historians have focused on the deadly relationship of the two queens, forgetting what they had in common. Elizabeth and Mary both had to face imprisonment and accusations on plotting against one of their nearest kinswoman.

It is through letters sent when they were imprisoned that we will depict a portrait of the two women beyond queenship – two women in danger who developed strong and resilient attitudes towards adversity.

**Carole Levin:** *Heroic Queens in the Age of Stuarts King: Elisabeth and Boudicca*

Especially at the time of the victory over the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth I was lauded as a hero and often compared with the Iceni queen Boudicca who had also fought invaders of a different religion fifteen hundred years earlier. And for many, the image of Elizabeth, ruling effectively as an unmarried woman in power allowed for presentations of other strong women, such as Beatrice and Rosalind in Shakespeare's Elizabethan comedies.

But with return of kingship in the reigns of the Stuarts, hostile commentary about women's value became more accepted, as almost immediately after becoming king James I disparaged his predecessor and other educated women. The popularity of this perspective is clear from the success of Joseph Swetnam's, originally publishing as Thomas Tell-Troth, 1615 pamphlet *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women*, which described women as greedy, lusty, dishonest, and cruel.

As Anne Bradstreet wrote later in the century, when masculine authors claimed women were "void of Reason," the example of Elizabeth is a vindication. And indeed, in pamphlets written in response to Swetnam, by Daniel Tuvill, Esther Sovernam, and Christopher Newstead, and Thomas Heywood's *Nine Female Worthies*, not only is Elizabeth used as an example of female value, but so was Boudicca. This paper examines the political/cultural context for both the denigration of women and the ways the examples of two queens, separated by 1500 years, were used to refute the position.

**Aidan Norrie:** *Elizabeth the Resilient: Providential favour and Protestant polemic in early modern England*

The life of Elizabeth I of England is well known, and key events in her reign have been long mythologised and celebrated. Her resilience in the face of potentially traumatic events turned her into a potent national symbol of Protestantism that endured after her death. She survived multiple assassination attempts, recovered from several near-fatal illnesses, and became a focal point of national celebrations in the aftermath of the failed invasion of the Spanish Armada. Elizabeth herself, however, was rarely involved in foiling assassination attempts, nor did she play an active part in

the preparations against the Armada. What mattered, however, was that her preservation from these traumatic events was seen as proof of Elizabeth's providential favour, which in turn helped create what we know today as the 'Elizabeth myth'. This paper considers three moments of crisis for Elizabeth—the interrogation as part of her assumed complicity in the Wyatt Rebellion under Mary I; the foiled Babington Plot, and the associated treachery of Mary, Queen of Scots; and the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada—focusing on their use in royal and polemical propaganda in both the latter period of Elizabeth's reign and into the Stuart period. This paper thus argues that Elizabeth was a beacon of continuity for the Stuart monarchs, and in time, the English celebrated the last Tudor monarch's recovery and preservation from these moments of national impact as a way of counselling and critiquing their new Stuart kings.

**Pedro Amorim:** *Same name, same fate? Catarina de Áustria and Catherine de Médicis – two resilient queens, in power and life.*

These two women were queens for over 40 years. Neither of them was supposed to rule. One kept a peaceful relationship with her spouse and had a strong protagonism in politics, while the other suffered in silence for her husband's constant betrayals, as she was parted from power.

Each queen went through nine pregnancies. Concerning Catarina de Austria (1507-1578), only a grandson outlived her: Sebastião, king of Portugal. As a matter of fact, she was regent of Portugal during the king's minority. Catherine de Médicis (1519-1589) also served as regent, when the first two out of her three sons – that became kings of France – were minors at the time. When their time as regents was over and during the reign of their descendants, the two queens searched for their own positions in the Court and tried to maintain their political influence.

The political life of these two queens and their own family tragedies seem to be intertwined. The way how bounced back, more than once from life's twists and turns, can only be described as pure resilience. Resilience in life, as wives and as mother's and resilience in politics, as queens and regents.

This paper's main purpose is to analyse these two lives and their political action, through brief comparisons. Taking this historiographical method as base, it might be possible to find some common grounds concerning the role of women in power during the second half of the 16th century. These two queens, who shared a name, lived and reigned over many years and they did

it through successes and failures. With this paper, I will answer two key questions to understand the concept of queenship in the 16th century: First, how did Catarina de Austria and Catherine de Médicis fight the many adversities that appeared on their path? And second, how did the individual strength of each queen influence the politics of their own kingdoms?

**Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 1.4 (16:30-18:00) Palaces for sale: the Spanish Royal Sites from magnificent royal residences to valuable financial resources**

**DISFOR/3**

- **Felix Labrador Arroyo:** *The economic vision of the Royal Sites in Castile at the beginning of the liberal nation state.*
- **Gijs Versteegen:** *The concept of resilience of the Royal Sites at Jovellanos' Memorias histórico-artísticas de arquitectura*
- **Eloy Hortal Munoz:** *The Royal Sites as purveyors of the first system of social prevision in the history of Spain*

This session focuses on the resilience of architectural monuments: the Spanish Royal Sites and the meaning and use given to them in times of crisis. The value of these palaces and their territories, once magnificent expressions of power, residences of kings and queens and their large royal households, centres of politics, art, customs and courtly entertainment, started to be discussed during the transition to the liberal regime of the nineteenth century, when the possibility of their sale was evaluated.

Indeed, the relevant economic role of the Royal Sites of the Spanish monarchy was firstly explored at the Seventeenth century. It is well known that the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included several territorial units, that were socially integrated into the monarchy by means of the royal households since Charles V times. But, by the reign of Philip IV this system had virtually collapsed. The King had to find a new approach for unifying



his territories around Castile, the core of the monarchy. Between the different measures he adopted with that aim, there was one completely innovative up to that moment, how was the development of the first system of social prevision of the Spanish history. This strategy involved creating a system for anyone directly or indirectly related to Royal Households and Royal Sites. Most of the resources that were going to be used for this were taken from the Royal Sites themselves, and this system permitted to better integrate several social groups of Castile in a moment of hard difficulties.

The situation was different one century later. The transition from the court to the new political model of the liberal state meant that the significance and utility of the Spanish Royal Sites was put in doubt. The perspective of the enlightened politicians on the property of territory and, above all, the situation of the Royal Treasury and the need for financial resources at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as the imposition of criteria of cost effectiveness, determined the management and possession of ecclesiastical and royal heritage. The sale or economic exploitation of these buildings and their territories could provide resources to the Crown and improve its deplorable financial situation. This explains the report written in 1797 by Pedro Varela Ulloa, secretary of state and treasury, who during the conflict with England emphasized that the expenditure of the Crown surpassed the income, and suggested that this situation could be improved by the sale of real estate and rights of the Church and the military orders, as well as the economic exploitation and partial sale of royal heritage. However, it was not until the 21st of October 1800 that the process of the Spanish confiscation of ecclesiastical goods also started to affect the royal heritage. More than the enlightened wish to restructure the property of land, the economic situation led to the first confiscation normative.

The change of perspective on the value of Spanish Royal Sites can also be seen from an aesthetic and historical perspective in the work of Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos, author and politician during the transition of the Old Regime to the liberal nation state. When a few years after his expulsion from court he was finally imprisoned in Mallorca, Jovellanos wrote the *Memorias histórico-artísticas de arquitectura*, in

which he described the landscape and historical monuments, including the castle of Bellver where he was confined, of Mallorca. This work, which aimed to provide an alternative to art history in times of the baroque, according to the author often uncritical and panegyric, provides us an insight to the new way Spanish historical and artistic heritage was valued historically and aesthetically at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

***Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June Plenary Session - Keynote Lecture (09:30-10:30)***  
***DISUM – Aula Santo Mazzarino***

**Charles Beem:**

*The Resilience of Bona Sforza of Poland and the Meaning of Queenship*

Bona Sforza was Poland's most powerful early modern consort. Resilience was in her blood; her mother Isabella of Naples, Duchess of Milan, overcame adversity to provide for only surviving daughter, to whom she provided a model of autonomous female rule as Duchess of Bari in her own right. Marrying a king thirty years her senior, Bona came to Poland with the express purpose of helping her husband rule, which was not an acceptable practice for Polish queens. But Bona persevered, understanding the traditional means to enjoy a successful Queenship by creating a companionate marriage and bearing her children. At the same time, she refused to play a purely domestic role, becoming a substantial landowner as well as agricultural reformer. While the Polish nobility were offended by the scope of her queenship, Bona nonetheless bequeathed a wide-ranging model of Queenship for subsequent Queens of Poland to follow.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**  
**SESSION 2 (11:00-13:00) Queenship in Portugal**  
**DISFOR/1**

**Miriam Shadis:** *Signs of use: ritual and Queenship in early Portugal*

The “Pontifical of Coimbra,” (P-Pm Ms. 353 (Santa Cruz 59) is a late 12th century pontifical – a manual for bishops – which was probably created in southern France but used by the bishops of Coimbra in the reigns of Alfonso Henriques (d. 1185) or Sancho I (d. 1210). One of five extant pontificals from medieval Portugal, it gives valuable insight into the liturgical and ritual world of early Portugal, as well as the connections of the Portuguese with scriptoria and liturgists from continental Europe. Some attention has been paid, therefore, to the musical and liturgical traditions embedded in this book, including its ritual for the blessing and coronation of a king. Debate has focused on whether the book shows “signs of use” – and therefore whether it would have been actually used in the coronation of a king (likely Sancho I) – and what the implications of such ritual would then be for the monarchy. However, this book also contains a ritual for the blessing and coronation of a queen – a ritual which has not to date been studied. The ritual is related to (but not included among) those identified by Janet Nelson in the 1980s. If this pontifical were in fact used, the queenship rite would have applied to Dulce of Aragon (wife of Sancho I), or potentially Urraca, wife of Afonso II. This paper will explicate and contextualize this ritual, drawing tentative conclusions for its significance about the formation of queenship in early Portugal.

**Manuela Santos Silva:** *Queenship versus Kingship: Defining the borders of both powers between the Queen's dominion and the Queens' Household in Medieval Portugal*

There are enough evidences to allow historians to accept that since the beginning of the Portuguese Monarchy in the 12th century, Queens-consorts disposed of rents which grant them autonomous households from the one of their husbands. Donations made by their husbands by the time of their marriages warranted them self-maintenance through their marriage lives as well as in widowhood. Those rents were collected from some royal towns that were conceded to them and together with those economic revenues, Queens also gained jurisdiction over those towns. But were they able to use all the powers that the concession charters seem to give them? This will be the problem we aim to discuss, through the analysis of some royal charters

and other written evidences, in order to let us understand which- until the 15th century - the actual dimension of the Queens' authority was.

**Inês Olaia:** *Two Sisters, Two Kings, Two Towns: Facing War and Still Ruling*

The 13th century was beginning when Portugal faced a civil war between two infantas and a king: Teresa (1176-1250), Sancha (1180-1229) and Afonso II (r. 1211-1223) disputed the rights inherited by the former two, including the rulership over two towns. All three royals belonged to the offspring of Sancho I (r. 1185-1211) and Teresa had been queen-consort of León. Although these were not the only Afonso II's troublesome siblings, their damage probably remained the biggest.

The dispute was settled in an agreement in 1223. This agreement, signed by the successor of Afonso II, Sancho II (r. 1223-1246/8), recognized the king as the ultimate sovereign of the infantas' lands, but allowed their lordship with very little royal interference. It also extended their income, by adding the rents of a third town in reparation of the losses suffered during the war. This issue has been thoroughly studied by Portuguese historiography, mainly to understand what it meant to the kings and their power. On the infantas side, studies have been done about their role as patronesses of monasteries. Our aim is to see them from a different perspective: will analyze the traces left by the infantas' ruling time over those towns. Looking at the problem from bottom up, so to speak, we hope to add a more in-depth view of the spaces at stake and the sisters' actions. We can say that their resilience assured them rulership, and the posterity was generous enough to consider them saints.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2 (11:00-13:00) Renée de France and the Resilience  
DISFOR/3**

**Wilson Chevalier:** *Renée de France and the Resilience of a Female Line*

Resilience was a fundamental social requirement in the age of Renée de France, whose birth occurred seven years before Luther launched his theses for Church reform. She herself became a proactive supporter of religious change; and her choice, after costing her her freedom of action at the court of Ferrara, led her to rule from Montargis over volatile French territories, during terrifying religious wars which had not subsided at the time of her death. Never, though, did she relinquish her belief in religious and social tolerance.

This paper will call upon mottoes and devises and artworks to explore the ways Renée functioned as the third component of a line of continuity rooted in two queens: her mother, the sovereign duchess Anne of Brittany whose territory was coveted, and her short-lived sister Claude of France, whose power to rule was consistently under attack. How were Anne and Claude presented by others, and what did they commission that Renée could draw upon?

**Gabriella Scarlatta:** *Renée de France's Legacy of Resilience*

Throughout her years at the Court of Ferrara, from 1528 to 1560, as the wife of Duke Ercole II d'Este, Renée de France, or as she was known in Italy, Renea di Francia, never forgot her resilient upbringing and royal role as fille de France, daughter of King Louis XII and Queen Anne de Bretagne, thus princess of the blood. She indeed continued to function as a French royal princess within the confines, both cultural and geographical, of a foreign country.

Through documents and literary texts, this paper reveals Renea's systematic adaptation to the Este court and her unbreakable spirit of resilience in the face of accusations of heresy, anti-French sentiments, and opposition to the company she kept, including Jean Calvin. Ultimately, it was her closely connected, mixed-gender circle of scholars, French exiled, and supporters

that rallied around her thus allowing her to *resilio ergo regno* as the charitable and influential Duchess of Ferrara.

**Kelly Peebles:** *The Death of François de Guise and the Resilience of His Wife and Mother-in-Law (Anne d'Este and Renée de France)*

During her dowager years, Renée de France returned to her château in Montargis, France, where her charity and resilience during the Wars of Religion became quasi-legendary, praised in the works of reformed writers Théodore de Bèze and Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné. However, Renée's daughter, Anne d'Este, was married to François de Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, a military hero and close confidante of the royal family, whom Calvinists excoriated for his involvement in the 1562 Massacre of Wassy. Despite Jean Calvin raising alarm in his correspondence to Renée about her daughter's ties to the Guise family, Renée professes in her own correspondence to love her son-in-law "as a mother." And following the Duke of Guise's assassination in February 1563, Renée in turn excoriates Calvin for allowing his followers to spread "venomous and pestilential lies" about the Duke.

This paper considers both Renée's and Anne's resilience in the face of the traumatic loss of François de Guise. First, letters between Renée and Calvin and between Renée and Anne demonstrate that familial and religious devotion provide guiding forces to override all other concerns. And second, ephemeral pamphlets, a genre aimed at informing the public of newsworthy events, illustrate how that devotion can serve as an example of resilience for the greater good. A pamphlet published by Anne d'Este in 1589 laments the unnecessary loss of life and her desire for vengeance following the assassination of her beloved husband in 1563, as well as the murder of her sons Henri de Guise and Louis de Lorraine, which occurred in 1588. A pamphlet published in 1563 by Lancelot de Carles, Bishop of Riez (who also witnessed and published on Anne Boleyn's execution), reproduces the final moments and parting words of François de Guise, in which he counsels forgiveness and resilience to his wife and to his oldest son, precisely by relying on devotion to their family and to God. All of these documents demonstrate that he and his mother-in-law, Renée de France, may not, in fact, have been entirely at odds.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2 (11:00-13:00) Early Modern European Kingship:  
Resilience and Representation of Royal Ceremonies  
DISFOR/2**

**Filipa Medeiros:** *Ex vulnere vigor: emblematic representations of resilience in the royal festivals in honour of Pedro II (1648-1707), King of Portugal.*

In the aftermath of the War of Restoration (1640-1668), Portugal kept fighting for recognition of its status as an independent kingdom legitimately ruled by the new dynasty of Braganza. Following the trend widely used in European Modern courts, Lisbon organized huge royal festivals, in order to show a strong image of the Portuguese crown. King Afonso VI was declared insane shortly after reaching the throne, and Pedro, his youngest brother, set him aside, married his wife and was officially designed as Regent. Under the rule of the king's brother who only had a daughter, the future of the Portuguese dynasty seemed to be at risk once again. In 1687, the spectacular royal entry of Princess Maria Sofia made people expect for a prosperous period led by Pedro II and the major investment in his funeral ceremonies also demonstrate the political meaning of such ephemeral apparatus. The comparative reading of contemporaneous accounts and drawings will focus on the emblematic compositions displayed on triumphal arches raised in 1687 and on the ephemeral architecture of the royal exequies hold in 1707, including the ceremonies in Rome and Bahia. This proposal will analyse how the logo-iconic devices illustrating the idea of Resilience, Continuity and Recovery contributed to the representation of King Pedro II, discussing its propagandistic role and intertextual sources. In this way, some conclusions will be drawn on the relevance of those concepts to the construction of the political image that the Portuguese recently restored monarchy wanted – and needed – to convey *urbi et orbe*.

**Kasper Steinfeldt Tipsmark:** *Royal Reputation Christian IV of Denmark and the Great Wedding in 1634*

From the very beginning of his sovereign reign in 1596, Christian IV of Denmark presented himself as a devoted Lutheran and in 1625 he owned up to the responsibilities of being a protestant prince by engaging in the Thirty Years War as the protector of Protestantism. This engagement did however not go as Christian IV had planned, as it led to a humiliating defeat and a Catholic invasion of the Danish kingdom until 1629. This defeat had severe consequences for the Danish reputation and for the personal honour of Christian IV, who had led the campaign himself.

In the wake of this catastrophe, which had cost the kingdom a fortune in tax revenues, Christian IV decided to celebrate the wedding of his son and chosen heir to Magdalene Sibylla of Magdeburg in 1634 with the biggest festival the Nordic countries had ever seen. This event attracted great European interest, and foreign ambassadors were invited to behold and report, how the splendour and power of the Danish king was still intact.

Through this paper, I will discuss how we can perceive the Great Wedding in 1634 as an example of royal resilience in relation to the Danish defeat in the Thirty Years War. Furthermore, I will argue how Christian IV staged this occasion not only to re-establish the reputation of the Danish kingdom, but also to regain his own personal honour as a man and as European monarch.

**Nicolas Vivalda:** *Juan de Mariana's Influence on the young Philip III. Praising Prudence and Warning about the Dangers of Absolutism in De rege et regis Institutione.*

Juan de Mariana conceived his *De rege et regis institutione* (1599) as a "mirror for princes", a collection of pragmatic advice through which the young Philip III (r. 1598-1621) could obtain the necessary knowledge to defend the Monarchy, and preserve the Catholic faith in an increasingly corrupt and hard-to-decipher world. In this complex political context, Mariana considers the virtue of prudence to be the primary cognitive step towards the constitution of the modern concept of reason of State. The presentation that I propose analyzes, in the first place, Mariana's implicit



praise towards the figure of Philip II (r. 1556-98) and his judicious political virtues devoted to the service of his subjects.

The second focus of my essay studies Mariana's anxieties about the future of the Spanish Empire, particularly his well-known anti-absolutist efforts, primarily concerned with redefining royal power in a more democratic or representative way. For instance, in *De rege* Mariana famously specified that “the king must be subject to the laws laid down by the state, whose authority is greater than that of the king”. At this point of my analysis, I will take into account that Mariana was part of the monarchomachs, a Jesuit intellectual group of political thinkers -Luis de Molina, Francisco Suárez-, committed to elevating the Christian rights of conscience in European political thought. Although never considered as subversive or completely disruptive, I plan to prove that Mariana’s writings were indeed truly influential in the rich landscape of political doctrines available to Philip III and his advisers.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.2 (14:30-16:00) The Medieval Kingdom of Naples  
DISFOR/3**

**Janis Elliott:** *“Resilience and Continuity at the Angevyn Monarchy of Naples from 1266 to 1382”*

The Angevin rulers of the Kingdom of Naples controlled Southern Italy, with their capital in the city of Naples, and they also defended Papal and affiliated Guelf territories across Italy from 1266 into the fifteenth century. In this paper I will focus on the reigns of the first four monarchs: Charles I (1266-1285); Charles II (1285-1309); Robert (1309-1343); and Joanna I (1343-1282). I will stress the resilience and continuity across all four reigns but with special attention to the resilience necessary for Joanna to survive for forty years on the throne as a female ruler.

As an art historian, I will demonstrate the continuity of the Angevin monarchy through art works that show a consistent dynastic propaganda intended to counteract political enemies. Artists such as Cristoforo Orimino (the Anjou Bible) and Simone Martini (St Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece) painted images stressing Angevin dynastic succession. Pietro Cavallini, a

Roman artist, and Giotto, a Florentine artist, were court painters in Naples in 1308-1309 and 1328-1332 respectively. The painting styles of these key artists had a profound impact on local Neapolitan workshops employed by the Angevin court. Their styles became emblematic of Angevin court art. My paper will demonstrate that frescoes, manuscripts, tombs and altarpieces are alternate forms of testimony to the continuity and resilience of the Angevin monarchs in Naples.

**Justyna Luczynska-Bystrowska:** *“Vita activa et conteplativa – the iconography of the miniatures in the Breviary (1458-1476) illuminated for the Aragonese dynasty in Naples.*

The Franciscan Breviary (the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków, sign. Ms. Czart. 1211 IV) was created in Naples between 1458 and 1476 in the royal scriptorium at Castel Nuovo by Cola and Nardo Rapicanos, illuminators who produced richly decorated manuscripts for the members of the Aragonese dynasty. The iconographic program of the illuminations is not standard for a Breviary and it does not have any analogy in the Neapolitan art of the 15th Century, therefore it is probable that it was designed for a specific founder.

My argument is that the manuscript probably was created for a female member of the royal dynasty as we can find the Aragonese coat of arms painted on one of the miniatures. Additionally, four of its illuminations depict a queen preaching and having mystical visions. The young woman is not identified by any inscription nor coat of arms, she does not have a nimbus either however she is

presented in the context usually reserved for nuns and mystics while experiencing celestial revelations. There other illuminations are also suitable for the royal taste as they contain allusions to the ideal ruler (*specula principum*) and the secular courtly culture.

The aim of my presentation will be to analyze the iconography of this lavishly decorated liturgical manuscript in the context of the art of illumination at the Aragonese court in Naples that flourished

since the times of Alfonso V (1442- 1458). In the 15th Century in order to resist queens had to combine royal duties of governing the Kingdom with their religious needs. The Breviary in the Prices Czartoryski collection in Kraków perfectly matches those requirements – the iconography of the miniatures corresponds both with the medieval devotional art, used especially by women for the private piety (*devotio moderna*), and with the courtly culture of the Renaissance era. Therefore, this book would be perfect for a female monarch who followed the path of Mary and Martha – *vita activa et contemplativa*.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.2 (14:30-16:00) The Resilience of Royal Women: Working for the Survival of a Dynasty on the Margins of a Great Power, the Kingdom of France. Successes and Failures  
DISFOR/1**

**Tracy Adams:** *Valois Queens and Dynastic Resilience: The Conflicting Mandates of Isabeau of Bavaria, Anne of Brittany and Eleanor of Austria.*

Endogamy, intermarriage, was an important strategy for dynastic resilience from the Middle Ages into the modern era. Thanks to the practice, several European ruling dynasties have retained their status as an elite caste into the twentieth century. But the practice was also central to diplomacy among European ruling dynasties, and, in this area, it is questionable whether it served its intended purpose.

This essay will briefly survey three diplomatic marriages within the Valois dynasty to consider the major internal contradiction of the practice: women who married into new families were expected to contribute whole-heartedly to securing the goals of their new families, and, yet, at the same time, to work on behalf of their birth families, contributing to their resilience. These goals often conflicted. After a rapid overview of the Valois queens, I look at the cases of Isabeau of Bavaria, Anne of Brittany, and Eleanor of Austria, to show in each that the marriage did indeed help secure dynastic continuity.

At the same time, however, because the women continued to work on behalf of their own families, the marriages were sources of significant strife. Such work often was, and even continues to be, characterized as meddling or scheming. For each case, I briefly analyse the conflicting mandates faced by the women, how these have been characterized, and show the strategies involved and their outcomes.

**Jonathan Spangler.** *The Futility of Madame: Marguerite de Lorraine and Liselotte von der Pfalz in the service of their threatened homelands, Lorraine and the Palatinate*

In the history of the ‘Grand Siècle’, the achievements of Louis XIII and Louis XIV in consolidating the power of France, in particular the security of its frontiers, has been lauded. Rarely is this story looked at from the point of view of those smaller states whose sovereignty is impinged upon in this process. In the 1650s and the 1680s, France’s neighbours to the northeast, Lorraine and the Palatinate were both invaded and occupied; their ruling dynasties were mostly helpless in the face of the largest army in Europe. But both dynasties had an inside agent: a daughter married into the royal family of France itself, each as wife of the younger brother of the king. This paper will examine the efforts of these daughters, Marguerite de Lorraine and Liselotte von der Pfalz, sisters-in-law to Louis XIII and Louis XIV, respectively, to attempt to intervene on behalf of their homelands. Neither had much success. Marguerite invited her exiled brother, Duke Charles IV of Lorraine, to the French court to attempt to reconcile him with the French government led by the Regent Anne of Austria. Liselotte tried to convince Louis XIV to soften his aggressive stance in claiming her rights (which she declined to claim herself) to the succession in the Palatinate after 1685. The results were negligible: Lorraine remained occupied, and the Palatinate witnessed the worst devastation of the landscape inflicted by an army Europe had ever seen. In the end, however, there was a glimmer of dynastic resilience, in that the conjoined interests of the houses of Lorraine and Orléans did aid in the restoration of an independent duke in Lorraine, Marguerite’s great-nephew, who was then married to Liselotte’s daughter.

A new golden age in Lorraine followed, while France's aggressive stance in the Rhineland was punished by the Wittelsbachs of the Palatinate being pushed outside the diplomatic camp of France and into the arms of the Habsburgs for decades to come.

**Philippa Woodcock:** *Cousins, daughters, sisters and wives: the Foix women and the decline of their dynasty*

The Foix dynasty were tenacious in the pursuit of their claim to the kingdom of Navarre. As major regional landholders, governors and feudatories, in the early sixteenth century, their challenge to the Albret family was not unrealistic. Indeed, as obvious Albret male heirs died off, the two Foix cousins, Gaston and Odet, were perceived as candidates for this Pyrenean crown. At the same time, they sought to carve out other independent jurisdictions for themselves within and outwith France. Resilient to knockbacks, they pursued various strategies to argue their rights, yet their claims were never realised, and Gaston and Odet's lineages were extinct by the mid-sixteenth century. If other branches of the House of Foix considered peripheral in 1500 continued to produce male heirs, their interest in Navarre was abandoned in lieu of court and careers. This paper will trace the role of women in the Foix-Grailly family's attempts to assert their pre-eminence as independent rulers in the south-west borders between France and Spain. Whilst Woodacre has studied the epistolary networks between the female Foix cousinship, this paper questions whether some of the same women were used by their male relatives to sustain the claim, traced through the biographies of Germaine, Françoise, Charlotte and Claude de Foix. Such tenacity, and that displayed by women in particular, stands out against dominant narratives of French history of gradual drawing together of the French nobility to the central court society, instead suggesting that the noble men and women of France's periphery were far from accepting centralisation. The paper will briefly discuss the following strategies involving, and indeed, led by women in the campaign for the aggrandisement of the principalities of Navarre and Foix: marriage between cousins (1500-20); marriage with the royal family (in particular the King's sister, 1515-25); and long-lived women's roles in preserving the family's status (1528-53).

**Carla Pinto:** *'K et B retramées d'or pur: Art and the politics of Beatrice of Portugal in Savoy, between France and the Empire'*

In the second half of the seventeenth century Samuel Guichenon mentioned at one point in his *Histoire Genealogique de la Royale Maison de Savoye* the names and genealogies of the eleven French princesses who had married into the House of Savoy. Among them, the eighth, Beatrice of Portugal, is described as “daughter of King Manuel, prince of blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy”. This description, which reveals disregard of the conventional naming practices of the dynasties prevailing in Portugal – Manuel’s dynasty was that of Avis, founded by the marriage of an illegitimate son of Pedro I of Portugal and an English princess of the house of Lancaster – illustrates the strongly held image of a political, dynastic and cultural dominion of France over Savoy. In some ways, this image does correspond to reality in the long term, particularly during the period of occupation of the Duchy by France in the mid-16th century, but a finer analysis of events dismantles this apparent hegemony and, instead reveals a representation and affirmation of an independent power. Such is the case of the episode of Duke Charles II’s marriage to the second daughter of the Portuguese king (1521-38), and the subsequent favouring of their son, Emmanuel Philibert, by the Emperor Charles V and the dominance of pro-Hapsburg imperial policy over that of the Valois, a reversal for which Duchess Beatrice was largely responsible. In this presentation, I will emphasize the role of Beatrice of Portugal in defining a policy of consolidation of the Savoyard elites and a gradual approach to the economic, military and cultural diplomacy of the Empire through both artistic objects and documents.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.2 (14:30-16:00) The resilience of the Neapolitan Bourbon Court**

**DISFOR/2**

**Mirella Mafri:** *The Neapolitan Court and the earthquake of 1783*

The paper focuses on the catastrophic earthquake that struck Southern Calabria (the current provinces of Reggio and Catanzaro) and Messina, on February 5th 1783. Through the correspondence of Queen Maria Carolina to her father-in-law Charles III King of Spain, of the Prime Minister Marquis of Sambuca to Madrid's colleague Count of Floridablanca, of Lieutenant General Francesco Pignatelli to the Government, as well through the correspondence of some diplomats in Naples as the French charge d'affaires Dominique Vivant Denon, emerges a precise diachronic picture not only of the earthquake in its various moments, of the extent of the damages suffered by cities and villages, but also of the initiatives adopted by King Ferdinand IV.

**Alessandro Abbate – Salvatore Bottari:** *The reconstruction and economic recovery of Messina after the earthquake of 1783 in the letters of the Viceroys of Sicily, Caracciolo and Caramanico.*

Sometimes a catastrophe is an opportunity to rethink a city from a socio-economic point of view. This was the case of Messina after the earthquake of 1783, which struck north-eastern Sicily and southern Calabria. Through the letters of two viceroys of Sicily Domenico Caracciolo, Marquis of Villamaina (1781-1785) and Francesco d'Aquino, Prince of Caramanico (1786-1795), this paper aims to bring out the different strategies for reconstruction and economic revival of the city of Messina that were debated in the Neapolitan Court and the choices that eventually prevailed.

**Giuseppina D'Antuono:** *Resilience and Resistance of Bourbon monarchy in the kingdom of Naples (1799-1800)*

The objects of this research are some unpublished Memories, preserved in the Archivio Borbone's collection of the Archivio di Stato of Naples and written between 1799 and 1800 by nobles of the Bourbon court. The narration allows us to enter the events of the court, that following the traumatic event of the Revolution had left the throne of Naples for Sicily. So we can focus on the Queen Maria Carolina tenacity against a party inside the court, linked to Acton, until her decision to go from Palermo to Vienna, and on the forms of King Ferdinand IV resilience. Worthy of attention is also the attitude of the authors pivotal ministers, who suggested to the rulers not only to implement forms of resistance, but also new political strategies to stem the abuse of power, anarchy and summary sentences to stabilize the recovered throne.

**Lavinia Gazzé:** *The decline of the Bourbon Court of Ferdinand IV through the unpublished accounts of knight*

This paper aims to present the political decline of the Neapolitan Court Palermo between years 1804 and 1806 perceived by an external observer, the Knight Saverio Landolina, Royal custodian of the Antiquities of Sicily, during his long journey to Naples, Rome and through the analysis of his unpublished journal.

The royal official in his 'diary' recorded the daily routine describing excavations and monuments, mixed with evenings at the theater, walks, significantly political comments in the Neapolitan salons or expressed in long antechambers at the Royal Palace. Moreover the journal offers some testimonies of the contradictory disruptive or resilient forces that acted and interpreted the royal power in a context of crisis.

The result is a vivid landscape of the Neapolitan Court of King Ferdinand IV and Maria Carolina and Royal family that Landolina initially traced with curiosity, not without irony, subsequently the dark and restless tones of the months preceding the second escape of the court in Palermo, manifested by the growing unease of the Sovereigns. Inclined to interpret their own role with a very different intensity, even emotional, before the new military and



political defeat, the royal couple offer answers that interpret the events according to opposite perspectives. At the emotional collapse of Maria Carolina, in tears as she landed in Palermo, repeatedly unable to conceal a crisis of roles and personnel, Landolina will repeatedly oppose the detachment of King Ferdinando IV, engaged in daily hunting trips in the park of the Favorita, while the British fleet in arms defended the port of Palermo.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.3 (16:30-18:00) Iberian & Italian Connections**

**DISFOR/3**

**Giuseppe Campagna:** *Sicilian resistance to the anti-Jewish politics of the Catholic Kings*

In 1492 the Jews were expelled from the Iberian territories. In Sicily, the motivations of the edict of expulsion did not convince a large part of the elite. The same viceroy, Fernando de Acuña, seemed at times to stand on the side of the expelled Jews. The situation did not change in the following years as the nobility of Messina was accused by Ferdinand the Catholic to take sides from the part of the Jews. This paper aims to highlight the main personalities who opposed the anti-Jewish policy of the Catholic Kings and to investigate the motivations behind this phenomenon.

**Elena Frasca:** *A Vicereine of Naples in Phillip II's court. Dorotea Barresi*

Dorotea Barresi-Santapau-Branciforte-Zúñiga is an excellent example of several important qualities. She demonstrated great resilience, adaptability to her life's often tragic turns, the courage to keep going despite personal and public misfortune and, last but not least, an ability to educate the young heirs of one of the most important European ruling dynasties.

Born in Pietraperzia in 1536 to Girolamo Barresi, Marquess of Pietraperzia, and Antonia Ademar Santapau, from an early age she had to deal with the legal difficulties of her father, who was accused of the murder of his own father and two servants and subsequently sentenced to death.

Her first marriage, in 1550, was to Giovanni Branciforte, Count of Mazzarin and produced Fabrizio, her only child. On being widowed, she married her cousin Vincenzo Barresi, Marquess of Militello who died the day after their wedding. Her third marriage was to Juan de Zúñiga, the future Viceroy of Naples and son of Philip II of Spain's tutor, bringing as a dowry the title of Prince of Pietraperzia that she had obtained as a result of her brother Pietro's death without issue. Dorotea was Vicereine until 1582 when she, along with her husband, was called to Madrid to care for the delicate responsibility of educating the king's children.

A cultured and refined woman, Dorotea was skilful in handling the family's estate, forming marriage alliances to retain its titles and property.

**Saverio Di Franco:** *The resilience of jurists at the Kingdom of Naples (1618-1648)*

The Spanish conquest of the Kingdom of Neaples produced deep institutional, economic, political and social changes, that are today still evident in the delay of the Mezzogiorno and the whole peninsula in comparison to others European states as France and England.

The Habsburg monarchy knew how to exploit the lack of cohesion and the quarrelsomeness of the social classes to dominate and to exploit the men and the resources of the kingdom.

The principal reform interested the government of the courts. Charles V subtracted power to the nobility of sword and gave it to the jurists (1542). Their juridical competences were important for the Habsburgs both to organize the government of a conquered kingdom, both to contain the autonomy of the nobility of sword.

This trial consolidated during the century and up to the years 20 of XVII century. Nevertheless during the Thirty years' war the military appointments of the monarchy in defense of the Catholic countries recovered for a thick embitterment of the fiscal pressure in all dominions, especially in the kingdom in Naples.

Here the togated judges of the Chancellery of the Collateral Council and the Regal Chamber of Sommaria opposed to the tax increases. The economic conditions of the Kingdom – they wrote – were critical so much that it would

not have been possible to ask a great financial contribution to those populations.

The Spanish reaction manifested during the twenty preceding years the so-called revolt of Masaniello. The monarchy progressively replaced the togated judges with other jurists coming from the nobility of sword, which in the years had undertaken the juridical studies. They were ready to pander all the Spanish applications to recover the positions of political command lost since the preceding century.

At the same time took start a trial of block of the mobility in the public administration. The middle and low levels of the offices were busy from family oligarchies, really while the graduates' number in law grew year for year without having the possibility to access the administrative system of the capital.

The aim of this work is to demonstrate as the togated judges regained the power by the so-called Masaniello revolt during twenty years of resistance and adaptation.

The Spanish monarchy delegitimated progressively the togated judges. Among these there were largely lawyers and graduates in law, that aspired to make career departing from the middle-low judicial offices to become judges to life. They owed therefore to adapt to the political-institutional changes and to attend best times. Naples was the administrative capital of the kingdom, in which the principal courts initiated both the civil trials and penalties of every order and degree.

And as in a complex and difficult as so populous reality the low people it was often the protagonist of the greatest part of the judicial trials. This custom facilitated the relationship among lawyers and people as the influence that the togati succeeded in practicing on that part of the society. The resilience of the togated judges resulted winning for the individual careers, but it was disastrous for the affairs of the kingdom. The system of Spanish power founded upon the constant increase of the public debt, the lack of an economic politics, the disarmament of the coasts, united to an atavistic incapability of the Neapolitan nobility to make itself guide of the affairs of the Kingdom and to a hostile Church to every change, have conditioned the permanent backwardness of whole Italy.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.3 (16:30-18:00) Strong willed women in early modern Europe**

**DISFOR/2**

**Maria Barreto Davila:** *Beatriz of Portugal: A resilient Mother*

Manuel I of Portugal ascended to the throne in 1495, upon the death of king John II, his first cousin. Grandson of a king, Manuel only received the Crown due to the extinction of his grandfather's primogeniture (and the death of his five older brothers). For this reason, he is recalled as the Fortunate King.

Nonetheless, Manuel's good fortune wasn't all due to fate. He had the support of his mother, princess Beatriz of Portugal. As a widow, Beatriz had faced a few challenges of her own. However, her biggest trial would be the execution of her son-in-law, in 1483, followed by the murder of her eldest son, by the King himself. Through her family's misfortune, Beatriz managed not to lose her discretion, enabling Manuel (her youngest son and now heir) to become closer to the King, thus gaining his trust and maintaining his estate.

However, in 1491, things changed drastically with the accidental death of the Crown prince. John II was now a king with no direct heirs and Manuel was in a position to become the next king of Portugal. At that time, the resistant Beatriz joined all the forces to stand for Manuel's claim as successor to the throne.

Beatriz's story is one of resilience. Nevertheless, female resilience doesn't always come across from written sources. In this paper we will analyse these sources through a different angle, thus hoping to shed light to Beatriz's official and unofficial actions.

**Sergio Costola:** *Lucrezia Borgia's use of Court Spectacle as Diplomacy During The Years of War (1509-1513)*

The numerous pages devoted to Lucrezia Borgia—both by her contemporaries and through the centuries—cannot help us understand how, as a Duchess of Ferrara, Lucrezia managed to be accepted by everyone, and

to cover her role in an irreproachable manner. Even if we exclude the rumors of incest and murder, the Pope's daughter had been married twice, had had a son with her second husband, Alfonso di Bisceglie, and most probably a second son—Giovanni, the Infante Romano. How did Lucrezia's resilience allowed her to redirect the narrative she had been confined to by diaries, chroniclers, and scandal?

Taking a lead from Ellen Welch's recent *Theatre of Diplomacy* (2017), I would like to focus on the festivals organized by Lucrezia Borgia at the court of Ferrara between 1510 and 1513. Many documents often cite Lucrezia Borgia's virtuosity in dancing and her ability to organize banquets and festivals. For example, French soldier Bayard wrote of the hospitality the French received from Lucrezia: "Above all people the good duchess, who was a pearl in this world, received them with singular attention, and every day held for them banquets and festivals in the Italian style very beautiful and marvellous." (*Le Loyal Serviteur* 1878, 239.) However, while Lucrezia's ability is often taken into consideration, the political implications of her court entertainments have received little analysis—especially when compared to those festivals during which Ariosto's plays or Roman comedies were performed. In this essay I want to shift the focus from the importance of these festivals for their literary importance and concentrate instead on Lucrezia Borgia's social acts of resilience and her use of spectacular entertainment for diplomatic advantage.

**Inga Lena Ångström Grandien:** *Anna Vasa of Sweden- the self - willed sister of Sigismund Vasa of Poland.*

That a royal family, as well as other families, consists of individuals, even sometimes very strong ones, is forgotten by History where only the actions of the rulers are of any importance. My paper is about one such strong royal personality, Princess Anna Vasa of Sweden (1568-1626), the youngest child of John III and Catherine Jagiellon, daughter of Sigismund I of Poland. Queen Catherine had seen to that Anna like her brother Sigismund was raised a Catholic in Lutheran Sweden, but after the queen's death in 1583, Anna converted to Lutheranism. Though not as controversial as Queen Christina's conversion to Catholicism sixty years later, this was still quite a radical thing to do and among other things diminished her chances of getting

married since most of Europe's royals were Catholics. - In the end, she never married. – She was also very much disliked by the Catholic Polish court, to where she had come with Sigismund after he had become king of Poland. What I shall discuss in my paper is the resilience she showed in keeping to her faith despite all efforts to reconvert her, efforts which continued right up to her deathbed and only ended with her refusal to take the last communion. Because of that, the Pope refused her to be buried in a catholic graveyard, but she came later to rest in the Church of St. Mary in Torun, Poland.

**Camila Kandare:** *Resilience and Regeneration in the post-abdication life of Queen Christina of Sweden*

When Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) abdicated the Swedish throne at the age of 28, she never intended to continue to live other than as queen. Such ambition, however, meant that henceforth Christina had to continuously find ways to manage and resist others' expectations on what her role as queen without a country would entail, and what degree of influence it would grant. Rather than settling down to the "quiet life" that news pamphlets anticipated at her abdication, Christina set herself up in Rome as a political force and influential patron of the arts, with a court that vied in influence with the papal court. Yet her claims to such influence were not uncontested. Time and time again, Christina overplayed her hand and fell into disfavor or failed on a grand scale. On medals she had struck, Christina used the emblem of the phoenix rising from the ashes and in a similar way managed to recover from her many falls and spring back into the royal shape and position she considered hers. The *Avvisi di Roma* regularly portrayed Christina precisely as someone characterized by her resilience. My research suggest that such resilience largely played out through an indefatigable presence and participation in public space, ultimately managing to have the position she staged for herself accepted as real. While modern historiography has ridiculed Christina for insisting so pedantically on her royal appearance, it was such tactic that enabled Christina to successfully resist contesting interpretations of her post-abdication role.

**Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 2.3 (16:30-18:00) Revolutionary past and Napoleonic monarchy**

**DISFOR/1**

**Alison Mc Queen:** *Emperor Napoleon III: portraits of a complex and resilient leader*

Louis-Napoleon was France's Prince-President during the Second Republic (1848-1852) and ruled as Emperor Napoleon III from 1853 until the Second Empire ended in September 1870, when he ceded to Prussian military authority. Napoleon III is a controversial historical figure due, in part, to the violent coup d'état that brought him to power and also his leadership style, which included censorship of images and text for much of his reign. This paper argues that Napoleon III's ability to adapt to changing socio-political circumstances deserves greater attention, as does the art that represented those changes and communicated them, including to national and international audiences. This paper considers Napoleon III's efforts to overcome losses in elections and draws attention to his shift from an authoritarian to a liberal empire. I evaluate how portraits of the emperor produced during the Second Empire were an important means of conveying messages, first of authority and legacy and then of strength and adaptability. Further, I propose that a portrait bust completed posthumously was designed to depict Louis-Napoleon as a resilient leader: the work captures his intense psychological experience during the three-year period from his capitulation in 1870, through his incarceration by the Prussians, and the painful surgeries that dominated the final years of his life in England. This paper draws attention to how portraits of the last emperor of the French communicated his ability to overcome negative events and represented a complex individual who was both resilient and highly adaptive.

**Jonathan North:** *Coaching Resilience: Napoleon's advice to his brother, Joseph, King of Naples*

Can resilience be taught? Napoleon thought so. In early 1806 he had the Bourbons of Naples replaced by his elder brother, Joseph. For the next two years Napoleon bombarded Joseph with advice on how to behave as a monarch.

This paper examines that correspondence and reveals the differing views of the Bonaparte brothers on how to deal with a subject people, whether to win them over or to control them. It concludes that Napoleon, suspecting his brother to be lenient, emphasised oppression as a means of establishing a resilient dynasty.

His advice urged his brother to be strict with the Neapolitans (“it is only by setting a harsh example that you keep the Italians in line”) and to carefully police them (“doubtless you have brought together the city priests and made it clear that you hold them responsible for any disorder”). Napoleon also stressed the need to manage public opinion, and make use of the right ministers (“If Roederer or Miot gave you this advice they are imbeciles”). But the key test of Joseph's resilience came with the revolt in Calabria in the summer of 1806. It was then that Napoleon increased the tempo of his advice and insisted on Joseph taking drastic measures (“up until now you have been too soft with Naples”). The paper emphasises how important this correspondence is as a source on Napoleonic rule in Italy and how it helps determine the options available to monarchs as they face challenging events (and deal with challenging relatives).

**Flavien Bertran de Balanda:** *Restoration and resilience. The last Bourbons face the revolutionary past*”.

Moments of «disorder of times» The Restoration is now studied as a complex space, a sort of metaxu between tradition and modernity. Since 1795, did the Count of Provence not have preceded history by taking the title of Louis XVIII nineteen years before his accession to the throne? This symbolic gesture, proclaimed in the middle of the Revolution, insinuated that the latter did not take place, it never took place, would never take place again.



The reality is more nuanced: passed to forget or to expiate, it is at the same time horresco referens and makes undeniable; it forces the restored monarchy to unfold itself in a paradoxical field, that of a negation which is not one, of a management of a formerly cumbersome of which we can not economize, even if we try to reinvent uchronically a once more reassuring. It's not just about accepting the event, but thinking about it and trying to integrate it into a new political concepts.

We can query the ambiguities of this novel form of resilience in a triple chronological prism: First of all, the first Restoration between institutional innovations and dynastic changes, then the beginnings of the second one, where the game seems to be temporarily closed; finally the beginnings of the reign of Charles X, who suddenly see these tensions tense, the year 1825 the peak of this dialectic dismemberment equally symptomatic of the weaknesses of the regime that reveals wealth of the period.

**Vincent Haeghele:** *«He is not king to obey»: Joachim Murat and the exercise of power under the shadow of the Napoleonic supervision*

Being a sovereign of full rights is not so easy in the Europe of Napoleon's brothers, sisters and brothers-in-law ; from 1806 to 1814, the family « system », created by the Emperor of the French, reserves its part of surprises and disappointments to those who think to be in capacity to emancipate themselves from the military, economic and diplomatic supervision to which they are theoretically bound by the rules of treaties and brotherly ties. Joachim Murat, king of Naples since 1808, is also concerned, when his personal will clash with that of his suzerain and protector.

In 1811, a serious crises shakes the Neapolitan monarchy and fails to provoke an open war? After several months of diplomatic clashes and military threats, the King of Naples returned to the ranks. How did his entourage, his administration and his court experience this crisis that prefigures the still more violent one of 1814?

Created in 1816 by the new Bonaparte king, Joseph, the new court of Naples is soon divided between supporters of a firm alliance with France, often coming from the same country, and those who spouse a more autonomous policy. The result is, inside of the system, an important struggle, in which

the royal couple, their ministers and their courtiers participate, under the watch of the foreign ambassadors.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

***Plenary Session- Closing Keynote Lecture (9:30-10:30)***

**DISUM -Aula Santo Mazzarino**

**Munro Price:**

*Shipwreck and survival: Louis XVI, Ferdinand VII, and revolution*

This lecture focuses on royal resilience in the face of major political crisis. It does so by comparing the response of two monarchs to revolutionary upheaval: that of Louis XVI in France between 1789 and 1792, and of his cousin Fernando VII in Spain between 1820 and 1823. Much more has been written about the French Revolution than the Spanish, but a comparison reveals intriguing parallels between both their respective courses and the attitude of each monarch to them. These are not always straightforward; most obviously the Spanish monarchy survived the challenge to its authority, whereas the French monarchy, at least in the medium term, did not. Aspects of royal policy to each revolution, particularly the question of whether or to what extent either monarch was prepared to give up his traditional powers, also remain controversial.

While making allowance for this, the lecture will try to elucidate each ruler's goals, and assess their similarities and differences. In conclusion, it will ask to what extent these may have provided a template for the royal response to subsequent revolutions, up to 1848 and even beyond.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3 (11:00-12:30) Political Practices and Players**

**DISFOR/2**

**Stephen Griffin:** *Nôtre très cher et bien aimé le Comte de Carlingford': Francis Taaffe, 3rd earl of Carlingford and the House of Lorraine in exile and restoration.*

Before his death in 1690, duke Charles V of Lorraine had commended Francis Taaffe (1639-1704), count of Austria and future 3rd earl of Carlingford to his eldest son and heir, Leopold. Long associated with the House of Lorraine, Taaffe served as a captain in Charles's regiment in the Habsburg army, eventually rising to command it in the Franco-Dutch war. He represented Charles as the Austrian candidate for the Polish throne in the royal election of 1674 and both men were present at the relief of Vienna in 1683. When Charles died in exile in 1690, Taaffe's association with the family continued and, in 1698, Leopold was restored to the duchy of Lorraine with Taaffe taking control of the state in the young duke's name and playing an instrumental role in its revival (it had long been ravaged by French occupation and war). For Leopold he served as chief minister and colonel of the guards filling the regiment with Irish officers and men while establishing his own relatives in the ducal household. By the time of his death in 1704, his income accounted for half of all expenditure at the duke's court and his body lay in state in the capital at Nancy for a month. This paper provides an account of Taaffe's long association with the House of Lorraine, detailing his service to both father and son and ultimately highlighting his impact upon a family experiencing a change in fortune and a move from exile into restoration.

**Jeremy Filet:** *Regno ergo Resilio: The Old Pretender's court in Lorraine and the 1715 Jacobite rebellion*

In this talk, I would like to argue that it is the unremitting "shadow rule" of James III, which enabled him to resist and continuously claim the throne of England. More precisely, this presentation will focus on the little-studied

Jacobite court at Bar-Le-Duc and its link with the Jacobite diaspora, which had settled in the Duchy of Lorraine from the treaty of Ryswick onwards. Leopold of Lorraine returned to his Duchy in 1698 and led a policy of reconstruction by supporting the arrival of foreigners to repopulate his Duchy. The Jacobites decided to settle at this crossroad of Europe, situated between Germany, France & Italy. While James III negotiated with Queen Anne to recover his throne, the “king over the water” took refuge with his Lorraine cousin from January 1713 to March 1716. The Old Pretender settled in Bar-Le-Duc with his Jacobite court and fomented the 1715 rebellion from there, with the help of the Lorraine nobility.

We will study the multifaceted resilience of the Jacobite monarch and the social and relational interactions he maintained with his followers at court and in the Duchy. Within the milieu of the exiled court, we will analyse the multimedia blitz the Jacobites produced from Lorraine by bringing new pieces of evidence from the local archives of the formerly independent Duchy. Essentially, we will examine how the Old Pretender had to adapt his policy to the contingency of international politics, and the means by which he secured the support of the Duke of Lorraine as well as one of the most prominent noble of the Duchy: Charles-Henri de Vaudémont (1649-1723). All in all, the resilience of the Jacobite king enabled him to secure the help of his supporters and of the local nobility of the Duchy of Lorraine to prepare the 1715 rebellion.

**Mariana Zinni:** *The Gold Paved staircase to Power. The resilience and Ambition of Archbishop Viceroy Morcillo (1642-1730)*

In this presentation I will like to follow the resilient path of fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón from his rather humble origins in Villarrobledo, Spain, to his two times tenure as viceroy of Perú. From his modest bishopric of Nicaragua, Morcillo rose to become Metropolitan Archbishop of Lima at the same time as he was appointed viceroy for the second time at his late age of 80 years old. At this time, he held both, the regal scepter and the pastor shaft, meaning temporary and ecclesiastical authority, while exercising a formidable influence in colonial spheres.

I will use several documents to demonstrate how his incredible resilience and ambition led him to climb to the highest post in viceregal power and

how, despite the complications, irregularities, courtly intrigues and manipulations, fray Diego was able to maintain his status, getting to die while still in office, at the age of 88. I will review documents hosted by Archivo General de Indias, Seville, as well as few chronicles regarding his first proclamation as interim viceroy of Perú. I am particularly interested in the documents describing his triumphal entry in the Villa Imperial de Potosí in 1716, as well as the writings produced by fray Juan de la Torre, don Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, and fray Antonio de Soloaga -his predecessor in the Metropolitan Archbishopric-, in order to unveil Morcillo's methods to increase and retain power and privileges in the complex political world of the Indies.

**Roberto Tufano:** *A Dynasty for the South of Italy: ideas and political practices for a new sovereign.*

The paper aims to focus on the analysis of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies during the first Bourbon rulers, Charles and Maria Amalia. In particular it will be underlined the pivotal role played by Queen Maria Amalia through the examination of the correspondence between Maria Amalia and the Prime Minister Bernardo Tanucci.

After the conquest of Southern Italy (1734), the new king, Charles of Bourbon appointed Bernardo Tanucci, Councillor of State, then Minister of the Postal Service (in 1748), Minister of Justice (in 1751), Minister of Foreign Affairs (in 1753) and Secretary of State in 1754. The close relations of the Minister with the first Bourbon rulers, Charles and Maria Amalia of Saxony, were founded on mutual trust and esteem, in addition to a solid friendship, as evidenced by their extensive correspondence, now almost all published. The concept of sovereignty implemented by the young couple was very much concentrated on the image of their rulership, which they both conceived as a public service, an idea that depended very much on the new way of conceiving the phenomenon of knowledge, therefore also on political practice.

In this new framework of sovereignty, a fact emerges among all the others, the strong influence of the lively, strongly expansive and communicative temperament of the young queen on the change in the balance of central power, especially through a daily and compelling psychological action on

her husband. King Charles was the result of a bipolar education, squeezed between the rigid fatherly model of a sovereign and practical common sense and political flexibility that, beyond a more or less positive judgment on the results obtained, inspired the government of his mother which was "sporadic in appearance but continuous in the shade". Later, when Charles of Bourbon was crowned as King Charles III of Spain, he demonstrated an innovative ability to rule, marking a line of sharp discontinuity with respect to his parents, Philip V and Elisabetta Farnese.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3 (11:00-12:30) The Modern Italian Monarchy**

**DISFOR/3**

**Frans Wilelm Lantink:** *Coping with the Trauma of Revolution: Flight, Resilience and Recovery? 1848 and its Aftermath in the Italian Monarchies*

The long decade between the 1848- Revolution and the Italian Unification witnessed the last days of the Italian ancien régime and neo-absolutist rule. The Italian Risorgimento successfully established the hegemony of Piedmont, the Kingdom of Sardinia, over the whole peninsula to form the modern Kingdom of Italy (1861-1946) under the rule of one dynasty, the House of Savoy. The Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany - part of or connected with the Austrian Empire and the Habsburg dynasty -the Duchy of Modena and Reggio, the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza and the Kingdom of the Two Sicily's - all of them more or less in the Austrian hemisphere- were defeated or collapsed. Which were the personal strategies of the rulers of the Italian States to cope with revolution, restoration of power and - finally – exile? Which were the similarities and dissimilarities?

How to cope with the 1848-Revolution which spread from Palermo to the whole of the Italian peninsula and Europe, was crucial to the persistence of monarchical rule. Two of the rulers became for a (very)short time even the hope of the Italian liberals, Leopoldo III of Tuscany and surprisingly the new pope - Pio Nono - too. And besides the short lived Revolutionary Roman and Venetian Republics of 1848, in all the states, even in the Papal

States, constitutional reform was the first strategy to cope with the revolution. But soon in the revolutionary turmoil the only strategy for the royal rulers left was to fly and ask for assistance from Austria who restored their personal rule. And after 1852 all the constitutional reforms were abolished, like in Austria an era of neo-absolutism followed in most of the Italian States. These strategies to deal with the trauma of revolution are striking similar in ‘Austrian Italy’ and in the Two Sicily’s when compared to the contrasting events in Piedmont, where the Sardinian King had a successful and lasting ‘arrangement’ with the revolution. Without losing much of monarchical control, the notorious reactionary House of Savoy succeeded thanks to the Statuto Albertino. The generation of the (great) grandchildren of Austrian enlightened rulers had to face in 1860 a new and much bigger trauma: an exile for ever.

**Tommaso Zerbi:** *The Return of the King: Resilience, Restoration and Revivalism at the Court of Victor Emmanuel I of Savoy*

Victor Emmanuel of Savoy (1759–1824), first Savoyard monarch of his name, but less renowned than the one that in 1861 became first King of Italy, represents one of the most resilient sovereigns of the nineteenth century. In 1796, his father Victor Amadeus III, after four years of conflicts with the French Republic, signed the Treaty of Paris, ceding the Duchy of Savoy and the County of Nice, and shortly after he died leaving the throne to his first born, Charles Emmanuel IV. The kingdom was disturbed by republican uprisings, in 1798 the French occupied Turin, and the new king was forced to cede his remaining mainland possessions to France and to retire with his court to Sardinia. Impressed by Napoleon’s success in Italy, the not-so-resilient monarch gave up hope of being restored, and in 1802 he abdicated his throne to his brother Victor Emmanuel. This paper investigates Victor Emmanuel I’s resilience, from the early years of his reign – spent in countless diplomatic efforts with other European sovereigns and constant threats from France – up to the restoration of his domains in mainland Italy following the Congress of Vienna in 1814, and how this resilience evolved into a legitimist program in the patronage of the restored monarch. It will be suggested in fact that during the years of the Restoration, the political uncertainty in between French and Austrian expansionist ambitions fostered

in the Kingdom of Sardinia the rise of a cultural, artistic, and architectural revival, as an attempt to consolidate Savoyard sovereignty.

**David Bell –Theresa Moran:** *The Royal Menus of Vittorio Emanuele III: The Growth of Italian National Identity and The Preservation of Monarchy*

This paper examines how changes in royal menus during the reign of Vittorio Emanuele III (1900-1946) reflected a growing Italian nationality which in turn helped preserve the monarchy. We note three main influences on Italian royal menus: the demise of French cuisine as the cuisine of European monarchies; the rise of an Italian national cuisine or *italianità* after unification; and the emergence of Fascist food policies of alimentary sovereignty or *autarchia*. The demise of French cuisine was ostensibly signaled in 1908 when Italian replaced French on royal menus. The rise of a national Italian cuisine forged from patriotic nationalism was embodied in Artusi's "Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well," which codified Italy's disparate cuisines and provided a template of national identity. National identity was further articulated in the policy of autarky, which emphasized reduced dependence on food imports and an austere diet of bread, pasta, and wine. Autarky intensified further with sanctions against Italy's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 and entry into World War II. Amadeo Pettini, the King's head chef, promoted recipes in the spirit of autarky in journals like *Cucina Italiana*. Uninterested in food himself, Vittorio Emanuele countenanced changes in royal menus as part of a broader strategy for preserving the monarchy through an embrace of Italian national identity. He was the first truly Italian monarch; the first to speak with authentic Italian pronunciation; and unprecedented in his desire to reduce royal expenditure, especially after WWI. Vittorio Emanuele's resistance to his predecessors' authoritarianism – his support for Giolitti's progressive social reforms earned him the nickname of the 'bourgeois king' – and adaptation of royal symbols and rituals to the construction of a national identity is here examined through the lens of the changing royal menus.



**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3 (11:00-12:30) Confronted case studies of Kings&Queens in History, Art and Psychology  
DISFOR/1**

**Santo Di Nuovo:** *Kings and Queens between solitude and resilience: contributions from art and psychology*

Some psychological features of the lives of the King Philip II of Spain and Queen Elizabeth I of England are described, with reference to their personal affections and behaviours.

King Philip II married four times, prevalently for political alliances. After the death in 1558 of his second wife Mary of England, he unsuccessfully tried to wed his sister Elizabeth.

Philip's relationship with his eldest son Carlos was very complex. In a letter to the Pope Pius V, the king said "God, who has given me so many Kingdoms to govern, has not given me a son fit to govern them".

Regardless of the true story of Carlos, the conflict with his father was dealt with in various dramas (by Otway, Alfieri and Schiller) and in the famous opera by Verdi, where King Philip states that "the power of the king cannot allow reading in hearts, that God can only see ...".

Elizabeth I, born a few years after Philips, after a very difficult childhood and adolescence, queen at age 26, in her 45 years of reign led England towards peace and stability. She was popularly known as the "Virgin Queen", because of having refused all the proposal of marriage received from several suitors (including Philip of Spain), declaring that "she was married to her kingdom".

In the last period, her authority within the country abruptly diminished. In 1602 she went into a severe depression after a series of friends' death that upset her emotionally increasing her psychological loneliness.

The Queen Elizabeth's personal affections were treated in several musical operas: Elizabeth queen of England written by Rossini, while Donizetti set to music The castle of Kenilworth, Mary Stuart derived from a Schiller's tragedy, and Roberto Devereux named for her putative lover. Recently, a biographical film was directed by Shekhar Kapur in 1998, with a sequel in 2007, and a series entitled "The Virgin Queen" was produced by the BBC.

Among the quotations from these works: "I have given gave my life to England. Should England also have my soul?"

Both Philip and Elizabeth are prototypes of the affective (self-imposed) solitude of great kings and queens: for them to reign has a price, the renounce of private affections, sublimated in love for the kingdom and political power.

This solitude recalls Shakespeare: "Upon the king! Let us our lives, our souls, our debts, our careful wives, our children, and our sins lay on the king! We must bear all." (Henry V, act 4).

But in recent cases (for example, Edward VIII of England, Prince Amedeo of Belgium) the affections have overcome the logic of real power and personal well-being has been placed above the reason of state. Could the loneliness of kings and queens be overcome?

**Sabrina Castellano, Concetta Pirrone, Silvia Platania, Puccio Santisi:**  
*Queen Elisabeth II. A case study on Personality, Queenship, trait-perspectives on charisma*

An action role, the Queen of self directed leadership over self, over other people, and over situations. The Queen at birth is in positions where she has established dominion. She wants to be recognized as the leader. The fulfilment of her nature is to "call the shots".

Queens are the rarest of the Roles. There are many political and business positions that need possessions.

Queen Elizabeth II has a compelling sense of herself. Elizabeth is capable of highly creative insight and practical solutions to problems. Queen Elizabeth II enjoys her solitude and prefers to work alone. She needs time to contemplate her ideas without the intrusion of other people's thoughts. Elizabeth has attended many cultural events as part of her public role.

By using self-features, self-concept and social identity, we are able to roughly access and map out Her Majesty's personality. The self is a collection of beliefs we hold about ourselves. The component of these beliefs are call our "self-concept" (Flook, Repetti, & Ullman, 2005; Leflot, Onghena & Colpin, 2010). Social identity on the other hand, is the part of our "self".

The social identity of Her Majesty is simple. There are two methods to identity development, one of them is through experimentation and the other is to assume and adopt a ready-made social role. Being born into royalty, she already knows that she has to act in a particular way that is socially accepted as ways of royalty. As Princess Elizabeth of York, she still did not have any major roles to play as she was considered a minor royal. What really changed her life was the abdication crisis, which her uncle brought upon the nation. This completely changed the course of her identity development, as her father ascended the throne and she had to be groomed into becoming the future monarch of the United Kingdom. She had to adopt an identity that has been practiced by many of her predecessors, and royalties around the world.

**Teresa Nunes:** *Resilience and Rupture after Regicide. Portuguese Monarchy's challenges during D.Manuel II's reign (1908-1910)*

As 20th century begins, Portuguese Constitutional Monarchy struggles with exogenous problems – the impact of global financial and commercial problems, such as the pressure in overseas territories for colonial settlements, amongst others – characterized by the huge impact over national political institutions. One of the repercussions was considerably felt on the internal understanding of Constitutional king's obligations, a subject which inspired large debate on Portuguese elites, civilian and military. If, as Gallis enunciated *Ocidente*, constitutional kings are at the forefront of the war against revolution, a task to be well succeeded by acting according to the Constitutional Charter, other Portuguese Authors revealed extreme discomfort with national political and economic evolution, attending the European patterns on the end of the century, appealing for great institutional reform. To these, like Ramalho Ortigão, Eça de Queiroz or Oliveira Martins, the royal figure ought to play a key role on political framework. Based on the legitimacy, king was expected to promote the moralization of the Portuguese political regime, embodying the civic virtues underlying the liberal system. In this premise, as Ramalho explained, the efficient national governance was not a task to be assumed by politicians but by technicians. The time of the political parties was over; the country's progress, national independence and the preservation of the empire imposed drastic changes.

Direct and decisive action was demanded of the king, in the name of maintaining the monarchical regime.

King Charles death, February 1st 1908, brought new problems to Portuguese Monarchy as how could political institutions survive on a hostile environment? The present paper studies the solutions forged and implemented in order to avoid the political rupture during D.Manuel II reign, the last of Portuguese Monarchy.

**Falko Schnicke:** *Forming External and Internal Relations. Patterns of Twentieth-Century British State Visits*

Reinvented by Edward VII (1901-1910), the quantitative and qualitative significance of British state visits grew throughout the twentieth century, even though other forms of inter- and supranational cooperation became increasingly possible after the First World War. My paper will explore, in detail, how British state visits developed throughout the twentieth century, combining British dynastic history, international political history, and the history of British foreign policy.

The principal argument I want to make is that British state visits were based on the monarchs' position towards them. My paper will accentuate the increasing frequency of British state visits, highlighting the major caesura of the 1950s. Compared with the nineteenth century, it will become clear that it was above all in the twentieth century that state visits represented a means of political communication in the United Kingdom. I will highlight the significant impact of the different monarchs' personal attitudes towards foreign travel, and the importance of further key players involved in the planning of state visits will be reviewed to investigate how influential, at least at this basic level, they were in conducting royal diplomacy, emphasising the importance of individuals to foreign policy. The different monarchs' readiness or resilience to go abroad was decisive for conducting royal diplomacy, forcing their governments in complicated positions.

My paper will look into the internal communication resulting from those positions. Thus, it will be an analysis of historical concepts of British state

visits from a *longue durée* perspective, embedding these in the transformations of the international system that were happening at the time. It will show how British state visits were about forming relations with the world but also with the governments at home, including the Foreign Office, Cabinet, and even the Court itself.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3.2 (12:30-13:30) Emotion, memory and letters in early modern England**

**DISFOR/1**

**Manuela D'Amore:** *“The throne secures not a woman from the peculiar disadvantages of her sex” Gender, Crisis and Resilience in Women’s Memoirs of Tudor Queens (1800-1850)*

This paper proposal is centred on female accounts of Tudor Queens’ lives in the first half of the nineteenth century. Academic criticism has showed that in a period when “the past came to be seen as the key to the present” (R.A. Maitzen, 2013: 32), English women intellectuals chose history as a tool to discuss gender issues, and to negotiate their place in the public sphere. The reason why they dedicated themselves in particular to memoir writing is that they wanted to maintain their close relationship with their readers, and draw their attention to exceptional examples of “female eminence and worth” (M. Hays, 1803: v): Mary Hays’s *Memoirs of Queens, Illustrious and Celebrated* (1803), Lucy Aikin’s *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1818) and *Memoirs of the Life of Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII* (1827), as well as Hannah Lawrence’s *Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England* (1838-1840) are only some of the works, which from Romanticism to the Victorian Age expressed their authors’ need to propose

the glories of their national tradition from a feminist and radical perspective (M. Spongberg 2002: 15-20; 2018: 100-120).

Yet, although this first generation of nineteenth-century Clio generally recounted English queens' lives from the Middle Ages to contemporary times, we shall focus on the Tudor dynasty to show that figures, for example, such as Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth were deeply admired for their courage, strength and resilience both as individuals and stateswomen. Combining history, literature and pedagogy (L. Feber (ed.), 2007: 10-12), Mary Hays, Lucy Aikin and Hannah Lawrence were able to revive female readers' memory of the main protagonists of the English Reformation (R. O'Day, 2015), thus contributing to their knowledge.

**Mariusz Misztal:** *“Why may the earth not swallow us up?” Letters between Queen Victoria and her eldest daughter after the Prince Consort's death.*

The demise of Queen Victoria's beloved husband, Prince Albert, was for her a blow from which she almost never recovered. His death sent Victoria into a deep depression, and she stayed in seclusion for many years, rarely appearing in public and wearing black for the remaining forty years of her life. The letters between the Queen and her eldest daughter, the Crown Princess of Prussia, are not only an intimate record of their personal grief, but also give us the opportunity to see in detail how the Victorians faced bereavement, how they indulged in grief, and how important, in the face of death, were for them their religious beliefs. In the case of Queen Victoria, the letters are also a proof of her resilience as a monarch, who despite her personal grief decided to “follow out all his wishes” and go on fulfilling her duties as queen.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3.2 (12:30-13:30) Early modern Russian monarchy**

**DISFOR/2**

**Elena Teibenbacher:** *“Royal Resilience and cruelty in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia”*

After the death of the last Rurikid ruler in 1598, the young Russian tsardom was marked by a period of internal turmoil, unsecured succession, a devastating famine and a war with the catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Related to the previously ruling family only through Ivan IV's beloved first wife Anastasia Romanovna, sixteen-year-old Michail Romanov was elected tsar in 1613. Within the first year of his reign, he ordered the public execution of a merely four-year-old boy, the son of an already deceased pretender to the throne and a polish noblewoman. Was this act really necessary to secure the rule of the new Romanov dynasty, to stabilize the war-torn country and to protect the true, orthodox faith from an imminent catholic threat?

“Western” and Russian historiography alike have pondered the question whether Russian rulers showed a greater propensity to justify apparently brutal and authoritarian acts in the name of stability, security and God's will. Terms like tsarist autocracy and caesaropapism have split scholarly opinion between those who argue the singularity of Russian political culture and those who caution against generalization and overlooking epochal changes. This article aims at finding out whether certain acts of Russian rulers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century facing dynastic insecurity and domestic instability can be argued as pragmatic resilience, unnecessary cruelty or a mixture of both. Furthermore, through comparison with other European countries during the same time period, this paper asks how justifiable the criticism of so-called Russian brutality and arbitrariness really is.

**Darin Stephanov:** *The Decembrist Revolt of 1825 and Emperor Nicholas I of Russia (r. 1825-1855): Royal Strategies for Overcoming a Dual (Succession-Constitutional) Crisis*

On 14/26 December 1825, following the death of Alexander I, and his younger brother Constantine's controversial self-removal from the line of succession, royal officers and other noble conspirators led 3,000 soldiers in protest on St. Petersburg's Peter Square against Nicholas I whose autocratic tendencies were well-known. The uprising was suppressed, resulting in executions, jailing, and exile to Siberia. This paper examines the multi-pronged, short- and long-term policies of Nicholas I in response to the acute legitimacy deficit surrounding his rise to power.

First, the emperor overhauled the public image and popular symbolic functions of the monarch. Second, he relied on the nuclear and extended royal family for symbolic support. Thus, Nicholas I designed new ceremonial roles and public images for members of the royal household and, by extension, the dynasty, in the process of his own power consolidation. On the one hand, he immediately drew on the enormous popularity of his deceased elder brother turning it into what may be the first modern ruler personality cult in Russia. On the other hand, Nicholas I imposed new ceremonial duties on members of the royal household from the heir, the empress, and the dowager empress to the grand dukes and the grand duchesses, centered on their birthdays and name days, but extending far beyond. Thus, the empire received a geometric progression of cyclical monarchic/dynastic festivities, which engaged ever-larger numbers of subjects on a regular basis, forging over time credible direct vertical ties of subject loyalty, irrespective of location, language, creed or class.



**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3.2 (12:30-13:30) Moroccan Monarchy: an overview between past and present**

**DISFOR/3**

**Fatima Rhorchi:** *Morocco's Resilience from the Maraboutic Crisis and the Advent of Alawi Dynasty.*

During the 16th century, the Sa'adi monarchy, particularly under Ahmad Al-Mansur (1578-1603) inaugurated a golden age. After the death of al-Mansur (1603), his three sons engaged in a bloody and ruinous power struggle. The aftermath of the civil war (1603-1609) was the demise of the state, and the dismemberment of the fragile political structure.

There was a crisis as there was no single sovereign power in Morocco, but rather a division of political power among a series of local strongman, dynastic pretenders, and charismatic religious leaders, called marabouts who in the politics of Morocco during the prolonged interregnum of about 60 years following the collapse of the state.

This “feudalization” or fragmentation of authority in Morocco was epitomized by the expansion of the jurisdictions of the marabouts to fill the political vacuum occasioned by the eclipse of the Sa'dian state. The zawiya, the center of activity of the marabouts, has been likened to the grip of monastery in medieval Europe. Each zawiya is founded on a particular mystic or Sufi doctrine, namely a corpus of ideas and rites constituting a theosophical system, a way (tariqa).

Ironically, however, it was from a quarter much less known in Moroccan politics, namely the sharifan house of Sijilmasa in the Tafilalet, that a new dynasty was to emerge in Morocco to resolve the political impasse and recover the country from the trauma of the maraboutic crisis.

Hence, as a process of resilience, the purpose of the present paper is to shed light on this critical period in the history of Morocco in order to show how the state after several years of prosperity sank in a prolonged interregnum which only a fresh new dynasty, namely the Alawi dynasty could stabilize again and rule in a virtually uninterrupted succession that continues at the present time.

**Marwa Dahou:** *How Morocco has distinguished itself from the movements of the Arab Spring and has kept its political stability?*

The Moroccan monarchy is one of the oldest in the world, it is described as an "enlightened/moderate monarchy" and the monarch of the "stabilizer king", head of state and at the same time commander of believers. In reality all monarchies from the early Roman institutions use theocracy and absolutism; they are committed to respecting ancestral traditions. The Alawite dynasty was the strongest and has reigned in Morocco for several centuries.

The present king Mohammed VI is the very example of the modern and reserved sultan, resisting and respected from his population thus drawing the authenticity of the depths of the secular history of Morocco.

This communication therefore aims to dismantle the place that the king of Morocco had following the events of the Arab Spring.

These events shook the entire Arab world and showed a divided Morocco. But the king knew how to reserve and reassure his faithful people and stop the protests; especially that of 20 February in Morocco.

Two main questions guide this work: why has the Kingdom of Morocco remained the distinguishing feature of other countries in the world? We can say that Mohammed VI, the Moroccan head of state, was able to anticipate the demands of the population and react to changes; but by what means? this is what we will analyze and detail in this presentation.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3.3 (15:00-16:30) British Monarchy in the 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century  
DISFOR/1**

**Francesco Tigani:** *Charles the second and the London's rebuilding after the 1666 great fire*

The London's destruction in the "Great Fire" of 1666 was an epochal event and especially a clean break in the reign of Charles II. The king had to deal with this situation through several extraordinary measures, that gave London a new face. The Rebuilding of London Act was the first resolution not only for an urban renovation but also it acquired a strong political value.

Indeed, the king's decision to designate Sir Christopher Wren as "Surveyor of Works" in 1669 permitted not only the London's resurrection in a great way but also to consolidate his authority in England after the restoration.

**Rocco Giurato:** *"Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queens thy nursing Mothers": How Queen Anne's failed motherhood shaped her queenship*

This paper aims to outline how Queen Anne's resiled while coping along her reign with grief caused by both the loss of her children before her accession to the throne and her inability to become pregnant after she became Queen of England shaped her reign. Anne lost four children at an early age, and only one, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester (1689-1700), survived longer, dying when he was 11 and therefore leaving no other option but to offer the Crown to the Elector of Hanover at Anne's death in 1714. Unable to procreate, but willing to represent herself as the mother of her people, Queen Anne not only had to cope with the grief caused by the loss of her only surviving male child, but also with derision in certain literary representations of the period; moreover, the sudden changes that shaped the English political system after the Revolution of 1688-'89 forced her to endure the constant confrontation with male figures, such as John Churchill, Sidney Godolphin, and Robert Harley, as I will try to show

**Salvatore Vasta:** *Humean reading on the resilience and recovery of the English monarchies*

The paper stresses Hume's thesis in order to consider the acquaintance with ancient periods useful by instructing English governments to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of distant times, and not to appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitutions.

**Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

**SESSION 3.3 (15:00-16:30) Russian Heirs and Portraits**

**DISFOR/2**

**Ekaterina Skvortocova:** *Portraits of Peter's the Great Son Peter in the Guise of a Cupid and a problem of the Succession.*

The reign of Peter the Great (1721–1725) in Russia marked by forced Europeanization was a glorious period of reforms. The culmination of it was the victory in the Northern War and assigning Peter the Great the title of an Emperor. On the other hand, it was a highly dramatic period in terms of succession. Peter's son Alexei from his first wife Evdokia did not share his values, the tension with him reached such a point that Peter threatened to deprive him of a status of a heir. At that very moment another son of Peter was born, the one from his second beloved wife Catherine, who was certainly a more desirable heir for the tsar. In this context of special notice is Louis Caravaque's "Portrait of Tsarevich Petr Petrovich as a Cupid" (1716). I argue that while the very type of single-figure portrait on a cushion is a traditional one, the depiction of tsarevich's body upon the background of European iconography — his posture, gestures and bodily constitution — looks unconventional. This is a depiction of a worthiest heir who needs to prove his being the best one, thus demonstrating the resilience of a dynasty. Two other paintings in question are lost two paired depictions of Cupids from a Chenar study-room of Marly palace in Peterhof. The paper for the first time collects information on them from 18th- and 19th-century sources, trying to prove that these should have been posthumous portraits of tsarevich Petr, marking the sad loss of a dearly loved baby and the hope of the dynasty.

**Ekaterina Kolmogorova:** *Tragic events and family sorrows at the Russian court of the 18-19 century and its visual reflection*

The life of the Russian court of the 18th – early 19th century was full of little sorrows and big tragedies. The paper is dedicated to the works of art related to the sad events of that period. The Russian emperors, their family and courtiers endured wars, betrayals and death of the loved ones. Their pain is preserved by the sad lines of the letters and diaries. The memory and

images of the gone people are retained in the works of art. The most part of such memorable monuments, paintings, engravings was created at the second half of the 18th – early 19th century, when the ideas of the Enlightenment and the sentimentalism with its cult of feelings, compassion and family values were widespread. The paper also analyzes the mourning jewels (rings, snuffboxes, medallions, bracelets with images of dead people and their tombstones, dates of life, curls of hair), the fashion for which came from Europe. It became an integral part of mourning ceremonial in Russia.

The early 19th century was marked by the War of 1812 against Napoleon's invasion, which shocked many Russian families. On the one hand, it brought to life a big amount of commemorative portraits of officers, pictures on patriotic themes. On the other hand, as the research shows there are cases when the defeat of Napoleon fundamentally changed the concept of works of art, firstly celebrating him, and suddenly turned into a reflection of the triumph of Alexander I.