

Theses of PhD dissertation

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*Queen Elisabeth's cult in Hungary until 1914*

*(in the light of her memorial sites)*

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## 1. Choice of the subject, methods of the research

In the field of modern historical research – not regarding here the mass production of publications by second or third rank authors, who do not follow professional methods while targeting wider layers of the public – one can observe a huge lack concerning the analysis of the person of Elisabeth of Austria-Hungary from a Hungarian angle. As for indication, there has not been published any volume of monographical standard providing a Hungarian approach to the subject since the 1899 publication of Sándor Márki's biography of Elisabeth, and only partial studies have come to the light examining some questions of importance. Also only a relatively small number of analyses have been made concerning the approach (in the narrower sense) mentioned in the title, employing a cult historical method (which would extend to biographical fields a well). Besides the discoveries of Éva Somogyi and Katalin F. Dózsa, my point of departure was the results published in my supervisor's papers, who dealt in many of his studies with the problematic role of both Franz Joseph and Elisabeth in Hungarian public thinking (taking advantage of the critical analysis of Márki's earlier researches) and also supplemented by András Cieger's results employing the line of research designated by himself, which gave an analysis first of all of the question of symbolic legitimacy within the framework of concealment so particular to the age. The art historical manifestations of the cult of Elisabeth in Hungary are being investigated by Dániel Borovi (through the analysis of the Queen's representative portraits), which provide addition in many fields to the earlier historical approach. (The frameworks of the present paper do not provide sufficient opportunity to correct this hiatus).

The theme of my dissertation is the Elisabeth renaissance in Hungary, or the Hungarian cult of Franz Joseph's spouse focusing mainly on the aspect of spatial usage, the exploration of memorial sites in Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, supplemented by cult historical embedding thereby drawing up its functional role. The temporal limits are less evident from this aspect: the point of departure of the analysis concerning Elisabeth is her marriage with the emperor (1853) – although there can be obviously no trace found of cultic manifestations from this time, only gestures of homage may be talked about. Despite that initiatives were made by the court – beginning from such an early, precultic period – these were interpreted only as solemn acts of grace due to the lack of recipients. The mythical application of the event became important – most probably in correlation with royal couple's family celebrations – at the end of the 1870s around their silver wedding (1879). Anyway, this additional element was later attributed a mythical beginning in many aspects as a part of the process of mythical application in her later cult in Hungary, hence its interpretation is necessary and unavoidable at the same time. The closing date in most of the chapters is the last year of peace during Franz Joseph's reign, which does not mean a clear cesure either despite of all this: after long consideration this was denoted as an artificial temporal limit, which becomes somewhat modified in the case of some subfields, when the extension was considered necessary in order better explain the processes, which can be justified as well by the wider temporal analysis of the given topic. This choice or denoting of limits might be mostly justified by the fact that Elisabeth became a cultical object as a part of propagandistic endeavors in Hungary during the Austro-Hungarian period – the beginnings of which can be dated from the first period of the Andrassy-era due to the

government's (successful) initiatives – in her life, as the effect of which the cesure might be traced back at the time of the Compromise by the restoration of the ministerial order, and hence the fixation of the official image of Elisabeth – due to the activity of the official media – broadcasted through a number of channels; as the emperor himself was from the very beginning unsuitable for fulfilling such a role. It is important to emphasize instead, that the sudden and tragic death of Elisabeth did not result in a radical change in the elements of the canon fixed earlier, it rather resulted in the extension of the earlier basis of cult with motives (the increased presence of martyrdom) and the relocation of emphasis. The turn in the forming of her cult was caused by the change in the emperor's policy, by the change in the court's image in its relationship with Hungarians, which happened in two steps during Elisabeth's stay in Hungary in 1866.

The aim of my paper is to analyze the statues (raised at public places of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, at locations of everyday life), memorial places (first and foremost memorial parks) and other manifestations of the means of symbolic spatial occupations, and the usage of names, the problem of which is integrally connected to all the above mentioned questions. In addition to this, special focus will be given to the history of memorial churches (as places marking a sacred aspect of Elisabeth's cult), and the detailed description of the memorial museum's history (so necessary concerning the study of relics collections, the institutions crucial to later personal cult), in which not only aspects of cult history, but also of institutional history will be present. Such analysis of memorial places – focusing mainly on aspect of spatial usage – has earlier been carried out by Günther Berger in connection with Vienna; following Günther Berger's researches, the aim of the present study can not be more than a schematic overview of memorial places of Hungarian bonds with the extension, correction and significant modification of previous results of research suggesting at the same time new lines of research considered to be important. Furthermore it is still obvious, that several aspects of the topic cannot be dealt with separately from similar endeavors in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy without indicating at least the existence of the parallels and mutual effects.

The thematic basis of the dissertation consists of the legends, *topoi*, symbols and emblems connected to Elisabeth, as well as the development and use of her image in practice. Throughout my research my principal aim was to answer the questions how these elements appeared at her memorials, which effect they made on those paying tribute to her memory – if a mosaic-like reconstruction of this effect was possible –, how the acts of preserving Elisabeth's memory appeared in the design of these places, and to what extent and how long they could fulfill the sacred role possibly emerging during the realization. A further important aspect was to reveal the social support, together with the initiatives coming from above and from below: to what extent they helped each other, and how different their aims were. My purpose was to discover the origins of Elisabeth's cult embedded into these processes, and to give an ever-spreading picture of development (searching for the real elements of the *topoi* constructing the framework of the additional elements and trying to reconstruct their distortion), examining her ceremonial order, her celebrations and their characteristics. From these, as well as from the initiatives connected to certain social groups, I drew my conclusions about the social effects of the cult at the time, when it could be inferred from the available sources, describing it and its embedment into context

more complexly: about the historically most important topic, that is, the connection of the cult to politics.

During the research it was highly important to examine objectively the source material, which is to a great extent characterized by a cultic style. When studying topics that required an interdisciplinary approach, the primary condition of this objective examination was to use the means of the disciplines in question, as well as an attitude free from preconceptions, especially when examining Elisabeth's person, to carefully 'unwrap' her figure from among the layers of topoi and legends around her.

The geographical scope of my study is the historical Hungary together with Transylvania, based upon the administrative system of the time; nevertheless, Croatia and Slavonia, which were also regarded as parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, appear only tangentially in my dissertation.

Unfortunately, a comprehensive study covering the whole of the country could not be fulfilled. Even though I was aiming at completing the former research results, and making them more complex, as to the memorials, to the naming of public places and to the design of memorial parks, based on the available sources, the outcomes of my research remain highly uneven.

## **2. The aims of the dissertation; sources and literature**

My aim in this dissertation was to discover the ways of spatial usage in Elisabeth's cult in Hungary during the era of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. My intention was also to go beyond the cult history focusing on the memorials, and to draw a somewhat more general picture through making a list of, and placing into due context, the additional elements of Elisabeth's cult in the Monarchy. Even though I was intending to reveal the sacred panels as well, this could not finally be carried out due to the limits in length and time. As a result of this, my dissertation fails to unveil some important connections in this respect. Nevertheless, even such a summary can be of importance, as there was formerly no similar surveys in Hungary.

My sources were, on the one hand, traditional historical sources, on the other hand – and of the same importance –, sources that are emphatically cultic. I regarded the exploration of the special sources of cult history highly important, because due to linguistic obstacles and to their special Hungarian characteristics, they are practically unknown in the international research field, and even among Hungarian scholars they are only a few for whom they are available. Beside these, I used several formerly known sources as well, completing them with others from different archives (MNL OL; ÖStA HHStA), manuscript-archives (OSzK Kt, MTA Kt), databases (IMM At, MNM At) and special collections (SzTE KKK RKT, OSzK PA<sub>t</sub>, OSzK SzZ<sub>t</sub>) that I regarded as still unexploited or not exploited enough. Furthermore, I also laid stress on examining the press of the time – in a much broader way than former researches –, which lead me to modify or altogether restructure former propositions or findings.

My selection of the sources of cult history was primarily based on the approach to have memorial publications from the origination time of each cult panel that appears later, too, as additional element, together with the memory of these life events through involving other cult publications. Even though I am well aware of the accidental and sporadic nature of this method, that these sources can only partially represent the whole of the picture, the limits of this research would not have made a much broader selection possible. The starting point of my dissertation consisted of the publications connected to Elisabeth in the collections of the National Széchényi Library and, at a former phase of my research, the Ballagi Collection of the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library. These were mainly gift albums, jubilee publications and commemorative speeches published for anniversaries emphasized by the dynastic representation. This material means a useful source to study the image and knowledge of the people about Elisabeth, and at the same time they reveal the approach, the psychology, the ceremonies and the language of the cult, too.

After systematizing the references to literature as well as the data of the sources in question, I outlined several aspects of research – ‘traditional’ aspects of cult history – as starting points for the structural division of the dissertation as well as for the scheduling of the research. However, due to a lack of time and length, these were not completely fulfilled, even though they would construct a comprehensive whole. Several of my proposals remain unfinished, suggesting at the same time future directions of the research.

When structuring and presenting the cult history material available, following as much as possible its inner logic, I had to use both thematic and chronological units, as well as a combination of them. Still, on several occasions it was impossible to avoid repetitions, embedding the findings in due context, with the hope of this way illuminating successfully the connections.

When analyzing the source material and exploiting former data in literature, I was methodically leaning on the cult history literature published in Hungarian during the last decades (especially about literary cult history), as far as it was useful for my purposes, and also exploiting the findings of the cult history research of Miklós Zeidler, Dániel Borovi and Dávid Turbucz, their outcomes transformed into, and considering the characteristics of, the field of historical (personal) cult.

If we try to go through even the scientific section of the wide range of publications on Elisabeth’s life, we came across several problems. Upon examining the peculiar theories of the authors, we can conclude that contemporary interpretations of Elisabeth are basically influenced by three different works, which at the same time symbolize the three possible ways of analyzing Elisabeth’s figure. The earliest of these is the interpretation of Márki, from 1899, which can also be regarded as a Hungarian (liberal) narrative, originating in his obituary of the queen. The next important point of reference is Corti’s biography that stands for an Austro-Hungarian reading. The third one is Hamann’s interpretation, which represents the Austrian aspect, and which possibly has the most influence on the public image of Elisabeth nowadays.

Researchers have emphasized and studied, from different aspects, several details of the cult arising from the symbolic politics of the era I examine, and, as a part of this, of Elisabeth’s life. Those having Austrian or imperial affiliations, as well as international researches ‘drawing on’ these sources, have created an image of the precursor of the modern, emancipated woman, by highlighting such details that are connected to describing contemporary public figures, by

narrowing down their aspects of research and presenting emphatically – and out of context – mainly her public appearances, family conflicts, travels and appearance. (The effects of the best-known film trilogy about Elisabeth’s life on shaping the common knowledge must not be forgotten either.) Hungarian historiography has chosen quite a different way: Elisabeth appears only as a supporting character next to the monarch, many times only casually; or somewhat closer to the traditional Hungarian (cultic) approach, it cannot always detach itself from the principal topoi of the Hungarian cult, and, thus, promotes its reproduction, creating a somewhat critical embedding for its assessment. More detailed surveys of Elisabeth’s life from a Hungarian perspective highlight the wedding, her first reign in Hungary, her efforts to learn Hungarian, her runaway to Pest-Buda in the summer of 1866 (together with her children), and her mediator’s role in the process leading to the Compromise of 1867, and, following from the nature of her role as a queen, especially her sojourns in Hungary, together with her relations to prominent Hungarian politicians and other Hungarians around her. (In this respect – after Márki’s contemporary and Corti’s Austro-Hungarian approach published in the middle of the 1930s – the studies and syntheses of Emil Niederhauser and Éva Somogyi have been remarkable since the 1970s and 1980s.) However, the scientific literature lacks completely the selection of the acts represented in her cult, and, as an integral part of this, the revealment of the process of legendarizing during Franz Joseph’s era – even though through the greatest part of the period in focus (as far as it could be reconstructed, approx. from the turn of the 1860s and 1870s) elements of cult adopted from the rhetorics of homage dominated already, acting as constant units of the public canon. The most important novelty of my research are its efforts to reveal this aspect (even though they are not yet entirely fulfilled), significantly broadening its study by discovering a much wider range of sources and specifying the most frequent additional elements, as well as – based on what the sources made possible – attempting to reconstruct the process of their mythicization in a later phase. As a result, the reasons for the appearance of the public models and their possible transformations got a more complex description.

### **3. The structure and summary of the dissertation**

The dissertation comprises three clearly isolated parts. Following the formal requirements of dissertations, the first one consists of the *Introduction*, which is remarkably long as compared to the later parts of the text. This chapter contains a subchapter on the nature of the sources, which – together with the historiographic survey – I regard as one of the most important novelties and ‘virtues’ of my dissertation. With a somewhat philological approach, I attempted to reveal the ‘validity’ of the most frequently used sources, and of those that are considered to be important in a Hungarian context. This attempt was then accompanied by the description of the sources I regarded to be of greater importance, as well as by the examination of their effects, especially as to the reception of Corti’s interpretation on Elisabeth in Hungary.

The second unit was to consist of a more complex and developed analysis of the topic mentioned in the title as compared to former publications. However, during the research it became evident that it is necessary to write a hidden study of Elisabeth’s life – especially from a Hungarian aspect

–, a smaller biography, or at least a selective attempt at such, to provide due embedment and introduction to the topic. As a result, *The Myth of Elisabeth* grew up to an independent, equal unit of its own, even in this uncompleted form, although this ‘distorted’ the original aims to a great extent, and changed its emphases by broadening and modifying the object declared in the title, all this realized in a form that disobeys the rules and goes beyond the original frames of the work.

The third part (II.) comprises the treatment of the topic declared in the title, called *Hungarian-Related Memorial Places of Elisabeth’s Cult*. This modified title suggests also the new findings (related expressly to spatial usage) of this researchs, which started almost a decade ago, even though the analysis of the tables that form an integral part to this, and that can be found as appendices to this dissertation, will mean a new phase in my work. In its present form, it is a transition to the ‘final’, concluded form (hopefully to be realized as a book) necessitated by the research outcomes published in *Budapesti Negyed*, and by others that have since become known. Beside the subchapters mentioned formerly, I consider the study of the *Memorial Museum of Queen Elisabeth*, partly from an approach of institutional history, as one of the most important novelties and ‘virtues’ of my work. In this respect, the original chronological boundaries of the research were significantly broadened, thanks to discovering the register-like documents in the collections of OSzK Kt, which concern mainly the first part of the 20th century, and which were formerly thought to be destroyed.

#### **4. Summary of the main findings and conclusions**

The smallest amount of new research were required by the chapters previously published as articles in *Budapesti Negyed* and by those designated in the title – i.e. chapters discussing the memorial sites. Nevertheless, the findings of the present research add a remarkable supplement to those formerly available even in the case of these topics. As a result, it was possible to discover the practice of naming public places in a much more detailed way, especially in the countryside, as well as the practices of preserving Elisabeth’s memory in forms of memorial trees and parks. For the sake of clarity, the latter – together with statues which these places create the surroundings for – are summarized in tables in the appendices. In the light of new research findings, the most important memorial site is the Zala-memorial found in the Vienna crypt. My former findings about its history were altered to a significant extent by the documents of the *Queen Elisabeth Memorial Fund* from the collections of the OSzK Kt, which gave an entirely new insight into the everyday practice of organizational tasks, such as the most important phases of fund raising, especially in connection with cultural sponsorship among women. This source material stands as the basis for the chapter on the institutional history of the *Queen Elisabeth Memorial Museum* (making it possible to give a remarkably more detailed history of it than before), which – as one of the branches of the Hungarian National Museum – has played an important role in preserving the queen’s memory, as the sources clearly indicate. The broadening of the former chapter on the history of the myth resulted, too, in new research outcomes, through the analysis of certain life events – i.e. those most frequently referred to in the cult; nevertheless, this kind of research can be still spread into several areas, especially as to sacred panels. It has also made it possible to

reconstruct from a Hungarian aspect the tendency that both the cultic literature and the historical works about Elisabeth are characterized by the dominance of historical topoi – a tendency that is internationally clearly present, too. I consider the detailed analysis of the nature of the source material, formerly not revealed to such extent from a Hungarian aspect, as well as the historiographic survey, supplemented by literary references, to be remarkable research outcomes, as an integral introduction and a logical continuation to the reconstruction of the above-mentioned tendency. From the mosaic-like summary of Elisabeth's life, the discussion of her early – formerly only tangentially (mostly in Orsolya Manhercz's researches) examined sojourns in Hungary is worth a mentioning; this was based on archive sources, supplemented by the picture the press gave of these occasions, as part of the dynastic propaganda, which show the adaption of the schemas used by the press of the time, and which presumably got fixed following Márki's biography. Naturally, the official image building is characterized by a 'selective' presentation, as part of the cult-building strategies that these channels of press conveyed to the broader audience (both male and female). The cultic-political panels they constructed become determinative elements of the picture of the queen in the people's mind, even if we have only indirect information on the latter, owing to the nature of the sources. The process of building Elisabeth's image in Hungary can be dated to the first period of the ministership of Gyula Andrassy, as an integral part of his policy, and it reached its full form during his ministership of foreign affairs, as a result of the canonization of the panels accepted. As to the most important ideological creators of the cult, Miksa Falk's role – from among those closest to Andrassy – could be revealed, together with, and based similarly on textual analyses, Jókai's journalistic writing, that treated such issues as well. Jókai became one of the most important constructors of the cult, the things he mentioned became determinative and also canonized elements of the cultic texts. The cultic messages have been passed on basically in the same form; one can say that after the paleocultic period following the completion of the corpus, only textual variants have come up.

The aim of my dissertation was yet again to find out what kind of explanations sources directly or indirectly originating from those paying homage to Elisabeth offer about the origins of the cult, as well as about the relationship between the queen and the Hungarian, which was thought unusual compared to her relationship with other nations of the Monarchy. In this process, I studied also those acts of Elisabeth (given especially as a private individual), that have been re-interpreted in a hagiographic way, thus attributing them a national, or sometimes sacred, nature. In connection with this selective method, it was possible to reconstruct how such elements of her life that were regarded as unimportant from a Hungarian point of view were left out, and, on the other hand, which elements were enlarged, taken out of their original context and given a new framework of interpretation, in order to serve this function of strengthening the identity. Naturally, the principle of structuring was yet again the mythical context of her person in Hungary, from which arose the Hungarian myth of Elisabeth as a result of this specific Hungarian interpretation. When studying formal characteristics and types of behaviour, I attempted to discover in what way certain members of the political *élite* used this opportunity to strengthen their own identity and legitimacy, that is, to have the Compromise and the ruler accepted, sometimes even in a 'distorted' way, e.g. when liberalism, love of freedom and the spirit of the Revolution of 1848 were emphasized in connection with Elisabeth. As a result, the strongest emphasis laid on the ideals that the queen was thought to embody, and, consequently,

her personal life and most of her deeds were driven to background. Those deeds of Elisabeth that do not fit / cannot be fitted into the picture constructed about her, are disregarded, moreover, in some cases such hagiographic explanations are used to hide the doubts that directly contradict facts. Elisabeth's becoming a symbol seemed / could seem suitable to ease the tension in the Hungarian consciousness, giving the hope that she acts for the interests of Hungary next to the sovereign. Due to these characteristics, practically every member of the society could find elements among the (mainly universal) ideals attributed to the queen that they could accept – just as the constructors', as well as the 'customers' purposes dictated. These early attempts – directed at the beginning mainly at image-building – have later on proved so effective and lasting, that they are still dominating in Elisabeth's picture in Hungary, having become an integral element of Hungarian tradition. Those chapters that are mentioned in the title of the dissertation deal with these elements of myth; revealing how different aspects of Elisabeth's cult could be represented at her memorial sites, and to what extent different forms of her cult served their purpose. Through all this, we can also get some idea about the (spatial) means of the propaganda at the time. As a result of these symbolic acts of spatial usage serving the purpose of keeping alive Elisabeth's memory in Hungary, contemporary people could find in many fields of life such topoi and symbols connected to Elisabeth that did not emphasize her person, but, through her, the celebration of their own selves.

## 5. Conference papers and publications on the theme of the dissertation

### *Conference papers*

*Rudolf, a reményvesztett imádó [Rudolf, the desperate Admirer] – Royal Palace Museum of Gödöllő (Gödöllő, Royal Palace, 12 September 2008 )*

*« Mégy-e előre fajzatom » avagy kandeláberek a magyarság útján a 19-20. században [Doctoral conference about questions of 19-20th century Hungarian history] – Doctoral School of History (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Faculty of Humanities, 16-17 June 2008)*

*Egy uralkodópár emlékezete [Memory of a Royal Couple] – Institute of Habsburg History (Budapest, New York Palace, 15 May 2007)*

*Fejezetek Magyarország új- és jelenkori történelméből [Chapters from the Modern and Contemporary History of Hungary] – Doctoral School of History (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Faculty of Humanities, 30 November 2006)*

*Határátlépések a humántudományban / Kép és jelentés [Crossing Borders in Human Sciences / Image and Meaning] (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Faculty of Humanities, November 2006)*

*Mythos und Kultus von Kaiserin Elisabeth [The Myth and Cult of Empress Elizabeth] – Institute of Habsburg History (Vienna, 24 April 2006)*

### *Publications*

#### **Volumes**

[Co-author : Katalin Földi-Dózsa] *Erzsébet királyné mítosza. (Kiállítás a Gödöllői Királyi Kastélyban az Erzsébet Királyné Emlékév alkalmával 2007. június 7 – szeptember 30.). [The Myth of Queen Elizabeth. Exhibition in the Royal Palace of Gödöllő in occasion of the Queen Elizabeth Memorial Year, from 7 June to 30 September 2007]* Budapest, Rubicon, 2007.

Erzsébet-kultusz. Szöveggyűjtemény. [The Cult of Elizabeth. ] *Budapesti Negyed* Vol. XIV., 2006 / 3 (Autumn) 248 p.

Erzsébet királyné magyarországi kultusza 1898-1914 között. [The Cult of Queen Elizabeth in Hungary between 1898 and 1914] *Budapesti Negyed* Vol. XIV., 2006 / 2 (Summer) 180 p.

## Articles

Újraértelmezett szerepvállalások, avagy Erzsébet császárné alak-változásai 1866-ban. [Roles re-interpreted, or Empress Elisabeth's metamorphosis in 1866] *Aetas* 2012. (Vol. 27.) iss. 1. pp. 83-104.

Egy elfeledett kultuszhely: Az Erzsébet Királyné Emlékmúzeum. [A Forgotten Place of Cult: the Queen Elisabeth Memorial Museum] *FOLIA HISTORICA XXVI. 2008-2009*. Budapest, MNM, 2010. pp. 5-35.

Udvari reprezentáció a Budai Királyi Palotában (1867-1916). Az udvari bálók és fogadások. [Royal Representation in the Royal Palace of Buda (1867-1916) Court Balls and Receptions] in. *Fejezetek a tegnapi világból*. Ed. by Jenő Gergely. Budapest, ELTE BTK, 2008. pp. 96-118.

« Rezső királyfink » Fejezetek Rudolf trónörökös politikai nézeteinek magyar vonatkozásairól. [« Our Prince Rezső » A study on the Hungarian aspects of Crown Prince Rudolf's political beliefs], in. *Rudolf – a reményvesztett imádó. (Időszaki kiállítás a Gödöllői Királyi Kastély Múzeumban, 2008. június 5 – szeptember 28.)*. [Rudolf, the desperate Admirer. Temporal exhibition in the Royal Palace Museum of Gödöllő, from 5 June 2008 to 28 September 2008] eds. Katalin Földi-Dózsa, Ildikó Faludi, Gödöllő, Royal Palace Museum of Gödöllő, 2008. pp. 28-35.

Az Erzsébet-kultusz szertartásai a századfordulón [Rituals of the Cult of Queen Elizabeth in the Turn of the Century], [www.habsburg.org.hu](http://www.habsburg.org.hu)

Erzsébet. Mítosz és valóság a magyarok királynéképeiben. [Elizabeth. Myth and Reality in the Public Image of the Queen in Hungary] In. *A múlt feltárása előítéletek nélkül. [Discovering Past without Preconceptions]* Ed. by Jenő Gergely. Budapest, ELTE BTK, 2006. pp. 121-138.

Erzsébet királyné magyarországi kultusza [The Cult of Queen Elizabeth in Hungary], [www.habsburg.org.hu](http://www.habsburg.org.hu)

## Book reviews

K. und K. kalandozások. [K. und K. Adventures] In. *Limes* 2008. (Vol. XXI) 1. pp. 101-103.

## Publications in foreign languages

« Our Prince Rezső » A study of the Hungarian aspects of Rudolf's political beliefs, in *Rudolf, the desperate Admirer. (Seasonal exhibition in the Royal Palace Museum of Gödöllő, from 5 June 2008 to 28 September 2008)* eds. Katalin Földi-Dózsa, Ildikó Faludi, Gödöllő, Royal Palace Museum of Gödöllő, 2008. pp. 29-35.

[ed. Katalin Földi-Dózsa] *The Myth of Queen Elisabeth. (Exposition at the Royal Palace Gödöllő on the occasion of the Queen Elisabeth Commemoration Year 7th June – 30th September, 2007.)*, Budapest, Rubicon, 2007.

[Mitverf. Katalin Földi-Dózsa] « *Der Mythos der Königin Elisabeth. (Ausstellung im Königlichen Schloss Gödöllő anlässlich des Königin-Elisabeth-Gedenkjahres 7. Juni – 30. September 2007.)* » Budapest, Rubicon, 2007.

« *Die ungarische Kultus von Königin Elisabeth* », [www.habsburg.org.hu](http://www.habsburg.org.hu)