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Legitimating Power? Inaugural Ceremonies of Charles VI

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The paper focus on the inauguration ceremonies of Charles VI in the Austrian lands. The time span of these inaugurations from 1711 to 1732 and the fact that Charles received the tribute in person is of interest to describe the relationship between the ruler and the estates and the significance of these ceremonies as a whole. The paper will focus especially on the formal oath taking, the confirmation of privileges by the sovereign and where and when these ceremonies took place. For example, were the privileges confirmed in advance of the inauguration ceremony? Were oaths or other forms of affirming the good will of the sovereign like traditional ceremonies (Carinthia) required by the estates? Were there any differences? Who was involved and why were these expansive journeys and ceremonies staged almost two decades after assuming power?

Keywords: Charles VI, Inaugural ceremonies, Homage, Erbhuldigung, estates, Viennese court

This paper deals with inaugural ceremonies,[1] more precisely, hereditary homages (in German *Erb-Huldigung*) in the Habsburg territories during the rule of Charles VI (1711–1740). It does not deal with coronations in the Holy Roman Empire (Frankfurt), Hungary, or Bohemia.[2] In a discussion of such ceremonies or rites, one has to consider their effects on the participants. These events were chances for elites to communicate with the sovereign and illustrate their own roles within the ruling groups. Every act of demonstrating their own status was, at the same time, a chance, as one ran the risk of losing one's place in society. That is why the rank of the individual members of the estates was discussed at length in the runup to these ceremonies, including conflicts which couldn't be

1 Petr Mat'a uses the term "inaugural rite" to include coronations and shows of hereditary homage. See Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 30; Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 4. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger defines a rite as a normed, many-faceted, and symbolic sequence of actions with a specific effectiveness. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 503.

2 On the Hungarian coronations, see Forgó, "Zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen"; Soltész et al., *Coronatio Hungarica*. On the situation in Bohemia, see Berning, "*Nach alltem löblichen Gebrauch"*; Vácha et al., *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna*; Vokáčová, "The Bohemian Coronation." On the coronation in Frankfurt, see for instance Wanger, *Kaiserwahl und Krönung*. Several medals were coined commemorating the coronation in Frankfurt: Förschner, *Frankfurter Krönungsmedaillen*.

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solved at all. Such (inaugural) ceremonies were not only important as a means of making the rule and the assumption of power by the sovereign visible. They also represented the early modern hierarchical society as a whole (see below). "Bei symbolischen Kommunikationsakten stand daher stets die ganze soziale Existenz der Personen und das gesamte Ordnungsgefüge auf dem Spiel."[3] Of course, these conclusions, which have been reached over the course of the past several years of research, focus not only on the ruler and the administration but also on the role of the estates.[4] As Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger puts it, "Aus der Reziprozität, Kollektivität und Performativität von Kommunikation folgt, daß Kommunikationsakte immer auch Akte der Konstituierung und Selbstverständigung einer Gruppe sind."[5] As will be discussed, the confirmation of the privileges of each province was an important element of the inaugural ceremonies. "It was precisely the existence of these estates and their vital role in the state apparatus that necessitated special rites of investiture establishing mutual rights and duties between the estates and the prince and warranting the continuation of their collaboration."[6]

Charles VI was the last sovereign to attend a significant number of inaugural ceremonies in the Austrian lands in person. He attended ten inaugurations (excluding the Spanish inaugurations and those in the Inner Austrian cities) in person, making him one of few members of his family to reach this number.[7]

3 Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 522.

4 On ceremonies and rites of passage as symbolic acts, forms of political communication, and their performative character in the early modern period, see for instance Gestrich, *Absolutismus*; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*; Stollberg-Rilinger, "Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol"; Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation"; Stollberg-Rilinger, "Herstellung und Darstellung"; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*; Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 1–4, 11–13. On inaugurations in general, see Holenstein, *Die Huldigung der Untertanen*. For the court of Charles VI, see Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*. This research field has been worked on intensively in recent years. In addition, considering the role of the estates within the composite Habsburg Monarchy, it is relevant to refer to the role of the monarchy itself as fiscal-military state, as shown for instance in the research of William Godsey: Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*. On the estates in the Habsburg Monarchy, see for instance Ammerer, *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten*.

5 Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 496.

6 Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 3. Andreas Gestrich classifies them as "reziproker kommunikativer Akt" (Gestrich, *Absolutismus*, 118–20; Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 11: "reciprocal communicative acts"). Or "Dem Huldigungsakt unterlag die Struktur der Mutualität und Reziprozität," Holenstein, *Huldigung*, 507. On the role of the traditional laws as commemorative constitution in short, see Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 265–67. In general, Holenstein, *Huldigung*.

7 See Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 33–34, 46–47. He refers to the Spanish inaugurations in Catalonia (1705), Valencia (1706), Trieste, and Fiume (both in 1728, see below) as not included in this number. In addition, in Parma/Piacenza a unilateral oath was taken (1738).

Homage was paid to Charles in Innsbruck in 1711, and he was crowned Hungarian king in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) in 1712. After these ceremonies, in Vienna towards the end of 1712, almost two decades passed before the coronation in Bohemia (1723) and the inaugural ceremonies in Inner (1728) and Upper Austria (1732). The costly journeys involved complex travel arrangements.[8] This is remarkable, because Charles' brother Joseph I avoided such ceremonies after his coronation in Hungary (1687) and in Frankfurt (1690) as young boy.[9] There are numerous sources concerning the inaugurations of Charles VI in the Austrian hereditary lands. In addition to the sources created by the central administrative bodies *(Obersthofmeisteramt, Hofkammer)*, there is also an array of materials in the archives of the estates. Elaborately printed volumes complete with symbolically important engravings by the estates offer impressions of these ceremonies from the perspectives of the local representatives and exemplify the interest these representatives had in promoting their participation in these events.[10] Several accounts were written by the court chamber's councilor Johann Adam Heintz,

8 In general Rausch, "Die Hofreisen Kaiser Karls VI"; Mikoletzky, "Hofreisen unter Kaiser Karl VI." On the journeys taken in 1728 and 1732, see Seitschek, "Die Erbhuldigung 1728 in Kärnten"; Seitschek, "Verhandlungssache?"

9 See Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 43–45.

10 On 1728, see Mat'a, "Der steirische Landtag." Some sources: [Anonym], *Libell, Und Außführliche Beschreibung / Was nach erfolgtem betaurlichisten Todtfall Weylande Ihro Röm. Kayserl. Majestät Josephi I. Gewesten Lands-Fürsten zu Tyrol, Biß zu der Von dessen Herrn Brudern, Carolo Dem Sechsten diß Namens* [...] *angetrettener Regierung vorgegangen* [...] *zu Ablegung der allgemeinen Lands-Huldigung Auf 20. Monaths Novembris 1711. nacher Ynsprugg.* Innsbruck: Jacob Christoph Wagner Hofbuchdrucker, 1711; Georg J. Edler of Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung, welche dem allerdurchleuchtigist-großmächtigisten und unüberwindlichsten Römischen Kayser, Carolo dem Sechsten, zu Hispanien, Hungarn und Boheim König, etc. etc. als Hertzogen in Steyer, von denen gesamten steyrischen Landständen den sechsten Juli 1728* [...] *abgelegt. Vollständige originalgetreue Wiedergabe des kaiserlichen Prunkexemplars aus dem Besitz der Steiermärkischen Landesbibliothek am Joanneum mit einem Kommentarband,* ed. Ulrike Müller (Adeva: Graz, 1980) Johann Adam Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus in Inner-Öster-Reich idem Steüer, Cärnthen, Crain, Grötz* [!]*, Triest und Fiume. Wie solcher Anno 1728* etc. (ÖStA FHKA, SUS HS 101); Johann Adam Heintz, *Relation und Beschreibung der Von Dem Allerdurchläuchtig-. Großmächtig- und Unüberwindlichsten Römischen May. Carolo Sexto* […] *Anno 1732 Von Wienn über Prag nacher Carlsbaad in Bohaimb zur bedienung der dasigen Baad Cur nach dessen beglikhter beendung aber zurück nacher Prag in Österreich ob der Enns nacher Lüntz zum Empfang der Daselbstigen Erbhuldigung* (ÖStA FHKA SUS Varia 40/1 [alt 22a/1], fol. 1–209); Johann Joseph Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff der dem allerdurchleuchtigsten, großmächtigst- und unüberwindlichsten Römischen Kayser Carolo VI* […] *von Denen gesamten Geist- und Weltlichen Ständen gemeiner Landtschafft des Erzherzogthums Cärnthen Im Jahr 1728 den 22ten Monathstag August allerunterthänigst geleisteten Erb-Huldigung* etc. (Kärntner Landesarchiv, Ständisches Archiv Ktn. 458 Nr. 1, fol.1–330); Johann Baptist Mair of Maiersfeld, *Beschreibung was auf Ableben Weyland Ihrer Keyser. Majestät Josephi, Biß nach vorgegangener Erb-Huldigung, welche dem Allerdurchleuchtigst-, Großmächtigst- und Unüberwindlichsten Römischen Kayser Carolo* [...] *Als Erz-Herzogen zu Oesterreich die gesamte Nider-Oeserreichische Stände* [...] *abgelegt* (Wien 1712); Carl Seyfrid of Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigungs Actus im Hertzogthum Crain* etc. Adam Friderich Reichhardt Landschaftdrucker: Laibach, 1739. It is important to keep in mind,

including a detailed description of the coronation in Bohemia in 1723.[11] Of course, newspapers at the time, such as the Wienerisches Diarium12 and the other organs of the media which offered historical overviews, provide additional information and sometimes depictions of the ceremonies.[13] The significance of Huldigungen, furthermore, was already noted by scholars at the time.[14]

This paper focuses on three main goals with regard to these inaugural ceremonies. It begins with a description of the "typical" steps of such homages to the ruler according to the events in the early eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchy. The second part focuses on the ceremonies themselves, providing an examination of the ceremonies with which the estates paid homage and took oaths and, similarly, the ceremonies and procedures according to which the ruler granted privileges. In other words, I seek to explore the ways in which the mutual dependency of the two groups was expressed symbolically. The third and final part deals with the time and place where the ceremonies were held in the different Habsburg territories, which was important in no small part because these ceremonies also helped establish an order of succession. It is not a coincidence that the engraving of the welcome given by the estates to the imperial couple under a tent near Graz shows the young Archduchess Maria Theresia too.[15]

Győry von Nádudvar made the following contention concerning the declining demands of the estates and the enforcement of the Habsburg rule by Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III in the Austrian provinces: "Die Forderungen derselben vor den Erbhuldigungen verblassen zu einfachen Vorstellungen und die Erbhuldigung selbst wird zu einer jener glänzenden Ceremonie." (Their demands in the runup to the inauguration faded and the ritual expression of

when analyzing these sources, who wrote the descriptions and who commissioned the composition and illustration of the source. See for other printed descriptions Gugler, "Feste des Wiener Hofs."

11 Johann Adam Heintz, *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Anno 1723 von Sr. Kayserlich- und Catholischen Mayestatt Carl dem Sechsten Mit Ihro Mayestätt der Regirenden Kayserin Elisabeth Christina auch Durchleuchtigsten Jungen Herrschafft von Wienn Nacher Prag in Böhaim verrichteten Reis Daselbst abgenohmenen Erb-Huldigung.* etc. ÖStA HHStA, HS Weiß 525; other versions are preserved in the Austrian National Library: Cod. 2706, 2707.

12 On the Inner Austrian journey the Styrian newspaper *Posttäglich-Grätzerisch-Außfliegenden Mercurius* is of importance and shows similarities to the news in the *Wienerischen Diairum*. See Golob, "Mediale Reflexionen," 11–17.

13 See the volumes *Deß Neu-eröffneten Historischen Bilder-Saals* by Andreas Lazarus of Imhof or the *Theatrum Europaeum*.

14 Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 657–81.

15 Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, engrav. Nr. 2.

homage itself became a splendid ceremony.) Thus, the question arises: were those inaugurations "mere spectacles?"[16]

Preparing an Inauguration

To what extent were these ceremonies set up by the court, and how could the estates influence the course of events? Apart from the travel arrangements, including arrangements for the staff or the necessary supplies, above all the details of the ceremony and the exact course of the procedure had to be determined. The process was based on the previous events. On the occasion of the voyage in 1728 to Inner Austria, the journey taken by his father Emperor Leopold I in 1660 functioned as a model, and for the inauguration in Linz, the ceremony which was held in 1658 was used as a point of reference. The court asked the estates involved to send appropriate documents concerning the previous inaugurations and the current situation in advance of the journey.[17] One reason for this was that the court was given all relevant information in the runup to the inaugurations. Of course, there were reports about the past ceremonies in Vienna, but the court officials seem to have wanted to avoid surprises during the negotiations with the estates in the day(s) before the ceremony. In addition, the names and families of the hereditary office holders could change quickly because of the death of a family member. Already in 1712, the emperor required information regarding the inauguration in Lower Austria from the estates in Vienna. On June 27, 1728, Charles VI required again that the Carinthian estates notify the court of the arguments concerning the proposition and possible problems which might arise in advance of the inauguration, as there would be little time in Klagenfurt itself for negotiations and the preparatory meeting would take place only one day before the ceremony.[18] The extensive correspondence between the court offices

16 On inauguration ceremonies in the Habsburg Monarchy see, Van Gelder, *More than Mere Spectacle*.

17 For the Inner Austrian provinces Charles issued a rescript on February 28 that was forwarded from Graz to the other provinces at the beginning of March. In it, information concerning the ceremonies was requested, and the estates were invited not to spend too much money on the preparations. See Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 3–4; Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff*, fol. 11v–13v; Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 79–81. Even in 1806, the Bavarian authorities consulted information concerning the previous shows of homages in the preparatory work for a possible inauguration in Tyrol (Munich, Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußeren, 39392; thanks to Ellinor Forster for calling my attention to this source).

18 StA Ktn. 458/1, 1, fol. 147v–148v: "Alwo [148r] wür dann in jeden Land gleich am folgenden tag unserer dahinkunfft vormittag den landtag halten, nachmittag aber respectu deren ceremonialien zur abhandlung schritten lassen und den tag darauf den actum homagii gnädigst vornehmen warden." (Where

and the representatives of the estates during journey to Inner Austria cannot be presented in detail at this point. In the runup to the journeys to the provinces of the Habsburg monarchy, roads were renovated and new roads were constructed along the travel route. In 1728, Montesquieu described the improvements which were made to the road to the south. He enthusiastically wrote about the landscape of Styria and the improved road from Vienna to Graz, including the newly built Semmering route. According to his account, the construction of this road was relatively inexpensive (43,000 golden coins). He mentioned, for the sake of comparison, the Via Carolina between Karlstadt and Bakar (Buccari), which previously took five to six days to complete on horseback, with difficulty. Now, the trip could be made in one day by carriage.[19]

It is worth taking a closer look at some of the negotiations which were held between the imperial representatives and the estates before the inaugurations in the Austrian provinces. The ceremony held by the Lower Austrian estates constitutes a special case.[20] Due to the lack of spatial distance between the court and the estates in Vienna, the estates were directly involved in preliminary negotiations. After deciding to accept the inauguration in Lower Austria in 1712, the emperor ordered the high steward Anton Florian of Liechtenstein (1656–1721) and the Court Chancellor Johann Friedrich Freiherr von Seilern (1646–1715) to serve as imperial commissioners and conduct the negotiations with the estates. The last inauguration in Vienna had happened only a few years earlier, in 1705. Liechtenstein and Seilern conferred with the Lower Austrian Marshal Otto Ehrenreich Graf von Abensberg und Traun and a committee of the estates in the room of the high steward on October 2 and 3. The committee consisted of two deputies of the prelates, two of the lords, and two of the knights, together with the *Landschaftssyndicus*. They discussed the course of the inauguration in detail, which they agreed would be based on the *Anteactis*. The day of the ceremony would be determined by the emperor on November 8. The Chancellery would inform the hereditary officeholders *(Erbamtsinhaber)* of their duties. In addition, the high steward would take the appropriate precautions.

a meeting will be held the day after our arrival in the morning. In the afternoon, the ceremonies should be discussed and the show of homage should take place on the next day.) See Seitschek, *Erbhuldigung*, 135.

19 Montesquieu, *Meine Reisen in Deutschland*, 58–59. Even in Vienna, the city municipal authorities ordered that the area around the St. Stephan cathedral and the residential area be cleaned and the streets of the area be repaired. ÖStA HHStA, HA OMeA ZA-Prot. 7 (1710 bis 1712), fol. 181r–v. "Der Stadtmagistrat ließ in den Tagen vor der Huldigung den Burgplatz, den Kohlmarkt und den Graben bis nach St. Stephan säubern, soweit notwendig pflastern, mit Brettern belegen und Sand bestreuen."

20 On the Lower Austrian case in general, see Godsey, "Herrschaft und politische Kultur."

The emperor approved the proposals. The invitations are dated October 12.[21] A summary of past inaugurations was written by the chancellery and the high steward's office, and it was read and accepted by the imperial commissioners, the land-marshal (the head of the estates), and the deputies of the estates during a meeting.[22] On October 18, the estates notified the court of their complaints. They demanded the abolition of unfair taxes, the expulsion of Jews from the lands of Lower Austria, the expulsion of not resident people or decrease of dear regarding damages caused. In particular, they asked the court to confirm the Lower Austrian immunities and liberties. The emperor replied to this letter on November 4 and offered a guarantee of the privileges of the estates, but not a proper confirmation in advance, there were no traces in the existing documents from previous inaugurations of any such confirmation having been given in the past. All fourteen objections raised by the estates could not have been addressed in the short time remaining before the inauguration ceremony anyway. However, the emperor insisted on being provided information on the ceremony and the hereditary offices from the archives of the estates.[23]

In 1728, the journey through the Inner Austrian lands was coordinated by a conferential assembly *(Konferenzialversammlung)* of the Inner Austrian privy department *(Geheime Stelle)*. Court Vice Chancellor Johann Friedrich (II.) Graf von Seilern wrote to the burgrave in Carinthia and shared with him the latest information on the *Kurialien* (framework of the solemnity) and the ceremony (Graz, July 29 and August 7, 1728). In the Inner Austrian provinces, conferences were set up in advance to arrange the necessary measures (road repairs, food supplies, wood supplies, etc.). In addition, the estates tried to circumvent the *Konferenzialversammlung* in Graz to protect their own rights. The estates of Carinthia, Carniolia, and Gorizia refused the proposal to send a deputation to Graz for the scheduled arrival of the emperor on June 23 to coordinate with the inaugurations in the other Inner Austrian lands. They explained their refusal with reference to their ancient rights, the little time left, and the organization of the inaugurations in 1660 as a precedent.[24]

The sovereign usually convoked a Diet which would pay homage to him by means of a general patent.[25] As in the other Inner Austrian provinces, the

21 Nádudvar, "Kaiser Karl VI.," 86.

22 On the preliminary sessions, see ÖStA HHStA, HA OMeA ZA-Prot. 7 (1710 to 1712), fol. 176r–v.

23 Nádudvar, "Kaiser Karl VI.," 87f.

24 On these preparations in 1728, see Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 130–38, 245–48; Seitschek, "Erbhuldigungsreise," 50–68. For 1660 in Graz, Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 272–78.

25 In 1711, he addressed letters to the prince-bishoprics of Brixen, Trient, and the governor *(Landeshauptmann)* of Tyrol. The other estates were convoked by a printed order (Milan, October 31)

estates complained about the declaration of the sovereign's intention through general patent. According to their point of view and tradition, a particular *Land-Tags-Deliberation* was necessary to hold an inaugural ceremony. In addition, all members of the estates had to be invited *particulariter*. It was even pointed out that the emperor had already been reminded of this fact on November 14, 1726. Still, the ceremonies through which homage was paid to Ferdinand IV and Leopold I had been implemented accordingly, though both rulers guaranteed the privileges of the provinces by a revers or, more precisely, indemnification ("that the ignoring of the estates should be of no disadvantage and mischief to them/ besides should not have no effects in future/but should be carried out in the traditional way by announcement of a Diet").[26] The patent of announcement of the inauguration (March 20) contained a reference to the assurance of "alt-hergebrachten Freyheiten." In addition, the patent stipulated that the general invitation should not be prejudicial. The reason given was the necessary extent of letters which couldn't be realized at the time.[27] The already promised reverse was demanded in an announcement issued by the Diet on April 2,[28] and the emperor followed the example which had been set by his father and issued it.[29] The letter included information about the departure (June 20). The dates of the ceremonies in the provinces were to be communicated later. For example, the Carinthian and Carniolian estates received instruction to pay homage at the end of June in 1728.[30] After receiving information, the Carinthian estates informed

which was sent to them according to [Anonym], *Libell*, 24–26. The proposition ibid., 31–33 (Innsbruck, November 21).

26 Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 6–8 ("daß sogeschehene Ubergehung der Landschaft an ihrem alten Herbringen / und Gewohnheit ohne Nachtheil und Schaden seye / auch kuenftig in keine Consequenz gezogen / sondern disfalls in ein- und anderem der alte Modus und Stylus mittels Ausschreibung eines Land-tags gehalten"). The estates already complained about this procedure in the sixteenth century; see Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 270. For 1660 ibid., 274–75. The Carinthian and Carniolan estates demanded such indemnifications too (Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff*, fol. 93v–98r; Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 176–77; Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 147, 168–69). This claim was denied in case of the Carniolian estates referring to the traditional forms (Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 41; Rausch, "Hofreisen," 130).

27 Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 10. The announcement was forwarded from Graz to the other provinces, for instance Carinthia and Carniola, on March 22. Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 8–10; Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff*, fol. 29v–32r; Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 86–87. For similar critical observations concerning the invitation in Carinthia, see Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 137, 147, 168–69.

28 Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 10–11.

29 Ibid., 11–12.

30 Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 167–71; Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 168–69.

their members about the time of the inauguration and invited them to come to Klagenfurt.[31]

How was the procedure of the inaugural ceremonies in the Inner Austrian provinces established? In 1728 in Graz, two imperial commissioners negotiated with deputies of the estates. With the arrival of the court in Graz, direct contact was established with the other countries. Therefore, the presence of the emperor made Graz an important point of information for the Inner Austrian countries. The estates were informed about the travel routes, and information about the inaugurations, such as the identities of the people who held the hereditary offices, was required.[32]

In Klagenfurt, the inaugural ceremony was debated the day before the event. The sources[33] provide an overview of these (August 21). In the morning, the *Huldigungsproposition* was discussed by the estates and two imperial commissioners who were invited by deputies of the estates in the *Landhaus* (local parliament). In the Landhaus, two chairs on a stage under a canopy were prepared for the imperial representatives. At the beginning, the sovereign's proposition for the Diet and the imperial credentials of the commissioners were read aloud. The first representative referred to the merits of Charles VI in his speech and informed the estates of the intention of the emperor to confirm the country's privileges. In his response, the burgrave mentioned the hope of confirming these rights too and the issuing of a corresponding drafted instrument in time. The commissioners then left the Landhaus. The estates deliberated on the documents which had been submitted. In the end, they declared their intention to hold the inaugural ceremony, but they again insisted on having the old customs and privileges confirmed. For this reason, they complained about the convocation by means of a general patent and expressed the desire for a corresponding *Schadlosverschreibung* (indemnification; *sub aurea bulla*). The estates insisted on the traditional inaugural ceremonies at the *Karnburg* and the *Herzogsstuhl* on the Zollfeld, including a physical *Jurament* and the awarding of fiefs afterwards.

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31 StA Ktn., box 458/1, 1, fol. 180r–182r. See Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 137. Compare Rohr, *Einleitung*, 660–61.

32 Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 130–17 (for Carinthia); Seitschek, "Erbhuldigungsreise," 50–68, 77–79. It is worth mentioning that the sovereigns tried to place confidants within these groups, for instance the intimate of Charles count Althann (including his family) was declared hereditary cupbearer in the Empire (since 1714; Pečar, "Favorit ohne Geschäftsbereich," 342–43. For Lower Austria, see Godsey, "Herrschaft," 175–77.

33 Johann Adam Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*; Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff*. See Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 145–49.

Figure 1. Detail from map of Carinthia by Johann Baptist Homann (around 1720)

Were the emperor to request exemption from these ceremonies, the estates were prepared to grant Charles VI a dispensation out of respect for his imperial dignity. As in 1660 in the case of Charles VI's father Leopold, the estates asked for an affirmation that this consent would have no impact on future ceremonies. In addition, the emperor was to confirm the privileges of the estates verbally, and the estates asked for an appropriate instrument on this matter, as noted above. They also demanded that Carinthia should always be referred to as an archduchy in spoken or written declarations. In the afternoon, a deputation of the estates went to the conference led by the court chancellor Philipp Ludwig Graf von Sinzendorf (1671–1742). They were led by the burgrave. According to the session, the *actus* was to be set *ad normam* of the Styrian estates, and the general directory *(Generaldirectorium)* for the ceremony was to be done accordingly. The Generaldirektorium was then read, and it was met with criticism regarding matters of rank. As a consequence, it was rewritten with respect to the procession order to the churches and of the admittance order to the hand kiss, but unfortunately further information is missing. Nevertheless, the sources indicate that there were certain differences compared to the ceremony in Graz. For instance, the idea of welcoming the emperor under a tent before the city (was cancelled as in Graz).

In comparison, in Ljubljana the *Landtagsproposition* took place two days before the inauguration. The estates of Carniola requested the holding of the ceremonies as before and the confirmation of the country's rights and liberties, but they retracted the stipulation that the emperor take an oath. In Gorizia, the proposition was declared by imperial commissioners just two days before the inauguration.

Even for the organization of the inauguration ceremonies in Linz in 1732 several conferences were held to make the necessary travel arrangements and plan the event.[34] The second conference took place in Carlsbad, where the date of the trip from Prague to Linz was fixed. The emperor and his retinue was to arrive in Linz on July 23. After some hunting trips and other diversions in the area around Linz, Charles VI would return to Linz on September 6. September 10 was proposed as a date for the inauguration in order to leave sufficient time for the necessary preparations by the conference. Charles VI approved in his decision September 10 or 11 as possible days of the inauguration. The last conference took place in Linz on August 28. The main topic was the inauguration ceremony including details such as the procession order. Concerning the Toisonisten (members of the Order of the Golden Fleece) and their role with respect to the hereditary officers, Charles VI referred to the past inaugurations in Vienna, Graz, and Klagenfurt, where they had awaited him at the church. He requested similar arrangements for the ceremony in Linz. The exact ceremony for the inauguration would be compiled by the Councilor Johann Georg of Mannagetta (1666–1751), the Landsyndicus Maderer, and a court secretary. It would be submitted to the conference with the estates afterwards. The composition of the group is of particular interest because it illustrates the important role of the court. Only the Landsyndicus represented the point of view of the estates. Finally, the production of commemorative coins was discussed at this last conference. The casting and presenting of coins on such occasions was rather common.[35] In addition to these preparatory conferences in Vienna, Carlsbad, and Linz, deputies of the estates also discussed the course of the inauguration. The High Steward Sigmund Rudolph Graf von Sinzendorf (1670–1747) and the Court Chancellor Philipp Ludwig Graf von Sinzendorf served as imperial commissioners.

34 Rausch, "Hofreisen," 143–46; Seitschek, "Verhandlungssache."

35 For instance, Soltész et al., *Coronatio*; Förschner, *Krönungsmedaillen*.

To summarize, the court required information from the estates in the runup to the inaugural ceremonies. The ceremonies were based on the model of the preceding inaugurations in the different countries. In Inner Austria, the welcome ceremony held in Graz functioned as the model *(ad normam)*. Although negotiations were held between the estates and the sovereign's representatives, the ceremonies were outlined by the court authorities (as shown in Vienna, Linz, and Klagenfurt) and negotiated by experienced commissioners.[36] The estates could request minor changes and indemnifications, but the scenery of the different celebrations was pretty similar. It is worth mentioning that not all problems could be solved. Conflicts arose due to overlapping spheres of power of the ruler or the countrie´s representatives.[37] As shown, switching role during the ceremony was one way to overcome such inconsistencies by the hereditary officeholders, not taking part another. Decisions were made and the estates received letters of indemnity for untraditional proceedings. Of course, symbolic communication was an essential element which made it possible to organize such complicated ceremonies, but this kind of communication is not always clear but rather leaves some room for interpretation (for both sides).[38]

Schemes of Inaugural Ceremonies

The inaugural ceremonies in the Austrian lands were quite similar under the reign of Charles VI. [39] The sovereign was welcomed at the border of his land by a delegation of the estates, and there were additional "entry" ceremonies at the bigger cities (a welcoming ceremony, the handing over of city keys, etc.). Finally, the emperor (and his family) reached the site of the inauguration. At a distance of roughly half an hour from the town, the emperor was usually welcomed by a delegation of the estates, again under a tent. At the gate to the city, the magistrate greeted him by handing over the keys to the city. A procession moved

36 On Lower Austria, see Godsey, "Herrschaft," 167–68.

37 This conflict between hierarchies of different systems (military, court, church) is rather typical. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 522–24.

38 Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 499–502, 506, 514, 522. ("Gerade die Unschärfe symbolischer Botschaften, hinter der unterschiedliche Situationsdeutungen zum Verschwinden gebracht wurden, ermöglichte vielfach erst kollektives Handeln.")

39 On inaugural ceremonies in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 30–33; Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 1–28. The following description is based on the afore mentioned sources on the inaugural ceremonies and the accounts in the court protocol of ceremonies. In general, see Rohr, *Einleitung*, 660–77.

to the main church, where the emperor was welcomed by the clergy. There, a mass was celebrated. Finally, Charles VI and his accompanying family members moved into their quarters.

Godsey speaks of a Trias involved in the inauguration: the sovereign, his councilors and the estates. During the ceremonies, the role of the councilors was assumed by the hereditary officeholders, who were grouped around their ruler.[40] The estates gathered in their official meeting place (usually the Landhaus) in the morning (usually about 7 o'clock) on inauguration day. They then moved, led by the head *(capo)* of the estates, to the sovereign's quarters. Costly regalia, such as scepters, were produced for the hereditary offices to be worn during the ceremony and presents were given to the officeholders. Indeed, the insignia were only presented during the ceremony, but they were not used as they usually were in coronations. The hereditary office holders were given their insignia by the court dignitaries taking up their offices.[41] The estates awaited the emperor in front of his private apartments according to their rank, and they accompanied him to the main church of the town. Considering the fixed procession orders in the ceremonies which have been made the subject of research, the top of the column was usually formed by a group of servants of members of the court and/or the estates, trumpeters and drummers of the estates, *Läufer*, and so on. In 1728, the "imperial Livereè" and squires *(Edelknaben)* were at the head of the procession. This group was followed by the deputies of the cities, imperial court officials, councilors and the members of the estates. Hereditary offices *(Erbamtsinhaber)* without insignia joined the latter group. Then followed the hereditary officers with insignia. After them came the governor *(Landeshauptmann)*. Then came the herald and, directly in front of the emperor on horseback, the land-marshal carrying the sword. Charles VI was regularly accompanied by the guard captains. After the sovereign came the hereditary chamberlain and chamberlains in service, followed by the remaining court servants. The train then was brought to a close by military units.[42] The clergy walked with the other estates to the imperial quarters but left from there before the departure of the emperor. The right moment to

40 Godsey, "Herrschaft," 143, 173.

41 Mat'a points out that there were (even specially produced) insignia, but these insignia weren't used to inaugurate the sovereign such as by putting a crown on his head. Even the archducal hat that was brought from the monastery Klosterneubrug just was presented during the Lower Austrian inaugural ceremony. Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 30–32. These insignia were presented to and by the hereditary office holder during the ceremonies.

42 Of course, there are several differences. For instance, the chamberlain walked within the hereditary officeholders or certain other officeholders assumed a special role.

leave the scene was indicated by a court official *(Hoffourier)*. The clergy awaited the sovereign at the church, accompanied by the Toisonisten. They accompanied Charles into the church to his seat near the altar in the choir area. If it rained, the conference recommended that the Toisonisten accompany Charles VI on his way to the church on foot via a covered walkway in Graz in 1728.

Looking at the seating arrangements in the church during the "Hl. Geistamt" (*Veni Sancte Spiritus*) in 1712 (Vienna), 1728 (Graz, Klagenfurt) and Linz (1732), one notes that Charles VI sat on the left (Gospel side). The hereditary office holders and the captains of the guards *(Trabants and Hartschiers)* were placed around him. The officeholder of the hereditary land-marshal's office stood to the right, near the emperor on the third tier, and other office-holders stood on the other tiers (only the third step on the left was empty). The division was slightly different in Lower Austria. For example, the marshal was standing to the left of the emperor, but still on the scales. The remaining hereditary officeholders were arranged on the left and right sides of the throne, between the Gospel und Epistle side. Usually, the herald was standing to the right of this group near the center of the church (in Klagenfurt, he was positioned on the left side). It is worth noting that the clergy was usually seated opposite the emperor. On the left (Gospel) side of the church, the benches of the Toison knights were usually arranged next to the emperor. Right after the knights sat the privy councilors, chamberlains, and the other members of the estates, usually separated by barriers. The court protocol of the ceremonies *(Zeremonialprotokoll)* of 1728 mentions that the seating arrangements would be modified to fit "today's style" compared to 1660.

After the "Hl. Geistamt," the procession returned in the same order to the imperial quarters. The clergy remained at the portal of the church, took off their ecclesiastical robes, and returned to court by themselves. The emperor was accompanied by the members of the estates and the holders of the hereditary offices until he reached his private quarters. In the *retirade*,[43] he was then asked by a committee to accept the welcome shown by his subjects.

At this point, the imperial representatives (primarily the court vice chancellor or court chancellor) gave oral confirmation of the rights and liberties of the estates. The speech was answered by the head of the estates, e.g. the land-marshal, the most senior of the lords, or the burgrave in Carinthia, who again referred to the confirmation of the rights and liberties. The emperor then assured the estates of their rights and liberties himself. As in Graz, the emperor had to take an oath in

43 These were the private rooms of the imperial couple (literally the 'retreat').

front of a few members of the estates to respect the country's rights and liberties.[44] This had also been part of the procedure in 1660 (see the chapter below).

Charles VI then moved from the retirade into the inauguration room, where a throne had been prepared for him under a baldachin. Like the church, the hereditary land-marshal stood to the right of the emperor at the third level (Fig 2). On the left, the top stage remained empty (as in the cathedral in Graz). A similar division of the office holders can be observed in Linz, but the empty

Figure 2. Homage in Graz
(Austrian State Archvies, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Bibliothek C-320, Deyerlsberg)

44 On the oath in Styria, see Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 267–72. Generally, this was not a unique situation. Rohr describes the situation in Portugal and Aragon, where the king had to swear to observe the laws and privileges as printed in Saragossa. Only then came the show of homage. Rohr, *Einleitung*, 667–68. The Carinthian and Carniolian estates exempted the emperor as a show of respect for his imperial dignity (see below).

space to the left of the emperor was filled with the hereditary land-bannerholder. In Linz and Klagenfurt, the remaining hereditary office holders stood around the throne to the right and left of Charles VI, whereas in Graz, the governor *(Landeshauptmann)*, the bishop of Seckau, or the prelates were positioned to the right. At the end of this group, to the right of the emperor towards the center of the room the Austrian herald usually stood. The remaining estates, which were led by the hereditary land-marshal in person in Graz, the burgrave in Carinthia, or the most senior lord in Linz, were facing the throne.

To the left of the emperor, facing the estates, the court chancellor or vice chancellor gave a speech to the estates and thanked them for their willingness to pay homage to their sovereign. This speech was usually answered by the capo of the estates. This was followed by the oath of allegiance and the ceremonial act of kissing the hand of the emperor in a specified order. After the ceremony, the court chancellor then submitted the signed confirmation of the country's rights and liberties to the estates, which was initially confirmed by the sovereign (see the chapter below).

After the inauguration, the emperor was accompanied by the estates and the court members into the chapel of the Imperial quarters, where a Te Deum was celebrated. The procedure in 1712 resembled the procedure in 1732. The emperor again took his seat on the Gospel side. To his left stood the hereditary land-marshal. The other hereditary officeholders sat on the left and right sides of the chapel. The herald stood near the center of the room. This church office and the associated blessing were intended to strengthen the bond between sovereign and his subjects after the inaugurations.

After the Te Deum, Charles VI returned to his private quarters. He and the members of the imperial family who were present left the retirade for the table where a banquet was held. They were served by the holders of the hereditary offices. At this point, in Graz and Linz the emperor was presented with the commemorative coins by the hereditary land-mint-master. After the emperor had finished eating and returned to his chambers, the hereditary officeholders went to their own tables which were provided by the court with food. The officeholders were usually allowed to invite eleven people. In addition to these tables, there was a *Freitafel* (free table), in Carinthia an additional table for the family of the so-called ducal peasant *(Herzogsbauern)*, and in Tirol for the representatives of the peasantry. The inaugural ceremonies came to an end with these meals.[45]

45 See Haslinger, "Der Kaiser speist en public."

The inauguration ceremonies also included what could be described as sound effects. The town cannons and the arms used by military or civil units were fired on three occasions during the inaugurations: the welcoming show of homage and the act of kissing the emperor's hand, the Te Deum, and the first drink taken by the emperor, who had just been confirmed as ruler, at the table. This could then be accompanied by a ringing of all the bells of the town. The bell ringing was carried out even during the processions to the church, as in Vienna or Klagenfurt. The exuberant atmosphere was described in Tyrol ("sich mit Schreyen und Juchzen lustig gemacht").[46] The day after the inauguration or coronation, Charles VI mostly promoted a group of members of the estates and declared them councilors or chamberlains.[47]

However, there were other forms of inaugurations. In some of his territories, Charles VI did not take part in the ceremonies in person.[48] Usually the governors-general were delegated to appear at the inaugurations in Milan, Mantua, Brussels, and Ghent.[49] Most important were the Duchy of Brabant and the County of Flanders in the Austrian Netherlands, where the governor-general usually took part in the inaugural ceremonies, including reciprocal oath-swearing. In the case of Governor Prince Eugene, his minister Marquis de Prié (1658–1726) undertook this task. Still, the sovereign was present. A portrait was displayed on a throne under a baldachin.[50] The *Wienerisches Diarium* describes the entry and homage ceremony in Ypres, which was accepted by the general and councilor of state prince of Ligne. There, the magistrates and deputies of the country towns took their oaths separately.[51] In 1728, the substitute Count Strasoldo accepted the show of homage in the palace. There, he addressed the

46 WD 869 (December 1, 1711). These high spirits are described at the table of the ducal peasant in Carinthia too. This may be another topos.

47 In 1711, Charles appointed 46 privy councilors, including cavaliers from Milan and Napoli (WD 869, December 1, 1711). The same thing happened for instance in Carniola (promotions to the positions of secret councilors and chamberlains: Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 62).

48 Rohr referred to the reason for the state to decide whether the sovereign should take part in these ceremonies in person or be represented by a delegate (Rohr, *Einleitung*, 658).

49 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 46.

50 Van Gelder, "Inaugurations," 171, 182. On the inaugurations during the reign of Charles VI, see 182, table 6.1. Van Gelder explains the greater interest in these principalities not only as a consequence of their populations but also as an indication of their fiscal importance. This was a rather common means with which to make the sovereign present, see Rohr, *Einleitung*, 663.

51 WD 1733 (March 9, 1720). During the banquet, a painting of the emperor to the right and another one of the Governor Prince Eugen to the left were presented. This event was recognized by the court. For instance, these inaugural ceremonies in 1720 were mentioned by Sigmund Graf von Khevenhüller in his diaries. On these diaries, see Breunlich-Pawlik, "Die Aufzeichnungen."

estates with his hat on, only taking it off and bowing *(Knie-biegende Reverenz)* when mentioning the emperor's name. His speech was answered by the vice-land-marshal. The oath was read aloud in German and Italian *(Welscher Sprache)* by a privy councilor standing to the left of the count. The estates replied with their hands raised and fingers extended.[52]

In Milan, Prince Eugene was welcomed by the Marquis of Castiglione and was presented with the keys to the city on April 16, 1707. In return, Eugene distributed jars with water and soil as a symbolic gesture with which he expressed that he had taken over the territory in the name of Charles (III).[53] In the recently occupied territory of Banat, local notables and officeholders (Senior, *Oberknese*, *Provisor*) paid homage to representatives of the sovereign, as is mentioned in the so-called *Einrichtungsprojekt* of the Banat (1717/1718). This project paper dealt with the establishment of an administration in the new province. A second oath would be inappropriate according to this draft.[54]

I want to stress several aspects of the ceremonies. First, the ceremonies of welcome and homage were structured by speeches and replies,[55] but the presence of the sovereign provided opportunities for the estates and office-holders to request audiences and submit *gravamina*.[56] Already in 1725, the Styrian officeholder Herberstein spoke with Charles VI and complained of the country's difficult situation, and Charles even made a note of this in his diaries.[57] Usually, the central ceremonies of the inauguration ceremonies took place indoors.[58] In 1711, the ceremony took place in the *Burgsaal* in Innsbruck. In Vienna, the ceremony was held in the *Ritterstube* of the residence. In his journeys, this ritual took always place in the imperial quarters. The Carinthian estates even dispensed with the traditional places of an inauguration at the *Karnburg* or *Herzogsstuhl*. In short, this important moment of paying homage took place in the sovereign's rooms. In Gradisca, the sovereign's representative accepted the homage in the

52 WD 75 (September 18, 1728).

53 Rohr, *Einleitung*, 662–63 (referring to *Europäische Fama* 66, 413).

54 Roos, *Providentia Augustorum*, 99–100.

55 On the importance and *topoi* of such speeches at Diets in general, see Braungart, *Hofberedsamkeit*. 124–36; Helmrath and Feuchter, "Einleitung."

56 Indeed, gravamina played an important role in negotiations before the inaugurations. On Lower Austria, see Godsey, "Herrschaft," 169–73.

57 Charles was staying in Mariazell (August 19, 1725): "aud(ienz), Steyer landshaubtm(ann), Herberst(ein) stadhalter, ein redt, er widter aud(ienz), er nb landt ubel, infomiren, ich stark zu redt."

58 Only in the Austrian Netherlands were costly stages built outdoors. Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 32; Van Gelder, "Inaugurations," 170–71.

Kaiserl. Pallast.[59] During the reception and inaugural ceremonies for the sovereign, he was confronted with delegations of the estates (for instance as part of the welcome ceremonies at the borders of the provinces, at the moment of entry into a town, etc.) and the corporative body as a whole (during the masses and the ceremonies surrounding the taking of the oath). We can trace a reciprocal relationship. The shows of welcome and homage were answered with the confirmation by the emperor of local rights and liberties.

Confirming Rights and Liberties, Taking Oaths

In Klagenfurt (Carinthia), in 1728 the ducal peasant *(Herzogsbauern)* almost missed the emperor when he moved to his private quarters according to the description provided by Linsee. The Cabinet Secretary Johann Theodor Freiherr von Imbsen informed the Herzogsbauern that Charles VI was already leaving for the retirade. The Herzogsbauern ran to the ruler and touched his coat. When Charles turned around, the Herzogsbauern kneeled to present the document concerning his rights and liberties, but at that moment, he dropped the document accidentally. Charles laughed and promised to confirm the rights and liberties.[60] This may be little more than an apocryphal anecdote, but the scene described is rather interesting. A representative of the province begged the sovereign to confirm his rights and liberties in the runup to the inauguration. Such attempts and assurances were also part of the inaugural ceremonies described above.

"Far from being acts of unilateral submission, they served the purpose of mutual recognition and obligation through reciprocal oath taking. The estates acknowledged their ruler and promised loyalty, and in return, the ruler confirmed the estates' rights and liberties."[61] Speeches and symbolic gestures were essential parts of an oath. Klaas Van Gelder points out that some Diets were able to intertwine the question of inauguration and taxes, and this gave them a stronger position in the negotiations.[62] This is all the more interesting from the perspective of the relationship between *Gottesgnadentum* and emerging ideas of a social contract. "At the same time, supported by cameralist and Enlightenment thinkers, the concepts of the social contract and popular sovereignty gained increasing

59 WD 75, September 18, 1728.

60 Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*, fol. 59–60.

61 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 36. Compare Godsey, "Herrschaft," 153–54; Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft*, 423–25.

62 Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 11.

influence, and the notion of 'the state' or even 'the nation' came to replace 'the prince' as the sole source of law and legitimate power."[63] Rohr focuses extensively on the oaths and confirmation of rights and liberties before, during, and after the inaugural ceremonies. Rohr refers to the assurance of the confirmation of the privileges by the emperor or his chancellor when the request was made by a committee of the estates for the emperor to accept their show of homage in the emperor's private quarters and at the beginning of the ceremony in the room in which proceedings were held. The representative of the estates then replied and asked the emperor of his representative to confirm the privileges of the local bodies.[64] The scribes of the estates who described the inaugurations and, in particular, these elements of the ceremonies (such as Peritzhoff or Deyerlsberg) offered similar accounts. This is not a coincidence. Rather, it illustrates the importance of these events for the estates. As a consequence, the moment was the privileges of the estates were assured is of particular interest, because it reflects the relationship between the sovereign and the estates. Usually, it took place immediately before the show of homage. Why? When were these documents actually issued? It is worth mentioning that the members of the estates serving the emperor were relieved of their offices during the inauguration. Of course, this demonstration of independence was only theoretical, and it shows how the interests of the sovereign and his subjects were intertwined.[65]

It is worth taking a closer look to the situation in Lower Austria in 1712, which can be understood as having served as a model. After returning to his private quarters, the hereditary high chamberlain asked Charles VI in the name of the most senior lord to give him and a committee an audience. They were invited to the council chamber *(Ratsstube)*, where they were awaited by Charles, who was standing under a baldachin. To his left stood the court chancellor. The senior lord asked the emperor to accept their show of homage and to confirm the provinces' rights and liberties. The court chancellor answered in the name of Charles, thanking them for the invitation and announcing the ceremony in the Ritterstube. In the Ritterstube, Court Chancellor Seilern thanked them for

63 Ibid., 14. On the social contract with further literature, see Klippel, "Staatsvertrag."

64 Rohr, *Einleitung*, 667–76. He refers to another custom in certain Catholic territories where the sovereign's delegate had to swear to preserve the privileges of the churches too. Ibid., 671.

65 See Braungart, "Hofberedsamkeit," 126 (referring to *Zedlers's Universal-Lexicon* 16, 1737, Sp. 578). Imperial ministers and councilors were relieved of their duties during the inauguration to take part "libere." ÖStA FHKA AHK HFIÖ Akten June 26, 1728. On 1660, see Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 274. A request from the Carinthian estates (June 2) was renounced because of missing examples in the documents of previous acts. Linsee, *Gründtlicher Endtwurff*, fol. 141v–43r.

the numerous demonstrations by the estates of their will to pay homage to their new ruler. In return, Charles VI was prepared to confirm common customs and the rights and liberties of the estates.[66] As described above, the land-marshal answered on behalf of the estates and confirmed their willingness to pay homage. Still, he required a verbal confirmation of the provinces' rights and liberties. Indeed, Charles stood up and promised such a confirmation. Afterwards, the court chancellor announced that the oath would be read aloud, and the members of the estates were to repeat it.[67] While the estates took this oath, Charles VI took off his hat. After the oath had been taken, the court chancellor handed over the sealed confirmation of the rights and liberties of the Lower Austrian estates to the land-marshal.[68]

The inauguration ceremonies in Tyrol (1711),[69] the Inner Austrian provinces (1728), and Upper Austria (1732) were rather similar, but there were slight differences in the stages identified above. After the mass, Charles VI retired to his quarters. There, in his retirade, he was usually invited by a delegation of the estates to receive their show of homage, and they reminded him to confirm their rights and liberties in return.[70] At this point, the court chancellor answered instead of the emperor and confirmed his will to do so.[71] Although the inaugural ceremony in Graz served as the model for the 1728 ceremony, this ceremony was unique at this juncture. A committee from the estates was given an audience in the *Wohnzimmer* of the sovereign. They underlined their will to show a show of homage on behalf of the estates, but they themselves required an oath *(Juramentum)* taken by the sovereign. Charles replied that he would do so according to the example set by his ancestors[72] and the *alten Modum* in the runup to the *Homagio,* including

66 Charles VI had already confirmed his intention in a letter from November 4 (see above, Godsey, "Herrschaft," 155).

67 According to the description, the members of the Fourth Estate were expected to raise three fingers during the oath.

68 A written confirmation before the homage was denied due to the lack of previous similar cases. See Nádudvar, "Kaiser Karl VI.," 88, 93–94. In general, see Godsey, "Herrschaft," 153–56.

69 The first steps in announcing the arrival of Charles VI were taken by his mother and regent Eleonora Magdalena. See [Anonym], *Libell*, 1–23.

70 Delegations for instance in Ljubljana, Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 51. In 1732 in Linz, the deputation was led by the most senior of the lords, Count Gundacker Thomas Starhemberg in the council room. ÖStA HHStA, HA OMeA ZA-Prot. 15 (1732 to 1734), fol. 109r.

71 This happened in Vienna (Lower Austria) and Linz (Upper Austria) in 1712 and 1732.

72 Leitner, "Die Erbhuldigung," 127–29. The estates demanded that the indemnification should include a reference to the abandonment of the sovereign's confirmation of the provinces' privileges in public out of respect for the sovereign's imperial dignity. On Styria in general with further literature, see Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen."

a confirmation of the provinces' rights and liberties. This oath was taken *privatim* by the emperor in the presence of a small committee of the estates before the inauguration in the retirade. Charles VI removed his right glove, raised his hand with three fingers extended, and took the oath. The beginning of the text of the *Juramentum* was read aloud by the governor, who referred to the confirmation. The court vice chancellor, who was present as was the High chamberlain, held another written example of the sovereign's *Juramentum.* Charles replied, "As was read to us, we swear with this oath to all local people of the principality of Styria to preserve everything so help me God, Maria, and all Saints." It is not surprising that the estates paid for a costly print of the inaugural ceremony that included a detailed engraving of this scene. Petr Mat'a has pointed out that the depiction of the emperor taking an oath in front of members of the estates in Graz is unique.[73] The commission informed the estates in writing that the emperor had taken the oath. Looking at the text of the oath, Charles VI bound himself, and he referred, in the text of this pledge, to God, the Virgin Mary, and all saints.[74] As in Carinthia (see above), the estates showed respect for the sovereign's imperial dignity when receiving his oath in private.[75]

The ruler then moved to the prepared room, where the show of homage was held.[76] The emperor was located under a baldachin surrounded by the hereditary office holders according to their ranks and duties. These schemes were documented in the written reports of the ceremonies by the court and the estates.

A representative of the ruler, usually the court chancellor,[77] gave a speech referring to reasons for the delay of the inauguration and mentioning the

73 In detail, see Mat'a, "Landtag," 178–80; Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 47–48. On the Jurament, see Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 79–81 ("Als Uns jetzt vorgelesen ist / schwören Wir mit Unserem Eyd / allen Land-Leuten des Fürstenthums Steyer alles stät / vest / und unzerbrochen zu halten / treulich ohne alles Gefährde / als Uns Gott helffe / und die gebenedeyteste Mutter Gottes Maria / und alle Liebe Heilige"). The oath in the presence of five to six members of the estates was already determined in the ceremonial outlines *(Kurialien)* before the inauguration. It is interesting that Deyerlsberg's description mentioned that the emperor took the oath with his hat on ("bedecktem Haupt") but the print offers a different image. There, the hat is on a table to the right of the emperor.

74 Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 80. This including of the confessional element was a common part of the texts of oaths. See Holenstein, "Seelenheil und Untertantenpflicht." Rohr, *Einleitung*, 672–74. In general for instance Luminati, "Eid," 90–93; Prodi, "Der Eid in der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte."

75 Leitner, "Erbhuldigung," 127–29.

76 For instance, Vienna (1712): Imperial Palace, Ritterstube; Innsbruck (1711): Imperial Palace, Riesensaal; Graz (1728): Imperial residence, Ritterstube; Klagenfurt (1728): Rosenberg palace; Ljubljana (1728): bishop's palace; Trieste (1728): bishop's palace.

77 During the Inner Austrian journey and the inaugurations that were held as part of the journey, the court vice chancellor assumed this role.

confirmation of the rights and liberties of the estates.[78] Only in Tyrol did Charles address the estates at this point himself.[79] The representative of the estates then answered, usually referring again to the confirmation.[80] In Görz, there was a conflict about the person who held the office of the hereditary land-marshal, who assumed an important task during the inaugural ceremony in close proximity to the sovereign. It is not surprising that this office was then assumed by the senior of the college of Deputies *(Verordnete)*. This situation was even described by Charles in his diary: "estates in the city prior to 9, not by foot but riding due to the long hill, mass as usual very hot […] senior function, here 10 ½, afterwards homage, as usual me speaking, Te De(um) in castle chapel."[81]

Charles refers not only to the senior but to his speech "as usual" during the inaugural ceremonies in this entry. Indeed, in most cases Charles now answered the estates himself, reaffirming his commitment to confirm the liberties of the provinces.[82] In Klagenfurt, Charles gave thanks for being exempted from the act of taking an oath. Although the traditional elements of the Carinthian inauguration *(Herzogsstuhl, Karnburg)* were left out, the court protocol referred to inaugural ceremonies in the usual manner there *(more consueto)*.[83] As in Klagenfurt,

78 On Tyrol: WD 871 (December 8, 1711). Charles had already promised to confirm the estates' rights and liberties in the proposition ([Anonym], *Libell*, 33). See [Anonym], *Libell*, 41–43. After the speech, the proposition was read aloud by Johann Georg of Buol (1655–1727). On Styria, Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 83–84; Carinthia: Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 152; Carniolia: Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 53.

79 For the speech [Anonym], Libell, 44–46 ("mittels einer sonders lang-zartmütig und recht vätterlichen Red/ darauff sich bezogen; welche Rede/ da sie nicht allein von Ihro Kaiserl. und Catholische Majestät/ als Kaisern/ König/ und Landesfürsten/ sondern als einem wahren und rechten Lands-Vatter beschehen/ all Anwesende mit Verwunderung und Erstaunung angehöret"). Not quite comparable, but at this juncture a speech was held in Bohemia; see below.

80 Tyrol: governor/Landeshauptmann, [Anonym], *Libell*, 46–48. In Graz, the hereditary land-marshal handed over the sword, moved from the right side of the emperor to the side of the estates, and replied to the speech of the vice chancellor, referring to the assurance of the confirmation of the provinces' rights and liberties. Afterwards, he moved back to the emperor's side, taking up his hereditary office again (Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 84f.). In Klagenfurt, the burgrave replied the speech of the vice court chancellor (Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 152–55). In Ljubljana, the hereditary land-marshal answered in the name of the estates, who switched roles for this act (Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 53). It is interesting that in Linz the officeholder of the hereditary land-marshal-office Count Starhemberg entrusted this office to his son during the ceremony and didn't switch between the role of the most senior lord and his hereditary office. On the show of homage in Linz see ÖStA HHStA, HA OMeA ZA-Prot. 15 (1732 to 1734), fol. 108v–122r.

81 Entry September 5 ("stendt hirauf, vor 9 in die statt, all nit fus wie, sondern geriten weyl weit berg; ambt wie sonst; sehr warmb, […] alt verord(neter) funct(ion) ma(c)ht, herüben 10 1/2 na(c)her huldigung wie sonst ich r(e)dt, te De(um) in schlos capl(en)"); about the diary in general, see Redlich, "Die Tagebücher Kaiser Karls VI."; Stefan Seitschek, *Die Tagebücher Kaiser Karls VI.* See Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*, fol. 80v–81r.

82 For Klagenfurt: Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 155f.; Ljubljana: Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 53f.

83 See Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 148–58.

the estates in Carniolia dispensed with the oath before the show of homage, which Peritzhoff describes in detail. The sovereign had to issue a revers for this concession (August 30). Peritzhoff explains, referring to Charles V, that delegates accepting a show of homage should not be included in such a dispensation.[84]

The oath taken by the estates was then read aloud and repeated by their members, who raised their hands with three finger extended.[85] For instance, in Linz Charles lifted his hat during the reading of the oath as a reference to the presence of God. Of course, there were slight differences. In Trieste, the nobles, patricians and members of the city council represented the city. The vice court chancellor held a speech in German, which was answered by a representative of the city in Italian. The oath was read aloud by a *Referendar* ('senior councilor'), and it was repeated by the representatives in Italian with their hands raised and fingers extended. Heintz stresses that Charles did not speak on this occasion in Trieste.[86]

In some case, such as in Lower (1712) and Upper Austria (1732), the estates were then given the written confirmation of their rights and liberties. In Tyrol, it took time for the document to be presented due to the coronation of Charles in Frankfurt, but in a rescript (issued in Innsbruck on December 27), he assured the estates again that he would confirm their rights and liberties as soon as possible.[87] The Carinthian estates had to demand their confirmation after the departure of the emperor, and they had to wait for it for several years. It was then backdated.[88] It is remarkable that Starhemberg already received the written confirmation of the rights and liberties in Linz (as had happened in the case of Lower Austria).[89]

84 Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 53–55, 205–7; In addition, for the ceremonies in Ljubljana WD 74 (September 15, 1728 appendix). The schedule of the show of homage and especially the revers for dispensing with the oath were already set in the preparatory conferences. Ibid, 41.

85 Tyrol: [Anonym], *Libell*, 48–49. The lords and knights raised their hands, the delegates of the towns raised their fingers too. It is astonishing that the newspaper referred to the notable situation in Tyrol, where the peasantry formed part of the estates. In Graz, the vice court chancellor held the text of the Iurament. See Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 85–86. This raising of the hand was rather common (Rohr, *Einleitung*, 675). For Klagenfurt Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 155; Ljubljana: Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 55, 207f.

86 For Trieste Hahn, "Zwei Besuche im österreichischen Litorale, 76–77. Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*, fol. 92r. In Fiume, the representatives of the city were received in the city castle by Charles. Again, the court vice-chancellor started the ceremony with his speech, which was answered by the city judge. Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*, fol. 101r. Heintz stresses that the show of homage was held according to the ceremony in Trieste.

87 [Anonym], *Libell*, 58–59.

88 Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 168–69. This seems to have been a common case. The Styrian estates already had to wait in 1631. Gmoser, "Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen," 271–72.

89 In the files of the imperial chamber we can determine the process according to which the documents were produced. The revers for the estates written on parchment with the seal in a capsule made of silver

It is worth comparing the situation with circumstances in other territories. In Milan (1707), Mantua (1708), and Parma/Piacenza unilateral oaths were taken.[90] As in the other provinces, oaths were taken in the Austrian principalities of the Netherlands, as already noted. The prince confirmed the privileges of the territories, and the estates swore their loyalty. The small district of the Retroceded Lands was gained in 1719 from France and had lost its assemblies. As a consequence, only the representatives of the territory swore an oath to the prince, and taxes could be imposed without their consent.[91] Mat'a refers to an episode in Moravia which illustrates that there were talks about an inauguration there (1726). The estates were asked by a staff member of the Bohemian Chancellery if they required the emperor's presence, because if not, a commissioner would be sent.[92] The Silesian territories represented another special case. In these territories, which were a conglomerate of principalities or lordships, some (Habsburg) rulers accepted ceremonial shows of homage in Breslau (including Frederik II of Prussia),[93] which consisted of oaths by particular subjects and corporations. Some estates of the Silesian hereditary principalities demanded to take oaths within their borders. Sometimes Habsburgs accepted recognitions in person if possible. Otherwise, commissioners were sent.[94] To hasten Charles' return, Count Leopold Adam Strasoldo was delegated to accept the show of homage in the county of Gradisca in 1728.[95]

Finally, shows of homage also played a part in the inaugurations of kings. In Bohemia, a show of homage was introduced after the transformations caused by the *Verneuerte Landesordnung* (1627). This ceremony took place one day before the coronation. Indeed, the ceremony was quite similar to other ceremonial shows of homage, except that it was not as splendid as the ceremonies in other provinces. The obvious reason for this was that the ceremony took place in the runup to the coronation. The ceremony was held in the Landstube. The estates

on a golden string cost 66 gulden (ÖStA FHKA HFÖ Akten, box 2.452, September 11 and 12, 1732). The document is dated September 10 (for instance ÖStA FHKA SUS Varia box 40/1 (1732), fol. 177v–178r).

90 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 49.

91 Van Gelder, "Inaugurations," 169–70.

92 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 47. These negotiations are important because even Charles' father Leopold left out the Moravian inaugural ceremonies. Ibid., 42–43.

93 Frederik took part in several inaugural ceremonies from 1741 to 1743. Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 8.

94 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 37–38.

95 WD 75 (September 18, 1728); Heintz, *Erb-Huldigungs-Actus*, fol. 80r. The inaugural ceremonies were performed accordingly.

were addressed by the hereditary high steward (the *Obristerblandhofmeister*, not the court chancellor), the *Oberstburgraf* answered. Afterwards, the court chancellor kneeled in front of the sovereign and listened to his answer, which he then repeated to the estates, including the sovereign's proposition, which was read aloud in Czech and German. Afterwards, the sovereign addressed the estates himself and assured them that he would confirm their rights and liberties. The burgrave thanked the ruler and declared the will of the estates to take the oath. The oath was then read aloud in German and Czech and repeated by the estates. The show of homage was noted in Charles' diaries: "nacher in landt stuben, landtt(a)g, huld(igung), ich r(e)dt, nach 11 nach haus."

To summarize, the ceremonies involved in the inaugurations and the shows of homage to the ruler had numerous common (repeated) elements, such as the speeches held by the capo of the estates, the gesture made by the emperor when he lifted his hat on certain occasions, and oaths taken in spoken languages (German, Italian, Czech). Speeches and gestures were elementary parts of the ceremony of taking an oath. The sovereign assured his audiences that he would confirm their rights and liberties verbally and in written form after the inauguration. It is noteworthy that the inaugurations were held indoors. Charles dispensed of the traditional ceremonies at the *Herzogsstuhl* and *Karnburg* in Carinthia outdoors because he felt that they were unnecessary given his imperial dignity. Looking at the sites, it can be noted that the homages took place in the imperial quarters, usually the imperial residence or the bishop's palace. The ruler usually replied verbally to the claims made by the estates at some point during the inauguration. In most cases, this happened after the speeches held by the estates just before they took their oath. Only in Graz was Charles forced to take an oath at the beginning of the ceremonies. In Tyrol, this happened after the speech held by the chancellor and before the answer given by the governor, which was even noteworthy in the descriptions.[96] Of course, Charles was prepared to accept the gravamina of the estates too on the occasions of his stay. The ceremonies described illustrate the (at least theoretically) contractual character of the relationship between the sovereign and the estates. In particular, the personal oath taken by Charles VI in Graz stresses this fact.[97] The ceremonies are of

96 Charles again promised to confirm the provinces' rights and liberties at the end of his speech. For the speech [Anonym], Libell, 44–46.

97 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 47.

interest because we can determine that both sides entered into a commitment by verbal oaths and by written confirmations of these oaths.[98]

Timing of the Inaugural Ceremonies

With regards to the inauguration ceremonies of the first half of the eighteenth century, it must be pointed out that emperor Joseph I only was given a show of homage in Lower Austria (1705). Mat'a points out that Joseph already started avoiding inaugurations during the reign of his father by not assuming the Bohemian crown. In addition, Mat'a stresses that the Austrian estates remained rather reserved in insisting on an inauguration, and they held their Diets. Only the Carinthian estates received a letter of indemnity, and the Silesian "princes and estates" asked that a delegate be sent due to the difficult times.[99] Of course, Joseph's rule lasted only six years during the War of Spanish Succession. Money and time for such costly ceremonies and travel were consequently scarce goods during his reign. The emperor may have felt that the Lower Austrian case should be adequate to demonstrate the assumption of power in the Austrian provinces as a whole. William Godsey traces a supra-regional reference to the Lower Austrian inaugural ceremony.[100] "What began as an exception in Moravia with Leopold I developed into standard practice, although it remains difficult to determine whether the abandonment of investiture rites was a dynastic program at this stage or merely the result of contingencies and financial shortcomings."[101]

The inaugurations of Charles in Tyrol in 1711 and in Lower Austria in 1712 took place in a transit station or directly in the town of the imperial residence and therefore the court. In any case, they were both demonstrations of the rule of the Spanish King and Emperor Charles VI (III of Spain) and his ascent to power in his new capital. In the same year in which he was crowned in Hungary, Elisabeth Christine was promptly crowned upon their arrival from Barcelona in Pressburg, in 1714. After these two inaugurations, the next inaugural ceremony took place more than a decade later (the coronation in Bohemia in 1723). The next show of homage in the Austrian provinces only happened 16 years later, in

98 Stollberg-Rilinger describes the significance of symbolic communication compared to the growing importance of written contracts with their exact but less flexible interpretations. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 515–17.

99 See Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 43–45. Compare Godsey, "Herrschaft," 145.

100 Godsey refers to the participating noble families representing other Habsburg provinces too. Godsey, "Herrschaft," 150–52.

101 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 45.

1728. Returning from the health resort of Carlsbad and Prague in 1732, Charles was given a show of homage by the Upper Austrian estates in Linz. In particular, the journeys of 1723, 1728, and 1732 were expensive. It is hardly surprising that, in their speeches, the court officials usually referred to the difficult times and wars as explanations for the late inaugurations.[102] It is surprising, however, that Court Chancellor Sinzendorf already mentioned this reason in his speech to the estates of Tyrol in 1711. Charles had just arrived from Spain,[103] and his brother had died only months before. This can perhaps be interpreted as a late excuse for the failure of the deceased Joseph to hold the ceremonies. In any case, we can trace this topos in the speeches to the estates during the reign of Charles VI.

So why were these costly ceremonies even held after 1720 and until 1732? Klaas van Geldern underlines that some of the estates of the Austrian Netherlands were able to postpone shows of homage and were even able to force Charles VI to accept their demands in return for their consent to taxes. That is why most of the shows of homage in the Austrian Netherlands were carried out only in 1717.[104] Although the subsequent years were filled with numerous conflicts and negotiations with European powers, the inauguration in Bohemia (1723) or in the Inner Austrian lands in 1728 seems to have taken place relatively late. Of course, finances in the Habsburg Monarchy were always strained, but this was true in later years as well, when the court decided to travel. The question of costs and the sequestering of the necessary funds in advance of travel were topics of extensive discussion (for example in 1723 and 1728). The conference justified the journey in 1728 with reference to the long period of time since the last show of homage had been made in 1660. The court officials feared disadvantages in fief affairs due to this long term if the inauguration were not accepted by the emperor in person or by a representative of Charles VI in the same year. Consequently, taking part in the inaugural ceremony in Styria meant that Charles would have to do the same in the other provinces.[105] In addition, it should be considered that Archduke Charles was feoffed with the Austrian (Habsburg) fiefs only in 1728.[106] So there may have been a strategy concerning the Austrian inaugural ceremonies and plans to revive them to secure succession.

102 E.g. in Graz Deyerlsberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 83–84.

103 Sinzendorf refers to the aid given to his Spanish supporters, the long Spanish War, and the inclination to these territories of the new ruler. WD 871 (December 8, 1711); [Anonym], *Libell*, 42–43.

104 Van Gelder, "Inaugurations."

105 Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 130.

106 ÖStA, AVA, Adel RAA Österreich, Karl Erzherzog zu Österreich, April 9, 1728. Compare Mikoletzky, "Hofreisen," 267–68. The Austrian enfeoffment is mentioned by Heintz, which refers extensively to

"The death of a prince and the subsequent assumption of power by his or her successor remained critical moments."[107] In connection with the long period of time between the inaugurations, one should note the importance of the issue of succession in these years as a reason for these journeys.[108] On the one hand, there was the legend according to which only a crowned Bohemian king would be born heir. The announcement of another pregnancy of Elisabeth Christine in Prague in 1723 seemed to confirm this. On the other hand, it was a reply to Bavarian and Saxon claims to parts of Charles' rule.[109] Both trips gave the opportunity to present the emperor's oldest daughter Maria Theresia to the estates, though she remained in Graz in 1728.[110] The Pragmatic sanction had been approved by the estates of the Habsburg Monarchy at the beginning of the 1720s, which is why these trips and the personal presence of Charles VI perhaps can be understood as a sign of appreciation and ultimately strengthened the acceptance of him as ruler by the estates. Rohr refers to the fact that at such inaugurations possible successors sent their delegates to demonstrate their titles.[111] Of course, any inauguration of Maria Theresia was impossible due to the fact that there were still hopes for a male heir.[112] Still, Charles tried to secure the succession of his son-in-law in the Holy Roman Empire.[113]

antecedents (1530, 1572, 1597, 1613, 1620, 1652, 1663) in his description of the inauguration in Linz (1732). ÖStA FHKA SUS Varia, box 40/1 (1732), fol. 3r–5v.

107 Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 9.

108 For instance, Godsey, "Herrschaft," 149; Seitschek, "Verhandlungssache," 199–200.

109 Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 9. In the preparatory conferences the participation of Maria Theresia on the journey to Prague as possible future ruler was suggested (December 16, 1722). See Rausch, "Hofreisen," 59–60.

110 Montesquieu mentioned that the empress was so bored in Graz that she planned to move back to Vienna. Montesquieu, *Reisen*, 53.

111 Rohr, *Einleitung*, 670–71.

112 Mat'a, "The Care of Thrones," 45–47; Seitschek, *Tagebücher*, 126; Seitschek, "Verhandlungssache," 199–200. Even diplomats thought about the possibility of a new marriage of the emperor after the death of Elisabeth Christine (Backerra, Wien, 319f.; Göse, "Es wird die Freundschafft,"103, note 70). In this context it is worth mentioning that Maria Theresia and Franz Stephan had to renounce in favor of a possible male heir before her marriage with Franz Stephan, which the emperor even noted in his diaries (February 1 1736: "ganz vomit(tag) 10 ¾ func(tion) in gehaim rath, renunci(ation) Teres, herzog, Ter(es)l nb gut gem(ac)ht"). See ÖStA HHStA, HA OMeA ZA-Prot. (1735–1738), fol. 118r–119v.

113 Neuhaus, "Die Römische Königswahl," 43–44.

Summary

Prima facie, it is important to stress that the (personal) inaugurations described above maintained their importance and were not just mere spectacles, as William Godsey has already shown in his study of the Lower Austrian case:

> "Im Übergang von der ständischen Herrschaft zum Frühparlamentarismus in Österreich büßten die tief in der ständischen Tradition verwurzelten Krönungen bzw. Erbhuldigungen weder für den konstitutionellen Staat noch für die politische Öffentlichkeit ihre staatsrechtliche Bedeutung ein."[114]

Inaugurations afforded an opportunity to demonstrate baroque splendor,[115] but it is worth mentioning that the imperial authorities and Charles himself advised the estates not to waste too much money. Of course, the estates organized costly ceremonies, but ideas of economic efficiency or just necessity were already present. Holenstein describes the shows of homage as phenomena of a "longue durée."[116]

At the end of their existence in some countries, such as Styria and Carinthia, the inaugural ceremonies began to show a certain degree of uniformity. The Lower Austrian inauguration served as a model or at least an important point of reference. Even in 1732, in addition to the documents about the shows of homage to Leopold I in Linz in 1658, the documents concerning the Lower Austrian example *pro aliquali norma* were also consulted.[117] Due to the organizational framework, it is no surprise that the *Kurialien* (ceremonial framework) for the inauguration in Graz served as a model for the other ceremonies held in Inner Austria. It seems that the inaugurations of Leopold I after the Thirty Years War were an important milestone in this development. In spite of the affirmations or indemnifications of Leopold, the changes became a very important reference point for the ceremonies which were held for his son.

The inaugural ceremonies were embedded into local Diets to which the members of the estates were invited. Convoking the estates by means of a general patent could give rise to complaints, as has been shown in the case

114 Godsey, "Herrschaft," 143.

115 Holenstein, *Huldigung*, 511: "aus einer Feier mit politisch-rechtlichem Charakter entwickelte sich ein barockes Fest." Rohr explained that the more splendid the festivities organized by the subjects were, the more this was understood as an expression of their devotion to their new sovereign. Rohr, *Einleitung*, 658.

116 Holenstein, *Huldigung*, 507.

117 ÖStA FHKA SUS Varia box 40/1 (1732), fol. 21r.

of Inner Austria. It is of interest that Charles' father Leopold did the same in 1660. A great deal of the implementation of the shows of homage in the Austrian provinces in 1728 and 1732 was determined in the preparatory conferences in Vienna.[118] The court corresponded with the estates and asked for the submission of information on the previous ceremonies, but the estates had little scope for raising objections. This was all the more true because the court required all the relevant information of the estates in the runup to the journeys too. The marginal resolutions of the emperor concerning the proposals of the conferences offer insights into the ruler's decision making process. Of course, the estates had the chance to negotiate shortly before the inaugurations, but the scope for negotiation was limited due to the little time left before the date of the inauguration. Basically, however, it should be noted that the Viennese court had to respect the setting of the past inaugural ceremonies. The course of the day on which the ceremonies were held was organized according to these examples from the past.[119] If information was lacking due to missing references in the records *(Vorakten)*, records of inaugurations which had already been held in the other countries were consulted. In the case of the inaugurations in 1728, there was no reference to the movement of the clergy from the court to the church. The course was set according to the example of the ceremony which was held in 1712 in Lower Austria. Even the emperor referred to the previous inaugurations as models when it came to the participation of the Toisonisten in 1732. Concerning traditional elements of the inaugurations, certain ceremonies were still of relevance, but few of these ceremonies were actively practiced during the reign of Charles VI. In Carinthia, Charles was exempted from the traditional ceremonies at the *Karnburg* and the *Herzogstuhl*.

So why were these costly ceremonies still held? Of course, they had to be in the interests of both the sovereign and his subjects ("as stakeholders in the monarchical enterprise").[120] However, it is difficult to determine what reasons the sovereign may have had, or more precisely, the reasons for which the sovereign chose at times to take part in person in such inaugurations or to avoid them are best explained by the existing circumstances.[121] Certain inaugurations usually

118 On this conferences in detail, see Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 130–38, 145–48; Seitschek, "Verhandlungssache," 200–8.

119 Such a framework respecting tradition was rather common, see Rohr, *Einleitung*, 659–60.

120 Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 10.

121 See the papers in the volume Van Gelder, *More than mere spectacle,* and summarizing Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Coronations and Inaugurations."

happened at the beginning of the rule of the sovereign.[122] In his first years, the proclaimed Spanish King Charles, who was then crowned emperor, was crowned in Hungary and then treated to a show of homage in Lower Austria (1712) and Tyrol (1711). His father had used his journey to Frankfurt to be inaugurated in Linz by the Upper Austrian estates in 1658 too (as Charles did on his return from Prague in 1732). So these inaugurations sometimes formed part of a greater journey. Of course, the ceremonies were held before audience sometimes large, sometimes comparatively small, and they were then made part of public discussion through newspaper articles, engravings, medals, etc.[123]

Inaugurations had two important functions: the establishment and consolidation or, more precisely, perpetuation of power relations.[124] One interest of Charles in his late years was to secure his succession by legitimating his own rule. A suggested reason for his decision to undertake the journey to Inner Austria was the long-term enfeoffments in the provinces. Were the emperor to refuse the journey, his councilors advised him to send a delegate in his stead to Inner Austria in order to avoid legal disadvantages (see above).[125] The most important issue was the confirmation of the country's rights and liberties by the prince and the timing of this confirmation. Mentions of these affirmations in the correspondence before the inauguration and the multiple mentions in the speeches of the representatives and the ruler himself illustrate their importance. Usually, there was a verbal assurance before the show of homage, and a written copy was delivered immediately or within a certain period of time after this. Only in Graz did the emperor have to take a personal oath before a small group of representatives of the estates, as had been done in 1660. In Carinthia, the traditional form of the oath on the Herzogstuhl had already been abandoned because of the imperial dignity of Charles VI (as in 1660).

122 The early date of the Lower Austrian homage is significant, as Godsey demonstrates: Godsey, "Herrschaft," 141–77, 147–48. In the case of Charles VI, the Lower Austrian inaugural ceremony was exceptionally not the first because it was preceded by the show of homage in Tyrol in 1711 and the coronation in Hungary (ibid.). See Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 5–6. Some coronations, such as the coronation in Frankfurt and even the coronation in Hungary and Bohemia, were even held during the lifetime of the ruling king, thus securing succession.

123 In general: Gestrich, *Absolutismus*. On the inaugural ceremonies in short, see Van Gelder, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations," 13–14.

124 Holenstein, *Huldigung*, 508.

125 Seitschek, "Erbhuldigung," 130. Rohr refers to enfeoffments as a possible part of such inaugural ceremonies. Rohr, *Einleitung*, 658–59.

Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger describes rites suitably as ceremonies with which past acts are remembered and commitments are made to fulfill specific acts in the future.[126] As shown in this discussion, both elements were of importance for the people involved. They mattered for the emperor because of his succession order, and they were important to the estates because of their need to maintain old customs and reassert their rights and liberties.

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