



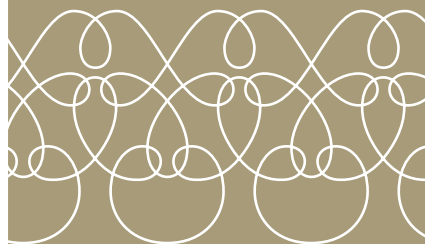
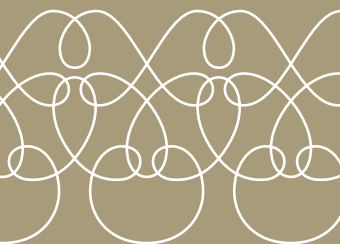
THE

# Hungarian Historical Review

NEW SERIES OF ACTA HISTORICA  
ACADEMIÆ SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICÆ  
*Estates and Political Culture in the  
18th–19th-Century Habsburg Monarchy*

VOLUME **IO** NUMBER **I**  
**2021**

Institute of History,  
Research Centre for the Humanities,  
Eötvös Loránd Research Network



# The Hungarian Historical Review

New Series of Acta Historica  
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

Volume 10 No. 1 2021

## *Estates and Political Culture in the 18th–19th-Century Habsburg Monarchy*

András Forgó and István H. Németh  
Special Editors of the Thematic Issue

This thematic issue of the Hungarian Historical Review  
was supported by the NKFIH K116166 project under the title  
A magyarországi rendiség politikai kultúrája  
[The political culture of the Hungarian estates].

### *Contents*

#### ARTICLES

ISTVÁN H. NÉMETH	Representatives in a Changing World: Characteristics of Urban Advocacy at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	3
STEFAN SEITSCHEK	Legitimizing Power? Inaugural Ceremonies of Charles VI	35
ANDRÁS FORGÓ	Rebellious Priests? The Catholic Clergy and the Diet, 1764–1765	73
KRISZTINA KULCSÁR	With or without Estates? Governorship in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century	96
TAMÁS DOBSZAY	The Influence of the Estate System and Power Relations in the Late Feudal Parliament Seating Plan	129

BOOK REVIEWS

- Történetírás és történetírók az Árpád-kori Magyarországon  
(XI–XIII. század közepe) [The writing and writers of history in Árpád-era  
Hungary, from the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth century].  
By László Veszprémy. Reviewed by Dániel Bácsatyai 155
- Earthly Delights, Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian  
Europe, c. 1500–1900. Edited by Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu.  
Reviewed by Karel Černý 160
- Estates and Constitution: The Parliament in Eighteenth-Century Hungary.  
By István M. Szigjártó. Translated by David Robert Evans.  
Reviewed by Henrik Hőnich 166
- Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies  
in the Age of Nationalism. Edited by Liliya Berezhnaya and Heidi Hein-Kircher.  
Reviewed by Paul Hanebrink 171
- The Matica and Beyond: Cultural Associations and Nationalism in Europe.  
Edited by Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen.  
Reviewed by Ivan Brlić 174
- Genealogies of Memory 2020 – The Holocaust between Global and Local  
Perspectives. Conference report. Reviewed by Borbála Klacsmann 178
- Interwar East Central Europe, 1918–1941: The Failure of Democracy-Building,  
the Fate of Minorities. Edited by Sabrina Ramet.  
Reviewed by Francesca Rolandi 181
- Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World.  
Edited by James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung.  
Reviewed by Jun Fujisawa 184



# Representatives in a Changing World: Characteristics of Urban Advocacy at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries\*

István H. Németh

*National Archives of Hungary*

*nemeth.istvan@mnl.gov.hu*

The Kingdom of Hungary had a strong system of estates within the Habsburg Monarchy, and this exerted a significant influence on the positions of free royal cities. The free royal cities enjoyed a large degree of internal autonomy until roughly the end of the seventeenth century, with little oversight or interference by the larger state. Since 1526, the cities had been members of the estates which had taken part in the Diets (the parliaments which could be regarded as the early modern form of the Hungarian), though they had played a minor role in comparison to the counties. In the last third of the seventeenth century, the system of estates underwent significant changes. The royal state came to exert more control, and in the free royal cities, the central administration began to play a stronger role as a force for oversight. The interests of the state administration now played an important role in the selection of the city's leaders. The delegates who represented the cities in the Diets were also chosen according to these considerations. The local bodies of state administration were given major say in the selection of the representatives. As a consequence of this, delegates began to be chosen who were from different social backgrounds, including people who had different places within the system of the estates. While earlier, the individuals who had been sent to take part in the Diets had been members of the Lutheran bourgeois elite, from roughly the late seventeenth century onwards, members of the nobility living in the cities began to play an increasingly influential role. Many of the delegates from the city of Kassa (today Košice, Slovakia) who will be discussed in the analysis below came from families of non-noble origins which, however, had been granted nobility as a reward for the services they had performed in the chamber administration. The career paths for members of these families led either to administrative bodies in the city or back into state administration.

Keywords: Catholicization, confessionalism, urban elites, professionalism, state administration, Habsburg Monarchy

---

\* The essay was made possible with the support of an NKFI K 116166 grant and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Momentum "Family History Research Group."

## *The Positions and Roles of the Free Royal Cities in the Hungarian Diets*

Within the Habsburg Monarchy, the Kingdom of Hungary remained a province with a strong system of estates (or feudal order). The threat of the Ottoman Empire, which ultimately affected the other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy, compelled the Habsburg rulers and the Hungarian estates to seek mutual compromise. The influence of the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary, which played a significant role in providing protection for the monarchy and also in its food supplies, became so strong in these areas (precisely because of the importance of these two considerations) that the central government and the estates were able to reconcile their apparently conflicting interests for a very long time. The central administration of the monarchy, which was undergoing dramatic development at the time, and the strong feudal order in Hungary were able to coexist, and the counties governing the internal life of Hungary remained in the hands of the Hungarian estates. Even after the proclamation of highly centralizing decrees at the end of the seventeenth century, the counties retained a strong domestic political role essentially until the formation of the modern nineteenth-century state. As a consequence of this, the estates in Hungary played a more prominent role in the domestic politics of the country than the estates in the other provinces of the monarchy. These differences became increasingly apparent, particularly from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Assemblies of representatives of the estates became the main forums for the internal sovereignty of the country, and the participating estates took control of domestic feudal policy (i.e. in addition to the counties, they took control of the judiciary, the local military, tax collection, etc.). Thus, the Diets in feudal Hungary were considerably more important than the assemblies of the estates in other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. For the historian, then, both the Diets themselves and the domestic participants who appeared at the Diets (which were the most important forum of the feudal order) are significant subjects of study.<sup>1</sup> In this complex feudal monarchy, since the fifteenth century, the free royal cities had had municipal rights independent of the royal court.<sup>2</sup> The state order of the cities grew even more rigid compared to the late Middle Ages, and they maintained their right to self-government even if members of the nobility who moved into the burghs and, in the case of some cities, the

---

1 Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary*, 177–91.

2 Szűcs, “Das Städtewesen in Ungarn”; Kubinyi, “Der ungarische König und seine Städte.”

military strained the medieval administrative framework.<sup>3</sup> However, the cities did not have significant political influence in the Diets. From the perspective of the authorities, the monarch had more direct say in their lives. They had to pay an annual land tax (*census*) to the ruler as the landlord, and the extraordinary war tax (*taxa*) was set by the central organs of finance, not the estates. From the first third of the seventeenth century on, these taxes could even be collected several times, independently of the decisions reached at the Diets.<sup>4</sup>

### *Changes in the Hungarian Feudal Order in the Seventeenth Century*

The changes which exerted a direct influence on Hungarian policy towards the cities from the end of the seventeenth century also influenced both the selection process of the individuals who served as envoys of the cities to the Diets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the responsibilities and prerogatives of these individuals. The extension of the state administration to the free royal cities, the city leaders, and the denominational affiliations of the inhabitants of the cities determined, in the long run, the city administration and political representation. The era was not a period of calm construction. A decisive and irreversible turn came in the fates of the free royal cities in these decades of change, and this turn was further aggravated by numerous external factors. Between 1662 and 1681, a period spanning almost two decades, not a single Diet was held. The primary reasons for this were the responses which were caused by the differences concerning ideas of state administration, within the Habsburg Monarchy, between the Kingdom of Hungary and the elite which governed the monarchy. The county estates were resolved to maintain the domestic political relations which had developed in the sixteenth century and changed several times over the course of the seventeenth. Beginning with the period of the Wesselényi uprising (1670–1671), however, the political leadership at the head of the monarchy planned and implemented fundamental changes in these relations. The changes in public administration and domestic political life were hardly unique, however. On the contrary, they were part of a larger European trend. One of the fundamental shifts in the early modern era, a shift which came in parallel with the formation of the modern state, was the extension, simply, of the prerogatives of the state. This was accompanied by the introduction by the state,

---

3 H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika*.

4 H. Németh, "Die finanziellen Auswirkungen."

which was using centralizing and later absolutist measures, of central regulations concerning matters which earlier had been determined entirely by the estates and their representatives. In the areas which had become the responsibility of the state which had been built under the authority of the absolute ruler, the state administration, reinforced by the ruler's legitimacy, became an unambiguously decisive factor.<sup>5</sup> Economic history characterizes this transformation as the creation of the fiscal state (of the fiscal-military state), an expression which captures the purely economic, financial relationship between cause and solution.<sup>6</sup>

One immensely important area of centralization is confessionalization, or to put it more simply, the extension of the authority of the ruler over religion and the church (and this is one of the hallmarks of an absolutist or centralized state administration). The religious policy pursued by the Habsburg government in the Czech-Moravian and Austrian hereditary provinces was clearly part of an effort in this direction, and this was indeed part of larger political practice in the other states of Europe. The notion of “one state, one religion” had become a fairly uniformly espoused political stance in the seventeenth century in each of the states which sought to create a more or less centralized or absolutist administration.<sup>7</sup> The issue of confessional belonging was of key importance in Hungarian domestic politics, as the events which took place in part as a result of the advance of state confessionalization clearly indicate. As the end of the Bocskai uprising (1604–1606), which broke out in no small part because of issues and conflicts of a strongly sectarian and confessional nature, the Peace of Vienna (1606) resolved (among other things) the sectarian dispute between the two parties, i.e. the Hungarian estates and the ruler. At the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand II, there was a strong demand for the establishment of a state with only one denomination, but this did not take place in the case of the Kingdom of Hungary. The reasons for this are related in part to the domestic political compromise which addressed, over the course of the whole

---

5 Vierhaus, *Staaten und Stände*; Heinrich, “Staatsaufsicht und Stadtfreiheit”; Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*; Duchhardt, “Absolutismus”; Asch and Duchhardt, *Der Absolutismus*.

6 Brien and Hunt, “The Rise of a Fiscal State”; Hart, *The Making of a Bourgeois State*; Bonney, *The Rise of the Fiscal State*; Cavaciocchi, *La Fiscalità Nell'economia Europea*; Kenyeres, “A ‘Fiscal-Military State’ és a Habsburg Monarchia.”

7 Hinrichs, “Abschied vom Absolutismus”; Vierhaus, *Staaten und Stände*, 15–38. On the changes which took place in the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, see Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*; Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace*; Mikulec, “Praga w okresie kontrereformacji”; Sterneck, “Obnovování českobudějovické městské rady”; Hrdlička, “Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger,” 357–66; Mikulec, “Die staatlichen Behörden”; Fejtová, *Rekatolizace na Novém Městě pražském*.

period, the domestic political conflicts between the estates and the ruler/state.<sup>8</sup> This compromise seemed precarious at the time precisely because of the issue of confessionalization. The attacks launched by the two Transylvanian princes (Gábor Bethlen and György I. Rákóczi) confirmed the previous place of the Hungarian estates. The Diet which was held in Sopron in 1622 and then the Peace of Linz (1645) restored the relationship between the estates and the ruler.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, in the Austrian provinces (mainly Lower and Upper Austria and Styria), a strong counter-reformation had been underway since the first quarter of the century, which had included forced relocations and conversions.<sup>10</sup> In contrast with the practices used to implement religious policy in the other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, in the Kingdom of Hungary, attempts were made to effect change with peaceful means. Educational institutions run mainly by the Jesuits were established in the free royal cities and landlord market towns, and with them came the monasteries.<sup>11</sup> The monasteries became the foundations for a slow process of conversion which enjoyed funding from the state. By the last third of the seventeenth century, the nobility had, for the most part, been converted,<sup>12</sup> as had the middle-nobility stratum of trained professionals working in the state administrative bodies in Hungary.<sup>13</sup> Debates and decisions reached in the Diets strengthened the results of the process of Catholic renewal, and the Hungarian Protestant political elite was increasingly pushed to the margins.<sup>14</sup>

While the parties managed to resolve the conflicts which had emerged earlier relatively quickly (1606–1608, 1622, 1645) and the domestic political balance between the estates and the ruler was, ultimately, restored, in the 1660s, the primary

8 Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary*.

9 Péter, “The struggle for Protestant religious liberty”; Pálffy, “Ewige Verlierer”; Pálffy, “Ein vergessener Ausgleich”; Dominkovits and H. Németh, “Bethlen Gábor 1619–1621. évi hadjárata és Sopron.”

10 Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben*; Deventer, *Gegenreformation in Schlesien*; Kunisch, “Staatsräson und Konfessionalisierung”; Mikulec, *31.7.1627. Rekatolizace slechty*.

11 Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*; Molnár, *Lebetetlen küldetés*; Kádár, “Jezsuita kollégium.”

12 Fraknói, *Pázmány Péter*, vol. 2, 40–55, 233–49, 372–79; Bitskey, “A reformáció kezdetei”; Bitskey, “Pázmány Péter felső-magyarországi missziója”; Tusor, “Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések”; Tusor, “Problems and Possibilities”; Fazekas, *A reform útján*.

13 Signs of the initiative can be discerned under the reign of Rudolf: OeStA/FHKA AHK HFUung. MBW RN 8. 1602. fol. 172–189. On the preferences shown for mine officers who were Catholic, see: RN 10. 1618. fol. 52–65, 112–116, RN 11. 1623. fol. 271–273, RN 11. 1625. fol. 246–257, RN 11. 1626. fol. 138–141, 295., 615; OeStA/FHKA AHK HFU Akten RN 142. 1630. Juli fol. 144–157, RN 196. 1655. Juli fol. 44. See: Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung*; Hrdlička, “Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger.”

14 Szilágyi, *A linzi béke*; Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*; Zsilinszky, *A magyar országgyűlések vallásiügy tárgyalásai*, vol. 2, 186–267; Bessenyei, “A szabad királyi városok,” 255–63; Tusor, “Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések.”

concern for the new political generation, which consisted of the people surrounding the new ruler, Leopold I, was simply the issue of the efficient operation of the state.<sup>15</sup> The newly emerging political system of the Viennese government was now negotiating with a fundamentally changed Hungarian political elite, which was no longer the generation which had been born in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. For this new generation, the compromise and the rules of the political game which had emerged as a consequence or corollary of this compromise were self-evident and repeatable.<sup>16</sup> The complete political turnaround and the reforms to public administration which were favored by the Vienna government were made possible by the period following the Wesselényi conspiracy (1664–1671). The series of armed uprisings and trials concerning accusations of treason in the wake of the conspiracy were unique in Hungarian politics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they enabled the Vienna government to implement its plans for reform without constraints. Extremely high taxes were levied in the Kingdom of Hungary, and radical changes were implemented in the ways in which the taxes were levied. The tax based on providing for the military and the levy that was introduced as a sales tax were collected without the consent of the Diet.<sup>17</sup> With the establishment of the Gubernium, an attempt was made to set up a new system with an office better connected to the central bodies that would govern instead of the estates. However, the Gubernium could not play a significant role due to the prevailing conditions in the country. One of the first tasks of the new administration was the recatholicization of the country. Protestant churches were confiscated and handed over to the Catholic Church.<sup>18</sup> The measures adopted led to religious civil war,<sup>19</sup> and the comparative stability of domestic life, which had been based until this point on compromises, was upset, as the old rules of the game no longer applied.

The measures introduced by the Habsburg government were very rapid and effective, especially when it came to restoring the institutions of the Catholic Church and taking control of the estates and buildings which had formed the basis of the institutional system. However, they had rapid repercussions

---

15 On the political circles and divisions that worked alongside Leopold I, see the monograph by Stefan Sienell: Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz*.

16 Tusor, “Problems and Possibilities.”

17 Nagy, “A Magyar Kamara.”

18 Benczédi, *Rendiség, abszolútizmus*, 53–57, 68–74; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper*; Michels, “Az 1674. évi pozsonyi prédikátorper”; Mihalik, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, 152–66, 183–97; Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*. Scheutz, “Compromise and Shake Hands.”

19 Mihalik, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, 19, 93.

for Hungarian politics due to the larger tax burdens and the radical changes to confessional life. The Thököly Uprising (1677–1685) and the Rákóczi War of Independence (1703–1711) were both consequences of the effects these measures had. At the time, during the period of the “religious civil war” of the late seventeenth century, people who belonged to different denominations were automatically regarded as enemies or, in situations of war, even as spies. The Rákóczi War of Independence was something of an exception to this, as the Lutherans again came to hold the advantage, but as a consequence of a balanced religious policy, the different denominations were still able to achieve of a certain degree of compromise and cooperation.<sup>20</sup> The political circumstances of the Szatmár Peace Treaty (1711) helped ensure that the new administrative system that had emerged by the end of the seventeenth century could continue to develop relatively peacefully and essentially remain in place until 1848. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the entire Hungarian central administration underwent major reform, and the Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council (which replaced the Gubernium), the Hungarian Royal Chamber (which had been reorganized), and the Hungarian Court Chancellery formed the backbone of the Hungarian state administration. The Hungarian counties retained their prominence and influence in domestic politics, but in the free royal cities and the organs of the central government, the Catholic revival program was successful. Only Catholics could hold important positions in the administration, and the newly introduced administrative principles remained.

### *The Turning Point in Urban Policy*

The new domestic policy affected the free royal cities of Hungary the most, where, beginning in the early 1670s, a significant political turn took place. The change served in part to further recatholicization and in part to secure the financial resources for increased spending by the state administration and, in particular, the army. Instead of having to rely on cities which had gone into debt and had to struggle to pay their tax burdens, the central government wanted to create a situation in which the cities would constitute a larger and more secure foundation for tax incomes. In order to address economic problems, the government wanted to introduce administrative tools similar to mechanisms and measures in other provinces of the monarchy. It sought to exert an influence on

---

20 For a summary, see Misóczki, *Vallás- és egyházügy*.

the internal composition of the city councils and to introduce state overview and reform of urban management. The central government's primary goal was to reform urban management, and it approached this issue from several angles. First, it sought to make the city administration even more layered and more complex and also easier to keep under strict oversight and control. It also sought to determine the composition of the staff that led and operated the administration to ensure that it consisted of people who had the adequate training and expertise, who were loyal to the state administration, and who could be trusted to deal reliably with the incomes and properties of the cities and not to use them for their own purposes. The primary task of the initial period of intervention was to remove the (Lutheran) burghers in key positions and replace them with Catholics. The process of recatholicization served not only to implement increasingly the principle of one state, one religion. The selection of Catholics for positions of prominence and influence was, in the political context of the last third of the seventeenth century, a primary criterion of loyalty.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to ensuring the loyalty of its subjects, the state also needed to restore the cities economically. The factors which were taken into consideration when new members were chosen by the commissioners and delegated to the councils would have furthered the economic growth of the cities and the transparency of administration, as, alongside the criterion of belonging to the Catholic Church, knowledge of law and economics was also given considerable emphasis in the instructions.<sup>22</sup> According to the chamber commissioners, the ability to elect the most important officers had to be taken away from the people and made subject to a decision by the ruler, since these figures allegedly “were the first leaders from the perspective of the ruin and retention of the city.” The cities would have been left only with the right to make nominations, and the commissioners would have selected the appropriate individuals from among the candidates, as was customary in Austria (*sicuti moris est in Austria*). Were a commissioner unable to choose a suitable candidate from the nominees, the Hungarian Chamber would have made the decision.<sup>23</sup>

In the end, the extreme means of nomination were never used. Rather, a policy was adopted according to which Catholics enjoyed strong support, but the city's economy was also taken into consideration. The positions of key

---

21 H. Németh, “Állam és városok.”

22 See Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat*, 70–108. Regarding the Kingdom of Hungary, see Vári, Pál and Brakensiek, *Herrschaft an der Grenze*, 143–207.

23 MNL OLE 23 (Litt.Cam. Scep.) March 4, 1673.

leaders in the city can be clearly discerned on the basis of the instructions given in the first few years. The city magistrate, the mayor (where there was one), and the notary had to be selected from among the candidates nominated by the central authorities.<sup>24</sup> The commissioners not only determined the selection of the magistrate and, in some cases, the mayor, but also exerted an increasingly strong influence on the composition of the members of the internal council, then the elected council, and, where it existed, the external council. However, the election commissioners did not have an easy task, as very few of the individuals available met the ruler's expectations, especially in the first period. The city official to be selected had to belong to the Catholic Church, but in addition to this, he also had to have an estate (*benepossessionatus*) and proper qualifications (*qualificatus*).<sup>25</sup> In the last third of the seventeenth century, due to the haste with which changes were being introduced, individuals with inadequate qualifications and social status were often appointed to very significant city offices.<sup>26</sup> However, it cannot be claimed that, contrary to the intent of the ruler, the changes made on the basis of denominational belonging led to a striking or irreversible drop in the qualifications of city leaders. Indeed, by the time people belonging to the second generation since the change began to take office, quite the contrary was true.

From the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholic city leaders almost without exception had training in law, and it was gradually inconceivable that someone without strong social ties would be elected. Alongside the converted city leaders, the urban nobility, which had important family and social-economic ties and therefore enjoyed considerable prestige and were among the former economic intellectuals, also played a major role in the leadership of the cities. Usually, the descendants of the people belonging to this circle remained in the city leadership or entered the service of the state (or

---

24 Ibid. 1674. April. 22, MNL OL E 210 (Misc.) Civitatensia 20. t. 2, no. Vienna, December 22, 1677, AMK Schw. No. 9214. Vienna, December 6, 1673. The same in Lőcse: StALE MML X/36/2 and Besztercebánya (today Banská Bystrica, Slovakia): StABB MMBB Spisy Fasc. 286. No. 38.

25 "...necessarium valde et expediens iudicavimus, ut quandoquidem catholica orthodoxa per Dei gratium fides, magnum illic incrementum sumpsisse, frequentesque catholicae bene qualificatae, ad gerenda senatoria, et quaelibet alia inter vos consueta officia, idoneae personae inveniri comperiantur." AMK Schw. No. 9277. Vienna, December 16, 1674. See No. 9332. Pozsony, June 19, 1675, No. 9405. Kassa, January 7, 1676, No. 9475. Vienna, December 24, 1677, No. 9476. Pozsony, January 2, 1677, No. 11008. Vienna, December 2, 1696.

26 Szűcs, "Das Städtewesen," 156; Špiesz, *Slobodné kráľovské mestá*, 29–46, 83–95; Špiesz, "Rekatolizácia na Slovensku"; Marečková, "Politická autonómie."

married people who had entered the service of the state). In the first decades of the eighteenth century, there were some city leaders from burgher families who, as Catholics, were seen as having the necessary qualifications. They came to occupy important positions in the city leadership as burghers with suitable social recognition and prestige who, from the perspective of their family circles, had a kind of double identity. They were tied to the local burgher communities because of their occupations and family ties, but they were also tied to the public administration because of their roles as public officers and other familial ties with public officials.<sup>27</sup>

### *New Considerations on the Basis of which the City Delegates Were Chosen*

The frameworks described above exerted a decisive influence on the ways in which the representatives who were sent to the Diets were selected and the question of who, ultimately, represented and was eligible to represent the interests of some of the free royal cities. The urban state policy which had begun to emerge in the second half of the fifteenth century was consolidated in the sixteenth century, as is indicated by the fact that (in contrast with earlier years) from the middle of the century on, the possibility that a city might not send a delegate to the Diet was not raised by a single urban council. The number of delegates that the city would send was not fixed in this period, but the cities usually sent two and sometimes three or four representatives to the Diet. The instructions for the representatives of the cities and their credentials were issued by the city's internal councils, and the points contained in them focused essentially on the protection of the interests of the given city. The delegates were always members of the city council, but in many cases the city notary was included among them or the notary accompanied the two-person delegation.<sup>28</sup> State oversight of seventeenth-century urban policy may have influenced the cities to support the aspirations of the ruler at the Diets as well (as they were in a more vulnerable position). By the end of the seventeenth century, the cities had managed to acquire considerable influence through the ruler and the government, and this influence was quite clear in the Diets from the eighteenth century onwards. One very clear consequence of this change was that, in the Diet held in 1687, a legal limitation was placed on the number of free royal cities,

---

27 Vörös, "A modern értelmiség"; Kosáry, "Értelmiség és kulturális elit"; Tóth, "Hivatali szakszerűsödés."

28 Kassa, for instance, sent three delegates to Pozsony in 1609: AMK H I. 1609. November 16.

as there was legitimate fear that the number of cities would exceed the number of counties.<sup>29</sup> As in the case of other city officials, the individuals who were selected to serve as delegates were chosen by the chamber bodies. This direct use of political control was clearly apparent in the fact that, in the 1681 Diet, at least one of the delegates sent from each of the free royal cities (which earlier had spoken out against the Counter Reformation) was Catholic, and sometimes both of the delegates were Catholic, even in cases of cities which still had clear Lutheran majorities. This shift in the denominational longing of the delegates was clearly a consequence of the instructions given by the chamber. In the first such Diet, 30 of the 49 envoys of the fourth order were Catholic, while only 16 were Lutherans and 3 were Calvinist. The cities of Kassa, Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia), and Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia), for example, which had strong Lutheran elites, sent only Catholic ambassadors to the Diet. In the case of Lőcse (today Levoča, Slovakia), the sources clearly indicate that Johann Fabritius and Daniel Weber were nominated under pressure from the chamber administration of the Szepes (Spiš) region, while the selection of the famous Lutheran printer Johann Brewer reflected the views of the majority of the city. Credentials were issued and instructions given for three delegates, but only the two Catholics could officially appear at the meetings of the Sopron Diet.<sup>30</sup>

The frameworks presented above and the shift in the composition of the urban elite thus exerted a strong influence on the individuals who were chosen to serve as city leaders. Drawing on the example of the city of Kassa, I offer a sketch of their social backgrounds. The sources suggest that there were no significant differences among the delegates sent by the cities from the perspective of their social backgrounds. Where there were differences, these differences were due to distinctive circumstances (for instance, varying proportions of members of the nobility or the intelligentsia) within a particular city, such as Pozsony and the mining cities of what is today central Slovakia (and at the time was referred to as “Alsó-Magyarország,” or “Lower Hungary,”) to Nagybánya (today Baia Mare, Romania). In the discussion which follows, I will offer an overview of the careers of some of the delegates from Kassa whose professional trajectories can be considered typical as a means of offering insights into the socio-historical effects of these changes. While in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city notaries had played prominent roles, from the end of the seventeenth century on their

29 1687. 17. tc.; Szijártó, *A diéta*, 168–73.

30 MML XXI/10. 28–36; MNL OLE 254 (Repr., inf. et inst.) April 1681, No. 38, 46. Pavercsik, “A lőcsei Brewer-nyomda,” 385.

relevance diminished drastically. It suffices perhaps to consider the example of the most famous notary from Kassa, Johannes (Bock) Bocatius, who for a short time also held the office of magistrate. Bocatius took part in the 1601 Diet as a notary. Then, during István Bocskai's military campaign in Upper Hungary (a term used to refer to a region which today, essentially, is Slovakia), he became one of the prince's close intellectual advisers. As Bocskai's foreign ambassador, he was taken prisoner by Rudolf I. Like many of his associates, as a dominant urban intellectual and one of the decisive figures who shaped the ideology of the uprising, Bocatius also played a prominent role in domestic political life.<sup>31</sup> Daniel Tűrck, a notary from Lőcse, took part in seven parliaments. His diary, which fortunately survived the upheavals of history, has become one of the essential sources on the early sixteenth-century Diets.<sup>32</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century, there was only one notary, András Kercho, among the delegates to the Diet, though we know of a total of 14 delegates sent from Kassa by 1741. It is worth noting that Kercho was a Catholic burgher when he acquired his position as notary, as this post was given high priority by the royal commissioners in the post-1670 period, and only Catholics could be appointed to hold it.<sup>33</sup> Kercho was the child of a family from Turóc County, as the last will and testament which he drew up with his wife on December 30, 1709 indicates. When he arrived in Kassa, he did not have any inherited property. (One could suggest a parallel between his career and that of János Keviczky, a key figure in the seventeenth-century Kassa elite.<sup>34</sup>) Kercho married the widow of György Szentsimonyi. Between 1691 and 1697, he was active on the external committee that represented the burghers, and from 1699 until his death on August 14, 1710, he served as a member of the internal council. He had the typical career of a Kassa notary, broken only by the period during which the soldiers of Ferenc II Rákóczi occupied the city. Kercho did not hold any city office between 1705 and 1707. However, the land he acquired lay in the part of the outskirts of Kassa where the majority of the city leaders also acquired estates. His neighbors were the Demeczky family, Johann Grasz, and János Jászay. His connections thus tied him to the new elite of the city.<sup>35</sup>

There were many German burghers among the Kassa urban elite even in the seventeenth century, despite the fact that during this period, the German

---

31 Tészelszky and Zászkaliczky, "A Bocskai-felkelés."

32 Szabó, "Caspar Hain."

33 Németh, "Állam és városok," 790–94.

34 Wick, *Kassa régi síremlékei*, 101–10; J. Újváry, "Polgár vagy nemes?" 423–25.

35 AMK H III/2. re 9, Schw. No. 12869.

population was becoming less and less significant and a large number of Hungarians had moved into the city. Hungarians had begun to settle in Kassa in significant numbers in the middle of the sixteenth century, but it was really in the seventeenth century that they began to acquire a role and place in the city elite that was significant enough for them to replace the German elite. With the increase in the number and significance of the Hungarians in Kassa, not only was the ethnic and power map of the city redrawn, but the place of Lutheranism as the confession which had held sway since the Reformation was undermined, as the vast majority of the Hungarians were Calvinists. Initially, the Lutheran city leadership had not allowed the Calvinists into the city. The Calvinists were only allowed to have their own religious community in the city beginning in the first third of the seventeenth century, and only as a consequence of pressure put on the city by the Transylvanian prince. The tensions between the Lutherans and the Calvinists only further facilitated the flow of Catholics into the city, a process which already enjoyed the support of the Vienna government.<sup>36</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century, Andreas Breiner and Michael Goldberger were the only two Kassa councilors to appear at the Pozsony Diets with credentials. This was tied both to the shifts which had taken place in the ethnic makeup of the city of Kassa and to the fact that the highest authorities considered the selection of the Catholic delegates a priority. The non-Catholic Hungarian population of Kassa was represented by Dávid Féja and András Vida. They were both representatives of the old Kassa bourgeoisie, as socially tied to the city as the seventeenth-century local urban elite.<sup>37</sup> This trend continued in the Diets which met during the Rákóczi War of Independence, in which, thanks to Rákóczi's confessional policy, Protestants and Catholics enjoyed relatively balanced representation.<sup>38</sup>

### *Urban Nobles as Representatives of Urban Interests*

The most dramatic change to take place in the delegates who were sent by the city of Kassa to the Diets was the sudden leap in the number of Catholic Hungarians who belonged to the nobility. Kassa was predestined by its status as a regional center, its role as the administrative center for the military and the chamber of Upper Hungary, and its distinctive sociohistorical characteristics

36 J. Újváry, "Kassa polgárságának etnikai-politikai változásai." More recently on confessional relationships: H. Németh, "Kassa, egy többfelekezetű régióközpont."

37 J. Újváry, "Kassa város polgársága"; J. Újváry, "Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa."

38 H. Németh, "Otázky mestskej politiky."

to become a local center for the urban nobility, which was clearly emerging as a new social stratum in Western Europe as well. This transformation of the social order of the city was also furthered by the fact that Kassa, as the seat of the region between the Transylvanian principality and the Hungarian Kingdom, often served as a kind of place or refuge for members of the Transylvanian nobility, who sought refuge at times of unrest or turmoil (which were relatively frequent) in the Principality of Transylvania.<sup>39</sup> Almost all the individuals who appeared in the name of the city at the national Diets and smaller Diets held at the end of the seventeenth century fell into this category. Imre Szentmártony, a member of the legal intelligentsia of the time, was active in Kassa as a recognized lawyer.<sup>40</sup> From 1703 until 1720, he served as a member of the internal council, and he served as magistrate for three years when the city was under occupation by Rákóczi, and he regularly took part in the Kuruc Diets. His wife, Katalin Marussy, widow of István Orbán, was related to the Lászay and Regéczi families, and his father was a so-called *iudex nobilium* (noble judge) in Abaúj County.<sup>41</sup>

Mihály Demeczky was the child of a noble family from Gyergyószék. He may have studied law at the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (today Trnava, Slovakia) before settling in Abaúj County. At first, working in the service of Imre Thököly, he represented the prince as his ambassador. He became a city notary in Kassa and very quickly became a member of the internal council, director of the city's estates, and a magistrate in 1686 and 1687,<sup>42</sup> but he also held minor positions in the county as a juror and accountant.<sup>43</sup> Demeczky was not chosen by the royal commissioners by chance. As a young nobleman who had spent time among the Jesuits of Nagyszombat, he was selected as the solution to a challenging problem, for he had to replace Mihály Udvarhelyi, who himself had been selected in 1674 with some difficulty and who, as the chapter notary, worked both for the city and for the chapter.<sup>44</sup> The position of city clerk not only

39 H. Németh, "Špachta v mestách." H. Németh, "Košice a drift in the European municipal politics"; H. Németh, "Városok, várospolitika."

40 He took the attorney's oath on January 2, 1702 before the Eger chapter. AMK Schw. 11831.

41 AMK H III/2. re 9, Schw. No. 10517, 12018, 13383, 13603. As the delegate for the city: Schw. No. 12185, 12228, 12355, 12782.

42 OeStA/FHKA AHK HFU Akten RN 280. fol. 284–286, AMK Schw. No.9777, 10699; H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város arcbontológiája*, 257.

43 Gyergyószék's testimony on the family's noble title: [http://demeczky.hu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=369](http://demeczky.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369) (Accessed on September 16, 2020). On his years at university, see Zsoldos, *Matricula*, 183, 190, 196. As Thököly's delegate: Gergely, "Thököly Imre," vol. 11, 493.

44 H. Németh, "Állam és városok," 793.

secured him a salary, it also gave him considerable influence. In order to maintain his position, he allegedly did not hesitate to lobby against a resolution passed by the Diet in 1687 on the election of officials in the free royal cities. However, after this came to light, he fell out with the city leadership and renounced his rights as a burgher. Indeed, before doing this, he was not even willing to go to the meetings of the city council. Rather, the internal opposition of the city leadership met in his home. Although this unhappy state of affairs was resolved in accordance with the strict instructions of Leopold I, Demeczky's relationship with the council clearly remained troubled, for he never held office again.<sup>45</sup>

Like Demeczky and Szentmártony, László Jászay may have been an intellectual nobleman who had studied law, though the sources contain no clear indication that he had any degree at all. He served as a delegate to the Diet, and this and the services he performed in city affairs and the various occasions on which he served as a delegate suggest that, like Demeczky and Szentmártony, Jászay had also been a member of this stratum. This is also supported by the fact that in 1676, citing the services he had performed for the city and his poverty, he asked the council to refrain from compelling him to present a letter of confirmation (the document which attested to his noble birth) or from paying the tax levied on burghers. Six years later, he had become a member of the internal council, and there is no indication in the sources that he was among the community of the elected.<sup>46</sup> He also served as the delegate sent by Kassa to the assembly of the representatives of the cities of Upper Hungary, and one year later, he was a delegate to the Diet. Alongside the magistrate and city prosecutor Balázs Váncsay, he was a member of the committee charged with the task of designating the site of a church for the Lutherans, in accordance with the decisions reached at the 1687 Diet.<sup>47</sup> Balázs Váncsay was the father of István Váncsay, who would emerge as a prominent Kassa politician. His career illustrates the changes which were underway and the ways in which individuals were compelled to adapt to these changes. Balázs Váncsay is mentioned in the sources as a Hungarian cantor and, later, as the city prosecutor. He was one of the figures who helped the family acquire a noble title. Together with his

---

45 AMK H III/2. mac. 86. fol. 1, 114, 121–122, Schw. No. 10564.

46 AMK H II. 1676., and H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája*, 269.

47 AMK H III/2. pur. 30. fol. 106. July 29, 1686. fol. 110. August 5, 1686. mac. 85. fol. 98. January 3, 1687. mac. 86. fol. 66. September 6, 1687. fol. 92. September 30, 1687.

brothers Mihály and Mátyás, he was given a title on May 4, 1665 by Leopold I.<sup>48</sup> Váncsay may have served as a suitable link between Catholics and Lutherans, as he converted to the Catholic faith very early on. His son István was baptized on July 25, 1673 by a Lutheran pastor. His godparents, Márton Madarász, István Kassai, organist Sándor Pischel, Mrs. Zsófia Puttemberger Ádám Kiss, Mrs. Judit Liptai András Tornay, and Mrs. Judit Faigel Dávid Féja, were prominent members of the city's Lutheran elite.<sup>49</sup> His second child, Gábor, was baptized by the Catholic parish priest in 1681,<sup>50</sup> so he clearly converted sometime between these two dates, but presumably sometime around the moment when he went from being the Hungarian cantor to serving as the city prosecutor, as it was customary to reward intellectuals who had converted with positions in the city or state administration and thus to ensure them a livelihood. This may have taken place sometime around 1676, or at least this is suggested by the fact that in 1676, András Újvári-Bodnár, a resident of Kassa, rebuked Váncsay precisely for this reason, and indeed he rebuked him so churlishly that he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 thalers.<sup>51</sup> The council, which was already mostly Catholic by that time, may have chosen Váncsay to negotiate with Thököly, who was marching against the city, precisely because he was a convert.<sup>52</sup>

Balázs Váncsay was also a link to the next generation of Kassa city leaders, to the members of the elite who represented the interests of the city of Kassa in the Diets which were being held at a time in which the political circumstances and issues had changed dramatically. Balázs Váncsay's son István, who was born a Lutheran (or Calvinist), became both the most significant figure of the city government who wielded the greatest influence but also the person who caused the biggest scandal in the politics of the city at the time. From the perspective of his social connections, the young Váncsay was clearly among the city leaders who were proud of their noble rank and sought ties to the noble families of the county.<sup>53</sup> Already as a young man, he may have been a divisive figure, for in 1692, he came into conflict with Mihály Tarnóczy. Váncsay had sought to cheat Tarnóczy, and Tarnóczy had become so enraged that he had chased Váncsay

---

48 MNL OL C 30 (Acata nob.) Pozsony vm., Documenta No. 22., and uit Pozsony vm., Protocollum investigationis nobilium, 471., Pozsony vm., Investigatio nobilium, A füzet 8.

49 StAKE Zb. cirk. matr. Evanjelická cirkev, 1673. 626.

50 ŠtAKE, Zb. cirk. matr. Rímsko-katolícká cirkev, 1681. 373.

51 AMK Schw. No. 9442.

52 AMK Schw. No. 9830.

53 His wives were members of the Kiséry and Pálfalvay families. AMK Schw. No. 13390, 13675, 13961, 14117, Schr. No. 19712.

through the vineyards, but first he struck him in the head with a small hatchet. He threw a stone at Váncsay (who fled) which quite possibly would have killed him had Váncsay, who had only recently turned 20, not been quick on his feet.<sup>54</sup> He began his career as an advocate in the city council, in the council that was newly elected by Ferenc II Rákóczi, but he was soon mentioned in the sources from subsequent years among the most prominent members of the internal council. During the War of Independence, he was one of the members of the Kassa council who was sent the most frequently to meet with Rákóczi or Rákóczi's most important officers or to represent the city at the Kuruc Diets.<sup>55</sup> István Váncsay was at the Diet held in 1712 (which brought the War of Independence to an end from the perspective of domestic politics) as the only city notary of the time, with András Hlavathy, the envoy sent by Kassa, at his side. During the Diet, the two delegates participated in the debate with the cities which again had been given the status of free royal cities over their rank, but they were dealing, in addition, with the issues concerning the tax agreement, which was deemed hopeless, and they also worked to facilitate the selection of the new parish priest of Kassa.<sup>56</sup> Váncsay was a respected councilor at the time. He had served as deputy magistrate in 1709 and then had been elected to serve as magistrate in 1710 and 1711.<sup>57</sup> Váncsay seems to have been someone who did not hesitate to come into conflict with others if he felt he had to protect his own interests or if he felt that a member of his family had been insulted.<sup>58</sup> As noted above, he was baptized a Protestant, but by 1712, he had converted to Catholicism, for in this year he became the godfather of one of István Radikovicz's twins.<sup>59</sup> The fact that he was ranked second on the council which was elected in front of chamber councilor Franz Meixner on January 28, 1712 and which consisted exclusively

---

54 AMK Schw. No. 10517. November 1, 1692.

55 AMK H I. 12541/2. Miskolc, January 24, 1706. 12541/3. Miskolc, February 14, 1706. 12541/4. Miskolc, January 31, 1706. 12726/14. Késmárk, January 10, 1707. 12726/30. Köröm, June 16, 1707. H III/2. mac. 103. fol. 29. March 21, 1707. fol. 37–38. April 15, 1707. Schw. Nr. 12516.

56 The reversals of the two delegates: Schw. No. 13201. Their reports: AMK H I. 13310/2, 7–9, Schw. No. 13182.

57 Schw. No. 12871. Kassa, August 9, 1709. Schw. No. 13010. August 18, 1710. Schw. No. 12984. August 21, 1710. H III/2. re 9. fol. 144, 149.

58 In defense of his sister-in-law, István Váncsay came to blows with Mihály Czirjáci, for instance, at the marriage feast of council member István Surányi. AMK Schw. No. 13151, 13168. He was embroiled in trials with the Pálfalvy family for a long time over his wife Julianna Pálfalvy's bequest: *ibid.* No. 14117.

59 ŠtAKE, Zb. cirk. matr. Rímsko-katolícká cirkev, 1712. 393.

of Catholics is again clear indication that he had converted. He was also elected to serve as a tax collector.<sup>60</sup>

Váncsay served on the council until 1714, and it is reasonable to suggest that he failed to hold his position because of events which had transpired during the Rákóczi War of Independence and suspicions concerning biased management of city funds. In 1717, Baron Johann Ignatz Viechter, a chamber councilor and delegated election commissioner, was given the task of putting the management of Kassa on stable footing. In order to do this, he had Bertalan Máray appointed mayor of the city, and he requested all the records of the city accounts and strove to determine who had been responsible for the earlier mismanagement of city finances. Vánscsay was among the accused. According to the report, he was chosen to serve as a member of the council again on condition that he submit for examination the records of accounts from the period during which he had served as magistrate. It had then become clear that, during the upheavals caused by the War of Independence, Vánscsay may have dealt in an underhanded manner with the wealth which had flown into the city, as it came to light, in the course of the investigation, that he had taken 13 last wills and testaments from the city archives which had never been found again. Each of these last wills and testaments had named the city as the heir.<sup>61</sup> In spite of the suspicions which were cast on him, Vánscsay was still nominated to serve as deputy magistrate<sup>62</sup> that year and as advocate and magistrate the following year. Of the latter two positions, he secured the second with a majority of the votes, and he remained in office as magistrate until 1727, or in other words for nine years.<sup>63</sup> Vánscsay ruled with an iron fist during his time in office, as evidenced by the fact that he did not leave office voluntarily or simply as a result of a vote held by the council, but rather as the consequence of an extraordinary procedure, something that was used only as a rare exception at the time. In January 1726, the Szepesi chamber, which passed on the contents of the annual royal decrees, informed the city that they would not send an election commissioner. Rather, the election would be held without a commissioner. Their only stipulation was that Vánscsay submit the records of accounts from the period between 1709 and 1712 to the chamber for examination.<sup>64</sup> It referred, as an antecedent to this, to the fact that during

---

60 AMK H III/2. re 9. fol. 159–160.

61 MNL OL A 20 (Litt. Cam. Hung.)1717. No. 34.

62 AMK Schw. No. 13964. November 10, 1717.

63 AMK III/2. re 9.

64 AMK Schw. No. 15181. Kassa, January 1, 1726.

the election of city officials held in 1724, the royal commissioner had objected to Váncsay's management,<sup>65</sup> but as Váncsay had failed to submit the records (which now were well over a decade old) even after having been called on to do so several times, royal commissioner Pál Lipót Mednyánszky was having him removed from office, and he would not be allowed anywhere near the highest circles of the city leadership until he had done as instructed and had submitted the records.<sup>66</sup>

The city of Kassa treated the case of its former magistrate as a matter of considerable importance and even urgency. One explanation for this may simply have been the prestige and authority which Váncsay enjoyed, but the city may also have resented the manner in which the royal commissioner and the ruler were infringing on the rights of the city council. The council turned to the Hungarian Court Chancellery and then the Court Chamber with its complaints, and it charged Adam Aloysius Talheim, who was a Vienna agent and who served on the chancellery, with the specific task of handling this matter. The council was perfectly willing to spend money and barter with the wines stored in the city cellars in order to ensure that Váncsay be restored to his position as magistrate as soon as possible. (They even turned to Mátyás Bél, a Pozsony pastor, for assistance, as indicated by the fact that two of the barrels of wine that were sent to the chancellor were stored in his cellar.<sup>67</sup>) Talheim earned his money, and the wine given to further Váncsay's case also proved an effective bartering tool, for in February 1728, the chancellery recommended that the Royal Chamber support Váncsay's reappointment as magistrate, as, in the end, he had submitted the records requested of him and had settled the issues concerning the city finances. The chancellery felt that Váncsay had already proven his capacity for the office and that he had done a great deal for Kassa as a royal estate (*peculium regium*).<sup>68</sup> Kassa therefore quickly received permission from the ruler, and Váncsay regained power over the city, as he began serving as deputy magistrate that year and then regained his seat as magistrate the following year in the election that was held before the royal commissioner.<sup>69</sup> True, the Szepes Chamber Administration was by no means satisfied with Váncsay's work. Indeed,

65 MNL OL E 23 (Litt ad Cam. Scep.) October 27, 1724.

66 AMK Schw. No. 15498. August 2, 1727.

67 AMK Schw. No. 15590. Vienna, December 3, 1727. Schw. No. 15691. Kassa, February 7, 1728. Schw. No. 15724. February 7, 1728.

68 AMK Schw. No. 15779. Vienna, February 24, 1728.

69 AMK Schw. No. 15592. Vienna, February 24, 1728. No. 15625.

it had several specific complaints. It objected, for instance, to the various luxury expenditures he ordered, and records of accounts again were missing. The basic principles according to which the orphanage would be run had not been clearly specified, and the urbarium for the city estates still had not been prepared. The apothecary, which was worth more than 30,000 forints, had been leased for 3,000 forints, and worst of all, no records had been kept of the estates which had ended up in the hands of the city.<sup>70</sup> Vánacsay nonetheless triumphed over the other candidates in the 1729 and 1730 elections and again in 1733, and he sat in the most prominent places on the council until his death. Considering that, as the most prominent member of the council, he also held the position of mayor (as was established practice) and thus essentially had complete control over the management of the city, we can justifiably say that István Vánacsay was the most significant magistrate of Kassa in the first half of the eighteenth century.

### *Social Ties and the Early Stages of Career Paths*

Members of the Vánacsay family were working in the service of the chambers by the middle of the eighteenth century, but like the children of many other individuals who held offices in Kassai, they saw greater assurance of good career prospects in the service of the state. János Nossiczi Thurzó, who worked as part of the office responsible for collecting the thirtieth (a tax),<sup>71</sup> was a permanent member of the Catholic council created in 1712 until his death on August 12, 1732, and in the last two years of his life, he served as the city magistrate.<sup>72</sup> In addition to serving on the city council, he was also given constant employment by the Szepes Chamber Administration.<sup>73</sup> One sees evidence of the close relationship between the chamber and the city management in the fact that, among the children of the city councilors, members of the Almássy, Csomortányi, Demeczky, Ganóczy, and Berezik families became the chamber officials. Usually, the officers who had positions as clerks were sons of the mayors of Kassa, but some of them managed to make it to positions in the middle of the hierarchy of

---

70 MNL OL E 23 (Litt ad Cam. Scep.) October 1, 1728. August 16, 1730.

71 MNL OL Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Urbaria et Conscriptioes (E 156), Registrata Fasc. 35. No. 56.

72 AMK H III/2. re 9.

73 MNL OL E 156 (UetC) Registrata, Fasc. 55. No. 51. (1715), Fasc. 84. No. 58. (1715), Fasc. 24. No. 58. (1723)

offices. György Thurzó, the son of the aforementioned János Thurzó, served as assistant accountant to the chamber administration.<sup>74</sup>

There were tendencies in the family and social ties of the Kassa delegates and, more generally, the new elite of the city which indicate the existence of various subgroups. The delegates tended to come from a social group which could perhaps most accurately be characterized as the intellectual, officeholding stratum of the nobility the families of which had gotten their noble titles one generation earlier (usually, in the middle of the second half of the seventeenth century). If one looks at the network of relationships involving the godparents of the Kassa delegates and their children, one notes one of the largest nodes of this network was formed by the relationships among the families which sought closer bonds (such as the bond between family and godparent) among people who belonged to the city elite. The few delegates who were Lutherans formed a distinct group, the most interesting of which was perhaps the subgroup formed by András Hlavathy and Gergely Lukácsik, who asked women who were married to leaders of the Szepes Chamber Administration to be godmothers to their children. This all clearly illustrates that the smaller groups which had already been identified in Sopron also existed in Kassa, and the model introduced there was also valid in the case of a city which was an administrative center in Upper Hungary.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, as the seat of the Szepes Chamber Administration, Kassa perhaps bore a stronger affinity with Pozsony from the perspective of its ties to the local network of officeholders. The roles of the city, which served as a prominent site for domestic political affairs in the Kingdom of Hungary, as both a residence and an administrative center further strengthened these urban-political and social factors, which were also factors in the other free royal cities and which exerted a stronger or weaker influence on the lives of the city communities. Members of the new, well-educated, Catholic urban elite appeared very quickly among the city leaders in the first years of the turnaround in urban policy. Elected officials almost without exception had legal degrees, and they built strong social ties. It was also not at all uncommon for a Catholic intellectual to enter into a familial relationship not with someone who belonged to one of the families which was part of the city elite, but rather with one of the employees of the local chamber. In these cases, we can speak of people who had ties to the city and the burghers because of their occupations and lifestyles but who

---

74 Fallenbüchl, "A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői," 214–215, 226.

75 H. Németh, "Venerable Senators," H. Németh, "Állam és városok."

were also tied to the state administration because of their family connections to state offices and people who held positions in the state offices. Naturally, this put them in a very advantageous position. As burghers who were also intellectuals (for the most part, with training as physicians or apothecaries), they were recognized members of the given communities, and because of their good ties to local representatives of state power, they clearly enjoyed an array of other advantages.<sup>76</sup> The close study of the Kassa delegates definitely indicates that the leaders of the burgher community of the city tended to develop close ties to the local nobility and the state administration, even more so than in the case of Sopron or Pozsony. This was true not simply in cases involving the official affairs of the city but also from the perspective of the personal relationships of the city leaders.

### *In Summary*

This discussion of the careers of delegates from the city of Kassa to the Diets sheds light on fact that, from the perspective of its professional (administrative) training and qualifications, the new Catholic urban elite managed to catch up relatively quickly to the Lutheran burgher community. In contrast with the Lutherans, however, Catholics enjoyed significant advantages according to the new principles of urban policy. Thus, the two groups were never on an equal footing from the perspective of politics. This was especially true when, due to the administrative significance of the city (like Pozsony and Kassa), the government no longer sought to maintain the former confessional balance and instead wanted to create a city leadership consisting exclusively of Catholics. This new, professional, trained urban elite was no longer tied exclusively to the burgher class. Rather, it was closely linked to the local nobility and the noble-officeholding urban stratum, which it came to resemble more and more. For the sons of this new elite, the prospect of serving in state office seemed an increasingly normal, natural way to launch a career. It also became increasingly common for the leading urban elite to include many individuals who were members of the nobility who lived primarily off their incomes as officeholders or, in other words, who belonged to the abovementioned stratum of noblemen intellectuals. Thus, from the perspective of social history, a new class of officeholding intellectuals emerged from the very mixed stratum that consisted

---

76 H. Németh, “Pozsony centrális szerepköreinek hatásai.”

of both burghers and members of the nobility. This new class had strong ties to the burgher lifestyle, and it not only took the baton from the honorary urban leaders in city administration but also began to serve in ever larger numbers in state offices.

### *Archival Sources*

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (MNL OL)

A 20 (Litt. Cam. Hung.) Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztratúrája, Litterae Camerae Hungaricae

C 30 (Acta nob.) Helytartótanácsi Levéltár, Magyar Királyi Helytartótanács, Acta nobilium

E 156 (UetC) Kincstári Levéltárak, Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Urbaria et Conscriptioes

E 210 (Misc.) Kincstári Levéltárak, Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Miscellanea

E 23 (Litt. Cam. Scep.) Kincstári Levéltárak, Magyar Kamara regisztratúrája, Litterae camerae Scepusiensis

E 254 (Repr., inf. et inst.) Kincstári Levéltárak, Szepesi Kamara regisztratúrája, Repraesentationes. informationes et instantiae

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA)

Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA)

AHK HFU Akten Alte Hofkammer, Hoffinanz Ungarn, Akten

AHK HFU ung.MBW Alte Hofkammer, Hoffinanz Ungarn, Ungarisches Münz- und Bergwesen

Archív Mesta Košice [Košice City Archives] (AMK)

H I-II. Supplementum H, Listy a listiny

H III/2. mac. Supplementum H. Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Malá mestská kniha (Liber civitatis minor)

H III/2. pur. Supplementum H. Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Veľká mestská kniha (Liber civitatis maior)

H III/2. re. Supplementum H. Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Knihy voljeb (Liber restaurationum)

Schr. Supplementum Schramianum

Schw. Colectio Schwartzenbachiana

Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici, pracovisko Banská Bystrica [State Archive in Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica workplace] (StABB)

MMBB: Magistrat Mesta Banská Bystrica

Štátny Archív v Košiciach [State Archive in Košice] (StAKE)

Zb. cirk. matr. Zbierka cirkevných matrík

Štátny archív v Prešove, špecializované pracovisko Spišský archív v Levoči [State Archive in Prešov, specialized workplace Spišský archív in Levoča] (StALE)

MML Magistrat Mesta Levoče

## *Bibliography*

- Asch, Ronald G., and Heinz Duchhardt. *Der Absolutismus – ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550–1700)*. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1996.
- Bahlcke, Joachim. *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999.
- Benczédi, László. *Rendiség, abszolútizmus és centralizáció a XVII. század végi Magyarországon: 1664–1685* [Estates, absolutism, and centralization in Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
- Bessenyei, József. “A szabad királyi városok jogainak csorbitása” [Infringements on the rights of free royal cities]. *Történelmi Szemle* 33, no. 3–4 (1991): 255–63.
- Bitskey István. “A reformáció kezdetei Nyugat-Magyarországon” [The beginnings of the Reformation in Western Hungary]. In *Emlékkönyv ifj. Barta János 70. születésnapjára* [Commemorative volume on the occasion of the 70th birthday of János Barta Jr.], edited by Imre Papp, János Angi, and László Pallai, 93–102. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete, 2010.
- Bitskey István. “Pázmány Péter felső-magyarországi missziója” [Péter Pázmány’s mission in Upper Hungary]. In *Pázmány Péter és kora* [Pázmány Péter and his age], edited by Emil Hargittay, 71–80. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001.
- Bonney, Richard, ed. *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe: C.1200–1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198204022.001.0001
- Brien, Patrick K. O’, and Philip A. Hunt. “The Rise of a Fiscal State in England, 1485–1815.” *Historical Research* 66, no. 160 (1993): 129–76. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2281.1993.tb01806.x
- Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *La Fiscalità Nell’economia Europea Sec. XIII–XVIII: Atti Della “Trentanovesima Settimana Di Studi,” 22–26 Aprile 2007*. Firenze: Florence University Press, 2008.

- Deventer, Jörg. *Gegenreformation in Schlesien: die habsburgische Rekatolisierungspolitik in Glogau und Schweidnitz 1526–1707*. Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 2003.
- Dominkovits, Péter, and István H. Németh. “Bethlen Gábor 1619–1621. évi hadjárata és Sopron” [Gábor Bethlen’s military campaign of 1619–1621 and Sopron]. In *Bethlen Gábor és kora. Katalógus a Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára és Győr–Moson–Sopron Megyei Levéltár Soproni Levéltára közös kiállításáról* [Gábor Bethlen and his age. Catalogue of the joint exhibition of the National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives, the Hajdú-Bihar County Archives and the Sopron Archives of the Győr-Moson-Sopron County Archives], edited by Zoltán Ólmosi, 36–48. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 2013.
- Duchhardt, Heinz. “Absolutismus – Abschied von einem Epochenbegriff?” *Historisches Zeitschrift* 258 (1994): 113–22.
- Fabó, András. *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés* [The Diet of 1662]. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1873.
- Fallenbüchl Zoltán. “A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői a XVII–XVIII. században” [Officeholders of the Szepes Chamber in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 38, no. 2 (1967): 193–236.
- Fazekas, István. *A reform útján. A katolikus megújulás Nyugat-Magyarországon* [On the path of reform: Catholic renewal in Western Hungary]. A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár kiadványai. Források, feldolgozások 20. Győr: Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2014.
- Fejtová, Olga. *Rekatolizace na Novém Městě pražském v době pobělohorské: “já pevně věřím a vyznávám...”* [Re-Catholicization in the New Town of Prague in the post-White Mountain period: “I firmly believe and confess ...”]. Praha: Scriptorium, 2012.
- Fraknói, Vilmos. *Pázmány Péter és kora* [Pázmány Péter and his age]. 3 vols. Pest: Ráth, 1868.
- Gergely, Samu. “Thököly Imre és a francia diplomácia” [Imre Thököly and French diplomacy]. *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 9 (1886): 333–352, 480–502; 10 (1887): 155–72, 319–38, 527–42, 749–64; 11 (1888): 471–508, 707–42.
- H. Németh, István. “Állam és városok. A szakszerűsödés felé vezető első lépések a városi igazgatásban, 1670–1733” [State and cities. The first steps toward professionalization in urban administration, 1670–1733]. *Századok* 152, no. 4 (2018): 771–808.
- H. Németh, István. “Die finanziellen Auswirkungen der osmanischen Expansion auf die Städteentwicklung in Ungarn”. In *La fiscalità nell’economia europea sec. XIII–XVIII – Fiscal Systems in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Century*, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 771–80. Firenze: Florence University Press, 2008.
- H. Németh, István. “Kassa, egy többfelekezeti régióközpont jellegzetességei a 16–17. században” [The distinctive features of Kassa, a multi-denominational regional

- center, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries]. In *Viszály és együttélés* [Conflict and coexistence], edited by Ittész Gábor, 277–313. Budapest: Universitas, 2017.
- H. Németh, István. “Košice a drift in the European municipal politics.” In *Košice in the Coordinates of European History*, edited by Mária Hajduová, and Martin Bartoš, 222–46. Košice: Kancelária Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky, 2013.
- H. Németh, István. “Otázky mestskej politiky štátu Františka II. Rákócziho” [Issues of urban policy of the state of Francis II Rákóczi]. In *František II. Rákoci v Košiciach, 1906–2006 II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kassán, 1906–2006*, edited by István H. Németh, and Martin Bartoš, 46–65. Košice: Mesto Košice, Archív mesta Košice, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, 2019.
- H. Németh, István. “Pozsony centrális szerepköreinek hatásai és jellegzetességei a magyarországi városhálózatban” [The impacts and characteristics of Pressburg’s central roles within the Hungarian urban network]. *Történelmi Szemle* 60, no. 2 (2018): 171–99.
- H. Németh, István. “Šľachta v mestách – prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?” [Nobility in cities – a natural process or a negative phenomenon?]. *Forum historiae* 2, no. 1 (2008). Accessed September 15, 2020. <http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/sites/default/files/nemeth1.pdf>
- H. Németh, István. “Városok, várospolitika a 17. század eleji Magyarországon. Tendenciák és következményeik” [Cities and urban policy in early seventeenth-century Hungary. Trends and their consequences]. In *Egy új együttműködés kezdete: az 1622. évi soproni koronázó országgyűlés* [The beginning of a new cooperation: the coronation Diet of Sopron in 1622], edited by Péter Dominkovits, and Csaba Katona, 95–122. Annales Archivi Soproniensis 1. Sopron: MNL Győr-Moson-Sopron M. Soproni Lvt.; MTA BTK, Történettudományi Intézet, 2014.
- H. Németh, István. “Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The Beginnings of the Transformation of the Estate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.” *The Hungarian Historical Review* 1, no. 1–2 (2012): 49–78.
- H. Németh, István. *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája. Bírák, külső és belső tanács (1500–1700)* [An archontology of the free royal city of Kassa. Magistrates, external and internal councils, 1500–1700]. Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006.
- Hart, Marjolein C. ʔ. *The Making of a Bourgeois State: War, Politics and Finance during the Dutch Revolt*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Heinrich, Gerd. “Staatsaufsicht und Stadtfreiheit in Brandenburg–Preußen unter dem Absolutismus (1660–1806).” In *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*,

- edited by Wilhelm Rausch, 155–72. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5. Linz (Donau), 1981.
- Henshall, Nicholas. *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Herzig, Arno. *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
- Hinrichs, Ernst. “Abschied vom Absolutismus. Eine Antwort auf Nicholas Henshall.” In *Der Absolutismus – ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550–1700)*, 353–71. Cologne–Vienna–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1996.
- Hrdlička, Josef. “Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger in Böhmen: Konfession oder Disziplin?” In *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*, edited by Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer, 357–66. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 47. Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007.
- J. Újváry, Zsuzsanna. “Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa” [A metamorphosis of a trading family]. In *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya* [Clock, saber, bed], edited by Vera Zimányi, 33–85. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994.
- J. Újváry, Zsuzsanna. “Polgár vagy nemes?” [Burgher or nobleman?]. In *Ezredforduló – századforduló – betenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére* [Turn of the millennium – turn of the century – seventieth anniversary. Studies in honor of Vera Zimányi], edited by Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, 395–426. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001.
- J. Újváry, Zsuzsanna. “Kassa polgárságának etnikai-politikai változásai a 16. század közepétől a 17. század első harmadáig” [Ethnic-political changes in the burgher community of Kassa from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first third of the seventeenth century]. In *A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései* [Questions concerning Hungarian civic transformation], edited by Iván László Dénes, Gábor Pajkossy, and András Gergely, 9–37. Budapest: ELTE, 1984.
- J. Újváry, Zsuzsanna. “Kassa város polgársága a XVI. század végén és a XVII. század első felében” [The burghers of the city of Kassa at the end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century]. *Történelmi Szemle* 22, no. 3–4 (1979): 577–91.
- Kádár, Zsófia Klára. “Jezsuita kollégium és helyi társadalom a 17. századi Nyugat-Magyarországon (Pozsony, Győr, Sopron)” [Jesuit college and local society in Western Hungary in the seventeenth century, Pressburg, Győr, Sopron]. PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2017.

- Kenyeres, István. “A ‘Fiscal-Military State’ és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16–17. században” [The “Fiscal-Military State” and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries]. In *Művészet és mesterség. Tisztelegő kötet R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékére* [Art and craft. A commemorative volume to the memory of Ágnes R. Várkonyi], edited by Ildikó Horn, Éva Lauter, and Gábor Várkonyi, 91–122. Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2016.
- Kolosváry, Sándor, and Kelemen Óvári, ed. *A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye. Corpus juris statutorum* [A collection of the legislation of the Hungarian legislative authorities]. 8 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885–1904.
- Kónya, Peter. *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov počas protireformácie a protihabsburských povstani (1670–1711)* [Prešov, Bardejov and Sabinov during the Counter-Reformation and anti-Habsburg uprisings, 1670–1711]. Acta Collegii Evangelici Prešovienis 6. Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evanjelickej cirkvi a.v. na Slovensku, 2000.
- Kosáry, Domokos. “Értelmiség és kulturális elit a XVIII. századi Magyarországon” [Intellectuals and cultural elites in eighteenth-century Hungary]. In *A történelem veszedelmei. Írások Európáról és Magyarországról* [The dangers of history. Writings about Europe and Hungary], 138–59. Budapest: Magvető, 1987.
- Kubinyi, András. “Der ungarische König und seine Städte im 14. und am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts.” In *Stadt und Stadtberr im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Funktionen*, edited by Wilhelm Rausch, 193–220. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 2. Linz (Donau): Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1974.
- Kunisch, Johannes. “Staatsräson und Konfessionalisierung als Faktoren absolutistischer Gesetzgebung. Das Beispiel Böhmen (1627).” In *Gesetz und Gesetzgebung im Europa der frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Barbara Dölemeyer, and Diethelm Klippel, 131–56. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung Beiheft 22. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1998.
- Marečková, Marie. “Politická autonomie a vnitřní samospráva východoslovenských svobodných královských měst v 17. století” [Political autonomy and internal self-government of East Slovak free royal cities in the 17th century]. *Historický Časopis* 41 (1993): 543–50.
- Michels, Georg B. “Az 1674. évi pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez. Protestáns lelképásztorok harca az erőszakos ellenreformációval szemben” [On the history of the 1674 Pozsony Preacher Trial: Protestant pastors resisting the violent Counter-Reformation]. *Történelmi Szemle* 55, no. 1 (2013): 55–78.

- Mihalik, Béla. *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták. Katolikus megújulás az egri egyházmegyében, 1670–1699* [Priests, burghers, converts. The Catholic renewal in the Diocese of Eger, 1670–99] Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2017.
- Mikulec, Jiří. “Die staatlichen Behörden und das Problem der konfessionellen Emigration aus Böhmen nach dem Jahr 1620.” In *Glaubensflüchtlinge. Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsemigration in Europa*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke, 165–86. Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 4. Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2008.
- Mikulec, Jiří. *31. 7. 1627. Rekatolizace šlechty v Čechách. Či je to země, tobo je i náboženství* [31. 7. 1627. Re-Catholicization of the nobility in Bohemia: Whose realm, their religion]. Praha: Havran, 2005.
- Mikulec, Jiří. *Pobělohorská rekatolizace v českých zemích* [Recatholicization in the Czech lands before the Battle of Bílá hora]. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1992.
- Mikulec, Jiří. “Praga w okresie kontrreformacji i władzy absolutnej (1620–1740)” [Prague during the Counter-Reformation and absolute power, 1620–1740]. In *Kraków i Praga dwie stolice Europy Środkowej. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji zorganizowanej w dniach 1–2 czerwca 2000*, edited by Mark Purchla, 77–87. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 2002.
- Misóczki, Lajos. *Vallás- és egyházügy a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején* [Religious and ecclesiastical affairs during the Rákóczi War of Independence]. Gyöngyös: Önkormányzat, 2009.
- Molnár, Antal. *Lehetetlen küldetés?* [Mission impossible?]. Budapest: L’Harmattan–ELTE Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola–Nyitott Könyv, 2009.
- Molnár, Antal. *Mezőváros és katolicizmus* [Market towns and Catholicism]. Budapest: METEM–Historia Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2005.
- Nagy, István. “A Magyar Kamara adóigazgatási tevékenysége a XVI–XVII. században” [Tax administration of the Hungarian treasury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 66, no. 1–2 (1995): 29–51.
- Pálffy, Géza. “Ein vergessener Ausgleich in der Geschichte der Habsburgermonarchie des 17. Jahrhunderts: Der ungarische Krönungsreichstag in Ödenburg/Sopron, 1622.” In *Adel und Religion in der frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie: Annäherung an ein gesamtösterreichisches Thema*, edited by Katrin Keller, Petr Mařa, and Martin Scheutz, 85–107. Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2017.
- Pálffy, Géza. “Ewige Verlierer oder auch ewige Gewinner?” In *Die Stimme der ewigen Verlierer? Aufstände, Revolten und Revolutionen in den österreichischen Ländern (ca. 1450–1815)*, edited by Peter Rauscher, and Martin Scheutz, 151–75. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag; Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013.

- Pálffy, Géza. *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*. (Hungarian Studies series No. 18.) Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 2009.
- Pavercsik, Ilona. “A lőcsei Brewer-nyomda a 17–18. században I” [The Lőcse Brewer press in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries]. In *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár évkönyve 1979*, edited by István Fried et al., 353–408. Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1981.
- Payr, Sándor. *A soproni evangélikus egyházközség története. A reformáció kezdetétől az 1681. évi soproni országgyűlésig* [History of the Lutheran community of Sopron. From the beginning of the Reformation to the 1681 Diet in Sopron]. Sopron: Evangélikus Egyházközség, 1917.
- Péter, Katalin. “The struggle for Protestant religious liberty at the 1646–47 Diet in Hungary.” In *Crown, church and estates: Central European politics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, edited by Robert John Weston Evans, and Trevor V. Thomas, 261–68. Studies in Russia and East Europe. London: Macmillan in association with the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies University of London, 1994.
- Rácz, Károly. *A pozsonyi vértörvényszék áldozatai 1674-ben* [Victims of the Pozsony blood court in 1674]. Lugos: Traunfellner, 1889.
- Rügge, Nicolas. *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat: der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preussische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
- Varga, Katalin S. *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve: textus és értelmezés* [Minutes of the 1674 galley slave trial: text and interpretation]. Budapest: Universitas, 2008.
- Sienell, Stefan. *Die Geheime Konferenz unter Kaiser Leopold I. Personelle Strukturen und Methoden zur politischen Entscheidungsfindung am Wiener Hof*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001.
- Špiesz, Anton. “Der Wiener Hof und die Städte in Ungarn in den Jahren 1681–1780.” In *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Wilhelm Rausch, 83–95. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5. Linz (Donau): Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1981.
- Špiesz, Anton. “Rekatolizácia na Slovensku v mestách v rokoch 1681–1781” [Re-Catholicization in Slovakian cities in the years 1681–1781]. *Historický Časopis* 39 (1991): 588–612.
- Špiesz, Anton. *Slobodné kráľovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680–1780* [Free royal towns in Slovakia in the years 1680–1780]. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1983.
- Sterneck, Tomáš. “Obnovování českobudějovické městské rady za třicetileté války” [Renewal of the České Budějovice city council during the Thirty Years’ War]. *Jihočeský Sborník Historický* 74 (2005): 104–50.

- Szabó, András Péter. “Caspar Hain lőcsei krónikája: Egy kompiláció forrásai” [Caspar Hain’s Lőcse chronicle: sources of a compilation]. In *Clio inter arma: Tanulmányok a 16–18. századi magyarországi történetírásról* [Clio inter arma: Studies on sixteenth–eighteenth century Hungarian historiography], edited by Gergely Tóth, 169–202. Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2014.
- Szijártó, M. István. *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The Diet. The Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792]. Budapest: Osiris, 2005.
- Szilágyi, Sándor. *A linzi béke okirattára* [The Linz Peace archive of documents]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885.
- Szücs, Jenő. “Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im XV–XVII. Jh.” In *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie. 1450–1650*, edited by György Székely, and Erik Fügedi, 97–164. *Studia historica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 53. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963.
- Teszelszky, Kees, and Márton Zászkaliczky. “A Bocskai-felkelés és az európai információhálózatok. Hírek, diplomácia és politikai propaganda, 1604–1606” [The Bocskai uprising and European information networks. News, diplomacy and political propaganda, 1604–1606]. *Aetas* 27, no. 3 (2012): 49–121.
- Tóth, Árpád. “Hivatali szakszerűsödés és a rendi minták követése. Pest város tisztviselői a reformkorban” [Office professionalism and following the patterns of the estates. Pest city officials in the Reform Era]. In *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 25, edited by Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky, 27–60. Budapest: Budapest Történeti Múzeum–Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 1996.
- Tusor, Péter. “Forgách Zsigmond katolizálása” [The Catholicization of Zsigmond Forgách]. In *Eruditio, virtus et constantia*, edited by Imre Mihály, Oláh Szabolcs, Fazakas Gergely Tamás, and Száraz Orsolya, 640–46. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2011.
- Tusor, Péter. “A primás, a bán és a bécsi udvar (1663–1664)” [The primate, the ban and the Viennese Court, 1663–1664]. *Történelmi Szemle* 57, no. 2 (2015): 219–49.
- Tusor, Péter. “Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések a katolikusok és reformátusok kassai recepta religióvá válásában” [Noble and civic advocacy efforts for Catholics and Calvinists to gain acceptance as confessions in Kassa]. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 10, no. 1–2 (1998): 5–26.
- Tusor, Péter. “Problems and Possibilities of Catholic Confessionalization in Upper Hungary around 1640: Ad Limina Reports as Possible Mediums of Cultural Transfer.” In *Kirche und Kulturtransfer: Ungarn und Zentraleuropa in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Maria-Elisabeth Brunert, Arno Strohmeier, and András Forgó, 87–104. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2019.

- Vári, András, Judit Pál, and Stefan Brakensiek. *Herrschaft an der Grenze: Mikrogeschichte der Macht im östlichen Ungarn im 18. Jahrhundert*. Cologne –Vienna: Böhlau, 2014.
- Vierhaus, Rudolf. *Staaten und Stände: Vom Westfälischen bis zum Hubertusburger Frieden 1648–1763*. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1984.
- Vörös, Károly. “A modern értelmiség kezdetei Magyarországon” [The beginnings of modern intellectuals in Hungary]. *Valóság* 18, no. 10 (1975): 1–20.
- Wick, Béla. *Kassa régi síremlékei. XIV–XVIII. század* [Old sepulchers of Kassa. From the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century]. Košice: Szent Erzsébet Ny., 1933.
- Zsilinszky, Mihály. *A magyar országgyűlések vallásügyi tárgyalásai a reformációtól kezdve* [Negotiations concerning religious affairs in the Hungarian Diets since the Reformation]. 4 vols. Budapest: Magyarországi Protestánsok, Hornyánszky, 1880–1891.
- Zsoldos, Attila, ed. *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701. A Nagyszombati Egyetem anyakönyve 1635–1701* [Registry of the University of Nagyszombat, 1635–1701]. Fejezetek az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem történetéből 11. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1990.



# Legitimizing Power? Inaugural Ceremonies of Charles VI

Stefan Seitschek

*Institute of Austrian Historical Research / Austrian State Archives*

*franz-stefan.seitschek@univie.ac.at*

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 altem löblichen Gebrauch"; Vácha et al., *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna*; Vokáčová, "The Bohemian Coronation." On the coronation in Frankfurt, see for instance Wanger, *Kaiservahl und Krönung*. Several medals were coined commemorating the coronation in Frankfurt: Förschner, *Frankfurter Krönungsmedaillen*.

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.”<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.”<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

---

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 Ebre*. 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’á, “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.<sup>8</sup> This is remarkable, because Charles' brother Joseph I avoided such ceremonies after his coronation in Hungary (1687) and in Frankfurt (1690) as young boy.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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 Ausführliche Beschreibung / Was nach erfolgtem betaurlichstem Todtfall Weylande Ibro Röm. Kayserl. Majestät Josephi I. Gewesten Lands-Fürsten zu Tyrol, Biß zu der Von dessen Herrn Brudern, Carolo Dem Sechsten diß Namens [...] angetretener Regierung vorgegangen [...] zu Ablegung der allgemeinen Lands-Huldigung Auf 20. Monats Novembris 1711. nacher Ynsprugg*. Innsbruck: Jacob Christoph Wagner Hofbuchdrucker, 1711; Georg J. Edler of Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung, welche dem allerdurchleuchtigst-großmächtigsten 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 Prunke Exemplars aus dem Besitzz 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 Steier, Cärnthen, Crain, Grätz [...], 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 Bobaimb zur bedienung der dasigen Baad Cur nach dessen beglückter beendung aber zurück nacher Prag in Österreich ob der Enns nacher Lüntz zum Empfang der Dasselbstigen 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 Landschafft 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 Maierfeld, *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-Hertzogen zu Oesterreich die gesamte Nieder-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.<sup>11</sup> Of course, newspapers at the time, such as the *Wienerisches Diarium*<sup>12</sup> and the other organs of the media which offered historical overviews, provide additional information and sometimes depictions of the ceremonies.<sup>13</sup> The significance of *Huldigungen*, furthermore, was already noted by scholars at the time.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

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 run-up 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 Hofes.”

11 Johann Adam Heintz, *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Anno 1723 von Sr. Kayserlich- und Catholischen Mayestätt 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 Diarium*. 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 Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, engrav. Nr. 2.

homage itself became a splendid ceremony.) Thus, the question arises: were those inaugurations “mere spectacles?”<sup>16</sup>

### *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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 3–4; Linsee, *Gründlicher Endtwurf*, 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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

In 1728, the journey through the Inner Austrian lands was coordinated by a confederal 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.<sup>24</sup>

The sovereign usually convoked a Diet which would pay homage to him by means of a general patent.<sup>25</sup> 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”).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> The already promised reverse was demanded in an announcement issued by the Diet on April 2,<sup>28</sup> and the emperor followed the example which had been set by his father and issued it.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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 Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 6–8 (“daß sogeschehene Ubergchung 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 Carniolian 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 Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 10. The announcement was forwarded from Graz to the other provinces, for instance Carinthia and Carniola, on March 22. Deyersberg, *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 Deyersberg, *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.<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup>

In Klagenfurt, the inaugural ceremony was debated the day before the event. The sources<sup>33</sup> 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.

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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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 country's representatives.<sup>37</sup> 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).<sup>38</sup>

### *Schemes of Inaugural Ceremonies*

The inaugural ceremonies in the Austrian lands were quite similar under the reign of Charles VI.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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 Livree" 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.<sup>42</sup> 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 Klosterneuburg 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*,<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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 Archives, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Bibliothek C-320, Deyersberg)

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.<sup>45</sup>

---

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").<sup>46</sup> The day after the inauguration or coronation, Charles VI mostly promoted a group of members of the estates and declared them councilors or chamberlains.<sup>47</sup>

However, there were other forms of inaugurations. In some of his territories, Charles VI did not take part in the ceremonies in person.<sup>48</sup> Usually the governors-general were delegated to appear at the inaugurations in Milan, Mantua, Brussels, and Ghent.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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).<sup>53</sup> In the recently occupied territory of Banat, local notables and officeholders (Senior, *Oberkenese, 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.<sup>54</sup>

I want to stress several aspects of the ceremonies. First, the ceremonies of welcome and homage were structured by speeches and replies,<sup>55</sup> but the presence of the sovereign provided opportunities for the estates and officeholders to request audiences and submit *gravamina*.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> Usually, the central ceremonies of the inauguration ceremonies took place indoors.<sup>58</sup> 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; Helmraht 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'á, “The Care of Thrones,” 32; Van Gelder, “Inaugurations,” 170–71.

*Kaiserl. Pallast.*<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.”<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.”<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> The scribes of the estates who described the inaugurations and, in particular, these elements of the ceremonies (such as Peritzhoff or Deyersberg) offered similar accounts. This is not a coincidence. Rather, it illustrates the importance of these events for the estates. As a consequence, the moment when 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.<sup>65</sup>

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, *Gründlicher 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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

The inauguration ceremonies in Tyrol (1711),<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> At this point, the court chancellor answered instead of the emperor and confirmed his will to do so.<sup>71</sup> 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<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> As in Carinthia (see above), the estates showed respect for the sovereign's imperial dignity when receiving his oath in private.<sup>75</sup>

The ruler then moved to the prepared room, where the show of homage was held.<sup>76</sup> 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,<sup>77</sup> 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 Deyersberg, *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 Deyersberg'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 Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 80. This including of the confessional element was a common part of the texts of oaths. See Holenstein, "Seelenheil und Untertanenpflicht." 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.<sup>78</sup> Only in Tyrol did Charles address the estates at this point himself.<sup>79</sup> The representative of the estates then answered, usually referring again to the confirmation.<sup>80</sup> 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.”<sup>81</sup>

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.<sup>82</sup> 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*).<sup>83</sup> 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, Deyersberg, *Erbhuldigung*, 83–84; Carinthia: Seitschek, “Erbhuldigung,” 152; Carniola: Peritzhoff, *Erb-Huldigung*, 53.

79 For the speech [Anonym], *Libell*, 44–46 (“mittels einer sonders lang-zartmütig und recht väterlichen 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 (Deyersberg, *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.<sup>84</sup>

The oath taken by the estates was then read aloud and repeated by their members, who raised their hands with three fingers extended.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup>

In some cases, 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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> 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).<sup>89</sup>

---

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 Deyersberg, *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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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),<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> To hasten Charles' return, Count Leopold Adam Strasoldo was delegated to accept the show of homage in the county of Gradisca in 1728.<sup>95</sup>

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 *Oberstburggraf* 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 *Herzogsstubl* 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.<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup>

### *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.<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> "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."<sup>101</sup>

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.<sup>102</sup> 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,<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> In addition, it should be considered that Archduke Charles was feoffed with the Austrian (Habsburg) fiefs only in 1728.<sup>106</sup> 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.”<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> Both trips gave the opportunity to present the emperor’s oldest daughter Maria Theresia to the estates, though she remained in Graz in 1728.<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> Of course, any inauguration of Maria Theresia was impossible due to the fact that there were still hopes for a male heir.<sup>112</sup> Still, Charles tried to secure the succession of his son-in-law in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>113</sup>

---

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 Freundschaft,” 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  $\frac{3}{4}$  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.”<sup>114</sup>

Inaugurations afforded an opportunity to demonstrate baroque splendor,<sup>115</sup> 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.”<sup>116</sup>

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 aequali norma* were also consulted.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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 *Herzogstubl*.

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").<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup>

Inaugurations had two important functions: the establishment and consolidation or, more precisely, perpetuation of power relations.<sup>124</sup> 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).<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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.

### *Archival Sources*

Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich

Ministerium des Äußeren, 39392

Kärntner Landesarchiv, Ständisches Archiv (StA Ktn.)

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA)

Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA)

Adelsarchiv (Adel)

Reichsadelsakten (RAA)

Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA)

Alte Hofkammer (AHK)

Hofffinanz Innerösterreich (HFIÖ)

Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Sammlungen und Selekte (SUS)

Handschriftensammlung (HS)

Varia des Hofkammerarchivs (Varia)

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA)

Hofarchive, Privat- und Familienfonde (HA)

Obersthofmeisteramt (OMeA)

Zeremonialprotokolle (ZA-Prot.)

Handschriftensammlungen (HS)

### *Bibliography*

Primary sources

[Anonymous]. *Libell, Und Außführliche Beschreibung / Was nach erfolgtem betaurlichisten Todtfall Weylande Ibro Röm. Kayserl. Majestät Josephi I. Gewesten Lands-Fürsten zu Tyrol, Biß zu der Von dessen Herrn Brudern, Carolo Dem Sechsten diß Namens [...] angetrettener Regierung*

---

126 Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation," 504.

- vorgegangen [...] zu Ablegung der allgemeinen Lands-Huldigung Auf 20. Monats Novembris 1711. nacher Ynsprugg.* Innsbruck: Jacob Christoph Wagner Hofbuchdrucker, 1711.
- Georg J. Edler of Deyersberg. *Erbhuldigung, welche dem allerdurchleuchtigst-großmächtigsten 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.* Edited by Ulrike Müller. Adeva: Graz, 1980.
- Mair of Maiersfeld, Johann Baptist. *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-Hertzogen zu Oesterreich die gesamte Nider-Oeserreichische Stände [...] abgelegt.* Vienna, 1712.
- Peritzhoff, Carl Seyfrid o.f. *Erb-Huldigungs Actus im Hertzogthum Crain etc.* Adam Friderich Reichhardt Landschaftdrucker: Laibach, 1739.
- Rohr, Julius Bernhard of. *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft Der großen Herren etc.* Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1733.
- Vollständige originalgetreue Wiedergabe des kaiserlichen Prunkexemplars aus dem Besitz der Steiermärkischen Landesbibliothek am Joanneum mit einem Kommentarband.* Edited by Ulrike Müller. Graz: Adeva, 1980.

*Wienerisches Diarium* (WD)

#### Secondary literature

- Ammerer, Gerhard, e.a., eds. *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten der Landesfürsten? Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie.* Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 49. Vienna–Munich: Böhlau Verlag, 2007.
- Berning, Benita. “Nach allem löblichen Gebrauch.” *Die böhmischen Königskronungen der Frühen Neuzeit (1526–1743).* Stuttgarter Historische Forschungen 6. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2008.
- Braungart, Georg. *Hofberedsamkeit: Studien zur Praxis höfisch-politischer Rede im deutschen Territorialabsolutismus.* Studien zur deutschen Literatur 96. Tübingen: DeGruyter, 1988.
- Breunlich-Pawlik, Maria. “Die Aufzeichnungen des Sigmund Friedrich Grafen Khevenhüller 1690–1738.” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 26 (1973): 235–53.
- Brunner, Otto. *Land und Herrschaft: Grundfragen der territorialen Verfassungsgeschichte Österreichs im Mittelalter.* 5th edition. Vienna–Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965.

- Forgó, András. “Zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ständisch-politischer Handlungsfähigkeit: Das Beispiel des Herrschaftsantritts Karls VI. im Königreich Ungarn.” In *Wiener Archivforschungen: Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten in Wien, István Fazekas*, edited by Zsuzsanna Cziráki, Anna Fundárková, Orsolya Manhercz, Zsuzsanna Peres, and Márta Vajnági, 263–70. Vienna: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien; Ungarische Archivdelegation beim Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien, 2014.
- Förschner, Gisela. *Frankfurter Krönungsmedaillen aus den Beständen des Münzkabinetts*. Kleine Schriften des Historischen Museums Frankfurt am Main 49. Frankfurt/Main: Gutenberg, 1992.
- Gestrich, Andreas. *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
- Gmoser, Susanne. “Die steirischen Erbhuldigungen.” *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs* 2 (2012): 263–81. doi: 10.1553/BRGOE2012-2s263.
- Godsey, William. “Herrschaft und politische Kultur im Habsburgerreich, Die niederösterreichische Erbhuldigung (ca. 1648–1848).” In *Aufbrüche in die Moderne: Frühparlamentarismus zwischen altständischer Ordnung und monarchischem Konstitutionalismus 1750–1850. Schlesien-Deutschland-Mitteuropa*, edited by Ronald Gehrke, 161–77. Cologne: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005.
- Godsey, William D. *The Sinews of Habsburg Power: Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State 1650–1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Golob, Andreas. “Mediale Reflexionen auf Schritt und Tritt: Zeitungsberichterstattung über Habsburgerreisen im 18. Jahrhundert.” In *Habsburger unterwegs. Von barockem Pomp zur smarten Businessstour*, edited by Renate Zedinger, Marlies Raffler, and Harald Heppner, 9–29. Graz: Leykam, 2017.
- Göse, Frank. “‘Es wird die Freundschaft hoffentlich nicht in bloßen Complimenten bestehen...’ Die Höfe Kaiser Karls VI. und König Friedrich Wilhelms I.” In *Herrschaft und Repräsentation in der Habsburgermonarchie (1700–1740). Die kaiserliche Familie, die habsburgischen Länder und das Reich*. Bibliothek Altes Reich 31, edited by Stefan Seitschek, and Sandra Hertel, 86–113. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020. doi: 10.1515/9783110670561
- Gugler, Andreas. “Feste des Wiener Hofes von der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (Katalog und Bibliographie).” *Frühneuzeit-Info* 11, no. 1 (2000): 77–176.
- Hahn, Daniela. “Zwei Besuche im österreichischen Litorale. Triest als Station der innerösterreichischen Erbhuldigungsreisen 1660 und Karls VI. 1728.” MA Thesis, University of Vienna 2013. <http://othes.univie.ac.at/26024/>

- Haslinger, Ingrid. “Der Kaiser speist en public: Die Geschichte der öffentlichen Tafel bei den Habsburgern vom 16. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert.” In *Die öffentliche Tafel: Tafelzeremoniell in Europa 1300–1900. Ausstellungskatalog*, edited by Hans Ottomeyer, Michaela Völkel, 48–57. Wolfzettel: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2002.
- Helmuth, Johannes, and Jörg Feuchter. “Einleitung – Vormoderne Parlamentsoratorik.” In *Politische Redekultur in der Vormoderne: Die Oratorik europäischer Parlamente in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Eigene und fremde Welten, Bd. 9, edited by Johannes Helmuth, and Jörg Feuchter, 9–22. Frankfurt–New York: Campus, 2008.
- Hollenstein, André. *Die Huldigung der Untertanen: Rechtskultur und Herrschaftsordnung (800–1800)*. Stuttgart–New York: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1991.
- Hollenstein, André. “Seelenheil und Untertanenpflicht: Zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion und theoretischen Begründung des Eides in der ständischen Gesellschaft.” In *Der Fluch und der Eid: Die metaphysische Begründung gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens und politischer Ordnung in der ständischen Gesellschaft*, edited by Peter Blickle, 12–63. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beih. 15. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1993.
- Leitner, Carl Gottfried von. “Die Erbhuldigung im Herzogthume Steiermark.” *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 1 (1850): 98–136.
- Klippel, Diethelm. “Staatsvertrag.” In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 12, edited by Friedrich Jäger, 637–40. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2010.
- Luminati, Michele. “Eid.” In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 3, edited by Friedrich Jäger, 90–93. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2006.
- Mat’u, Petr. “Der steirische Landtag in Raum und Bild um 1730: symbolische Ordnung und visuelle Darstellung.” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 104 (2013): 163–218.
- Mat’u, Petr. “The Care of Thrones: A Plethora of Investitures in the Habsburg Composite Monarchy and Beyond from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century.” In *More than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Austrian and Habsburg Studies 31, edited by Klaas Van Gelder, 29–66. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2021.
- Mikolietzky, Hanns Leo. “Hofreisen unter Kaiser Karl VI.” *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952): 265–85.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de. *Meine Reisen in Deutschland 1728–1729*. Edited by Jürgen Overhoff. Stuttgart: Cotta, 2014.
- Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. First published 1997.

- Nádudvar, Árpád Győry von. “Kaiser Karl VI. und die Erbhuldigungen der niederösterreichischen Stände.” *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* NF 24 (1890): 82–96.
- Neuhaus, Helmut. “Die Römische Königswahl *vivente imperatore* in der Neuzeit: Zum Problem der Kontinuität in einer frühneuzeitlichen Wahlmonarchie.” In *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte*. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 19, ed. Johannes Kunisch, 1–53. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1997.
- Pečar, Andreas. *Die Ökonomie der Ehre: Der höfische Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI. (1711–1740)*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003.
- Pečar, Andreas. “Favorit ohne Geschäftsbereich: Johann Michael Graf von Althann (1679–1722) am Kaiserhof Karls VI.” In *Der zweite Mann im Staat: Oberste Amtsträger und Favoriten im Umkreis der Reichsfürsten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Michael Kaiser, 331–44. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung Beiheft 32. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2003.
- Prodi, Paolo. “Der Eid in der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte.” In *Glaube und Eid: Treueformeln, Glaubensbekenntnisse und Sozialdisziplinierung zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, edited by Paolo Prodi, VII–XXIX. Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993. doi: 10.1524/9783486594225-001
- Rausch, Wilhelm. “Die Hofreien Kaiser Karls VI.” PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1949.
- Redlich, Oswald. “Die Tagebücher Kaiser Karls VI.” In *Gesamtdeutsche Vergangenheit: Festgabe für Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*, 141–51. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1938.
- Roos, Martin, ed. *Providentia Augustorum. Unter der Obhut der Kaiser: Dokumente zu den Anfängen des Temescher Banats 1716–1739*. Temeswar: Edition Musik Südost, 2018.
- Seitschek, Stefan. “Die Erbhuldigung 1728 in Kärnten, ihre Organisation und Durchführung anhand ausgewählter Quellen.” *Carinthia* I 202 (2012): 125–78.
- Seitschek, Stefan. *Die Tagebücher Kaiser Karls VI. Zwischen Arbeitseifer und Melancholie*. Horn: Berger Verlag, 2018.
- Seitschek, Stefan. “Verhandlungssache? Vorbereitungen zur Huldigung Kaiser Karls VI. in Linz.” In *Festvorbereitung – Die Planung höfischer Feste in Mitteleuropa 1500–1900*, edited by Gerhard Ammerer, Ingonda Hanneschläger, 197–220 (forthcoming).
- Soltész, Ferenc Gábor, Csaba Tóth, Géza Pálffy, ed. *Coronatio Hungarica in Nummis: Medals and Jetons from Hungarian Royal Coronations (1508–1916)*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019.
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. “Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol: Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit.” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 27, no. 3 (2000): 389–405.

- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. “Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe – Thesen – Forschungsperspektiven.” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31, no. 4 (2004): 489–527.
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. “Herstellung und Darstellung politischer Einheit: Instrumentelle und symbolische Dimensionen politischer Repräsentation im 18. Jahrhundert.” In *Die Sinnlichkeit der Macht: Herrschaft und Repräsentation seit der Frühen Neuzeit*, Historische Politikforschung 5, edited by Jan Andres, Alexa Geisthövel, and Matthias Schwengelbeck, 73–92. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2005.
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. *Rituale*. Historische Einführungen 16. 2nd ed. Frankfurt–New York: Campus Verlag, 2019.
- Vácha, Štěpán, Irena Veselá, Vít Vlnas, and Petra Vokáčová. *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna. Česká Korunovace 1723*. Prague: Paseka, 2009.
- Van Gelder, Klaas, ed. *More than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Austrian and Habsburg Studies 31. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2021.
- Van Gelder, Klaas. “Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy: Why do they matter?” In *More than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Austrian and Habsburg Studies 31, edited by Klaas Van Gelder, 1–28. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2021.
- Van Gelder, Klaas. “Inaugurations in the Austrian Netherlands: Flexible Formats at the Interface between Constitution, Political Negotiation and Representation.” In *More than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Austrian and Habsburg Studies 31, edited by Klaas van Gelder, 168–97. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2021.
- Vokáčová, Petra. “The Bohemian Coronation of Charles VI and Its Hidden Message.” *More than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Austrian and Habsburg Studies 31, edited by Klaas Van Gelder, 143–67. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2021.
- Wanger, Bernd Herbert. *Kaiserwahl und Krönung im Frankfurt des 17. Jahrhunderts. Darstellung anhand der zeitgenössischen Bild- und Schriftquellen und unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Erhebung des Jahres 1612*. Studien zur Frankfurter Geschichte 34. Frankfurt/Main: Kramer, 1994.



# Rebellious Priests? The Catholic Clergy and the Diet, 1764–1765\*

András Forgó

University of Pécs

forgo.andras@pte.hu

The study of the eighteenth-century parliament has intensified in Hungary over the past decade and a half. This tendency is part of a larger European historiographical trend which has revalued the role of the Diets in the study of eighteenth-century political decision-making and political culture. The Hungarian Diet of 1764–1765 is traditionally seen as an outstanding political event in the century, and at the same time as a turning point of the reign of Maria Theresa. After the bitter experiences gained here, she did not convene the estates of Hungary during the remaining fifteen years of her reign, she rather ruled the country by decrees with the help of the institutions of the estates in Hungary. This study is looking for the answer to the question of how the clergy's opposition to the politics of the court is represented in the sources and how the “change of sides” by the chapter representatives can be grasped in the parliamentary debates.

Keywords: Hungarian Diet, Catholic clergy, political culture, lower house, Corpus Juris Hungarici, Tripartitum, pasquillus, constitution, estates, eighteenth century

The study of the political activity of the ecclesiastical order in the eighteenth century is not a recent trend in Hungarian historiography. It has long been known in the secondary literature that the advancement of Catholic confessionalization, or in other words the massive support of Catholicism in the era, was accompanied by an increase in the role of the clergy in public life. This public role can be examined mainly through an analysis of the clergy's activity in the parliaments. The study of the activities, composition, and decision-making mechanisms of the eighteenth-century parliament has intensified in Hungary over the past decade and a half. This tendency is part of a larger European historiographical trend which has revalued the role of the Diets in the study of eighteenth-century political decision-making and political culture.<sup>1</sup>

The Diet of 1608 passed an article which specified who would be entitled to participate in the work of the parliament, a matter previously regulated exclusively by customary law. Article I included the groups of the prelates (*praelati*), barons

\* This research on which this paper is based enjoyed the support of the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and project NKFI K 116166.

1 Szijjártó, “The unexpected survival,” 27–39.

or magnates (*barones/magnates*), the nobles (*nobiles*), and the free royal cities (*liberae regiae civitates*) among the estates (*status et ordines*). It then specified the composition of the upper house (*tabula superior*) and the lower house (*tabula inferior*). As for the members of the clergy, the diocesan bishops were given the right to sit and vote in the upper house, while the representatives of the cathedral and collegiate chapters could vote in the lower house. The abbots and provosts *infulati* and *possessionati* were guaranteed a personal appearance in the Diet, but among the ordinary inhabitants of the country (*inter regnicolas*), i.e. in the lower house.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence, the clergy enjoyed substantial representation in the parliament, and if they coordinated their activities, they could influence decision-making in both the lower and the upper houses. For precisely this reason, it is important to consider how members of the ecclesiastical order behaved during the parliamentary debates.

István Szijártó has placed eighteenth-century Hungarian estate politics in a new context when he applied the theorems of “confessional corporatism” and “constitutional corporatism” to the political life of the period. The first parliaments of the eighteenth century were dominated by religious debates. The Catholic majority and the followers of the legally authorized Protestant confessions, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, were in irreconcilable conflict. Taking advantage of the new situation after the expulsion of the Ottomans, the Catholics, led by the clergy, demanded the complete suppression of Protestantism, while the Protestants demanded free religious practice based on the 1606 Treaty of Vienna.<sup>3</sup> These debates often paralyzed the work of the parliament for months. As it became almost impossible to make the decisions that were important to the court, beginning in 1715, Vienna sought to exclude the religious issue from parliamentary discussions. Eventually, this led to the

---

2 It should be noted that this regulation was not entirely in line with the approach of the ecclesiastical order: the article of the law classified only the bishops in the order of the prelates and granted the right to appear during the sessions of the upper house only to them. Contemporary canon law however, also considered abbots and provosts *infulati* to be prelates (lesser prelates, *praelati minores*). The current canon law knows only territorial prelates (*praelati territoriales*), but according to Hungarian law, they were entitled to appear only in the lower house. This gave rise to much controversy throughout the era. Bánk, *Egyházjog*, 94–100; Erdő, *Egyházjog*, 308; Eckhart, “A praecedentia kérdése,” 172–80.

3 The first point of the Peace in Vienna, which ended the armed uprising led by István Bocskai (1604–1606), allowed free religious practice for the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Hungary. Although it was later included in the laws of the country (Act I of 1608), it was never complied with in practice. This is partly explained by the fact that the Holy See considered the law invalid because of its detrimental effect on the Catholic Church, and the Holy See even held out the prospect of the public excommunication of Matthias Habsburg (Matthias II as king of Hungary), who sanctioned it. Tusor, “Die päpstliche *potestas indirecta*,” 79–93.

regulation of religious affairs in 1731 and 1734 and the issuing of the two *Carolina resolutio*.<sup>4</sup> Although this was not a reassuring solution for either party, the fact that the confessional issue was no longer a subject of debate in the Diets opened up the possibility not only for the negotiation of the reforms, but also for the defense of the constitutional order. As a consequence, an alliance of the estates across confessions could be established, which began an era that Szijártó has labelled the period of “constitutional corporatism,” when the parliament could deal more and more with the protection of the rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Szatmár (1711). This process culminated in the resistance movement of the estates at the Diet of 1764–1765. The next parliament, however, which met in 1790–1791 (after the death of Joseph II and following a 25-year pause), stirred up confessional tempers again. At this point, the Hungarian estates had to take a position on whether to codify Joseph’s policy of tolerance or to return to the religious conditions of Maria Theresa’s reign. The parliament eventually passed a law with the same meaning as the Edict of Tolerance, so religion once again could be removed from the agenda and the estates could continue to focus on the protection of the constitution.<sup>5</sup>

In his work on the eighteenth-century history of the Hungarian episcopate, Joachim Bahlcke formulated a definitive thesis about the relationship of the prelates to the court and thus, indirectly, about their role in public life. The central idea of the monograph is that, in the first half of the century, the prelates worked closely with the court on building the Catholic institutional system and at the same time resolutely supported the policy of the rulers in Hungary. In the middle of the century, however, there was a sharp turn: cooperation turned into opposition. Maria Theresa’s measures to reform the Catholic Church and to reduce the influence of the ecclesiastical order in Hungary provoked fierce resistance from the prelates. According to Bahlcke, the change in the relationship was first made noticeable by the Viennese reception of the famous *Enchiridion de fide* by Bishop Márton Padányi Biró of Veszprém.<sup>6</sup> The document, which was extremely anti-Protestant, was banned by Maria Theresa, mainly due to its turbulent reception abroad. However, the real clash, according to Bahlcke, took

4 The decree issued by Charles VI (Charles III as king of Hungary) in 1731 and confirmed and supplemented in 1734 regulated the living conditions of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Hungary until the famous decree of Joseph II in 1781. Although within a very strict framework, the regulation allowed them to practice their religion in a limited way and operate their institutional system, unlike the Protestants in Austria. Forgó, “Formen der Spätkonfessionalisierung,” 273–87.

5 Szijártó, “A konfessionális rendiségűtől az alkotmányos rendiségig,” 37–62.

6 *Enchiridion Martini Bironii Padani episcopi Wessprimensis*.

place in the Diet of 1764–1765, when the clergy joined the clerical resistance generated by the writing of Adam František Kollár, director of the Vienna Library, which is to be discussed in more detail later. Unsurprisingly, the conflict only became really aggravated during the reign of Joseph II. When Pius VI visited Vienna, the Hungarian prelates took joint action against the ruler's measures affecting the Catholic Church. Thus, in Bahlcke's wording, cooperation became confrontation. In other words, by the end of the century, the Hungarian prelates turned against the politics of the court.<sup>7</sup>

Bahlcke's thesis has previously been criticized by many in Hungarian historiography,<sup>8</sup> but it is noteworthy in his argumentation that, like István Szijártó, he considers the parliament of 1764–1765 an important stage of open confrontation. The work of Mihály Horváth discussing the same parliament refines the picture outlined by Bahlcke on the clergy's role. According to Horváth, the clergy was united in the support of the opposition put up by the estates in the Kollár case, and the lower house clergy backed the opposition even at the beginning of the debate on the tax increase. At one point, however, they shifted to the side of the court, and that changed the balance of power in favor of the "ruling party."<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the following, I am looking for the answer to the question of how the clergy's opposition to the politics of the court is represented in the sources and how the "change of sides" by the chapter representatives can be grasped in the tax debates.<sup>10</sup>

### *Political Debates of the Parliament of 1764–1765*

In accordance with old traditions, Maria Theresa summoned the parliament on June 17, 1764 to Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia). The laws set a four-day deadline for the estates to assemble. As the celebration of Corpus Christi

---

7 Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*.

8 First, we can find one prelate who faced the court before the middle of the century in the person of Bishop Michael Friedrich Althann of Vác (1718–1734), who came into conflict with Charles VI due to the *Carolina resolutio*. Second, the Theresian reform program from the 1750s was supported by many prelates. Third, the Josephinist church policy tended to divide the Hungarian clergy rather than create a "united front" against the court. Forgó, "Der ungarische Klerus"; see: Gőzsy and Varga, "Bahlcke, Joachim: Ungarischer Episkopat," 70–75; Szijártó, "A kora újkori magyar rendiség," 105–11.

9 Horváth, "Az 1764-ki országgyűlés."

10 I have dealt in detail with the eighteenth century political activity of the lower house clergy: Forgó, *Egyház – Rendiség – Politikai kultúra*. In the followings, I supplement these results with new sources for the parliament of 1764–1765 and with the latest findings in the secondary literature.

fell on June 21 of that year, the first day of the meeting was held on June 22, with the presidency of Personalis Ferenc Koller in the lower house and Palatine Lajos Batthyány in the upper house. As usual, the estates invited the ruler to the parliament through an elected delegation, which marched into the city on July 3. Already the queen's itinerary and her entrance to Pozsony signaled that a new era of governance had begun: while the ceremonies before the opening of the coronation parliament in 1741 took place with the usual solemnity, in 1751 and 1764 the members of the dynasty travelled to Pozsony without the usual night stop at Petronell, and the ceremonial elements of the entry into the city were also dramatically shortened.<sup>11</sup> After receiving the propositions, the estates met again on July 5 in a so-called mixed session (*sessio mixta*) where they were all present to acquaint themselves with the text of the proposal. According to the plans, the lower house would have begun the detailed discussion on July 9. At this moment, however, the biggest scandal in the history of this parliament broke out, the outrage over the aforementioned work by Adam František Kollár.<sup>12</sup>

Maria Theresa wanted to use the Diet of 1764–1765 to implement reforms in Hungary that had already been introduced in the Czech and Austrian provinces. These reforms were primarily aimed at the transformation of taxation. Although the queen had managed to achieve a tax increase in the past,<sup>13</sup> the estates did not want to consent to the voluntary waiver of their declared tax exemption. On the one hand, reference was made to István Werbőczy's legal book, the *Tripartitum* (1514), which, although not officially part of the Hungarian *Corpus Juris*, was still highly esteemed among the nobility, mainly for the description it contained of the privileges of the estates. The *Tripartitum* stated that one of the fundamental privileges of the estates was that they were exempt from the payment of all gifts, taxes, and duties, and in return, they were obligated to provide military protection for the country.<sup>14</sup>

In defense of their tax exemption, they could also rely on Article VIII of Act 1741, in which Maria Theresa, in exchange for their financial and armed assistance in the Austrian War of Succession, reaffirmed the privileges of the Hungarian estates, first openly declaring their exemption from taxes by stating that property could not be a basis for taxation (*ne onus fundo quoquo modo inhaereat*).

11 ÖStA, HHStA, Obersthofmeisteramt, Ältere Zeremonialakten Kart. 63. ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–378<sup>v</sup>. Ungarischer Landtag in Pressburg, Reise und Zeremoniell, 1764. V. 4 – XI. 24.

12 Stefancsik, *Az 1764/65-i országgyűlés*, 8–15.

13 Horváth, "Az 1764-ki országgyűlés," 382–83.

14 Werbőczy, *Tripartitum*, I/ 9, § 5.

Thus, at the beginning of Maria Theresa's reign, the court failed to switch to land-based taxation in Hungary, as it had already done successfully in Austria. After that, Vienna had no choice but to increase the amount of the war tax (*contributio*) from parliament to parliament, and these costs were passed on to the serfs by the nobility.<sup>15</sup>

The tax reform emerged in 1764 in connection with the question of military supply: Maria Theresa considered it necessary to put an end to the obsolete noble uprising (*insurrectio*) and to establish a permanent army maintained by the nobility instead. This was contained in the royal proposals. Moreover, the settlement of the serf-landlord issue was also put on the agenda in Vienna. For tactical reasons, however, it was not included in the royal proposal, but was intended to be submitted to the parliament when, in accordance with the traditions, the estates would come forward to lament the burdens of the poor taxpaying people (*misera plebs contribuens*), that is, the peasantry. As the estates invoked historical reasons to preserve their tax exemption, the court also needed such arguments to introduce reforms. These arguments were provided by Kollár's work, which was written in Latin.<sup>16</sup>

The main purpose of the work, which stirred up a great storm, was to show that the rulers could exercise their legislative power without the consent of the estates and also that their power over the church extended to ecclesiastical property and possessions. In support of his propositions, Kollár analyzed the decrees of the Hungarian rulers from the Árpád era onwards, thus illustrating that the estates had only been able to intervene in government during the period of late medieval anarchy, and that the kings exercised power over the church without restriction. The *Tripartitum*, to which the nobility had since referred as the primary source of law, had been written during a period of anarchy, and it had never been accepted by a parliament and had even been revised by the estates themselves a few decades after its publication. The tax exemption for the nobility was rejected by Kollár on the grounds that the nobility had already been called the protector of the realm by Saint Stephen, and in the decree of Andrew II, it was stated that the nobles owed loyalty and service to the ruler in exchange for their privileges. Here Kollár refers to Article XXXI of 1222, which states that, in order to preserve their liberties, the estates owed obedience to the crown. The piquancy of this argument is that the next paragraph of the Article

---

15 Szijártó, *A diéta*, 242.

16 Kollar, *De originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis*.

is the famous resistance clause, which the estates, on the basis of the *Tripartitum*, considered the legal guarantee of any legitimate action against the ruler.

The estates understood the message of Kollár's work very clearly: the Habsburg government wanted to put an end to the uniquely strong rights of the Hungarian estates and intended to launch reforms which threatened to undermine the noble privileges in this hereditary province, too. As Kollár attacked the prerogatives of both the first and the second estates, both the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility rejected the conclusions of the work. Thus, the alliance of interests already discussed in the introduction of this paper was formed. The lower house began open resistance on July 9: it refused to discuss the royal proposals until its grievances had been remedied, which included the public burning of Kollár's work and even the punishment of the Kollár himself to set an example. Although the intervention of the upper house poured oil on troubled waters, Vienna eventually had to back down: the distribution of Kollár's work was banned, copies already sent to Hungary were confiscated, and Maria Theresa ordered an investigation on August 16 to clarify the matter. Although the lower house was still busy compiling the grievances, the work of Adam Franz Kollár was eventually taken off the agenda.<sup>17</sup>

Tempers, however, continued to flare: even though the queen was eagerly awaiting the estates' response to the propositions, the estates were now busy collecting their grievances. This was followed by the *tractatus diaetalis* on the issue of taxation. As we have seen, it was not possible to raise the idea of a formal tax reform because of Article VIII of 1741. One of the queen's confidants, Miklós Pálffy, the later Judge Royal, also warned the queen before convening the parliament against attacking this noble privilege, though he himself considered it harmful.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt that in rejecting land-based taxation, the nobility was clearly confronted with a European practice that increasingly involved privileged social groups in bearing the burden of the state, and thus for a long time prevented the reduction of the financial burdens of the common people.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that the Viennese government circles also condemned the privileges of the Hungarian estates. Wenzel Anton Kaunitz had a particularly negative opinion of the freestanding of Hungary, and he likened Hungarians

---

17 Csizmadia, *Adam Franz Kollar*.

18 Szijártó, *A diéta*, 248.

19 See Poór, *Adók, katonák, országgyűlések*, 254–55.

to ticks.<sup>20</sup> However, the court had no choice but to continue to focus only on raising the tax rate instead of on implementing comprehensive reforms.

However, in the tense atmosphere caused by Kollár's work, the estates even refrained from raising taxes, and some county deputies even wanted to reduce taxes by the same amount as had been suggested by the previous parliament in 1751. Maria Theresa, on the other hand, stood her ground: in her response to the grievances of September 19, she insisted on the need for a tax increase. The upper house also sided with the queen this time, giving up the earlier anti-government position it had adopted during the tug-of-war around Kollár's book. As a consequence, only the lower house needed to be softened and persuaded to give up its oppositional stance. This work was carried out, as usual, by the Personalis Ferenc Koller and the Royal Court of Justice. The main argument in favor of abandoning the position of the lower house was that the estates could only expect a positive assessment of their grievances if they, too, made concessions from their position on taxes. Persistent work was ultimately crowned with success: the lower house first withdrew its insistence on the restoration the level of taxation before 1751, and it eventually consented to an increase in taxes. Moreover, Maria Theresa even managed to extort support from the estates for the Royal Hungarian Noble Bodyguard. However, the court could not by any means record the outcome of the *tractatus diaetalis* in 1764–1765 as a success, as no results had been achieved with the estates on either the issue of the insurrection or the issue of feudal duties.<sup>21</sup> It is well-known that the latter was regulated by decree by the queen, but the former had not been satisfactorily settled for the court for a long time.<sup>22</sup>

### *The Role of the Clergy in the Parliamentary Debates*

The ceremonial events surrounding the opening of the parliament were not a harbinger of the subsequent behavior of the clergy: according to a report by one of the county deputies, the prelates, together with the secular dignitaries, received Maria Theresa at the border with “great honor.” The head of the Hungarian prelates, Prince-Archbishop Ferenc Barkóczy of Esztergom (1761–1765), gave a nearly half-hour-long, “unspeakably beautiful” speech in Latin to

---

20 Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism*, 313–14; H. Balázs, *Bécs és Pest-Buda*, 68.

21 Horváth, “Az 1764-ki országgyűlés,” 390–410, Stefancsik, *Az 1764/65-i országgyűlés*, 34–46; Szijártó, *A diéta*, 248–55.

22 Poór, *Adók, katonák, országgyűlések*, 162–94.

the queen.<sup>23</sup> A note from one of the court officials, which has survived in the official documents of the parliament, also highlights the primate's ornate speech, interspersed with expressions appropriate to the solemnity of the event.<sup>24</sup> In this speech, he contended that the country was lucky threefold, because Maria Theresa had visited Pozsony for the third time, after her coronation in 1741 and the parliament in 1751. Barkóczy emphasized that this time the husband of Maria Theresa, the co-ruler Francis of Lorraine, the Holy Roman emperor, and the heir to the throne, Archduke Joseph, had also come to Hungary. The primate also repeated the offering of *vitam et sanguinem*, which became famous in 1741.<sup>25</sup> At that time, thus, there was no indication of a conflict.

However, on July 10, an unknown source had already notified Kollár that a discussion of his book had begun in the upper house. Primate Barkóczy now personally accused him of trying to question the privileges and rights of the nobility and of wanting to stir up a conflict between Maria Theresa and the estates.<sup>26</sup> In the Kollár case, Barkóczy remained an advocate of the clergy, whose positions were closely followed in the court. In addition to Barkóczy, Bishop János Gusztinyi of Nyitra (1764–1777) was active in the fight against Kollár's work. He was elected to the twelve-member committee which had the task of investigating the so-called illegal allegations.

It was Gusztinyi who presented the results of the investigation to the estates, in which he made serious accusations against Kollár. According to Gusztinyi, Kollár had moved away from the faith by attacking the divine origin of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He had also supported a misguided view of ecclesiastical property, according to Gusztinyi, as this property was not owned by the ruler, who was only a guardian and protector of it. The report also refutes Kollár's attacks on the *Tripartitum*, which are seen as a defamation of the Hungarian

23 Letter from Ferenc Rosty, Vice Comes of Vas County, to his wife on July 4, 1764. Bezerédj, *Rosti Ferenc levelei*, 9.

24 "Endlich trate obbemelter Primatis Regni Fürstlichen Gnaden gegen den thron etwas nähender, und machten im nahmen des ganzen Landes eine sehr zierliche Anrede, welche wegen ihren so gemässigten, als beträchtlichen Ausdrückungen halben vollständig in das haupt Diaetal Diarium eingebracht worden ist." ÖStA HHStA Länderabteilungen, Ungarische Akten, Comititalia, Fasc. 408, konv. B, fol. 3r.- 103v. Unterthänigster Bericht über den Verlauf des auf den siebzehenden Monat Junii des 1764. Jahres allergnädigst ausgeschriebenen und in der königl(ichen) Frey-stadt Preßburg gehaltenen Landtages. 7<sup>v</sup>.

25 Hende, "Politikai reprezentáció," 42.

26 "In hesternò statuum congressu princeps praesul Strigoniensis contra opusculum Tuum longam orationem habuit, applaudentibus fere omnibus, dum pro arbitrato privilegia et jura nationis in dubium revocares, et praesenti tempore inter augustam et status turbarum semina inseminares." Unknown writer to Kollár, Pozsony, July 10, For its edition, see: *Kollár Ádám Ferenc levelezése*, 156.

nation, and it states that Kollár was deceived by “a-Catholic authors.” Finally, Gusztinyi contends that Kollár had disregarded the laws, the liberties of the estates, and the principles of canon law, and thus he had significantly threatened to infringe on the public good and the “res publica.”<sup>27</sup>

However, not all of the prelates lined up behind the opposition. Archbishop József Batthyány of Kalocsa, the second dignitary of the episcopate, played a mediating role in the conflict from the outset, thus trying to address the tense situation. As soon as the conflict broke out, Kollár turned to the archbishop, asking him to represent his interests in the parliament. In his reply, Batthyány did not deceive Kollár: he explained that it would be difficult to pacify the offended Hungarians, and he also drew Kollár’s attention to the statements from his work directed against the papal power, the church, and the nobility. He encouraged Kollár to try to clarify his position and reconcile with the participants of the parliament by writing a letter in his own defense, and he promised to do everything to help him.<sup>28</sup> Batthyány also contacted Corneille de Nény (Cornelius Franz von Neny), the cabinet secretary of Maria Theresa (1763–1776).<sup>29</sup> Nény seems to have played a significant connecting role between the Hungarian parliament and the court, because in addition to the archbishop of Kalocsa, letters in his estate survived from Palatine Lajos Batthyány, Ferenc Balassa, count of Szerém county, Pál Festetich, councilor of the chancellery, and József Demkovich, deputy of Szerém county.<sup>30</sup> Archbishop Batthyány wrote his reports to the cabinet secretary between October 3, 1764 and January 4, 1765. He wrote most of them in October and November, when, as we have seen, the debate on taxation was becoming increasingly intense. The archbishop tried to strike a balance between the estates and the court so that the queen’s intention could prevail. He sought to gain the support of the estates both in the cases of the amount of taxes which Maria Theresa sought to levy and the noble uprising. He also mentioned the contentions made by Barkóczy in opposition to the court on several occasions, but overall, he was optimistic about the clergy’s supportive attitude.<sup>31</sup> Incidentally, the resistance of Archbishop Ferenc Barkóczy

---

27 Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 275–76.

28 Kollár to Batthány, Vienna, after July 16, 1764. Batthány to Kollár, Pozsony, July 24, 1764. *Kollár Adám Ferenc levelezése*, 157, 160–61.

29 Gonsa, “Das kaiserliche Kabinett,” 541–50.

30 On the documents which survived in Nény’s estate, see: Fazekas, *A Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*, 411.

31 ÖstA HHStA, Kabinettsarchiv, Kabinettskanzlei, Nachlass Nenny, Geheime Berichte des Erzbischoffen von Colocza über den ungarischen Landtag, anni 1764/5, an den geheimen Kabinetts Sekretär Hofrath Baron Nenny, Pressbourg (in French).

of Esztergom and Palatine Lajos Batthyány to the wishes and will of the court was an extraordinary shock, even for the contemporary public. Their deaths in 1765 were attributed to them having fallen into disfavor with Maria Theresa as a result of the events in the parliament.<sup>32</sup>

The next question is when and under what circumstances the opposition attitude changed in the parliament and what role the members of the clergy played in this. Following Mihály Horváth, the scholarly literature tends to concur that the lower house gave up the rejection of the tax increase at the 41st session of the parliament on October 10, 1764. József Bajzáth, canon of Esztergom, gave a long speech in which he said that the members of the upper house had already agreed to the tax increase, so if the estates were to insist on their negative position, they would anger the queen, thus completely turning her heart against the nation. However, if they were to agree to some tax increase, she would also respond to the grievances of the estates. After this, the representatives of the clergy also espoused Bajzáth's views, and seeing this, the other members of the lower house withdrew their insistence on a reduction in taxes, and the majority accepted the tax increase.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, according to Horváth, the clergy in the lower house changed their mind during the debate and switched from the oppositional view of the lower house to the view of the court and the upper house, thus reversing the position of the whole lower house. Now, I will turn to sources which offer some insights into the ways in which the figures of the clergy who were involved in these shifts experienced the events.

János Szily, canon of Győr and the first bishop of the newly established diocese of Szombathely from 1777, represented his chapter in the parliament of 1764–1765 with his fellow canon György Herman. He regularly informed the members of his chapter about the events between July 6, 1764 and March 21, 1765, or in other words for almost the entire duration of the Diet, thus forming a picture of the whole course of the parliament. His fellow deputy is also relevant to this discussion because he is commemorated in several parliamentary satires, as we shall see, not in a particularly flattering way. According to Szily's report, the clergy, as had been the case in previous years, held special meetings during the parliament, partly with the involvement of monks.<sup>34</sup> Kollár's work is mentioned in the first letters, which also confirm that the discussion about of his work erupted in the Diet on July 9. It is also clear from Szily's letters that, in accordance with

32 Marczali, *Magyarország története*, 296.

33 Horváth, "Az 1764-ki országgyűlés," 405–8.

34 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5420. (July 6, 1764).

existing practice, the palatine, the personalis, and the protonotaries sought to expedite the work of the parliament, especially in compiling grievances, and that they urged the estates to discuss royal propositions.<sup>35</sup> The two envoys also wanted to address the grievances of their chapter in the parliament, and to achieve this, they negotiated with Archbishop Ferenc Barkóczy as well. However, Barkóczy asked them not to submit their grievances to the joint committee responsible for compiling grievances or to the parliament at the time, because, as the archbishop argued, internal conflicts should be set aside due to the fact that Kollár's book now threatened the whole ecclesiastical order. Thus, the two canons of Győr did not raise the grievances of the chapter for months.<sup>36</sup>

Szily had also following the tax debates since the beginning of September. Since the lower house initially demanded a reduction in the tax amount, on September 5, the 28th session, according to Szily's report, after the departure of the upper house delegation, Personalis Koller asked the clergy's opinion on the matter of the tax. Pál Kiss, the deputy of the cathedral chapter of Veszprém, replied with a long speech in which he indicated that the clergy agreed with the estates on everything. On the question of the noble uprising at the meeting the next day, however, the lower house clergy was no longer so united. Szily's fellow deputy, canon Herman, represented the position of the estates, while Gábor Glozer (Gloszer), who spoke on behalf of the canons of the cathedral chapter of Kalocsa, was in favor of the ruler's proposal.<sup>37</sup> The latter should not surprise us. Glozer's letter of commission explicitly stated that the chapter of Kalocsa would support the ruler's propositions.<sup>38</sup> The next day, on September 7, canon Herman again spoke in agreement with the county deputies about the noble uprising. This concord was also demonstrated at the next sitting, which was held on September 10. Canon Szily pointed out that the estates had every reason to be satisfied with the clergy, since the clergy did not oppose them, but, as they had promised at the previous parliament, the clergy had joined them on every issue.<sup>39</sup>

---

35 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5422 (June 17, 1764) and passim.

36 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5423 (June 24, 1764).

37 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5437 (September 10, 1764).

38 KFL II/1. a), vol. 1a, Protocollum capitulare actorum privatum, pag. 144–152 (the session on 25 April 1764).

39 "*Cum venerabile clero pariter status et ordines sunt contenti, quod non solum nihil contrarii statibus opposuerint (uti elapsa diaeta primi promittendo fecerunt), verum etiam eos secundaverint. Nos ultronee declaravimus semper statibus adhaesuros, dummodo et ii nobis adhaereant, quod et liberaliter promiserunt.*" GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5437 (September 10, 1764).

At the 39th session, which was held on October 1, the upper house again proposed raising the tax through the usual delegation, after which the personalis turned to the cities and the clergy for their opinion. At the time, János Szily himself spoke, arguing that since the estates knew the misery of the taxpaying ordinary people, they would join them with their vote. In contrast with Szily, György Malenich, canon of Zagreb, argued in his long speech in favor of the tax increase. This was also supported by István Bartha, canon of Eger, which is not surprising, because the abovementioned delegation of the upper house was led by Bishop Károly Eszterházy of Eger.<sup>40</sup> The canon József Bajzáth from Esztergom proposed to offer the sum which had been paid in 1751, but in the end, the majority wanted to vote for the amount reduced by the surplus from 1751, and so this position was communicated to the upper house.<sup>41</sup> In the days that followed, according to Szily's report, there was no parliamentary session, but the deputies discussed the tax issue with the palatine and the personalis in private talks. Chancellor Ferenc Esterházy then arrived in Pozsony with three of his officers,<sup>42</sup> which indicated that the pressure to accept the tax increase had grown. In the end, this increased pressure prevailed: at the meeting on October 17, which Szily apparently mistakenly calls the 54th day of the meeting, the lower house offered the abovementioned 100,000 forints for the costs of the Royal Bodyguard. At that point, even the deputies of the cathedral chapter of Várad supported raising the amount.<sup>43</sup> From then on, the issue of the tax was touched upon only sporadically in Szily's accounts, which is a clear sign of the victory of the court. On the other hand, though he was young, the canon of Győr suffered from a serious illness during this period, and although he tried to inform his chapter about the events which were taking place in parliament, he was repeatedly forced to apologize for his less and less frequent letters.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, unlike Mihály Horváth, Szily mentions neither the session of October 10 nor the speech given by József Bajzáth. However, according to the official diary of the parliament, which was certainly Horváth's main source, Bajzáth surely gave a speech.<sup>45</sup> This is confirmed by the note to the court cited above,

---

40 Unfortunately, Bartha's letter of commission has not been preserved by the *protocollum* of the chapter. MNL HML XII. 2/a, Acta conferentiarum capitularium annorum 1754 usque 1782.

41 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5430 (October 3, 1764).

42 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5431 (October 15, 1764).

43 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5432 (October 17, 1764).

44 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5432A–5438 (October 20, 1764–December 12, 1764).

45 OGYK 700.465, Acta et diarium Diaetae anni 1764–1765, pag. 138–140.

which reports not only on the speech but also on its effect on the lower house.<sup>46</sup> Compared to the scenario drawn by Mihály Horváth, Szily presents the position of the chapter deputies on the tax increase in a more nuanced way. According to him, there were canons who represented the position of the court from the outset. However, Szily's records also indicate that the majority of the clergy, together with the majority of the lower house, changed their previous opposition position mid-October and accepted the tax increase.

We get a similar picture from the diary of Károly Fejérváry, deputy of Sáros County, about the events which took place in parliament. He also dated the outbreak of the Kollár case to July 9, and he even states that it was canon Szily who suggested to the estates that the two houses set up a joint commission of inquiry into the matter and recommended that Kollár be punished and that copies of his book be burned. Pál Kiss, provost of Veszprém, the canons József Bajzáth from Esztergom, József Herman from Győr, and István Bartha from Eger were also elected to the committee. Fejérváry also mentions the speech held by Gloser on September 6, in which he supported the reform of the noble uprising advocated by the court. However, according to him, at the time, Szily behaved in a manner that suggested that he was opposed to the reforms recommended by Gloser, much as he also did at the meeting on September 28, when he interrupted Gloser's speech, and the two canons debated the issue of reforms before the lower house. Fejérváry also confirmed that Malenich's speech, which he dated to October 2, called for the adoption of the tax increase. According to Malenich, on October 10, even canon Pál Kiss of Veszprém urged a compromise with the upper house, although he had previously spoken out several times in defense of the "poor taxpaying people." The phrase, which, as we have seen, is typical of the era, was used to encourage rejection of the tax increase. Fejérváry claims that canon Bajzáth also joined him. Pál Festetich also reported in his letters to cabinet secretary Nény on the division of the canons, although his account differs somewhat from the two cited above. He mentioned István Bartha, canon of Eger, as the leader of the "opposition" canons, alongside Pál Kiss.<sup>47</sup>

---

46 "Auf diesen gleich erwähnten vortrag haben sich endlich die gesamten H[erren] Stände einhellig entschlossen, das abgemelte anno 1751 erhobene Quantum neuerdings zu bestätigen..." ÖStA HHStA Länderabteilungen, Ungarische Akten, Comititalia Fasc. 408, konv. B, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-103<sup>v</sup>. Unterthänigster Bericht... fol. 97<sup>v</sup>.

47 Nagy, "A káptalani követek hangadói," 179–83.

After the Christmas break, the work of the parliament continued in January 1765. The drafting of the articles had begun, but other domestic issues had also come to the fore. From the point of view of our topic, it is worth mentioning the tensions around the anonymous pamphlet written by György Richwaldszky, canon of Esztergom, entitled *Vexatio dat intellectum*. The work was met with great resentment in court circles because it drew attention to the attack on the liberties of the estates and the dangers of the introduction of foreign legal practices. Richwaldszky called on the estates not to give up any of their rights, and he called on the Locumtenential Council to ensure that the ruler's instructions did not violate the laws of the country or the prerogatives of the church. He also suggested that those who violate the "sovereignty" of the estates should be prosecuted for crimes of high treason. Railing against the spread of the teaching of natural law, which in his assessment threatened both the church and the old state system, he also emphasized that the interests of the nobility were the same as the interests of the clergy. All in all, he summarized the opposition of the estates to the issues raised by Kollár. It is a telling fact that the pamphlet still spread in manuscript form during the 1764–1765 parliament, but in 1785 it was printed in a Latin-German bilingual edition, so its points also served as weapons against the politics of Joseph II.<sup>48</sup>

Because of the pamphlet, which was publicly burned in Pozsony in 1765 at the order of the ruler, military forces were ordered to come to the town in which the Diet was held, and several members of the ecclesiastical and secular communities were interrogated. A sum of 2,000 gold was offered to anyone who could provide information about Richwaldszky's whereabouts. In his report, however, Szily did not consider it probable that the investigation would produce results.<sup>49</sup> And indeed, although Richwaldszky was suspected of having been the author of the pamphlet, the authorities failed to prove that he had written it. Nor did he lose the favor of the court, as proven by the fact that he was later involved in the preparation of the diocesan reform in the 1770s.<sup>50</sup> This case is interesting from the perspective of the discussion here because in the person of Richwaldszky we find a canon who rebelled against the royal politics as early as 1765, albeit not during the lower house meetings, but in the form of an anonymous pamphlet.

---

48 *Vexatio dat intellectum*. Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 281–87.

49 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5451 (Mach 5, 1765).

50 Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 283.

Opposition to the policies of the court among members of the clergy was seen as exceptional even by contemporaries. According to general opinion, they were supporters of the “ruling party.” This view is reflected in particular in the *pasquilli*, that is, in the pamphlets which attacked the individual participants of the Diets. The Parliament of 1764–1765 abounds in *pasquilli* of this kind, which attacked the chapter deputies mainly in their person. Of these, the satire written against the aforementioned canon György Herman of Győr stands out. In addition to his allegedly immoral way of life (he was brought into disrepute because of a claim according to which he had had affairs with several girls and women from Győr), he was accused of supporting the issue of a tax increase in the parliament from the outset. According to one of the *pasquilli*, he agreed with Adam František Kollár that the priesthood should pay taxes, and allegedly, he could not even speak Latin properly.<sup>51</sup> As we have seen, the records of canon Szily do not substantiate these accusations either, and it is particularly difficult to believe that the deputy, who had been elected to serve as the orator of the lower house delegation in August 1764,<sup>52</sup> could not word his sentences precisely. On the contrary, Herman was known as a distinguished speaker,<sup>53</sup> many of whose speeches survived. It was he who spoke at the funeral of Archbishop Barkóczy in 1765 in Pozsony.<sup>54</sup> It is easy to imagine that Szily blunted the edge of his fellow deputy’s speeches in his accounts, but we can still assume that the author of the (anonymous) *pasquillus* exaggerated the weight of Herman’s pro-court manifestations.

The most fervent opposition among the canons was undoubtedly shown by József Bajzáth, the deputy of the Esztergom chapter. In most cases, he led the lower house delegation and, according to Szily’s accounts, he expressed his views innumerable times, or more narrowly, his rejection of the court’s demands. It is no coincidence that he, too, was suspected of having authored the *Vexatio*.<sup>55</sup> Among the opposition, however, he was particularly popular. According to one of the verses celebrating him, he deserved the bishop’s mitre because he spoke

---

51 Nem eszemhez való publica szólnani / Mert én nem tanultam nyelvet mértékelni. / Ország dolgát azok tudják megfontolni / Kiknek nyelvek nem nagy, eszek nem parányi. / Én nagy tudományom kevélységben vagon, / Eszem is, iszom is, amit tetszik nagyon, / Hogy ahová járok, erőm ott ne fogyjon. Téglás, *A történeti pasquillus*, 101–3.

52 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5424 (August 13, 1764).

53 Bedy, *A győri székeskáptalan*, 466.

54 Nagy “Ha nézem a Papokat.”

55 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5451 (March 5, 1765).

with the voice of the people and even of God in his speeches.<sup>56</sup> His oppositional conduct, however, did not jeopardize his political or ecclesiastical career, as a few months after the closure of the parliament, he became court councilor and officer of the Hungarian Court Chancellery, while at the same time he was also granted the title of bishop of Ansaria. By 1773, he had already been vice-chancellor and secret councilor, and in 1777, he was appointed bishop of Veszprém by the queen.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, canon Pál Kiss of Veszprém was an oppositional voice in September 1764, when, according to Szily, his aforementioned speech was made, and Mihály Horváth has confirmed this in his research as well.<sup>58</sup> Yet one of the *pasquilli* condemns him along with Herman and says he is of humble descent, though he most probably was the descendent of a noble family.<sup>59</sup> These two cases remind us that the anonymous pamphlets can only be used with caution as expressions of “public opinion,” and we cannot always decide with certainty how far the accusations against the people ridiculed reflect the real facts and how many of these accusations were just clichés attributed to the social group to which the people targeted belonged. According to Festetich’s report, canon István Bartha of Eger, in agreement with several other county deputies, suggested keeping the Kollár issue on the agenda on August 7,<sup>60</sup> and he even led the delegation of the lower house in September,<sup>61</sup> but as we have seen, at the October 2 meeting, in agreement with his bishop, he opposed the tax reduction.<sup>62</sup> On October 12, he was one of the deputies who called for a tax increase.<sup>63</sup>

Szily himself can also be classified as one of the canons who initially supported the opposition, and this did not ruin his career either, as his aforementioned appointment to the seat of Szombathely clearly testifies. These nuances are interesting because, according to contemporary opinion, the deputies of the cathedral chapters, in the hope of an episcopal mitre, supported the ruler’s politics.<sup>64</sup> These examples, however, show that espousing a position

56 “Orator Patriae, mytram tibi Patria uovet, / Vox tua, vox populī, vox sacra, vox Dei est.” Stefancsik, *Az 1764/65-i országgyűlés*, 40.

57 Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok*, 367–69.

58 Horváth, “Az 1764-ki országgyűlés,” 393.

59 Nagy, “Ha nézem a Papokat,” 244.

60 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5424 (August 13, 1764).

61 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5437 (September 10, 1764).

62 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5430 (October 3, 1764).

63 GyEL II/1. Theca XLII, Nr. 5432 (October 17, 1764).

64 Szijártó, *A diéta*, 167.

in opposition to the wishes of the court did not necessarily lead to one being ignored when appointments were later made.

Among the consistently royalist canons, the aforementioned Gábor Gloser from Kalocsa and György Malenich from Zagreb stand out. Gloser was also targeted by one of the *pasquilli*, in which he was rebuked for his allegedly common origin.<sup>65</sup> It is no coincidence that ignoble origin was an rebuke made in many *pasquilli*: historical research has also confirmed that the number of canons of humble origin in the chapters increased greatly in the eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Gloser, whose pro-court behavior, as we have seen, was in accordance with his letter of commission, later held minor ecclesiastical and secular offices: in 1775 he was appointed to serve as provost of Felsőörs and, in 1777, as a prelate of the royal court.<sup>67</sup> Canon György Malenich of Zagreb won the provostship of Buda from Maria Theresa in 1754 and the title of abbot of Zselicszentjakab in 1760, but later he did not advance in the hierarchy of the church.<sup>68</sup> It is noteworthy, then, that a show of support for the court by the canons was not an absolute guarantee for later career advancement either.

Returning to our question, we can state that the sources only partially confirm the general conclusions in the secondary literature in connection with the parliament of 1764–1765. On the one hand, the unified opposition of the prelates in connection with the Kollár affair seems exaggerated. It is quite clear that the clergy acted in an organized manner against Kollár's work, which, quite unsurprisingly, was coordinated by Archbishop Barkóczy himself. The claim, however, that all prelates adopted an oppositional stance cannot be substantiated. This conclusion seems to be refuted by the activity of József Batthyány and the role of Bishop Károly Eszterházy of Eger: canon Szily mentions the upper house delegation led by Eszterházy eight times, and in each case this delegation represented the position of the court. As usual, these delegations were led by clerics, and according to Szily's accounts in 1764–1765, Eszterházy was the most active among the bishops.<sup>69</sup> This is reinforced by an anonymous source from the royal court.<sup>70</sup> Thus, even if Maria Theresa was disappointed with Archbishop

---

65 Tégla, *A történeti pasquillus*, 103.

66 Nagy, "Ha nézem a Papokat," 247.

67 Lakatos, *A kalocsa-bácsi főegyházmegye*, 24.

68 MNL OL A 57, vol. 43, 351–53; vol. 45, 425–26.

69 Regardless, Archbishop Batthyány did not have a very good opinion of him, because he thought Eszterházy was overly stubborn in his approach to politics. See: Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 279.

70 ÖStA HHStA Länderabteilungen, Ungarische Akten, Comitalia Fasc. 408, konv. B, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>–103<sup>v</sup>. *Unterthänigster Bericht*, passim.

Barkóczy, the second and third dignities of the Hungarian Catholic Church remained loyal to Vienna. It also seems an oversimplification to claim that the canons initially took a completely united position in opposition to court in the lower house tax disputes and then unexpectedly switched as a group. In fact, there were lower house clerics who supported the position of the court from the outset, while the majority of those who were against the proposal made by the court changed their minds gradually before supporting the court's aims, along with the other lower house representatives.

Concerning the political affiliation of the county deputies, István Szijártó has convincingly refuted the popular opinion that the counties with Protestant majorities beyond the Tisza River were the leaders of the opposition in the eighteenth century parliaments, while the counties with Catholic majorities were supporters of the court. Much as in the whole course of the second half of the century, in 1764–1765 most of the deputies of in the counties which were in opposition to the court were Catholics.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, it is not clear that in 1764–1765, at the initial phase of the discussion of the Kollár affair and the tax issue, the clergy as a whole belonged to the opposition. Like the county deputies, the clergy was also divided and represented different political positions. The parliament of 1764–1765 differs from the previous ones in that we find among them speakers who (temporarily) spoke openly against the aspirations of the court. More precisely, this phenomenon is not new either, since earlier (and later, in 1790–1791), part of the clergy opposed the ruler's position several times, but only on matters of religion.<sup>72</sup> In 1764–1765, however, several of them also became political supporters of the oppositional positions represented by the estates.

### *Archival Sources*

Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár [Diocesan Archives Győr] (GyEL)

II. Káptalani Levéltár [Chapter Archives]

1. Theca XLII

Kalocsai Főegyházmegyei Levéltár [Archdiocesan Archives Kalocsa] (KFL)

II. Kalocsai Főszékeskáptalani Levéltár [Arch-Chapter Archives Kalocsa]

1a) Főkáptalani magániratok, Jegyzőkönyvek [Private documents, protocols]

71 Szijártó, *A 18. századi Magyarország*, 167; see: Szijártó, *Estates and Constitutions*, 150–53.

72 Forgó, *Egyház – Rendiség – Politikai kultúra*, 72–87, 198–209.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives] (MNL)

Heves Megyei Levéltár [Heves County Archives] (HML)

XII. Egyházi szervezetek és intézmények [Ecclesiastical organizations and institutions]

2. Az egri káptalan magánlevéltára [Private Archives of the Chapter of Eger]

Országos Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary] (OL)

A) Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár [Hungarian Chancellery Archives]

57. Libri regii

Országgyűlési Könyvtár [Library of the Hungarian Parliament] (OGyK)

Magyar Parlamenti Gyűjtemény [Hungarian Parliament Collection] (MPGy)

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA)

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA)

Kabinettsarchiv

Kabinettskanzlei

Nachlass Nenny

Länderabteilungen

Ungarische Akten

Comitalia

Obersthofmeisteramt,

Ältere Zeremonialakten

## *Bibliography*

### Printed sources

Bezerédj, István. “Rosti Ferenc levelei az 1764–65. évi pozsonyi országgyűlésről” [Letters of Ferenc Rosti from the Diet of 1764–65 in Pozsony]. *Dunántúli Szemle* 10 (1943): 4–21.

*Enchiridion Martini Bironii Padani episcopi Weszprimiensis, de fide, haeresiarchis, ac eorum asseclis, ... deque constitutionibus, atque decretis imperatorum & regum, contra dissipatores catholicae ecclesiae editis: diotrephi seu Acatolicis in Hungaria commorantibus, ad ... Mariam Theresiam, ... exhibitum*, Jaurini 1750.

Kollar, Adam Franciscus. *De originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis legislatoriae circa sacra Apostolicorum Regum Ungariae*. Vindobonae, 1764.

*Kollár Ádám Ferenc levelezése* [Correspondence of Ádám Ferenc Kollár]. Edited by István Soós. *Commercia litteraria eruditorum Hungariae* 4. Budapest: Universitas, 2000.

Vexatio dat intellectum. Manuscriptum sub diaeta Regni Hungariae anno MDCCLXIV, vulgatum, et mox XII. Kal. Mart. an. MDCCLXV. Posonii in foro publico per manus carnificis combustum, cum omnia illa, quae nunc regno huic accidunt, in eodem praedicta habeantur, una cum facta super eodem scripto Apologia ad perpetuam rei memoriam nunc primum typis excusum. S. l. 1785

Werbőczy, István. *Tripartitum. A dícsőséges Magyar Királyság szokásjogának Hármaskönyve. Latin-magyar kétnyelvű kiadás* [Customary law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary in Three Parts] Budapest: Téka, 1990.

#### Secondary literature

Bahlcke, Joachim. *Ungarischer Episkopat und österreichische Monarchie: Von einer Partnerschaft zur Konfrontation*. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 23. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005.

Bánk, József. *Egyházi jog* [Canon law]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1958.

Csizmadia, Andor. *Adam Franz Kollar und die ungarische rechtshistorische Forschung*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 398. Vienna: VÖAW, 1982.

Bedy, Vince. *A győri székeskáptalan története* [History of the Cathedral Chapter of Győr]. Győr, 1938.

Eckhart, Ferenc. “A praecedentia kérdése a magyar rendi országgyűléseken” [The question of *praecedentia* in the Hungarian Diets]. In *Notter Antal Emlékkönyv. Dolgozatok az egyházi jogból és a vele kapcsolatos jogterületekről*, edited by Pál Angyal, Jusztin Baranyai, and Mihály Móra, 172–80. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1941.

Erdő, Péter. *Egyházi jog* [Canon law]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2005.

Fazekas, István. *A Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv magyar vonatkozású iratai* [Documents of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv related to Hungary]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 2015.

Forgó, András. “Der ungarische Klerus des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen konfessionellem und konstitutionellem Ständewesen.” In: *Frühneuezeitforschung in der Habsburgermonarchie: Adel und Wiener Hof – Konfessionalisierung – Siebenbürgen*, edited by István Fazekas, Martin Scheutz, Csaba Szabó, and Thomas Winkelbauer, 273–89. Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien 7. Vienna: Collegium Hungaricum, 2013.

Forgó, András. “Formen der Spätkonfessionalisierung im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts.” In *Adel und Religion in der frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie. Annäherung an ein gesamtösterreichisches Thema*, edited by Katrin Keller, Petr Mat’ a, and Martin Scheutz, 273–87. Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 2017.

- Forgó, András. *Egyház – Rendiség – Politikai kultúra. Papok és szerzetesek a 18. század országgyűlésein* [Church – Estates – Political culture: Priests and monks at the 18th-century Diets]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2017.
- Gonsa, Gerhard. “Das kaiserliche Kabinett.” In *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Michael Hochedlinger, Petr Mat’á, and Thomas Winkelbauer, 541–50. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 62/1. Vienna: Böhlau, 2019.
- Gőzsy, Zoltán, Szabolcs Varga. “Bahleke, Joachim: Ungarischer Episkopat und Österreichische Monarchie.” In *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 9, no. 1 (2008): 70–75.
- H. Balázs, Éva. *Bécs és Pest-Buda a régi századvégen, 1765–1800* [Vienna and Pest-Buda at the end of the past century]. Budapest: Magvető, 1987.
- Hende, Fanni. “Politikai reprezentáció a magyar országgyűléseken 1687 és 1765 között” [Political representation at the Hungarian Diets from 1687 to 1765]. PhD thesis, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2017.
- Horváth, Mihály. “Az 1764-ki országgyűlés története” [History of the Diet of 1764]. In *Horváth Mihály kisebb történelmi munkái*, vol. 1, 375–422. Pest, 1868.
- Kollányi, Ferenc. *Esztergomi kanonokok, 1100–1900* [Canons of Esztergom, 1100–1900]. Esztergom, 1900.
- Lakatos, Andor, ed. *A kalocsa-bácsi főegyházmegye történeti sematizmusa 1777–1923. Schematismus historicus cleri archidioecesis Colocensis et Bacsiensis 1777–1923*. Kalocsa: Kalocsai Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, 2002.
- Marczali, Henrik. *Magyarország története III. Károlytól a Bécsi congressusig, 1711–1815* [History of Hungary from Charles III to the Congress of Vienna, 1711–1815]. Vol. 8 of *A magyar nemzet története*, Budapest: Athenaeum, 1898.
- Nagy, János. “Ha nézem a Papokat, mind ellenünk vannak.’ A káptalani követek ábrázolása a XVIII. századi országgyűlési pasquillusokban” [“As I look at the priests, they are all against us.” Chapter deputies in 18th-century Parliament *pasquilli*]. In *Doromb: Közköltészeti tanulmányok 3*, edited by István Csörsz Rumén, 237–48. Budapest: Reciti, 2014.
- Nagy, János. “A káptalani követek hangadóí az 1751. és 1764–1765. évi országgyűlésen” [Opinion leaders of the chapter representatives on the Diets 1751 and 1764–1765]. In *Katolikus egyházi társadalom Magyarországon a 18. században*, edited by András Forgó, and Zoltán Gőzsy, 171–96. Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Műhely 11. Pécs: META, 2019.
- Poór, János. *Adók, katonák, országgyűlések, 1796–1811/1812* [Taxes, soldiers, Diets, 1796–1811/1812]. Budapest: Universitas, 2003.
- Stefancsik, Benedek Konrád. *Az 1764/65-i országgyűlés* [The Diet of 1764–1765]. Kassa [1942].

- Szabo, Franz J. *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism, 1753–1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Szijártó M. István. “The unexpected survival of the dualism of king and estates: The case of the Kingdom of Hungary, 17th–18th centuries.” In *Three Dates of the Tragic Fifty Years of Europe (1598–1618–1648): Russia and the West During the Time of Troubles, Religious Conflicts, and the Thirty Years’ War*, edited by Vladislav Nazarov, and Pavel Uvarov, 27–39. Moscow: IVI RAN, 2018.
- Szijártó M. István. *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The Diet. Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792]. Budapest: Osiris, 2005.
- Szijártó, M. István. *Estates and constitution: The parliament in eighteenth-century Hungary*. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2020.
- Szijártó, M. István. “A ‘konfesszionális rendiségtől az alkotmányos rendiségig’: Lehetőségek és feladatok a 18. századi magyar rendiség kutatásában” [From confessional corporatism” to “constitutional corporatism”: Opportunities and tasks in the research of the estates in 18th-century Hungary]. *Történelmi Szemle* 54, no. 1 (2012): 37–62.
- Szijártó, M. István. “A kora újkori magyar rendiség az újabb szakirodalomban 1–2” [The estates of early modern Hungary in the recent literature]. *Aetas* 24, no. 3 (2009): 83–111; *Aetas* 24, no. 4 (2009): 111–38.
- Szijártó, M., István. *A 18. századi Magyarország rendi országgyűlése* [The eighteenth-century Diet of Hungary]. Budapest: Országház Könyvkiadó, 2016.
- Téglás J., Béla. *A történeti pasquillus a magyar irodalomban* [The historical *pasquillus* in the Hungarian literature]. Szeged: Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Intézet, 1928.
- Tusor, Péter. “Die päpstliche *potestas indirecta* und die habsburgische Religionspolitik am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts.” In *Das Trienter Konzil und seine Rezeption im Ungarn des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Márta Fata, András Forgó, Gabriele Haug-Moritz, and Anton Schindling, 79–93. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 171. Münster: Aschendorff, 2019.

# With or without Estates? Governorship in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century

Krisztina Kulcsár

*National Archives of Hungary*

*kulcsar.krisztina@mnl.gov.hu*

In the eighteenth century, the Hungarian estates had the greatest influence among the estates of the provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. The main representative of the estates was the palatine, appointed by the monarch but elected by the estates at the Diet. He performed substantial judicial, administrative, financial, and military tasks in the Kingdom of Hungary. After 1526, the Habsburg sovereigns opted to rule the country on several occasions through governors who were appointed precisely because of the broad influence of the palatine. In this essay, I examine the reasons why the politically strong Hungarian estates in the eighteenth century accepted the appointment of governors instead of a palatine. I also consider what the rights and duties of these governors were, the extent to which these rights and duties differed from those of the palatine, and what changes they went through in the early modern period. I show how the idea and practice of appointing archdukes as governors or palatines was conceived and evolved at the end of the eighteenth century. The circumstances of these appointments of Francis Stephen of Lorraine, future son-in-law of Charles VI, Prince Albert of Saxony(-Teschen), future son-in-law of Maria Theresa and Archduke Joseph, shed light on considerations and interests which lay in the background of the compromises and political bargains made between the Habsburg(-Lorraine) rulers and the Hungarian estates.

Keywords: Hungarian estates, governor, palatine, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Prince Albert of Saxony(-Teschen)

## *Introduction*

In the Kingdom of Hungary in the early modern period, the privileges, rights, and obligations of the monarch and the estates were determined partly by customary law and partly by having been codified at the Diet over the centuries. As a result, the Hungarian estates were by far the strongest in the Habsburg Monarchy, and they enjoyed extensive rights.<sup>1</sup> Their main representative was the palatine, appointed by the monarch but elected by the estates at the Diet. In

---

1 H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs*, esp. 58–62; Beales, *Joseph II*, 477–84; Evans, *Das Werden*, 177–87, 191–93; Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 157–68, 186, 240–41; Szigjártó M., *A diéta*, 32–35; Szigjártó, *The Diet*, 137.

the Middle Ages, the palatine's term of office lasted for a specific period of time, until replacement, resignation or death.<sup>2</sup> From 1526 onwards, the post was given for life by law (Act XXII of 1526).<sup>3</sup> The palatine played a mediatory role between the estates and the king and swore his oath of office after his election at the Diet in front of the monarch and the estates.<sup>4</sup>

As opposed to the palatine, the governor (*locumtenens*) received his post without the involvement of the estates. His mandate was usually temporary, and his tasks were defined by the ruler.<sup>5</sup> The job of the governor was to execute the ruler's decrees and in the early modern period the office holder operated outside Hungarian constitutional law. His task was thus not the representation of the estates or mediation between the monarch and the estates. This is well illustrated by the fact that he swore his oath in front of the monarch alone, and the representatives of the Hungarian estates were not present at those occasions. The only Hungarians attending were royal office holders or church dignitaries.<sup>6</sup>

This paper focuses on the how the influence of the estates was reduced in the eighteenth century: the Habsburg practice of side-lining the Hungarian estates and appointing governors. The purpose of this contribution is to consider the people who filled the office of the governor with the aim of exploring what their rights and duties were, the extent to which these rights and duties differed from those of the palatine, and what changes they went through in the early modern period. I seek, furthermore, to examine the arguments the Viennese Court made when appointing governors, and why the Hungarian estates in the eighteenth century might have accepted these Habsburg appointees.

### *Palatine and Governor: Compromises prior to the Eighteenth Century*

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the palatine (*comes palatinus, comes palatinus regis*) was the highest-ranking secular official after the king. Initially, he was an official of the royal household (*comes palatii*)<sup>7</sup> with important judicial powers. The governor was always appointed (and discharged) by the king, but according to

2 C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 37, 130–34, 334–35.

3 Ibid., 156–58; CJH I. Act XXII of 1526.

4 C. Tóth, "Az ország nádora," 444–45, 447; C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 344; Szócs, *A nádori*, 241–46; CJH I. Act XXXIII of 1492.

5 Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 280–89; C. Tóth, "A nádori cikkelyek," 38.

6 Cf. for example MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 5, p. 228–29, MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 47, p. 365–67, and MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1765/458.

7 Szócs, *A nádori*, 25–49; C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 32–33.

the most recent research, from as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, this office was elective by the Hungarian estates at the Diet.<sup>8</sup> At this time, the name (*regni Hungariae palatinus*) and tasks also changed.

The title of palatine was not the same as the title of the deputy to the monarch, as the king endowed the latter with various powers. Until 1490, the king appointed a deputy (*vicarius*) for the period of his absence or when he was abroad, and this deputy could take steps on behalf of the king and could use his seal. After 1490, the monarch appointed governors (*locumtenens*), who could operate under their own name and seal.<sup>9</sup> One must also distinguish between the case when the country had no monarch and when the legal heir was underage. In such cases, the estates themselves elected a deputy (*gubernator*) and invested him with royal prerogatives (e.g. János Hunyadi in 1446, who was the first person to hold this role in Hungary).<sup>10</sup> This post, however, was different from that of both the palatine and the governor.

After their accession to the throne of Hungary in 1526, Habsburg rulers always resided outside the kingdom, so deputizing for them was of paramount importance. Initially, they governed through a governor (*locumtenens*, lieutenant-general), who stood in for the king not when the ruler was “temporarily” outside the country but when he was permanently residing elsewhere (even if permanent residence in Vienna was not considered by public law as a real absence from 1573 on<sup>11</sup>). Until 1530, the monarch appointed the palatine as governor, thus fulfilling the wishes of the estates. In return, he could count on their military help. However, this powerful dignitary often proved too difficult to handle politically. The only way the king could counter the growing influence and power of the estates was by leaving the position of palatine unoccupied. Consequently, until 1554, the monarch relied on the governor he appointed as his deputy.<sup>12</sup>

As a compromise to resolve the conflict between the ruler and the estates, Tamás Nádasdy was appointed palatine (1554–1562). It would be logical to assume that the reason for this was pure military consideration in the context of the Ottoman threat and the military situation in Transylvania. However, King

---

8 For a time, the consensus in the secondary literature was that, since Act II of 1439, it was the custom for the Diet to select the palatine. This conclusion was reached on the basis of the fact that the practice was put into law in this act. However, recent research suggests that even a century earlier the palatine was chosen in this manner. C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 11, 18–21, 35–36, 157–62.

9 C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 11, 244.

10 Gábor, *A kormányzó*, 48–60; C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 198–99.

11 Gábor, *A kormányzó*, 121.

12 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 172–73.

Ferdinand I gave way also for another important reason. Given that until 1678 the Hungarian throne was not hereditary, the estates insisted on the free election of a king. In contrast, the king intended to crown his son Maximilian, so as a compromise, he agreed on the election of a palatine. The new palatine, Nádasdy obtained the medieval rights attributed to palatines, which were then codified for the first time.<sup>13</sup> Nádasdy also received the title of Captain general (*generalis et supremus capitaneus*), since the monarch needed the estates to finance the defense of the borders. Eventually, in 1556 the palatine's excessive military power was curtailed: from that point on, military affairs were controlled by the Aulic War Council, and the palatine's military right was revoked.<sup>14</sup>

After the death of Nádasdy in 1562, successive Habsburg rulers appointed governors. These loyal officials were usually Catholic clergymen who were in need of support from the state against the Protestant Hungarian estates or were appointed because they were the monarch's siblings. This situation persisted until the early seventeenth century, which indicated the tense relationship between the monarch and the estates.<sup>15</sup> Only loyal subjects of the dynasty could be appointed governors. As the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary converted to Protestantism, the governor, chosen from among Catholic prelates, could counterbalance the power of the Protestant estates. From the second half of the sixteenth century on, the governor still had several spheres of authority as "the deputy to the king": he could exercise his power to pardon (except those who wronged the king), donate land up to a certain size, issue decrees, summon assemblies, and had broad judicial discretion.<sup>16</sup>

Eventually, with the Treaty of Vienna of 1606, which put an end to the Bocskai uprising, the Hungarian estates achieved their aim: the ruler agreed to elect a palatine at the next Diet. At the Diet two years later, referring back to this promise, the election took place as a result of another compromise which was in place until Matthias II's coronation: the estates could again elect a palatine, who could protect the Hungarian constitution and the privileges of the estates.<sup>17</sup> Act III of 1608 determined the details of how to elect palatines, which were thus posited for centuries to come. The monarch designated the candidates, first three and, after 1608, four candidates. Two of them had to be Catholic, the other

13 C. Tóth, "A nádori cikkelyek," 41–42, and C. Tóth, "Az ország nádora," 225.

14 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 95, 97–98.

15 *Ibid.*, 173.

16 Ember, *Az újkori*, 101.

17 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 224–25; CJH III. Act III of 1608.

two Protestant. The fact that the act ordained that the position of the palatine be filled within a year in the event of vacancy clearly indicated the growing power of the estates. The act also gave the right to other dignitaries to summon a Diet for the sake of electing a new palatine when the position was vacant, in case the monarch was not willing to do it himself. To our knowledge, this never happened<sup>18</sup> but the act itself signals how crucial the post of the palatine was for the estates. From that point on, the position of the palatine intertwines with the post of the governor, as both titles were held by the palatine parallelly, and it also well-exemplifies the essence of the agreement between the Viennese Court and the estates.<sup>19</sup> In the seventeenth century, however, the monarchs gradually deprived the palatine of his power to deputize for the king and his other political rights, leaving primarily his judicial role.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, following the conspiracy of the Hungarian noblemen of 1670, in which the palatine himself was involved, Leopold I yet again worked through a governor (who was the Archbishop of Esztergom) until 1681. In that year the Hungarian aristocrat Pál Esterházy was elected palatine by the Hungarian estates.<sup>21</sup> Hence, his appointment was the result of a political compromise at the end of a domestic crisis in the Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> As palatine, Esterházy represented the interests of both the king and the estates, and had a mediating role, but despite his loyalty to the monarch, he primarily protected the privileges of the Hungarian estates.

### *Appointment of Governors in the Eighteenth Century*

After the insurgencies of the seventeenth century and the Rákóczi rebellion (1703–1711), at the beginning of the eighteenth century the ruler and the Hungarian estates came to an accommodation. Although the Rákóczi rebellion was suppressed, due to the external situation the Habsburg monarch was forced to make a compromise with the Hungarian estates. From 1705, Leopold I's son, Joseph I reigned over the Austro-Bohemian hereditary provinces and the Kingdom of Hungary. Yet, in 1711, before the end of the rebellion and the

---

18 Though the suggestion was allegedly raised in 1795 by Count Károly Zichy, the Lord Chief Justice, just before he was deprived of his office. Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. 1/1, 186, 205.

19 Ember, *Az újkori*, 103, 112; Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 225–29.

20 Ember, *Az újkori*, 107.

21 CJH IV. Act I of 1681.

22 Iványi, *Esterházy*, 43–56, 244.

peace treaty, the king unexpectedly died. His successor was his brother, Charles VI, who proclaimed to be king of Spain in 1703 but did not actually succeed in getting the Spanish throne. After his brother's death, Charles quickly made a compromise with the Hungarian estates so that he could focus on the War of the Spanish Succession. Thus, the Hungarians could make a favorable agreement with the king, who did not impede the election of the palatine after Esterházy's death in 1714.

The post of palatine was considered of crucial importance after the Rákóczi rebellion, for both the estates and the Viennese Court. Nevertheless, the court was not dependent on the influence of the estates: with clever politics, it could successfully influence the election even in the seventeenth century, to make sure that the palatine's position (sometimes even that of the palatine and the governor at the same time) was held by a person suitable for the court. All the court had to do was to compile a list for the assembled estates, which included the person it wished to see in the position and three others that had no chance and no repute in the eyes of the estates. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, electing a Protestant palatine was highly unlikely. Still, the monarchs could not be sure about the outcome of the election, as exemplified by the battle between the two aristocrats nominated, Count György Erdődy and Count Lajos Batthyány (the court's favorite), at the Diet of 1751.<sup>23</sup>

However, the estates retained their extensive rights and hence formed an obstacle for the Habsburgs when it came to tapping into the kingdom's resources. Therefore, the monarchs used various tools to restrict the estates so that they could not interfere in the public affairs of the country much. First, they establish new administrative institutions, which were independent of the estates. In addition, successive rulers managed this situation by summoning the Diet less and less often and leaving important posts vacant. This is what happened with the office of the palatine. During the eighteenth century, it occurred three times that after the death of a palatine, the Habsburg ruler decided to appoint a governor.

The first of these governors was Prince Francis Stephen of Lorraine (the future son-in-law of Charles VI and the fiancé of Maria Theresa), who got the position of governor after Palatine Miklós Pálffy's death in 1732 and held it until 1741, when he became co-ruler.<sup>24</sup> Between 1765 and 1780, Prince Albert

23 See Nagy, *Rendi ellenzék*, 71–80; Szijártó, *A diéta*, 300.

24 MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 36. p. 709–710; see Bakács, *Franz Stephan*.

of Saxony, the future son-in-law of Queen Maria Theresa held the post of the governor.<sup>25</sup> In 1795, following the untimely death of Palatine Archduke Alexander Leopold, his brother, Archduke Joseph was appointed governor by Francis I.<sup>26</sup>

Due to protests by the estates in the seventeenth century, it was important what grounds and arguments the Viennese court had when defeating the (potential) opposition of the estates concerning the appointment of governors. There were two notions the court emphatically applied in the documents. One was used to express that the situation was not permanent. In all three cases, partly in keeping with the letter of the law, they were in post only temporarily, *provisoriter* or *provisorio modo*. This way, in contrast with the appointment of governors in medieval times, they did not determine the duration of the assignment. In theory, their assignment lasted only until the next Diet would elect a palatine. Legally, as mentioned above, a Diet had to be convoked within a year upon the death of a palatine, as stated by Act III of 1608. Since the Diet was summoned by the ruler, he or she could sustain this temporary situation as long as they liked. The estates' response to this came in 1741, when, as a compensation for the coronation of Maria Theresa, the military support provided in the War of the Austrian succession, and the appointment of Prince Francis Stephen of Lorraine as co-ruler, the estates demanded all sorts of concessions. In 1741, for example, they had the obligatory election of the palatine reinforced (Act IX of 1741). This condition was included in the law because prior to that, in both cases, the country was administered only by a governor and the estates could not elect a palatine. Still, both Charles VI and Maria Theresa disregarded the law. Thus, the monarchs tried to avert the estates' opposition partly by employing the term *provisorio modo*.

Besides temporariness, the governor's kinship was also emphasized as a political tool in the hands of the Habsburgs. It served the purpose of preventing the estates from publicly protesting against the appointment of the governor and insisting on summoning a Diet to elect a palatine. Consequently, this element was stressed in the diplomas of appointment: Francis Stephen of Lorraine was called a 'blood relative',<sup>27</sup> and Maria Theresa also referred to her own future son-

---

25 MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 47. p. 363–64; see Kulcsár, *A helytartói státus*.

26 MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 36. p. 709–10.

27 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1732/33. It is important to note this in part because it is indicated in the sources: the Hungarian estates considered Francis Stephen a foreigner and "extraneus." Kulcsár, *Der Kaiser-Mitregent*, 70.

in-law as such.<sup>28</sup> Prince Albert was actually the son of her cousin, Archduchess Maria Josepha, Electress of Saxony, that is, really a descendant of the House of Habsburg. This practice was not unprecedented: in the Austrian Netherlands and the Austrian Hereditary Provinces, the practice was to select governors from among the closest relatives of the Habsburg ruler.<sup>29</sup> In the Kingdom of Hungary, it was only King Rudolf II in the seventeenth century, who, because he resided in Prague, appointed governors from among his brothers. Archduke Ernest of Austria held the post of the (military) governor between 1577 and 1594, and was followed by his brother, Archduke Matthias.<sup>30</sup> As mentioned above, in the early seventeenth century the estates publicly opposed this and demanded the election of a palatine. In the eighteenth century, however, neither the appointment of Prince Francis Stephen of Lorraine nor that of Prince Albert provoked public opposition. Instead, all counties sent their congratulations to the new governor upon his appointment, even if for some of them it took five months to do so.<sup>31</sup> In the late eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, Habsburg-Lorraine archdukes filled the office of the palatine. This reason and reasoning thus proved to be a useful tool against the Hungarian estates, and the governors were viewed as guarantees for the monarch.

### *Reasons for the Appointment*

After this historical overview, let us examine the reasons of the appointment of eighteenth-century governors. The most important reason was personal motivation. The cases of the two princes were similar: they did not have significant landed property or great incomes, yet they were the fiancé of a (rich) Habsburg(-Lorraine) archduchess. Furthermore, Francis Stephen, for instance, was to marry the heiress to the throne in 1732, but he did not have any considerable properties. A year after his appointment, when military troops marched into Lorraine, he really became dispossessed, because he had to give up his lands (the principality of Bar on September 14, 1736 and the principality of Lorraine in February 1737<sup>32</sup>) to Stanisław Leszczyński, the father-in-law of

28 MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 47. p. 363–64. A document issued for the prince: MNL OL, N 13 (Arch. loc. Alberti Ducis Saxoniae), Lad. 67. Fasc. 1. No. 3.

29 Hertel, *Maria Elisabeth*, passim.

30 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 69.

31 For example: MNL OL, N 13 (Arch. loc. Alberti Ducis Saxoniae), Lad. 62. Fasc. 1. No. 11; No. 23 and No. 16.

32 Zedinger, *Franz Stephan*, 66.

the French King Louis XV, who was compensated for the Polish throne lost in the War of the Polish Succession. However, in Tuscany, which was promised to Francis Stephen in return, the House of Medici ruled until mid-1737, so for a while, his only “real” dignity was as governor of the Kingdom of Hungary, one of the most significant countries of the Habsburg Monarchy. Albert of Saxony (1738–1822) was in an even more difficult situation: as the fourth son of August II, Elector of Saxony, he had no properties of his own, nor a real rank, and his allowance was extremely small.

It was therefore important in both cases that the landless, poor prince should be granted an office that brought with it dignity and rank as well as some political power. The position of the governor of Hungary seemed suitable for this purpose. It offered, although temporarily, a title, a position and of course, income. It should be stressed that the mentioned *provisorio modo* also mattered to the estates. Francis Stephen of Lorraine was on course to be elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Albert of Saxony and Archduchess Maria Christina were in line for the governorship of the Austrian Netherlands after the death of the incumbent officeholder, Maria Theresa’s brother-in-law, Charles of Lorraine.

The specific political reasons for the appointments of the two princes differed slightly. In 1732 Charles VI had grave reservations about the post of the palatine (as indicated by the fact that the new government office of internal politics established in 1723 received the modifier ‘Lieutenancy’ and not ‘Palatinal’<sup>33</sup>). He heartily disliked the office of the palatine, especially because Palatine Miklós Pálffy (1714–1732) was very popular in Hungary and managed to widen the authority of his office. When Pálffy died in 1732, Charles VI himself said that one of the main defects of the country is the exaggerated authority and influence of the palatine, owing to the estates. This was what he intended to decrease by appointing a governor and thus increase royal power and authority.<sup>34</sup> For Maria Theresa, the main consideration was to provide his son-in-law with an appropriate position. There was, however, another political reason, namely that negotiations at the Diet of 1764–1765 were unsuccessful and the planned reforms (such as the regulation of the relationship between landlords and peasants, and the provisioning of standing army<sup>35</sup>) fell through.

---

33 MNL OL, P 245 (Festetics Pál), IV. 15. Pál Festetics’s proposal on the authorities and prerogatives of the palatine.

34 ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Lothringisches Hausarchiv 39-5. fol. 9v, fol. 10v–11r. “Instruktion und Anweisung...” Laxenburg, May 17, 1732.

35 Cf. Szijártó, *The Diet*, 133.

Nonetheless, with the help of decrees, the monarch had the power to introduce reforms even in opposition to the estates. This policy was better served by a loyal governor than a palatine protecting the estates' interests.

It may seem that Prince Albert's appointment came *ad hoc* and was motivated only by personal considerations, as a result of the marriage between Albert and the monarch's daughter, and indeed, the thought of appointing a loyal blood relative was not alien in Vienna. In 1765, Maria Theresa said in a compilation about her children's future that instead of the palatine, another person should lead the kingdom, possibly an archduke, preferably one of her sons. The proposal was not new, as the idea had already come up at the court. At the meetings of the State Council, operating since 1761, the idea of giving an archduke-palatine to the Kingdom of Hungary was already brought up in the early 1760s.<sup>36</sup> The fundamental idea probably came from Pál Festetics, vice president of the Hungarian Royal Chamber, who was one of the queen's trusted advisors in Hungarian matters.<sup>37</sup>

When Palatine Count Lajos Batthyány died on October 26, 1765, the issue of whether there should be an election for palatine and who should receive the post was on the agenda. However, by then, Maria Theresa's elder sons had each been given a province of the Habsburg Monarchy to lead: the crown prince, Joseph was Holy Roman emperor and co-regent, while Leopold was grand duke of Tuscany. Archduke Charles died in 1761, and Ferdinand was intended to become governor general of Lombardy. The only possible candidate, Archduke Maximilian, was too young, only nine years old. In lack of reliable and competent Hungarian noblemen, Maria Theresa did not even consider the possibility of making her young son lead the kingdom. According to her own admission, she was unable to find suitably talented and loyal Hungarians to help him in the governance of the kingdom.<sup>38</sup> The landless Saxon prince marrying into the family came just at the right time. He was a relative with unquestionable loyalty, as he was indebted to the queen for his marriage, and his appointment helped solve the issue of governing the country.

---

36 Ember, "Der österreichische Staatsrat," 349, 1763: 2874.

37 MNL OL, P 245 (Festetics Pál), IV. 15. Pál Festetics's proposal on the authorities and prerogatives of the palatine.

38 ÖStA HHStA Habsburgisch-Lothringische Hausarchive, Hausarchiv, Hofkommission in Familienangelegenheiten 1-1. Verhandlungsakten. fol. 166v. The situation might have been different if Archduke Charles, the second-born son (1745–1761), had not died in 1761, who would have turned 20 in 1765, but so far, no traces of this possibility have been found in the sources.

In the case of Archduke Joseph in 1795, there were no such problems of livelihood and rank, but the fundamental effort to decrease or suppress the influence of the Hungarian estates is clearly noticeable. With the help of appointing a governor, Francis I wished to fill the post left vacant after the death of their brother, Palatine Archduke Alexander Leopold, and decided to appoint a governor mainly due to political reasons. The French revolution created a new political situation throughout Europe. Members of the reigning houses were even more afraid of their subjects' plotting. The members of a secret Hungarian plot of 1794, called Jacobins, were arrested and executed, but it seemed wiser to entrust the country to a governor who was a blood relation and loyal to the court than to let the seething estates elect a palatine and give them the opportunity to put a politically powerful Hungarian noblemen at the forefront of the estates.

The governors appointed in the eighteenth century were unique not only due to their person and their closeness to the dynasty. There were several differences in their tasks and scopes of authority, as compared to those of the palatines and previous governors.

### *Formal and Informal Tasks of the Governors of the Eighteenth Century*

#### Formal tasks

The duties and tasks of the eighteenth-century governors were the same as those of the palatines of the eighteenth century, but they certainly differed from those of the governors of the previous centuries. This was largely linked to changes in authority and responsibilities, as well as to certain historical events.

In the eighteenth century, the palatine kept his rights, which authorized him to represent the estates in the early modern period. These rights included presiding over the Diet and, more specifically, from 1608 onwards, over the sessions of the Upper House composed of members of high clergy and aristocracy.<sup>39</sup> At the Diet, the palatine was a mediator between the estates and the monarch, that is, his role was not limited to representation only. His tasks included appointing the members of the delegation of the Upper House, participating in joint meetings with the Lower House. The palatines (and palatine-governors) of the early modern period fulfilled all these duties related to the Diet. Nonetheless, as governors, neither Francis Stephen of Lorraine, nor Prince Albert had to act at the

---

<sup>39</sup> Szijártó M., *A diéta*, 108–11.

Diet, since during their years as governors the monarch never summoned one.<sup>40</sup> At the end of 1795 the situation was completely different. Archduke Joseph was expected to preside over the sessions in the Upper House as governor (before his election as palatine). This unusual situation generated tension and was opposed particularly by members of the Upper House.<sup>41</sup> Although the Hungarian State Councilor József Izdenczy argued that there had been thirty Diets between 1553 and 1606, when, for lack of an elected palatine, the appointed governor became the president over the sessions of the Upper House, so only because of the Diet there would not have been any need for a palatine and thus for an election of a palatine, either.<sup>42</sup> Opposition at any rate only lasted until the Diet began, when the archduke took his place as president, jointly with the Archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>43</sup> This time, beyond the urgent political need, being the ruler's relative again helped solve the conflict between the estates and the monarch.

Additionally, however, the governor acquired new responsibilities connected to the Habsburg administration in Hungary in the eighteenth century: most of all palatines and governors had to preside over the sessions of the already mentioned Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council.<sup>44</sup> The governor chaired the meetings and signed the orders sent to the kingdom's local institutions, counties, and cities. This was definitely a new responsibility, as seventeenth-century officials had no such administrative tasks.

Administration of justice was another important responsibility for the palatine and the governor, a task they had been carrying out since medieval times. In the eighteenth century, as the Chief Justice of the country, twice a year, they presided over the meetings of the Court of Appeal, a court that took the place of the court of the palatine and that of the royal governor. Here, lawsuits were only reheard in case of complaints or "appeal."<sup>45</sup> This responsibility remained unchanged; the appointed governors continued to participate in the meetings. In terms of the law (Act LXXVI of 1659), the palatine was lord lieutenant of Pest-Pilis-Solt county. This title was also given to the governors, but due to their

---

40 The role Francis Stephen played as a governor in the concursus of the 1730s (an assembly of the estates which proposed an extraordinary war tax) need further clarification. Szijártó M., *A diéta*, 235–42. Especially 238.

41 Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/1, 124; Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. I/1, 214.

42 MNL OL, I 50 (Privatbibl.), Fasc. 39. 1796. Landtag. Extractus diarii... Bemerkungen des Staatsrates Izdenczy. October 31, 1796.

43 Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. I/1, 184–216.

44 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1765/448.

45 Varga, *A Királyi Curia*, 17–18; CJH IV. Act XXV of 1722–1723.

absence, they governed the county via an administrator. In the case of Prince Albert, for example, the substitute was ordered to be appointed by the queen instead of him.<sup>46</sup> When it came to border disputes between counties, the palatine (or the governor) gave orders for an investigation and had the right to make the decision.<sup>47</sup> In the Middle Ages, the palatine was chief justice of the Jasz and Cuman privileged groups and, after their territory was purchased in 1745, the responsibility was exercised by the incumbent palatine or the governor.<sup>48</sup> They received remuneration for the post and for presiding over the Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council,<sup>49</sup> and these incomes partly ensured livelihood according to their rank.

For long, the title of captain general was regarded as one of the most important responsibilities of the palatine. It was believed to originate from the Middle Ages, but recent research has revealed that it was only added to the palatine's responsibilities as a result of the election of a palatine in 1554, claiming it was an old, medieval tradition. Back in the Middle Ages, palatines did not possess this title but charged the royal governor with the responsibility. When the Aulic War Council was established in 1556, the palatine, with his autonomous and wide military power, was deemed to be a hazard, and so the responsibility was withdrawn from him. Therefore, with the exception of Archduke Ernest, governors in the early modern times had no specific military responsibilities in Hungary, up until Prince Albert.

### Informal tasks

Due to their closeness to the monarch, however, much more was expected from the governors. These were their “informal” tasks. They were to execute the ruler's decrees with precision, serve as a source of reliable information and lend their support to certain causes. This can be illustrated by the secret instructions which were given by Charles VI to his future son-in-law Francis Stephen. In the context of Habsburg re-catholisation efforts of the 1730s, the instructions emphasized that the governors' duties were to be fulfilled in defense of the

---

46 ÖStA HHStA KA StR Prot. 1765. Nr. 2656.

47 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.) 1765/448. Proposal by the Hungarian Royal Chancellery, November 11, 1765.

48 Ibid.

49 Iványi, *Esterházy*, 279.

Roman Catholic religion. He was also to reduce the number of noblemen with the dual aim of weakening noble influence and increasing tax intake.<sup>50</sup>

There were specific instructions made for Prince Albert's new post, which differed considerably from the usual instructions for the palatine.<sup>51</sup> His task was not to solve general or on-off problems, as customarily stated in the documents prepared for the appointment of Hungarian noblemen. Instead, the surviving *addendum* regulated the handling of issues in the Hungarian Royal Lieutenantcy Council and the governor being treated according to his rank.<sup>52</sup> Concerning his judicial duties, however, he was not given any additional instructions.<sup>53</sup> The sources reveal that there were also secret instructions included for Prince Albert himself,<sup>54</sup> but the document has not survived.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, it cannot be ascertained what special tasks he was ordered to carry out, or whether there were any delicate matters to which he had to pay special attention, as there are no special provisions in the documents.

In 1795, two different governor's instructions were made for Archduke Joseph as well. The "official" order was rather personal in tone, and served more as moral guidelines, including advice on how the young, inexperienced archduke should behave.<sup>56</sup> In this document dated August 8, 1795, Francis I did not put emphasis on policies and tasks as his great grandfather Charles VI did, nor did he specify the administrative responsibilities as it was the case with Prince Albert in 1765. On the same day, Archduke Joseph received additional secret instructions, the content of which was connected to the political situation caused by the French Revolution and particularly with the monarch's loss of trust due to the Jacobin movement in Hungary. The text reveals that these were not new instructions. Apparently, Francis I endorsed the late Palatine Archduke

50 ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Lothringisches Hausarchiv 39-5. fol. 13r. fol. 17r–20v.

51 Cf. Kulcsár, "Nádorság," 53.

52 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1766/2. and MNL OL, A 35 (Con. exp.), 1766. I. No. 6.

53 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1766/299; ÖStA HHStA KA StR Prot. 1766. Nr. 14. Proposal by the Hungarian Royal Chancellery, January 3, 1766.

54 Ibid. 1765. Nr. 2997.

55 There is no sign of the draft in the State Chancellery in Vienna, and the copy which was held in the documents of the State Council was burned. No other information about the secret instructions which were given to Albert can be found on the notecards of the State Council in Győző Ember's bequest. MNL OL, P 2093 (Ember Győző hagyatéka), Staatsrat protocollumok, Gépelt kivonatok, 1765:2849.

56 ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Hausarchiv, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 12-4-6. Instruktion von Kaiser Franz II. für Erzherzog Joseph, seinen Bruder als Locumtenens (Statthalter) in Ungarn, 1795. fol. 131–150. The printed version: Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/1, 18–28.

Alexander Leopold's proposition dated April 16, 1795, which had a considerable political bias against the Hungarian estates. On the basis of this, it can be clearly stated that as governor, Archduke Joseph was ordered to act as counterbalance and take action against the Hungarian estates.<sup>57</sup>

### *Political Latitude*

However, the sources indicate that the governor within the Kingdom of Hungary had only limited powers. He was not allowed to make decisions autonomously but was reliant, rather, on the ruler's decrees from Vienna which he was to put into practice. Although Charles VI was allegedly tempted to grant rights to Francis Stephen of Lorraine that would have exceeded those of the palatine, as a precaution for future monarchs he decided against doing so.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, the sources discussed so far also indicate that eighteenth-century rulers intended to give governors a certain political importance beyond mere representation. By keeping the monarch's authority in view, they could limit the power of the Hungarian estates. For example, Charles VI promised Francis Stephen of Lorraine in his secret instructions that he would listen to his private opinion and support him, and he would decide in accordance with it, even against the opinion of the Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council. The ruler also gave him advice on how to treat the members of the council and suggested that he have preliminary discussion of the matters to be brought up in the council with a trusted advisor appointed to help him.<sup>59</sup>

In the case of Prince Albert, the queen's wish was even more straightforward: she wanted her son-in-law to play an active role in the life of the kingdom. In his memoirs, the prince recalled this as follows: "Since merely playing a symbolic role in this position was against my beliefs, and since the queen herself expected me to exercise my responsibilities with the utmost zeal, through hard work and

---

57 The original copy of the secret instruction was burned in the archives of the archduke. One copy can be found in Vienna, ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Hausarchiv, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 12-4-6. Instruktion von Kaiser Franz II. für Erzherzog Joseph, seinen Bruder als Locumtenens (Statthalter) in Ungarn, 1795. fol. 169–227. Alexander Leopold's version was published in: Mályusz, *Sándor Lípót*, 808–51. (1795. No. 181.) Palatine Joseph's version begins on p. 815. See Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/I, 29. I would like to thank András Oross of the Hungarian archival delegation in Vienna for his help.

58 ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Lothringisches Hausarchiv 39-5. fol. 11r–v.

59 ÖStA HHStA Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Lothringisches Hausarchiv 39-5. fol. 11v, fol. 12r–v.

practice I acquired all the necessary knowledge. I never neglected my duty of presiding over the meetings of the Lieutenantcy Council, I carefully read every letter and every report, I read through and signed all the documents. To put it simply, albeit somewhat reluctantly at the beginning, I conscientiously carried out all the tasks that my new post required.”<sup>60</sup> The prince’s work was aided by noble officials loyal to the court, whose opinions and beliefs the state counselors in Vienna did not doubt.<sup>61</sup>

As governor and president of the Lieutenantcy Council, the princes dealt with the most crucial matters concerning the kingdom. Official records testify that the princes were regularly asked for their opinions; what is more, when Francis Stephen of Lorraine was absent, copies of the minutes of the Lieutenantcy Council meeting were sent after him, either to Vienna or, in wartime, to the theater of operations in the south.<sup>62</sup> A more detailed future research on certain cases shall help us ascertain how much the stance the princes took determined the ruler’s decision and whether there were any issues of greater or lesser concern to them.

It should be noted, however, that in certain cases the princes themselves drew up drafts to improve the handling of the kingdom’s matters. This clearly shows how much they identified with their post, particularly in military issues. Both princes had experience in the theater of war: Francis Stephen of Lorraine gained this experience in the war against the Ottoman Empire (although he was not a very successful commander), while Prince Albert fought against the Prussians, first as a volunteer, then, from 1760, as lieutenant general in the Habsburg army. Later he became Captain General of the Kingdom of Hungary. Understandably, due to this, both princes expressed their opinion on military issues. On the basis of the personal experiences gained throughout his travels in the kingdom,<sup>63</sup> and with the help of some members of the Lieutenantcy Council, in the early 1770s Albert proposed a new, fairer distribution and billeting of the troops stationed in the country. In 1772, a draft of a new system of tax assessment was drawn up by him and his counselors. Likewise, this did not happen as a result of an official request but was an individual initiative made with the approval and support of the prince.<sup>64</sup>

60 MNL OL, P 298 (Albert hg. iratai), Nr. 2. A. II. 12/2. fol. 3r-v.

61 Kulcsár, *A 18. századi helytartó*, 1087–88.

62 MNL OL, C 1 (Prot. sess.), Duplicated minutes.

63 Cf. Kulcsár, *II. József*, passim.

64 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1771/5806, and 1772/2869.

It can also be shown that sometimes the elaborated reform plans of the governor were somewhat modified. For example, the 55-page draft he submitted about reforming the administration of the Lieutenancy Council was not fully accepted.<sup>65</sup> The draft, however, was made upon an official request to find mistakes and elaborate a new method of administration. The monarch's final decision indicates that only certain parts of Albert's proposal were used, while several elements (such as the reform he proposed concerning the work of the commissions of the council) were entirely neglected. In this case, the prince governor's task (despite his title) was to express his opinion and make a suggestion, but the draft was not accepted unconditionally, as it was stated in the secret instructions by Charles VI in the case of Francis Stephen of Lorraine. During Maria Theresa's reign the aim was different: they wished to prepare a comprehensive, well-substantiated regulation this way. Despite not always acting on his recommendations, the prince's intention was never doubted, and his work was always appreciated.

The governors' ill-defined sphere of authority occasionally led to problems. In 1766, for instance, Prince Albert arbitrarily sent back the nomination of Ferenc Subich, an official to Vienna, and transferred him to another position in his own governor's office, instead of giving him the post of secretary of the Lieutenancy Council.<sup>66</sup> By doing so, he overruled the queen's decision, a step the Hungarian Royal Chancellery called unprecedented and highly hazardous, as it was an insult on the monarch's authority and the chain of command. The queen, however, did not question the loyalty of the prince, who was grateful and indebted to her.<sup>67</sup> Thanks to his close relationship with Maria Theresa, Prince Albert was not punished for this unthoughtful and careless action. The queen unconditionally trusted the prince and knew that he did not act out of disrespect. However, in the following 15 years Prince Albert carefully limited himself to making proposals for nominations and awards, such as in the case of officials to be transferred from the Hungarian Royal Chamber to the Lieutenancy Council,<sup>68</sup> but their appointment remained to be the responsibility of the queen.

---

65 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.) 1769/33. November 17, 1768.

66 MNL OL, N 13 (Arch. loc. Alberti Ducis Saxonie), Lad. 67. Fasc. 1. No. 4. December 29. 1765.

67 MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1766/253.

68 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1772/5440.

## *Changed Spheres of Authority and Roles*

### Firth of land donation

Besides excessive political influence, there was another economic reason for governors being deemed more suitable by the monarch in the eighteenth century. This was closely linked to a sphere of authority that had changed considerably from the late seventeenth century on. In the eyes of the court, the palatine's most contested sphere of authority was the so-called palatine's firth of land donation, which meant that the palatine could grant landed properties smaller than 32 serf's plots to any nobleman without the preliminary consent of the ruler. This right was believed to have originated in the Middle Ages, though there is no basis for this conclusion. In fact, the firth of land donation was a royal prerogative, exercised by the monarch or, in case he or she was underaged, by the gubernator acting on his or her behalf.<sup>69</sup> The first example recorded was in 1509, when governor Imre Perényi donated some part of a land that fell to the monarch.<sup>70</sup> Later, too, the right could only be exercised by governors, not palatines. Act XXVI of 1567 mentioned the right as the governor's firth of donation. Still, during the seventeenth century, the right became increasingly linked to the post of palatine, presumably due to the two positions being filled by the same person.<sup>71</sup>

Eighteenth-century sources make clearly mention of the palatine's firth of land donation, on the basis of Act LXVI of 1609. The attitude to the palatine's exercising of the right had fundamentally changed: it was believed that the governor could not enjoy this royal prerogative. This restriction is also detectable in the appointment documents of the governors: despite their close relationship to the monarch, the princes were not to impinge on the ruler's power.<sup>72</sup> The reason for revoking this sphere of authority may be economic. Apparently, these donations posed a great disadvantage for the Royal Chamber. In the mid-1750s, Pál Festetics was commissioned to investigate in what ways this sphere of authority of the palatines could be limited, if not terminated. In a lengthy report written in Latin and German, Festetics examined the history of the palatine's firth of land donation. Citing the law, he argued that the idea of the firth of land donation originating from medieval times was incorrect, since

---

69 C. Tóth, "Az ország nádora," 199.

70 Ibid., 216.

71 Iványi, *Esterházy*, 76; C. Tóth, "Az ország nádora," 252.

72 Cf. MNL OL, A 1 (Orig. ref.), 1732/33. Point 5. and *ibid.*, 1766/448.

it was first mentioned in Act LXVI of 1609 (then confirmed in Act XXX of 1659 and Act I of 1681). Until then, as recent research also reveals, only the gubernators as deputies of the monarch could enjoy this right, and it was not linked to the post of palatine in any way.<sup>73</sup> By the eighteenth century, the law had changed and Palatine Pál Esterházy's practice became the dominant one for the donation of lands. This, however, often put the Royal Aulic Chamber at a disadvantage, since land donations frequently exceeded the designated size or, at times, those receiving the donations managed to get a royal donation as well, and thus could take the income of more properties away from the Chamber. To solve this problem, Festetics proposed that in case of vacancy for the palatine's position, an archduke should be appointed governor (whose sphere of authority could be restricted as needed). Moreover, the councilor also suggested that somehow the estates themselves be made to initiate the appointment. Another proposal of his which was later implemented by the queen was that in case there was no archduke in the dynasty to appoint as governor, the firth of land donation should be withdrawn from the appointee so that the number of noblemen exempt from paying taxes would not increase. The kingdom could have considerable economic benefits if smaller landowner noblemen moved to the cities, where they were obliged to pay taxes and could even be of use to the state by doing some trade or official activities.<sup>74</sup>

Based on Festetics's reasoning, the issue of land donation must have been a rather difficult one in the eighteenth century. To eliminate the disadvantages, from that century on, the right was revoked from the appointed governors: neither Francis Stephen of Lorraine, nor Prince Albert could exercise it.<sup>75</sup> As testified by the records on lands donated by the palatine, there were no new donations introduced between 1732 and 1740, and 1766 and 1780.<sup>76</sup> It may be ascertained, then, that by the eighteenth century this had become the greatest difference between the sphere of authority of the palatine and the governor: the firth of land donation was exercised only by the palatine, a right he practically obtained from the governors of the early modern times. This right was withheld from the governors of the eighteenth century.

Another example of change in the sphere of authority and political thinking was the debates concerning Archduke Joseph's appointment as governor in 1795.

73 C. Tóth, "Az ország nádora," 216, 228–29, 238, 241, 248–53.

74 Cf. H. Németh, *Polgár vagy nemes*, 81, 84–85, 95–96.

75 ÖStA HHStA KA StR Prot. 1765. Nr. 2656.

76 MNL OL, Donacionales palatinales (A 119).

In fact, by that time, even the Hungarian advisors loyal to the dynasty believed that, as opposed to the palatine, the governor should not have the firth of land donation. Thus, when in the summer of 1795 Archduke Joseph's appointment was discussed, in light of the previous examples, it was not considered to be a good idea to give him this sphere of authority. In the end, as proposed by State Councilor József Izdenczy, the archduke received the same rights as his late brother, Archduke Palatine Alexander Leopold, including the firth of land donation. However, this was not only the result of deepening trust but also had a political goal. The councilor believed that this was a way of preventing the estates from pushing for the election of a palatine.<sup>77</sup>

The role of the palatine at the coronation

The other sphere of authority of the palatine that had considerably changed from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century was his role at the coronation. According to the general view of (eighteenth-century) contemporaries and theoretical literature, the role of the palatine was indispensable at the ceremony. This argument, however, is not supported by the sources: this function of the palatine did not exist in the Middle Ages,<sup>78</sup> and there is mention of only one such case in the course of the following centuries. In 1527 the palatine was present at the coronation of Ferdinand I as king of Hungary, and, despite the medieval tradition, managed to get the opportunity to place the crown on Ferdinand's head together with the bishop of Nitra.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, it did not become an established practice, mostly because the country did not have a palatine for decades to come. As a secular dignitary, the palatine first received a role at the coronation of Queen Eleonor Magdalene of Neuburg 1681, when Palatine Pál Esterházy helped out the elderly and sickly archbishop by jointly touching the queen's shoulder with the crown.<sup>80</sup> In 1687 the palatine received an even more prominent role at the coronation of the child Joseph I. Although by this time the Lord Steward's Office in Vienna had already demonstrated on the basis of old documents that the palatine had traditionally no active role at coronations, he only asked the estates three times whether they intended to crown the future king. Still, the influential Palatine Pál Esterházy made an agreement with the

77 Domanovszky, *József nádor*, I/1, 205; Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/1, 18.

78 Holub, "A nádor," 89.

79 Pálffy, "Küzdelem," 302.

80 This custom began to spread in 1681. Bartoniek, *A magyar királykoronázások*, 150. and Pálffy, "Küzdelem," 300–1; Bak and Pálffy, *Crown*, 97.

archbishop and could eventually place the Hungarian crown on the king's head together with the archbishop.<sup>81</sup> From that point on, the palatine became an active participant in the coronation of Hungarian rulers and in the course of the following centuries he became an indispensable figure at the ceremony. The Hungarian estates themselves insisted on this “established right” and, in tense political situations, such as prior to the coronation in 1741, they required the election of a palatine as a precondition to crowning Maria Theresa. At the end of the eighteenth century, State Councilor József Izdenczy claimed that it was wrong to believe that the palatine's presence and active participation was required at the ceremony and brought up the coronation of Maximilian II as a counterexample.<sup>82</sup> Still, it must be noted that the Hungarian estates used this tool rather cleverly in the seventeenth century, and often required the election of a palatine as a precondition of coronation, thereby symbolizing their power.<sup>83</sup>

The sphere of authority of captain general

According to the widespread notion, one of the major roles of the palatine was his sphere of authority as captain general of the country (*Capitaneus generalis*), as originating from the Middle Ages. Investigating the medieval example, however, proved that the title of captain general could only be received by appointment and not as part of the post of palatine, and persons other than the incumbent palatine could also receive the title.<sup>84</sup> The title of captain general was not mentioned with regards to governors either. Although in 1554 Palatine Tamás Nádasdy received the title of captain general but he only managed to do so with the false claim that his predecessors had also had it. The document put in writing then and later called the Palatines' Act of 1486 came to existence at that time, and they tried to prove its authenticity with the made-up medieval origin.<sup>85</sup> This was, then, the result of the negotiations between Ferdinand I and the Hungarian dignitaries.<sup>86</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, however, the sphere of authority was fully withdrawn from the governors and from the palatines as well. It only made back into the law in 1681, when Pál Esterházy was appointed, on the basis of what was thought to be the Act of 1486. Later Diets repeatedly

---

81 Pálffy, “Küzdelem,” 307–8.

82 MNL OL, I 50 (Privatbibl.), Fasc. 39. 1796. Landtag. Extractus diarii... Bemerkungen des Staatsrates Izdenczy. October 31, 1796.

83 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 201.

84 C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 306–15, especially 310–11.

85 C. Tóth, “A nádori cikkelyek,” 42.

86 *Ibid.*, and C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 315–16, 332–33.

reinforced this law.<sup>87</sup> Eighteenth-century governors were not given this sphere of authority; Francis Stephen of Lorraine, for instance, had no control over the Hungarian army. Yet, in the case of Prince Albert, a considerable change took place when Maria Theresa appointed him captain general (*Capitaine général*), commander-in-chief of the foot soldiers, cavalry units, garrisons, fortresses, as well as each unit belonging to the Habsburg army stationed in Hungary.<sup>88</sup> In terms of title and authority, the new rank seemed to be the same as that of the palatine, but the sphere was rather limited owing to the Habsburg military leadership, and in fact Prince Albert had no real military authority. The new military rank was established on the basis of practice in the Austrian Netherlands and Italian territories (Tuscany and Lombardy). In 1773 the same instructions were given to the captain generals of the three provinces or countries, including Hungary, regulating the title and post of governors or governor generals.<sup>89</sup> Further research is needed to determine how much this post was linked to and differed from the Hungarian example attributed to the palatine. The end of the century witnessed a rearrangement: the palatine's post fulfilled by archdukes was again joined with the medieval rank of captain general (or, at least, with how it was posited in 1715), and it was even codified.<sup>90</sup>

Despite having had his authority concerning the military withdrawn, the palatine retained one military role: were there a general noble military mobilization (*insurrectio*), if the monarch was not in the position to attend to his duties, the palatine became commander of the troops.<sup>91</sup> In the period examined by the present paper, the only case when the nobility could have been mobilized without the palatine was during the War of the Prussian Succession in 1778. Advisors at the Viennese Court faced the problem of having to find reasons with which they could convince the nobility to mobilize without a palatine in position, but they decided to do so by referring again to the Diets between 1563 and 1608. As for the estates, they rightfully inquired who the commander of the troops would be, since the position of palatine was vacant.<sup>92</sup> Eventually, the

87 CJH IV. Act I of 1681, Act XXI of 1715.

88 MNL OL, A 57 (Libri regii), vol. 47, p. 368, 379. On the comparative irrelevance of the appointment, see Kulcsár, *A helytartói státus*, 59.

89 ÖStA KA ZSt HKR Akten 1773–37–60.

90 CJH IV. Act V of 1790.

91 C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora*, 38.

92 MNL OL, A 45 (Acta praes.), P. 1778/11. “Daß in Königreich Hungarn 46 Jahr hindurch....” Kulcsár, *Der Kaiser-Mitregent*, 76–77.

dilemma of public law did not have to be solved, as the planned Diet was not summoned.

### *A Special Situation: Archduke-Governors and Archduke-Palatines*

Changes in the palatines' sphere of authority and the policies of the Viennese Court manifested themselves even more in the late eighteenth century. In 1790, after Joseph II's death, Leopold II had to make a choice, because, as already mentioned, since 1687 the palatine's presence was necessary for the coronation ceremony. Without a palatine, he could not be crowned; however, if he permitted the estates to elect a palatine, it would increase the influence of the estates, who probably felt after Joseph II' anti-constitutional reign that they would finally have the opportunity to protect their rights and privileges. In 1790, given the French revolution and the general crisis of the Habsburg Monarchy, this idea seemed dangerous. As a compromise, Leopold II resurrected an earlier plan from the time of his mother, Maria Theresa, in a somewhat changed form.

As shown earlier, in the 1750s Pál Festetics and, then, in the 1760s the State Council of Vienna made the suggestion that someone from the Habsburg-Lorraine family could be nominated to the position of the palatine and elected with the estates' support. Even the name archduke-palatine was coined at this time. (Nevertheless, Maria Theresa probably would have preferred an archduke-governor rather than an archduke-palatine.) In 1790 the Viennese Court also wanted to postpone the election of a palatine. Initially there were discussions of appointing a governor instead. Later, during the selection of the candidates, they clearly tried not to let the estates have much influence over the matter: the advisors recommended an elderly nobleman or a completely loyal dignitary for the list, and the other candidates stood no chance whatsoever. This way, if the palatine died or resigned by mutual agreement, the monarch would have had the opportunity again to appoint a governor. However, as a gesture towards the Hungarian estates, Leopold II agreed to the appointment of a palatine. His willingness to reconcile is well-illustrated by the fact that he had the names of acceptable noblemen written on the list and agreed to his fourth son being recommended for the post without nomination, even if it meant that the archduke's name would not even come up or the Diet would elect someone else. Indeed, the election did not go very smoothly, as 25 counties insisted on electing a Hungarian nobleman for the post. The recalcitrant counties were eventually either intimidated or made to agree by the delegates loyal to the monarch. The

method of the “election” signals how limited the estates’ former right to elect a palatine now was: in the course of this well-prepared theatrical performance, Archduke Alexander Leopold became palatine by acclamation, that is, he was elected before the envelope containing the names of the four Hungarian noblemen recommended by the monarch was even opened.<sup>93</sup>

When Alexander Leopold died five years later, the new Habsburg ruler, Francis I (II) did not summon a Diet but once again nominated a governor from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine only a few days after his brother’s death.<sup>94</sup> He appointed another brother of his, Archduke Joseph.<sup>95</sup> The uncertainty of the court is clear to see when the arguments for and against the election-appointment is examined. Advisors fighting against the influence of the Hungarian estates went as far as suggesting that Francis I should appoint his brother Joseph not as governor but as palatine, thereby neglecting the estates’ right to choose, which would have gone completely against the statute law as well as customary law.<sup>96</sup> Eventually, the archduke was appointed as temporary governor of the kingdom. A year later, in 1796, when planning the next Diet, the Viennese Court again seemed reluctant to have an election for a palatine. On the one hand, it would have been offensive towards the ruling house if, discarding the model of the 1790 Diet, the Hungarian estates would have not elected the archduke by acclamation. Due to his rank, Archduke Joseph’s name could not be listed among the king’s four candidates. On the other hand, (similarly to the events of 1790), the court was afraid that election by acclamation would set a precedent and thus in the future persons not from the reigning house could be elected simply by acclamation and not in the traditional way.<sup>97</sup> In the end, owing to the threatening external situation, Francis I agreed to summoning a Diet to vote on the issues of military recruitment and war tax and to elect a palatine. During the ceremony, they kept to the formal process: even before the monarch’s envelope was opened, the estates elected Archduke Joseph by acclamation.<sup>98</sup>

93 Mályusz, *Sándor Lípót*, 38–45.

94 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1795/8425.

95 MNL OL, N 22 (Misc. off.), 1795. No. 1. Francis I to his brother Joseph, Schönbrunn, July 20, 1795. and MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1795/8166.

96 Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/1, 122, no. 44.

97 *Ibid.*, 122–24; Mályusz, *Sándor Lípót*, 43.

98 One finds a clear indication that the initial uncertainty had come to an end in the fact that, although a list of candidates was made, Francis I placed a blank sheet of paper in the sealed envelope instead of the names of the candidates. MNL OL, I 50 (Privatbibl.), Fasc. 39. The annexes to Izdenczy’s letter, November 12, 1796.

The archdukes of Habsburg-Lorraine who were appointed as governors (or palatines) thus found themselves in completely new circumstances, which differed greatly from those of the other two eighteenth-century governors and of palatines in the early modern period. The novelty of the situation lay not only in their person and actual membership of the ruling family. The circumstances of their election to palatine was also unique: without the announcement of the list of candidates, by acclamation, the estates had decided to elect the archdukes. The way they took the oath changed too: both the palatine and the governor took an oath to the monarch.<sup>99</sup> The dispute concerning the content of the oath offers clear evidence of the gradually decreasing power of the estates: they did not manage to include the stipulation that the archduke-palatine was responsible for protecting the rights of the estates and the country. All the archduke-palatine swore to do was to fulfil his duties to the monarch.<sup>100</sup>

The spheres of authority bestowed on the archdukes were also transformed to a great extent: the tasks of presiding over the Diet and their role at the coronation ceremony have already been discussed. Beyond these, the monarchs were willing to make other concessions, owing their being close relatives. The ruler's confidence in his brother is shown by the fact that in 1795 Archduke Joseph was granted a much wider sphere of authority than his predecessors. Still, the Hungarian officials originally prepared the documents of appointment on the basis of the precedence of eighteenth-century prince-governors, and Prince Albert's instructions were attached as an example. When formulating the text for the appointment of the archduke, they relied not on the prince's document granting a more narrow scope of authority but on the certificate of the late Palatine Alexander Leopold.<sup>101</sup> The sphere of authority of Archduke Joseph was exactly the same as that of his deceased brother who bore the dignity of the palatine, in terms of the firth to donate land, discussed in detail above, which was a privilege of Archduke Joseph.<sup>102</sup> The ceremonial welcome and inauguration of the archduke, however, followed the tradition of the 1766 ceremony in Pozsony (today Bratislava), and the one in Buda in 1791. This symbolized continuity and aimed at following the previous patterns of representation. In fact, what may

---

99 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1791/209; MNL OL, N 22 (Misc. off.), 1795. No. 2. MNL OL, N 31 (István főh.), 1847/149.

100 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1790/16917.

101 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1795/8425.

102 Domanovszky, *József nádor*, vol. II/1, 18. Instruktion. and cf. ÖStA HHStA KA StR Prot. 1796. No. 646.

come as a surprise is that in 1791, they followed the example of the governor's march in for the archduke coming as palatine, instead of creating a unique, more solemn welcoming ceremony.<sup>103</sup>

Archduke Joseph was thus the third governor in the eighteenth century who was close links to or directly descended from the reigning house. The Hungarian estates made no objections against his appointment either. Those who were dissatisfied or prone to revolt were won over by the argument of family relationship, others considered the archduke's appointment to be an honor. Archduke Joseph only held the post for a short time: his spheres of authority as governor were terminated in 1796 when, following the example which had been set in 1790, the estates elected him palatine at the Diet. In the end, the archduke held this position until his death more than fifty years later.

The role of archduke-governor and archduke-palatine became important once more in 1847, at the eve of the revolution. The sources provide evidence of the fact that by then the Viennese Court was already accustomed to having an Austrian archduke as the Hungarian palatine. The government tried to achieve the goal of having an archduke appointed as palatine, so they returned to the practice of 1790: instead of reading out the names of the candidates, they unequivocally elected the palatine by acclamation. The acceptance of this unwritten law is well-illustrated by the fact that the Hungarian Royal Chancellery itself made the proposition of electing Archduke Joseph's son, Archduke Stephen as palatine when the post would be vacant. One important reason for this decision was that the other archdukes did not have an adequate knowledge of the country, nor a close relationship with it.<sup>104</sup> By this time, the eighteenth-century practice had become so accepted that the nomination of candidates only served to keep up the appearance of lawfulness, since the court was certain about the outcome of the election. Thus, the right of the free election of a palatine was not even an issue. Nevertheless, until the Diet was summoned, the king only appointed his cousin as governor in 1847, but his extended sphere of authority was maintained, as Archduke Stephen, too, could have all the rights and responsibilities of his predecessors before the Diet.<sup>105</sup>

The appointment of archdukes as palatines clearly indicates the end of an era. The former practice of having governors in Hungary for years was now unnecessary. By filling the office of the palatine with a family member, the

103 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1791/9255.

104 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1847/917. draft; 1847/1365. Proposed on January 14, 1847.

105 MNL OL, A 39 (Acta gen.), 1847/1362.

Habsburg ruler gained a reliable and constitutionally rooted representative in the county. The manner of their appointment gradually decreased the estates' freedom of choice, while Archduke Stephen's nomination signaled a completely new practice. Although in 1790 the question arose whether the post of the palatine could become hereditary by repeatedly being filled by archdukes from the ruling family,<sup>106</sup> the estates were no longer worried. Due to the events of the Revolution of 1848–1849, the system of estates ceased to exist, and positions of dignity also disappeared, a change that cannot be examined in this paper. The political role of archduke-governors and archduke-palatines, as well as their relationship with the Hungarian estates requires further research to reveal the extent to which they held a position in the estates as palatines and were loyal to the court.

### *Conclusion*

In the early modern period, the relationship between the Hungarian king, from 1527 a Habsburg, and the Hungarian estates were often characterized by conflicting interests. The degree to which the relationship was, at times, tense and, at other times, peaceful is illustrated in part by how much room the monarchs gave to the Hungarian estates, which were trying to protect their rights and privileges. In order to preserve their power within the country, and to ensure the financial and personal conditions necessary in warfare against the Ottoman Empire, the estates and the monarchs alike were forced to make compromises or concessions. The main platform for demands in the early modern period was the Diet. If, however, the monarch did not summon the Diet, he or she could limit the influence and power of the estates and govern without them. The power of the estates could also be decreased by leaving high positions vacant or by appointing the monarch's own loyal subjects to fill these posts. As shown above, by neglecting the post of palatine, that is, the highest position for the estates, and appointing a governor, the ruler had more political room to manoeuvre. Therefore, the ruler did not have to make any political compromises. Royal decrees issued from Vienna were executed by institutions, for example from 1723 by the Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council (headed by the palatine or the governor). There was no doubt about these governors' loyalty, since they were dependent on the ruler. Hence, the governor's role was independent of the

---

106 Mályusz, *Sándor Lipót*, 42.

estates. Such concentration of the ruler's power made it possible to introduce reforms in Hungary.

The side-lining of the estates in this period is most visible in the way they failed to present their complaints and demands at the Diet. Between 1732 and 1741, as well as 1765 and 1790, no Diets were convoked, so the estates could not bring forward their need for an election of a palatine, mandatory since the early seventeenth century. When in 1778 the possibility of summoning a Diet came up, the Viennese Court firmly insisted that only the issue of military recruitment be discussed. Any other political proposal would have been rejected.<sup>107</sup> Eventually, the Diet was not convoked, so the estates could not demand the election of a palatine. In other words, the appointed governor, Prince Albert, did not have to be replaced. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the influence of the estates gradually decreased, and the power of the monarch increased. One sign of this change was the gradual limitation of estates' right to elect a palatine. By the nineteenth century, the method of election developed in the early seventeenth century had become a mere theatrical performance, when the preliminary designated member of the ruling family was elected palatine by acclamation. In the eighteenth century the post of palatine was not filled three times. Instead, the country was administrated by a governor, which meant that governing increasingly took place without the estates. The case of the governors also exemplified the new strategy of the Viennese Court: they were not Hungarians but relations to and close relatives of the monarch, first the future husbands of archduchesses, then archdukes of Habsburg-Lorraine. This way, the proposal made in the mid-eighteenth century, was finally realized: instead of a Hungarian palatine, the Kingdom of Hungary was administrated by an archduke-governor (or archduke-palatine) so that the monarch could reign without interference by the estates.

### *Archival Sources*

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (MNL OL)

Magyar kancelláriai levéltár [Archives of Hungarian Chancellery]

A 1 Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztraturája [Hungarian Royal Chancellery],  
Originales referadae

---

107 Kulcsár, *Der Kaiser-Mitregent*, 76–78.

A 35 Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztratúrája [Hungarian Royal Chancellery],  
Conceptus expeditionum

A 39 Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztratúrája [Hungarian Royal Chancellery],  
Acta generalia

A 57 Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztratúrája [Hungarian Royal Chancellery],  
Libri regii

A 119 Donationales palatinales

Helytartótanácsi levéltár [Archives of the Lieutenantcy Council], Magyar Királyi  
Helytartótanács [Hungarian Royal Lieutenantcy Council], Protocolla sessionalia (C 1)  
Bécsi levéltárakból kiszolgáltatott iratok [Records given out of Viennese Archives],  
Kabinettsarchiv. Hungaricana aus der Privatbibliothek S. M. Franz I. (I 50)

Regnicolaris levéltár [Regnicolaris Archives], Archivum palatinale

Archivum locumtenentiale Alberti Ducis Saxoniae (N 13)

Archivum palatinale archiducis Josephi, Archivum palatinale secretum  
archiducis Josephi, Miscellanea officiosa (N 22)

István főherceg nádori levéltára (N 31)

Festetics család keszthelyi levéltára, Festetics Pál (P 245)

A Habsburg család magyaróvári levéltára, Albert herceg iratai (P 298)

Ember Győző hagyatéka (P 2093)

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (ÖStA HHStA)

Habsburgisch-Lothringische Hausarchive, Hausarchiv, Hofkommission in  
Familienangelegenheiten

Habsburgisch-Lothringische Hausarchive, Hausarchiv, Handarchiv Kaiser  
Franz

Habsburg-Lothringische Hausarchive, Lothringisches Hausarchiv

Kabinettsarchiv (KA), Staatsrat (StR), Staatsratsprotokolle (Prot.)

Kriegsarchiv (ÖStA KA)

Zentralstellen (ZSt), Hofkriegsrat (HKR), Akten

## *Bibliography*

Bak, János M., Géza Pálffy. *Crown and coronation in Hungary 1000–1916 A. D.* Budapest: Institute of History Research Centre for the Humanities–Hungarian National Museum, 2020.

Bakács, Bernadette. “Franz Stephan von Lothringen als Ungarns Statthalter, 1732–1741.” In *Maria Theresia als Königin von Ungarn*. Jahrbuch für österreichische

- Kulturgeschichte 10, edited by Gerda Mraz, 27–36. Eisenstadt: Selbsverlag des Instituts für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1984.
- Bartoniék, Emma. *A magyar királykoronázások története* [The history of the Hungarian royal coronations]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1939.
- C. Tóth, Norbert. *A Magyar Királyság nádora: A nádori és helytartói intézmény története (1342–1562)* [The palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary: The history of the institution of palatine and governor, 1342–1562]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat–Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020.
- C. Tóth, Norbert. “A nádori cikkelyek keletkezése” [The creation of the Palatine’s Acts]. In *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1918-ig* [The feudal order and parliamentarism in Hungary from its beginnings until 1918], edited by Iván Bertényi jr., Tamás Dobszay, András Forgó, Géza Pálffy, György Rácz, and István Szijártó M., 36–45. Budapest: Országgyűlés Hivatala, 2013.
- C. Tóth, Norbert. “Az ország nádora” [The palatine of the country]. In *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok* 7 [Studies on Medieval History, 7], edited by Attila Kiss P., Ferenc Piti, and György Szabados, 439–50. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012.
- CJH III. *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar Törvénytár III. 1608–1657. évi törvénykezékek* [Corpus Juris Hungarici. Hungarian law repository III. Acts of 1608–1657]. Edited by Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári, and Dezső Márkus. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1900.
- CJH IV. *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar Törvénytár IV. 1657–1740. évi törvénykezékek* [Corpus Juris Hungarici. Hungarian law repository III. Acts of 1657–1740]. Edited by Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári, and Dezső Márkus. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1901.
- CJH V. *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar Törvénytár V. 1740–1835. évi törvénykezékek* [Corpus Juris Hungarici. Hungarian law repository III. Acts of 1740–1835]. Edited by Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári, and Dezső Márkus. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1901.
- Domanovszky, Sándor. *József nádor élete és iratai* [The life and documents of Palatine Joseph]. Vol. I/1–2, *József nádor élete* [The life of Palatine Joseph]. Magyarország újkori történetének forrásai [Sources on the modern history of Hungary]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1944.
- Domanovszky, Sándor. *József nádor élete és iratai* [The life and documents of Palatine Joseph]. Vol. II/1, *József nádor iratai I, 1792–1804* [The documents of Palatine Joseph]. Magyarország újkori történetének forrásai [Sources on the modern history of Hungary]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925.

- Ember, Győző. *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Mohácstól a török kiűzéséig* [The history of modern Hungarian administration from Mohács to the expulsion of the Ottomans]. A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai III. Hatóság- és hivaltörténet 1. Budapest: “Budapest” Irodalmi, Művészeti és Tudományos Intézet, 1946.
- Ember, Győző. “Der österreichische Staatsrat und die ungarische Verfassung, 1761–1768.” *Acta Historica* 6, no. 1–2 (1959): 105–53, no. 3–4 (1959): 331–71; *Acta Historica* 7, no. 1–2 (1960): 149–82.
- Evans, Robert J. W. *Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie, 1550–1700. Gesellschaft, Kultur, Institutionen*. Vienna–Cologne: Böhlau, 1989.
- Gábor, Gyula. *A kormányzói méltóság a magyar alkotmányjogban* [The title of governor in Hungarian constitutional law]. Budapest: Athenaeum, [1932].
- H. Balázs, Éva. *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765–1800. An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism*. Budapest: Central European Press, 1997.
- H. Németh, István. “Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében” [Burgher or nobleman? The problematics of noble inhabitants of the cities in light of activities of the city alliance of Upper Hungary]. *Korall* 9 (2002): 79–106.
- Hertel, Sandra. *Maria Elisabeth: Österreichische Erzherszogin und Statthalterin in Brüssel (1725–1741)*. Schriftenreihe der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts 16. Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 2014.
- Holub, József. “A nádor szerepe a koronázáson” [The role of the palatine in the coronation]. *Századok* 51, no. 1 (1917): 89–93.
- Iványi, Emma. *Esterházy Pál nádor közigazgatási tevékenysége, 1681–1713* [The administrative work of Palatine Pál Esterházy, 1681–1713]. A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai III. Hatóság- és hivaltörténet 10. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1991.
- Kulcsár, Krisztina. “A helytartói status. Albert szász herceg (1738–1822) kinevezése és évtizedei Magyarországon” [The governorship. Prince Albert of Saxony (1738–1822) – his appointment and activity in Hungary]. *Aetas* 17, no. 1 (2002): 51–66.
- Kulcsár, Krisztina. *II. József utazásai Magyarországon, Erdélyben, Szlavóniában és a Temesi Bánságban, 1768–1773* [The travels of Joseph II in Hungary, Transylvania, Slavonia, and the Bánát of Temes]. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó–Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004.
- Kulcsár, Krisztina. “Nádorság és ami vele jár: A nádor hivatali feladatai a 18. században Batthyány Lajos példája alapján” [Palatine and what comes with it: The official duties of the palatine in the eighteenth century based on the example of Lajos Batthyány]. In *Batthyány Lajos nádor* [Palatine Lajos Batthyány], edited by Péter

- Móricz, 51–66. Körmend: Körmendi Kulturális Központ, Múzeum és Könyvtár, 2017.
- Kulcsár, Krisztina. “Der Kaiser-Mitregent Joseph II. und sein Statthalter-Schwager Herzog Albert von Sachsen-Teschen im Königreich Ungarn.” In *“Die habsburgische Variante des Aufgeklärten Absolutismus.” Beiträge zur Mitregentschaft Josephs II., 1765–1780. “A fevilágosult abszolútizmus Habsburg-variánsa.” Tanulmányok II. József társuralkodói időszakáról, 1765–1780*, edited by András Forgó, and Krisztina Kulcsár, 65–91. Vienna: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien–Balassi Institut–Collegium Hungaricum Wien–Ungarisches Nationalarchiv–Ungarische Archivdelegation beim Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, 2018.
- Kulcsár, Krisztina. *A 18. századi helytartó feladatai és politikai mozgásteret Albert szász-tescheni herceg példája alapján* [The duties and political scope of the eighteenth-century governor on the basis of the example of Prince Albert of Saxony-Teschen]. *Századok* 153, no. 6 (2019): 1081–1100.
- Mályusz, Elemér. *Sándor Lipót főherceg nádor iratai* [The documents of Archduke Alexander Leopold]. *Magyarország újabbkori történetének forrásai. Kormányzat- és közigazgatástörténeti iratok* [Sources on the modern history of Hungary. Documents on government and administrative history]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1926.
- Nagy, János. *Rendi ellenzék és kormánypárt az 1751. évi országgyűlésen* [The estate opposition and the government party in the 1751 Diet]. *Dissertations from the Budapest Archives 7*. Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára Mika Sándor Egyesület, 2020.
- Pálffy, Géza. *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században* [The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century]. *Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések*. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- Pálffy, Géza. “Küzdelem a király- és királyné-koronázás jogáért a kora újkori Magyarországon” [A struggle for the right to be crowned king and queen in early modern Hungary]. In *Egyház és reprezentáció a régi Magyarországon* [Church and ceremony in old Hungary]. *Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely – Lelkiségtörténeti tanulmányok* 12, edited by Orsolya Báthory, and Franciska Kónya, 299–314. Budapest: MTA–PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport, 2016.
- Pálffy, Géza. *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*. Hungarian studies series 18. Boulder: Social Science Monographs; New Jersey: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; New York: Columbia University press, 2009.

- Szijártó M., István. *A diéta: A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The Diet: The Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792]. Keszthely: Balaton Akadémia Kiadó, 2010.
- Szijártó, István. “The Diet: The Estates and the Parliament of Hungary, 1708–1792.” In *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten des Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie. Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Bd. 49, edited by Gerhard Ammerer, William D. Godsey jr., Martin Scheutz, Peter Urbanitsch, and Alfred Stefan Weiss, 119–39. Vienna–Munich: Böhlau, 2007.
- Szőcs, Tibor. *A nádori intézmény korai története, 1000–1342* [The early history of the institution of the palatine, 1000–1342]. *Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam* 5. Budapest: MTA Támogatott Kutatócsoportok Irodája, 2014.
- Varga, Endre. *A Királyi Curia, 1780–1850* [The Royal Curia, 1780–1850]. *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai III. Hatóság- és hivataltörténet* 4. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1974.
- Zedinger, Renate. *Franz Stephan von Lotbringen (1708–1765): Monarch, Manger, Mäzen*. Schriftenreihe der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts Bd. 13. Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 2008.



# The Influence of the Estate System and Power Relations in the Late Feudal Parliament Seating Plan

Tamás Dobszay

*Eötvös Loránd University*

*dobszay.tamas@btk.elte.hu*

“We shape our buildings and then they shape us,” Winston Churchill said when the question of rebuilding Westminster and modifying the interior of the House of Commons came up and he expressed his support for preserving the former system.<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the prime minister, a seating plan both expresses and determines the character and operation of parliamentarism. In light of this interconnection, in this essay I examine the formal characteristics of the late feudal Diet in Hungary between 1790 and 1848, as well as the power relations of the estates and strivings as they found expression within this system.

Keywords: 19th century, Hungarian Diet, late feudal parliamentarism, Estate system, use of space, seating arrangement of chambers

## *The Use of Space in Nineteenth-Century Modern Parliaments*

The most striking difference in the seating plan in the Hungarian Diet before 1848 and that of representative parliamentary systems is the lack of both the horseshoe-shaped, that is, central pattern and the Westminster-style arrangement in Britain, with its benches which are facing one another. It is no coincidence that in the nineteenth-century continental parliaments, members of parliament sat on benches in closed, often ascending rows, reminiscent of ancient Greek theaters. The central arrangement of space (in the case of almost entirely closed circles, semicircles, and horseshoe shapes) helped ensure that each member of the assembly could sit at a nearly equal distance from the others, speak up, and see and hear one another, and it was the best way for the presidium, with which the semicircle came to a close, to chair the meeting, monitor developments, and notice if there were any need to intervene. Although the present paper does not lend itself to a comprehensive discussion of the use of space by representative institutions in the nineteenth century, a considerable amount of data indicates

---

1 Speech by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons. The meeting was held on October 28, 1943 in the House of Lords instead of the building of the House of Commons, which had been bombed. Accessed on March 24, 2021, <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources>.

that this was the prevalent arrangement in most of the chambers designed for the assemblies established as a result of the revitalization of parliamentarism after the period of absolutism, and Hungarian contemporaries were well aware of this fact.

In many respects, the French parliament, which by 1830 had consolidated after the whirlwind changes brought about by the revolutions, served as a role model. As Transylvanian Farkas Sándor Bölöni pointed out when recording his travels in Europe in 1830,

“the chamber of deputies [...] has public meetings [...] The chamber has the shape of an amphitheater, and the deputies sit on the right or the left, according to their views. The audience sits in the balcony. Opposite the *praeses*, the journalists jot down the discussions. The *Moniteur*, as the official paper, sits near the seat of the *praeses*.”

Bölöni also noted that the speakers stood on a pulpit erected in front of the presidium. “If someone wishes to speak on a subject, he gets on the grandstand to give his speech, mostly reading from his papers.”<sup>2</sup> A few years later, a similar description was provided by the young Bertalan Szemere (who was a member of the Diet a decade later and served as secretary of the interior in 1848), who did a lot to introduce the customs of parliamentarism in Hungary.

“The chamber is shaped like an amphitheater, with twenty white Ionian marble columns on each side, carved from a block, and a gallery of two rows behind them. There are ten rows of benches running parallel with the semicircle, and the windows on the vault, like the chamber itself, line up in a semicircle. The president’s seat and the marble pulpit are situated in the middle of the diameter.”<sup>3</sup>

Szemere ascertained the effects of arrangement and use of space on the members’ behavior and manner of speaking when he was learning about the British parliament and the discursive registers used there, as compared to French tradition. He suggested that the solemn tone of French speeches derives from the use of the pulpit: “In the [British] House of Commons, one does not hear the eulogizing pathos that pervades the French legislative chamber and which [...] may also be attributed to the grandstand, because standing on it compels one to speak solemnly, so to speak,” a behavior uncharacteristic of the speakers in the House of Commons.<sup>4</sup>

---

2 Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás*, 114–15.

3 Szemere, *Utazás külföldön*, 127.

4 *Ibid.*, 267.

The newly established Belgian National Assembly also followed the example of Paris. As Szemere pointed out, “the chamber of delegates is the exact replica of the Parisian chamber.” Bölöni made the same observation, but he described it in more detail and included mention of minor differences as well: “The chamber of the congress is indeed fine. The seats of *praeses* and members are arranged the same way as in Paris [...] with the only difference being that the members can speak from their own place and sitting in the benches. *Pro et contra oppositio* members have the same arrangements.”<sup>5</sup> It is a well-known fact that the central, almost entirely closed seating plan of the 1848 Frankfurt National Parliament is determined greatly by the oval floorplan of St. Paul’s Church, which hosts the assembly.<sup>6</sup> The chamber of the Italian National Assembly, which became stable in 1861 after the events of 1848, was set up in Palazzo Carignano in Turin, with a floorplan similar to that of the Parliament in Frankfurt: in both chambers the seats were arranged in ascending rows in a semicircle.<sup>7</sup> These assemblies, however, all showcased the situation after revolution so, to varying degrees, they all broke from the former feudal systems. The Parliament of Württemberg,<sup>8</sup> for instance, was established as part of the modern constitution that the monarch forced against the estates, which were demanding the reinstatement of the “ancient” constitution.

The British seating plan, with its facing rows of benches, is undoubtedly the result of the arrangement of the canon choir of St. Stephen’s Chapel in the Palace of Westminster: members of the House of Commons simply sat in the stalls of the former choir when they took possession of the building. The customary arrangement, which expresses the two-party system and the division between government and opposition, remained unchanged during reconstruction in the early modern period and in the chamber newly built after the fire of 1834. In Szemere’s words, the chamber of the House of Commons

“has a door-shaped pulpit in the middle of one end, where the speaker [...] sits. In front of him, a desk covered in books and documents, next to which work three clerks wearing grey wigs. Along the longer walls, there are four ascending rows to the right and four to the left, with benches very close to one another and no desks in front of them [...]

---

5 Ibid., 388; Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás*, 181.

6 *Grund-Plan vom Innern der Pauls-Kirche*, Deutsches Historisches Museum. Do 95/55; Wolff, *Paulskirche, Obergeschoß, Grundriß*, Museumslandschaft Hessen-Kassel, Inventar nr.: L GS 12545; *Das erste deutsche Parlament*, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, Gr 2004/85.

7 “Opening of the Italian parliament.” *Vasárnapi Újság*, April 7, 1861.

8 Brandt, “Die deutschen Staaten,” 859.

by the way, the audience is allowed into the chamber if there is enough room, unlike in the French Parliament, where this is forbidden [...] On the speaker's right sit the ministers and their supporters [...] on his left sits the opposition [...] like two enemy camps."<sup>9</sup>

A few years earlier, Bölöni provided a similar description, adding that “[t]he members speak from their place [...] The speech is always directed to the speaker.”<sup>10</sup> This arrangement has persisted in its entirety and was later adopted by the Parliaments of other Commonwealth countries (e.g. Canada, Jamaica, Australia).

These seating plans conform to the particularities of modern parliamentarism. They express the duality of government and the assembly representing the nation, as well as the equality of the members within the parliament. As a remnant of the feudal system, the House of Lords, with its limited power, is located in a separate chamber. Considering the two models, it is the British parliamentary seating plan that emphasizes the two-party division of government and opposition. Churchill, too, argued in favor of keeping this arrangement by claiming that if British politics insisted on a two-party system, then the confrontational benches would clearly indicate the status of the MPs in the parliament: if one member sits on the other side, it will visually represent the change in his party affiliation, whereas the central arrangement with its contiguous rows meshes differences in party affiliation and enables the expression of transition, overlapping, and minor political differences.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, from the perspective of the focus of this essay, the Hungarian Diet before 1848 can be linked to previous customs maintained with certain degrees of continuity with feudal systems.

### *Assemblies which Preserved Feudal Characteristics*

Some European assemblies of the era passed on their feudal characteristics, customs, and concomitant uses of space to nineteenth-century legislation. In these institutions, the seating arrangement was determined by estates, rank, and, among those of the same rank, the principle of seniority.<sup>12</sup> The latter was in fact transmitted to the more conservative upper houses of modern parliaments as

---

9 Szemere, *Utazás külföldön*, 266.

10 Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás*, 251–53.

11 See the speech cited in the first footnote.

12 Szente, “A korai rendi gyűlések,” 22 and 25.

well. In the nineteenth century French senate, for instance, “princes of royal blood, pairs by birth, sit right behind the chairman.”<sup>13</sup>

The plenaries of the Swedish Riksdag were rather unusual, as they placed the monarch and the assembly opposite each other, and the representatives of the four estates in two columns, sitting in benches reminiscent of desks in classrooms or church buildings. This seating plan persisted after 1789 and 1810, too: most of the members sat on benches lined up opposite the presidium. Although the four estates had their consultations and votes separately, the noble curia, for example, still used the same arrangement in its legislative chamber at the end of the century.<sup>14</sup>

From a Hungarian point of view, the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire is of particular importance, because also due to their shared monarch, it could influence the order of the Hungarian Diet developing in the seventeenth century. The historical assembly, which existed until 1806, was in fact not an elected representative body but a board of rulers of the provinces and cities with sovereign rights in the empire. The members and their delegates participating in the meetings surrounded the chamber, sitting parallel with the four walls. The seating arrangements conformed to the division into estates: the estates, forming three separate curiae within the assembly, had their own session halls, too, and during plenary meetings, they also sat separately, at a distance from one another. In the case of the latter, the speaker was the high commissioner of the emperor, the electors of the Holy Roman emperor sat on either side of him, and, perpendicular to them, down the long sides of the chamber sat the 120–150 sovereigns of the provinces. Members of the third curia, free imperial cities, sat in the back, opposite the emperor and the electorate. As for the first two curiae, ecclesiastical members were seated on the right and secular members on the left. Among the princes, with an individual vote of 96–98, those in lower ranks were grouped into an additional two ecclesiastical and four secular curiae, thus casting one individual vote each, that is, six more curial votes altogether. The seats closest to the emperor (or his delegate) and the speaker, as well as the ones on the right of the speaker were always considered more prestigious.<sup>15</sup> On

13 Bölöni's outline of 26 points to the rules of the French Parliament, *Napnyugati utazás*, 136–37.

14 Képes, “Az 1809. évi svéd alaptörvény,” 196, 203; Janet, “Konungens sista afsked af Rikets.” The chamber for the nobility was arranged in this way even in 1900: Första kammarens plenisal i Gamla riksdagshuset, Stockholms Stadsmuseum. *Riksdagen i Gamla Riksdagshuset på Riddarholmen. Interiör av plenisal med ledamöter. 1890–1905* Fotograf: Wiklunds, Ateljé. Wiklunds Ateljé BILDNUMMER: C 3236 Stadsmuseet i Stockholm.

15 Vajnági, “A Reichstag és a diéta,” 189–91.

the other hand, the seating arrangement corresponding to status and rank in the estates determined the figure of the speaker, as well as the order of speech and voting in each board and the entire assembly alike.<sup>16</sup> The different curiae, however, had varying seating plans. There was enough room for the seven-nine prince-electors at one table in their chamber, while the princes sat in two times four rows opposite the presidium in their own session hall (much like in the Swedish assembly), and delegates of the cities were sitting by the walls.<sup>17</sup>

Apparently, the seating arrangement of the plenary meetings of the Imperial Diet was not unique among old Diets of the estates. When the French *États généraux* assembled again in 1789 after a hiatus of more than 150 years, the plenary meeting had the same seating arrangement despite the high number of representatives. A huge session hall was erected on Versailles Avenue. The throne and the seats of the royal family were placed on a platform at one end of the hall, with the tables and the chairs of the ministers and the chancellor right in front of them; the clergy sat on the right along the wall, opposite the nobility on the left, and representatives of the third estate sat in the middle, opposite the throne.<sup>18</sup> However, this arrangement could only be implemented at plenary meetings held with the permission of the king, while the estates were expected to have their sessions separately when holding serious discussions; thus, the revolution began with the three estates demanding to become a homogenous national assembly.

The Diets of Austrian hereditary provinces are not uninteresting to this discussion either, although due to their smaller size and limited roles they may only be partly compared to the Hungarian Diet. It is a well-known fact that the parliament of the Austrian Empire, established in 1804, only came to existence in 1861, after the prior events of 1848, but the individual meetings of its provinces formally persisted from the early modern period of the estates, though they had limited authority and not much weight. The assembly of Tirol prepared issues on the agenda by dividing into “quarters,” but the members of these quarters came from different estates and the decision was made collectively. The *Landtags* (Provincial Diets) of all the other provinces had three or four curiae

16 Stollberg-Rilinger, *Des Kaisers alte Kleider*. For an analysis of the order for the Worms period, see the chapter entitled “Ordnung der Personen in Text und Raum,” 32–46. For the exact allocation of seats in the Regensburg mixed meetings, see the figure on page 197. On the expression of rank and authority in the last stage of the history of the assembly see 300–5; Schulze, *Reich und Türkenfahrt*, 337, 348.

17 On the chambers of the individual curia and the joint sitting: Becker, *Der Reichstag*.

18 Madame de Staël’s description of the opening of the assembly, supported by contemporary depictions: *Considérations*, 100. l.

(Vorarlberg had two), which held their discussions not separately but as groups in the chamber of the *Landtag*. The curiae were physically separated from one another in the benches of the chamber. They voted individually—in order by estates or by taking turns—in a way that the votes of cities were always cast at the end.<sup>19</sup> The hall of the Styrian provincial meeting was arranged diagonally: the speaker's table, where the minutes were kept, too, stood in the corner, the clergy's benches by the wall on the right, and the benches of the other estates surrounded the middle part of the hall in a quadrangle shape.<sup>20</sup>

### *General Characteristics of the Use of Space by the Hungarian Diet*

For members in the Hungarian Diet, the elongated shape of the chamber used did not lend itself to a horseshoe-shaped arrangement. The shape would not have ruled out the possibility of using the British Westminster style seating arrangement either, but it could not really prevail here. The arrangement conforming to the two-party alternating governments system, as well as to the parliamentary role of the king and the nation was considered so specific in Europe and suited the Hungarian public law system, still in a feudal state and not acknowledging the parties officially, so little, that its introduction was not even an issue back then.<sup>21</sup>

The Hungarian Parliament used three buildings between 1790 and 1848. The building in Buda shaped for this purpose only hosted two and a half Diets (1790, 1792, 1807) of the fourteen held. On the first occasion, the second half of the meeting took place in the old *Landhaus* in Lange Strasse in Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava, Slovakia), the venue for the 1796 Diet for the entire duration of the assembly. From 1802 to 1848, the Diet used the parliament converted from the financial management building in Michaelstrasse in Pressburg. In all three buildings, the chamber of the Lower House had an elongated, irregular rectangular shape. The halls designated for the Upper House could have been more suitable for meetings, but few of the authorized participants actually attended the sessions.<sup>22</sup>

19 Ruszoly, "A német tartományi rendi képviselőlet," 219.

20 Mat'a, "Der steirische Landtag," 163–218.

21 In contrast, in 1865, the newly built Hall of Representatives was designed in the English style, but due to its poor acoustic conditions, it was soon converted to a horseshoe layout. "Az új képviselőház gyűlés-terme," *Vasárnapi Újság*, November 9, 1865.

22 Borsos, "A régi budai Országháza," 55–93; Kelényi, "A budai országház," 36–42; Paulinyi, "A m. kir. belügyminisztérium," 16–38; Kumlik, *Adalékok*, 4–5; Horler, *Budapest műemlékei*, vol. 1, 413–15; Siklóssy,

Between 1790 and 1848, the Hungarian Diet maintained the previously designed seating plan. Besides division by estates, discussed below, this traditional arrangement also reflected the mindset of the political dualism of the king and the estates.<sup>23</sup> The chambers of the Diet were given a linear arrangement: in both houses the speaker representing the king sat at the short end, while along the entire length of the hall there sat the subjects, the estates constituting the political community, on both sides of a long line of tables, one line in the Upper House and three in the Lower House. From the speaker's seat, as if he were sitting at the head of the table, one could see the entire chamber without having to turn one's head. This solution was in accordance with the idea of head and body, and may also seem, at first glance, to be a practical one, corresponding to the shape of the hall. Of course, this meant that some members sat very far from the presidium and those sitting at the opposite ends of the table could barely hear one another. It is no wonder, then, that having a strong voice was a vital prerequisite for attending these meetings, and soft-spoken, gentle souls like Kölcsey had but the weight of their personal reputations to ensure them the attention of the gathering.

Another distinctive feature of the arrangement, in contrast with the European customs emerging at the time, was that deputies were seated by large tables on comfortable portable chairs, instead of closed rows of benches. In the early twentieth century, journalist Károly Eötvös, drawing on the memoirs of contemporaries, highlighted that more than any modern seating plan, this arrangement better suited the convenient, patriarchal circumstances of reputed noble members, who would have objected to being forced to sit at "school desks."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, portable chairs facilitated freer movement; Kossuth, for example, regularly gave his speeches at the last Diet by turning towards the presidium while standing behind his chair and holding its backrest.<sup>25</sup> This had a special significance because, as opposed to the clergy who spoke while sitting, members of both the Upper and the Lower House indicated their request to speak by standing up and staying upright.<sup>26</sup>

In both houses, the place of the members was clearly determined by the authority of the estates, grouping by status within the estate, and, in the Lower

---

"Országházak." 689–96.

23 Gergely, "Ungarn," 1050–51. On the Diet in general, see Pajkossy, "Ungarn," 947–51.

24 Eötvös, "Hogy üljenek a követek?" *Pesti Hírlap*, May 16, 1906.

25 Eötvös, "Hogy üljenek a követek?" *Pesti Hírlap*, May 19, 1906.

26 Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, vol. 3, 227–28.

House, customs defined by geographical distribution as well. Similarly to the universal historical particularities mentioned above, the seats considered most prestigious were the ones on the right of and closest to the chairperson.<sup>27</sup> In this case, too, the seating plan indicated the rank of the estates and the prestige of members. There was another difference deriving from these arrangements, though, as compared to the later parliamentary period: both in the Lower House and partly in the Upper House as well, members were sat next to one other not on the basis of their political or party affiliation, but according to their place in the status hierarchy.

### *The Seating Arrangement in the Upper House*

In the House of Lords, the palatine (always a prince of the dynasty from 1790 on) sat at the head of the table, which was placed in the middle of the chamber and ran its entire length. To his right, the whole right side was reserved for the first estate, the prelates; right next to the palatine there sat the most prestigious high priest, the prince primate of Esztergom; then the archbishops of Kalocsa and Eger, and then all the bishops. Among them, the exact place of the diocesan bishops was determined by the date of their consecration, as part of the principle of authority. Titular bishops, who were elected but not yet consecrated or had no operating diocese, sat farther down. Superiors of the ecclesiastical convents in bishops' ranks, abbots with mitre, the arch abbot of Pannonhalma, the grand provost of Zagreb (at the same time, the prior of Vrana), and the grand provost of the Premonstratensians of Várad sat at the far end of the table.<sup>28</sup>

The left side of the table was reserved for the barons holding high offices. Their first group was divided according to the rank of their office: the lord chief justice (*judex curiae*) was followed by the ban of Croatia, the master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum*), and then, the court officials, in accordance with the date of their appointment (*magister janitorum*, *mg. pincernarum*, *mg. dapiferorum*, *mg. agazonum*, *mg. curiae regiae*). Further down there sat the county governors: supreme *comites* (lord lieutenants or county high sheriffs), first hereditary and sempiternal, then the other in the order of their inauguration, and finally the governor of Fiume, and the deputy of Croatia in the Upper House. Until 1840,

---

27 Szijártó, *A Diéta*, 101–4.

28 Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, vol. 3, 218–19; Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. 1, 174–75; Kovács, *1843–44-ik évi alsó tábla kerületi napló*, vol. 1, 55; Lupkovicz, *A magyar rendi országgyűlések*, 36–37; Pálmány, *A reformkori országgyűlések*, vol. 1, 14–15, 23.

orthodox archbishops and bishops, who were granted participation in the Diet only in the late eighteenth century, also sat at this section of the table. The row of the high priests turned back to the side of the secular members of the Upper House at the end of the table.<sup>29</sup> It must be noted, though, that many of the bishops and the office-holders did not stay continually at the venue of the Diet, and this was even more so the case with those lords who did not hold any offices but had titles by birth, such as dukes, counts, and barons.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, discussions were sometimes held in smaller rooms, in a more informal way even. In January 1826, for instance, due to the low number of participants and the cold, the palatine held the meeting in his own chamber; and there is also some evidence of chairing from one's sickbed.<sup>31</sup> Titular (non office-holder) lords only had some single chairs without tables with no precise arrangement on both sides of the chamber, right in front of the rail dividing the assembly and the audience.<sup>32</sup> There were, however, some signs of seating arrangement according to agreement in opinions among titular peers: those of the same view often favored sitting close to one another, and those remaining for a longer time customarily preferred using the same seat. But the somewhat stubborn lords were not really willing give up some of their independence and function in a more disciplined manner, like a party, or were only willing to do so towards the end of the era, so their seating arrangement, or the lack thereof, may be considered a tendency prevailing only to a degree and not a rule *per se*.

Not only did the seating plan have a symbolic meaning but it also determined the degree of influence on decisions; the palatine could best hear the speech of prestigious members among all the speeches considered from the perspective of rank, so the voices of those sitting in the far end of the chamber did not count much as compared to those of *regni barones* and officeholders. Men of the court and the royal government thus had an opportunity to monopolize discussions and decisions. Partly due to the principle of authority and the court policies, and partly because of most lords being loyal to the court, it was rather surprising when a member of the Upper House, especially one without an office,

---

29 Pulszky, *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*, vol. 1, 220–21; Vaszary, *Adatok*, 8; Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, vol. 3, 239–40.

30 Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. 1, 178. On the frequent absence of more famous personalities, see Pulszky, *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*, vol. 1, 240.

31 Széchenyi, *Napló*, 449; Szijártó, *A Diéta*, 141.

32 Kovács, *1843–44-ik évi kerületi napló*, vol. 1, 56.



Figure 1. Groitsch, A. J. The chamber of the Upper House in Pressburg, 1836. (Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest)

acted individually and expressed his opinion.<sup>33</sup> The Transylvanian Bölöni, too, described the members of the Upper House as obedient to the royal authority:

“The palatine comes out of the adjoining room, followed by the primate, and all the lords, frightened like pupils, run to the table and sit down in silence. The host of bishops settle on one side of the long table, the dignitarians on the other side, the ‘regalists’ at the back [...] The subject is finally discussed, if we may refer to the speaker’s will and the bishop’s approving bow as a discussion, and soon [...] the submissive bill concerning the serves is ready.”<sup>34</sup>

The seating plan in the Upper House, imposed strictly at the table but less formal in the back, was eventually modified. Rearrangement took place in 1843; the main aim was to isolate the audience from the decision makers and drive them

33 The boring meetings of the upper table were only enlivened by speeches made by the opposition: Pulszky, *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*, vol. 1, 221.

34 Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás*, 99. On the solemn and ceremonial atmosphere, see Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. 1, 177.

out of the chamber, although they were later allowed to take the empty seats.<sup>35</sup> A considerable transformation was made at the end of the era, but several customs connected the seating plan persisted. According to the magazine reporting on the Diet of 1847–1848, the long table in the middle was kept (b) but, running parallel with it along the chamber, three rows of six long tables were placed on each side, gradually ascending and having a gap in the middle (c and d), to be used by the supreme *comites* and high priests who could not get any seats at the middle table. The rest of the seats were given to lords without an office. A bit farther back from the presidential seat (a) there were two smaller tables perpendicular to the others: orthodox bishops were seated at the table on the right (e) and the archivist at the one on the left (f). Right behind the palatine's chair in the middle, by the wall, sat his officials (E) and, on their two sides, the shorthand writers (g and h). Four out of five window niches were given to newspaper reporters (k). Along the long side of the chamber overlooking the courtyard, members of the Lower House could be present as audience on a stand behind a rail (l), while by the wall opposite the presidency, likewise separated by a railing, the audience could sit in ascending rows (m).

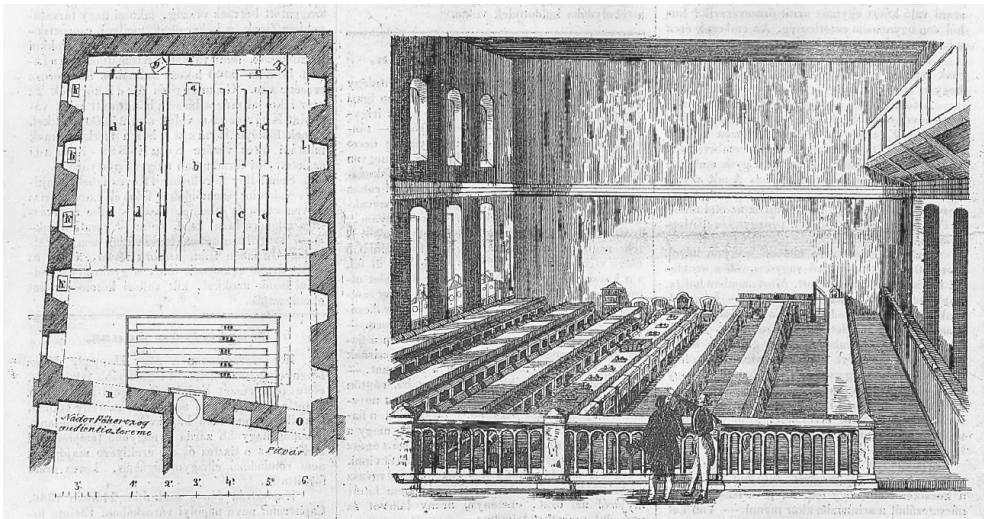


Figure 2. *The seating plan of the Upper House after rearrangement in 1843 (1847–1848)*  
 (“Országgyűlési rajzok 1,” *Ábrázolt Folyóirat* January 8, 1848, 12.)

35 Molnár, *Batthyány*, 76; Révész, *Die Anfänge*, 39; X. [orsz.] ülés a Fő RR-nél június 24-én 1843. *A főrendeknél tartott országos ülések naplója*, 5–6.

### *The Seating Arrangement in the Lower House*

In the Lower House, the duality of the monarch and the estates, status within the estate, and geographical considerations likewise determined the distribution of seats. The seat of the chairing *personalis* (chief justice of Royal Court of Appael) was positioned on a wide podium, a few steps above the floor, at the corner-stoved end of the rectangular chamber. Right behind it, members of the Royal Court of Appeal, formulating the documents of the Diet, had a table, standing on its own before 1832. Perpendicular to the speaker's table, three rows of tables reserved for the delegates were lined up along the entire length of the chamber.<sup>36</sup> As seen elsewhere, the "upper seats," i.e. the ones closest to the speaker on his right were reserved for the clergy, the representatives of chapters. At the middle and left-side tables, close to the speaker, there sat the delegates of the nobility, elected by the general assemblies of the noble counties, two from each county. The upper seats of the middle table were taken by delegates from counties situated along the Danube River in the western part of the country, while delegates from the eastern region, from counties by the Tisza River, sat at the table on the speaker's left. The two delegates of each Danubian county customarily sat next to each other, while the ones from the Tisza region always sat opposite each other. However, this had no political significance whatsoever.<sup>37</sup> In the previous century this was the usual seating arrangement for chapters and counties, so the only divergent seating plan, which was used at the 1741 Diet, is considered to have been an exception, perhaps a mistake made by the source recording the meeting.<sup>38</sup>

Groups that had a collective privilege but no individual noble titles were placed farther from the speaker, in accordance with their lower rank.<sup>39</sup> This way, the secondary status of cities was indicated by the fact that their delegates sat at the far end of the counties' tables. The only exception was the two delegates of each privileged free district incorporated in 1791 (*Jászkeunság* and *Hajdúság*), who sat right after the chapters' delegates, at the farther end of the right-side table.<sup>40</sup> The few empty seats at this table were given to delegates of absent members of the Upper House; this, however, did not indicate their rank but the roles

36 Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, vol. 3, 220. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. 1, 28.

37 Lupkovics, *A magyar rendi országgyűlések*, 37–38.

38 Szijártó, *A diéta*, 570–73. The exception: 472.

39 Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, vol. 3, 221.

40 Kossuth, *Országgyűlési Tudósítások*, vol. 1, 23.

customarily attributed to them. As a matter of fact, although under the law these delegates also had a voice in the Lower House, in the nineteenth century, the delegates of the counties did not even let them speak, let alone vote. The noble deputies of the counties looked at the latter with jealousy and disdain, considered them “servants” of the lords, and contested their legitimacy as participants. The most these delegates could do was inform the lords they substituted, who had the right to vote in the Upper House anyway, and so the lower nobility tried to neutralize the influence their lords had through them.

A change in the situation of delegates sent by absent members of the high nobility is likewise interesting: while in the first half of the eighteenth century they were seated closer to the speaker, between the counties-chapels and the cities, i.e. they were higher in rank than the latter, after 1790 they were pushed to the far end of the chamber. Opposite the speaker’s podium, in the other end of the long chamber by the angled short wall, there was another part separated by a railing. From there, a staircase led up to the gallery reserved for the audience, below which the rest of the audience and the delegates of the high nobility with no room at the table were crowded together.

### *The Impracticability and Rearrangement of the Seating Plan*

As noted earlier, this arrangement, which conformed to the shape of the chamber and to power relations among the estates, was not without problems. For those seated far from the speaker, the unfavorable position hindered their effective participation in the discussion; furthermore, since decisions were often made not by counting the votes but by the speaker listening to the participants’ opinion and considering it on the basis of their rank, the influence of those sitting in the back was limited during decision-making as well.

Partly due to the objection of those in a favorable position, their contemporaries recognized the impracticability of the seating arrangement. Sometime between 1820 and 1833 Palatine Archduke Joseph as the President of the whole Diet had a floorplan made to rearrange the two chambers in Buda<sup>41</sup> but as the king chose Pressburg, the estates eventually stuck to the traditions because of the temporary circumstances. Thus, however, repeated complaints were made about the seating arrangements. On November 27, 1830 delegates

---

41 Borsos, “A régi budai Országháza,” 90; Trentsensky. *Projectum Conclavium Tabularum*. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Budapest Főváros Levéltára. BMT. 89.

of Temes and Torontál (characteristically two counties that were liberated from Ottoman rule late and reincorporated even later, so their delegates were seated at the far end), asked the president to “do something about the placement of the delegates seated far, as because of the distance they could not always hear the speech of those sitting in the front, and thus could not effectively participate in the discussions of the Diet. A host of similar complaints were made by the other delegates who were seated far from the speaker owing to customary laws,”<sup>42</sup> but eventually rearrangement was postponed to the next Diet.

These complaints may have been the reason for the palatine’s aforementioned attempt to rearrange the chamber in Buda, but the issue came up at the beginning of the 1832 Diet in Pressburg as well. The palatine suggested that the impracticable seating plan of the chambers be transformed based on the experience of the previous Diet.<sup>43</sup> Presumably, the estates felt it was necessary to protect and express their autonomy from members of the Upper House, which would also indicate the significance of the differences between the estates, and they did so by rejecting the palatine’s initiative: they “sent back” the palatine to the members of the Upper House, saying that they had the right to sit wherever they wanted to. This was obviously an exaggeration, as customs strictly limited them in this respect as well, so in the end they implemented the changes by mutual agreement.<sup>44</sup>

In the new seating arrangement (1833), delegates of the clergy were placed on the speaker’s platform, at separate tables on the two sides of the Royal Court

---

42 Bertha, *Országgyűlési tárcza*, 196–97.

43 *Plan for the repair of the gallery of the “Hall of the Lords” in Pressburg (early 1830s)*. MNL OL Plan Library, plans excepted from fonds of the government authorities. No. Ministry of Commerce Plans (T 14) No.2/Sz/39/1–4.

*A méltóságos főrendek termének belső elrendezése iránt készített tervek*. MNL OL Plan Library, Various blueprints (T 15) No. 42/1–4.

*Planum exhibens modernam et projectatam mensarum-tabularum-sessionalium dislocatione in sala incl. statuum et ordinum, una et projectum calefactionis*. MNL OL Plan Library, Various blueprints (T 15) No. 42/5.

*A tekintetes karok és rendek szálájában a táblák belbeztetése terve Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye 1832 Erdélyi Josef alaprajz*. MNL OL Plan Library, Various blueprints (T 15) No. 42/6.

*Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye, ülésterem [1830] alaprajz*. MNL OL Plan Library, Various blueprints (T 15) No. 42/7–10.

*Erklärung der Numern in dem beiliegenden Plan Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye, ülésterem [1830]*. MNL OL Plan Library, Various blueprints (T 15) No. 42/11.

44 Eötvös, “Hogy üljenek a követek?” May 17, 1906. Kossuth and Kölcsey both mention the reorganization of the sitting order, but neither mentions the conflict with the palatine. Kossuth, *Országgyűlési Tudósítások*, vol. 1, 14. (Sitting of December 19, 1832); Kölcsey, *Országgyűlési napló*, 15–16, 21.

of Appeal.<sup>45</sup> The reason for this was partly because the palatine and the president intended to help them out in their difficult situation in the increasing debates on ecclesiastical policy, and separate them from the delegates of counties, who often attacked them.<sup>46</sup> As for the three long tables, the one on the speaker's right was still reserved for the free districts and delegates of those absent, the now free seats of the clergy were given to some deputies of the Danubian counties, and those representing the counties by the Tisza were sat at the inner side of the table.

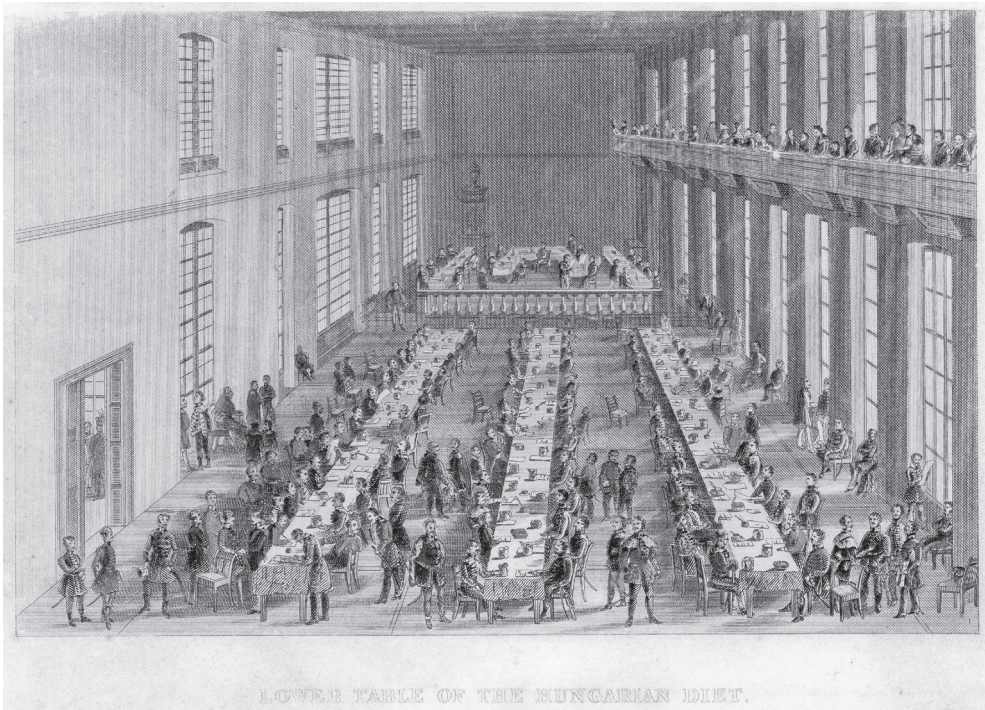


Figure 3. The chamber of the Lower House after 1833. Groitsch, A. J. (Hungarian National Gallery)

Farther away from the presidium, the counties were given the seats of the chapters at the right-side table and were seated as follows: the Danubian counties of Sopron, Nógrád, Komárom, Hont, Baranya, Esztergom, Tolna, and Turóc on the outer side; Sáros, Szabolcs, Borsod, Torna, Máramaros, Csanád, Torontál from the region of the Tisza and the Slavonian Verőce (Virovitica) county on

45 Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*, 220.

46 Eötvös: “Hogy üljenek a követek?” May 17, 1906.

the inner side. On the left, the rest of the counties from the Tisza sat opposite each other, as usual. This was important because the delegates first in rank sat on the right, and those elected at second place were placed on the left. Also, back then the records of the Diet did not specify the name of the delegates, but only a number and the name of the county they represented. It was only after 1839 that the two delegates of a county were regarded as equal.<sup>47</sup> The delegates sat at this table in the following order: Abaúj, Zemplén, Ung, Szatmár, Szepes, Gömör, Heves, Bereg, Ugocsa, Bihar, Csongrád, Békés, Arad, Temes, and Krassó, Pozsega (Požega) County in Slavonia and the district of Turpolje. By the table in the middle, delegates of some Danubian counties followed the old traditions and sat (in contrast with delegates from the Tisza region) next to one another: close to the speaker on his right sat the delegates of Pozsony county, then of Vas, Zala, Somogy, Győr, Fehér, Moson (all Danubians), followed by the two delegates of Bács, originally seated on the other side due to having been organized belatedly and thus having to make do with the seats they received here. On the left side of the middle table, the seats were given to the rest of the counties by the Danube: Nyitra, Trencsén, Liptó, Bars, Veszprém, Zólyom, Pest, and Árva. At the end of the table, facing the delegates of Bács, there sat the two delegates of Szerém county, similarly demilitarized and established late from its earlier position as a frontier region.<sup>48</sup> The rearrangement did not help two complaining counties much, as Temes and Krassó could only come two seats closer to the speaker. The new seating plan gained significance also due to the fact that the order of chairing at the *non-official* “circular” meetings of the Lower House, which were always led simultaneously by one Danubian delegate and one from the Tisza instead of the *personalis*, was determined by the seating arrangement. From 1833, these preparatory meetings, which were reminiscent of the Committee of the Whole House in Britain, were relocated to the plenary chamber due to the stuffy air at its previous location, and from that date on they were held in the same order as the official plenary except the presidency.<sup>49</sup> What

---

47 Révész, *Die Anfänge*, 101.

48 On the allocation of seats for the three tables, see Pulszky, *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*, vol. 1, 221–22. On the different seating arrangements for the delegates from the Tisza and Danube, see Révész, *Die Anfänge*, *Ibid.*, Kossuth, *Országgyűlési Tudósítások*, vol. 1, 24.

49 Pálmány, *A reformkori országgyűlések*, 26–27. Gergely, “Ungarn,” 1048; Ferenc Kölcsey’s letter to Zsigmond Kende, Pozsony, May 17, 1833. In *Kölcsey Ferenc levelezése Kende Zsigmonddal*, 99; Kossuth, *Országgyűlési Tudósítások*, vol. 1, 391; Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. 1, 164–65; Pulszky, *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*, vol. 1, 223. On the British parallel to the district meeting, see Dobszay, “Az országgyűlés bizottsági,” 201–2.

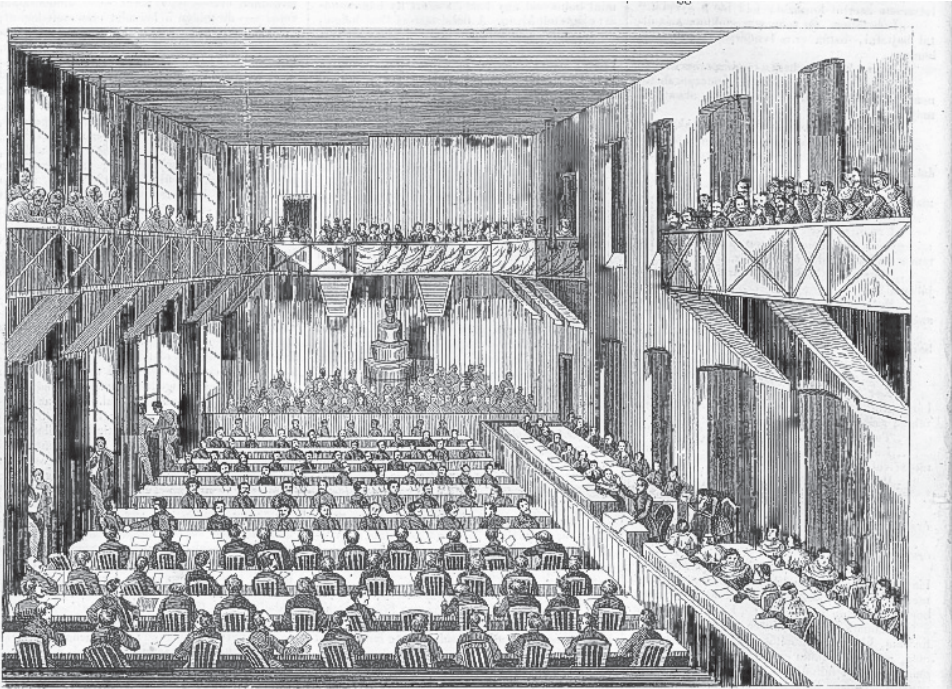
did not change at all, however, was the situation of cities, free districts, and the delegates of absent members of Upper House.

The next rearrangement in 1843 was a big step towards a more practical central arrangement, although it was not fully implemented.<sup>50</sup> The conditions of the meeting were considerably improved but the custom of seating by the principle of estates and regions still prevailed. The presidium, the Royal Court of Appeal, and the clergy were moved to a long narrow platform with rails, erected by the longer wall of the chamber overlooking the courtyard. In the corner on the right, the gallery was reserved for the ladies, while the other galleries could be reached through a door in the corner of the other shorter end of the chamber. Next to the stove standing in the corner to the speaker's left, a staircase led up to the lords' gallery. On the lower level, at both ends of the chamber, there were two large podiums with rails taking up almost one-third of the area which were also set aside for the audience. The first two rows on the left were given to the delegates of absent members of the Upper House, who were now distinctly separated from the inner section of the chamber where the discussions took place to indicate their roles as observers, not decision-makers. The window niches provided room for the desks of reporters, as well as of the palatine's and the chancellor's commissioners. Finally, the speaker and members with the right to speak and take part in decision making in the middle two-thirds of the chamber could hear one another much better.

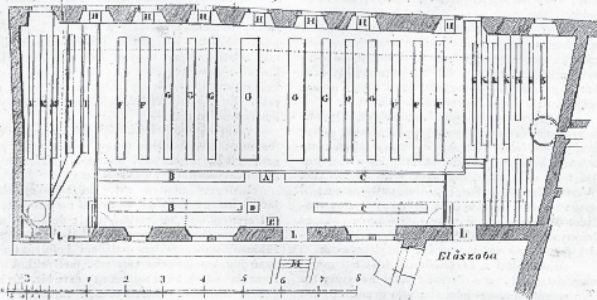
On the platform running the length of the chamber, the two rows of seats on the right of the presidium were reserved for the members of the Royal Court of Appeal, while the other two on the left were given to the delegates of Croatia and then the chapters. At the table behind the Croatian delegates and by the side of the second row of chapters, the secretary of the president prepared the minutes during official and circular meetings too. Those with important roles, i.e. the delegates of counties, cities, and free districts, sat at thirteen tables positioned crosswise in the long chamber, perpendicular to the president's table. Two of them, somewhat wider than the others, stood in the middle with seats on both sides; while the other, more narrow tables (six on the right and five on the left) only had seats on one side so that the delegates would face the middle of the chamber.

---

<sup>50</sup> The most detailed description of the layout was given by Ferenc Kovács, who indicated the exact location of each stone. Kovács, *1843–44-ik évi kerületi napló*, vol. 1, 109–18. “Határozat az üléseknek a karok és rendek teremébeni elrendelése iránt” és annak módosítása. MNL OL, Regnicolaris Levéltár. Archivum Regni. Diaeta anni 1843–44. (N 68) Fasc. L. No. 22. l) (fol. 28.) and m) (fol. 39.)



A Követelek gyűléstereme belsejének rajza.



Követelek tábláinak alaprajza.

- A) Királyi személynek mint elnök.
  - B) Két asztal a papság 23 követeinek a a két horvátországi követ számára, kik első asztalalközevetlenül a személy-  
nők mellett foglalnak helyet.
  - C) Két asztal a k. táblai tagok számára
  - D) Két gyorsító asztalkája.
  - E) Személynők titoknokának asztalkája.
  - F) Öt asztal, mindenegyre 12 ülőessel, a kir. szabad városok követeinek számára — 60 ülőhely.
  - G) Hat kúria nyolc, mindenik csak egy oldalán 12 ülőessel a közpénz 2 részeseiből, minden oldalán 12 ülőessel ellátott asztalok, megyék és kerületek követeinek számára — 120 ülőhely.
  - H) Hét, két két ülőessel ellátott asztalok, gyorsítók, újságlapok-tudósítók a a nádor és kormányzó-  
székek jegyzőgejtők számára.
  - I) Két támlás pad, a jelen nem lévő még } Sorompókkal kör-  
vélésük számá-  
ra.
  - K) Fokozást figyelembe véve padok, halgatók számára.
  - L) Helyező ajtó a terembe.
  - M) Fülkeszerű lépcső.
- A szünet halgatók számára rendelt karzat postazott vonallal van megjelölve, melyből az előszobából vezető bejárás fölötti rész halgatók s megkülönböztetett idegenek számára van hagyva. Azonkét a bal oldali karzat alatt a K. padok fölött egy psholy van, a halgatók akárho nyugósok számára.

Figure 4. The seating plan of the Lower House after the rearrangement of 1843 (1847–1848) (“Országgyűlési rajzok 2,” *Ábrázolt Folyóirat*, January 15, 1848, 20.)

The arrangement by estates and geographical regions, on the other hand, was left unchanged. In a random order, the Danubian counties were seated at the inner tables on the speaker’s right side of the chamber, and the counties from the two regions by the Tisza had seats at the inner three tables on the left. Behind the Danubians sat the delegates of the three Slavonian counties, as well

as of Fiume and Buccari, while the free seats at this table and at three others behind them were given mainly to delegates of the free royal cities from the Danubian regions. Behind the counties by the Tisza and next to the delegates of *Jászkeun* and *Hajdú* free districts, some seats were left empty for the counties and regions reannexed from Transylvania. These, however, could not be taken by those authorized, due to being hindered in their activities as delegates by the government. Most of the seats here and at the other two tables behind them could be taken by cities situated in precincts by the Tisza. Delegates of Croatian-Slavonian cities were placed in the railed area at two tables on each side, far from one another, probably on the only seats left.

From several perspectives, the new arrangement followed traditions and customs, but could still modernize the seating plan: separating the audience more strictly and pushing the deputies of the Upper House to the galleries made the process of negotiating clearer and posited the circle of the actual decision-makers spatially. Delegates with a more significant and populous background of voters were seated in the inner two-thirds of the chamber, so they could hear the speaker and one another much better and discuss issues more effectively. Still, even in this tight circle, prestige ranks persisted among the estates: in the middle there were the counties, then the districts, and then the cities at the peripheries. This arrangement reflected the weight of the actors, which derived from their position in the estate system.

The weak status of the cities found expression not only in their unfavorable placement at the peripheries but also in the fact that, corresponding to their geographical position, they were seated in two times two and a half rows far from one another. Thus, their delegates could hardly hear the colleagues speaking in the other end of the chamber, and the two groups could not communicate and negotiate with each other during the meetings. In the case when united action was discussed at preliminary private meetings, separateness was not a problem, but if something unexpected happened during the plenary it was considerably more difficult to react consistently. Earlier they were placed at the end of two long tables but at least close to one another, but now they were seated far from one another, so the rearrangement, which indeed had a positive effect on the whole of the assembly, in their case led to disadvantages from the perspective of representing the interests of the estate.

In the rearrangement of the seating plan, certain elements of the practices used in Western-European parliaments were slowly introduced: separating the audience, combining central and linear arrangement, and creating ascending

rows facilitated discussion in the Upper House as well. Nevertheless, despite overall beneficial modifications resulting in a more practical arrangement of seats, the seating plan, still greatly influenced by traditions, showed no signs of modern political dividedness following the new trends. Although all those recollecting the period mention the presence of party-like formations and groups in the body of delegates, it was not manifested in the seating arrangement. The delegates believing in the same notions or making the same efforts did not yet sit close to one another. The traditional expectation of consensus among the estates, denouncing “division” and “discord” were not yet overridden by the beginning of the development of a modern party system made visible in the seating arrangement.

### *Archival and Pictorial Sources*

*Das erste deutsche Parlament in der Paulskirche zu Frankfurt.* Die Lithographie nach der Zeichnung von Paul Bürde (1819–1874). Druckfarbe, Papier, Radierung, koloriert. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, Gr 2004/85.

Första kammarens plenisal i Gamla riksdagshuset, Stockholms Stadsmuseum. *Riksdagen i Gamla Riksdagshuset på Riddarholmen. Interiör av plenisal med ledamöter.* 1890–1905. Fotograf: Wiklunds, Ateljé. Wiklunds Ateljé BILDNUMMER: C 3236 Stadsmuseet i Stockholm.

Groitsch, A. J. *The chamber of the Lower House in Pressburg.* Colored copper engraving, 1836. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Grafikai Osztály [Hungarian National Gallery].

*Grund-Plan vom Innern der Pauls-Kirche, mit Angabe der Plätze sämtlicher Mitglieder der deutschen National-Versammlung. 1848. Frankfurt Freie Stadt, Deutscher Bund, 1848.* Deutsches Historisches Museum. Do 95/55.

Janet, Gustave. Konungens sista afsked af Rikets ständer i plenum plenorium på Rikssalen den 22 juni 1866. Lithographic print, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, 27. July 7, 1866.

Wolff, Johann Heinrich. *Frankfurt a. M., Paulskirche, Obergeschoß nach A. Liebhardt, Grundriß. 1788.* Museumslandschaft Hessen-Kassel, Inventar nr.: L GS 12545.

*Projectum Conclavium Tabularum Statuum Regni Hungariae.* Lithography of Josephus Trentsensky. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Budapest Főváros Levéltára [Hungarian National Archives Budapest Archives] BMT. 89.

*A pozsonyi “főrendek terme” karzatának javítási terve* [Plan for the repair of the gallery of the “Hall of Lords” in Pressburg (early 1830s)]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Plans

excepted from fonds of the government authorities. Ministry of Commerce Plans. (T 14) No. 2/Sz/39/1–4.

*A méltóságos főrendek termének belső elrendezése iránt készített tervek* [Plans for arrangement of the Hall of Lords]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Various blueprints. (T 15) No. 42/1–4.

*Planum exhibens modernam et projectatam mensarum-tabularum-sessionalium dislocatione in sala incl. statuum et ordinum, una et projectum calefactionis.* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Various blueprints. (T 15) No. 42/5.

*A tekintetes karok és rendek szálájábann a táblák helbeztetése terve Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye 1832 Erdélyi Josef alaprajz* [Plan for the placement of the tables in the hall of the esteemed faculties and orders, Pressburg, the building of the Hungarian Royal Chamber, cite of the Parliament, Josef Erdélyi's 1832 blueprints]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Various blueprints. (T 15) No. 42/6

*Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye, ülésterem [1830] alaprajz* [Pressburg, the building of the Hungarian Royal Chamber, cite of the Parliament, session room blueprint, 1830]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Various blueprints. (T 15) No. 42/7–10.

*Erklärung der Numern in dem beiliegenden Plan Pozsony, a Magyar Királyi Kamara épülete, országgyűlés színhelye, ülésterem [1830]* [Explanation of the numbers in the attached plan Pressburg, the building of the Hungarian Royal Chamber, cite of the Parliament, session room blueprint, 1830]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Tervtár [National Archives of Hungary, Plan Library] (MNL OL), Various blueprints. (T 15) No. 42/11.

*Határozat az üléseknek a karok és rendek teremébeni elrendelése iránt* [Resolution concerning the arrangement of the faculties and orders in the chamber]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (MNL OL), Regnicolaris Archive, Archivum Regni, Diaeta anni 1843–44. (N 68) Fasc. L. No. 22. l) (fol. 28.)

*Határozat a karok és rendek teremének rendezésére nézve hozott végzések módosítása eránt* [Resolution concerning the amendment of the decisions on the arrangement of the chambers of the faculties and orders]. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (MNL OL), Regnicolaris Archive, Archivum Regni, Diaeta anni 1843–44. (N 68) Fasc. L. No. 22. m) (fol. 39.)

## Bibliography

### Printed sources

- Az 1843–44-ik évi magyar országgyűlési alsó tábla kerületi üléseinek naplója* [Records of the district sittings of the Lower Table of the Hungarian Parliament in 1843–44]. Vols. 1–6. Edited by Ferenc Kovács. Budapest: Franklin, 1894.
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen, ed. *Der Reichstag zu Regensburg: Historische Ansichten aus dem Jahre 1786*. Regensburg: Pustet, 2003.
- Bertha, Sándor. *Országgyűlési tárcza 1830-ról* [Parliamentary feuilleton from 1830]. Pest: Trattner és Károlyi, 1843.
- Böloni, Farkas Sándor. *Napnyugati utazás: Napló* [Trip west: Diary]. Arranged for publication by Samu Benkő, and Sándor Maller. Budapest: Helikon, 1983.
- Churchill, Winston. “Speech by in the House of Commons.” The meeting was held on October 28, 1943 in the House of Lords instead of the building of the House of Commons, which had been bombed. International Churchill Society. Accessed March 24, 2021. <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources>.
- Felséges első Ferdinánd austriai császár Magyar-és Csehország e néven ötödik koronás királya által szabad királyi Pozsony városába 1843-dik évi május 14-kére rendelt Magyar-országgyűlésen a méltóságos főrendeknél tartott országos ülések naplója* [The national sittings of the honored high orders of the Hungarian National Parliament ordered on May 14, 1853 in the city of Pressburg by His Majesty Emperor Ferdinand the First of Austria and by this name the fifth crowned king of Hungary and the Czech Republic]. Pozsony–Pest, 1844.
- Eötvös, Károly. “Hogy üljenek a követek?” [How do the delegates sit?]. *Pesti Hírlap*, May 16, 1906.
- Eötvös, [Károly]. “Hogy üljenek a követek?” [How do the delegates sit?]. *Pesti Hírlap*, May 17, 1906.
- Eötvös, Károly. “Hogy üljenek a követek?” [How do the delegates sit?]. *Pesti Hírlap*, May 19, 1906.
- Kossuth, Lajos. *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* [Parliamentary reports]. Vol. 1–5. In *Kossuth Lajos összes munkái* [The complete works of Lajos Kossuth], vols. 1–5, edited by István Barta. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1948–1962.
- Kölcsey Ferenc levelezése Kende Zsigmonddal* [Correspondence of Ferenc Kölcsey with Zsigmond Kende]. Arranged for publication by Ernő Taxner-Tóth. Budapest: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum, 1983.
- Kölcsey, Ferenc. *Országgyűlési napló* [Parliamentary diary]. Arranged for publication by Orsolya Völgyesi. Kölcsey Ferenc minden munkái [The complete works of Ferenc Kölcsey], series edited by Zoltán G. Szabó. Budapest: Universitas, 2000.

- Paget, John. *Hungary and Transylvania: With Remarks on their Condition, Social Political and Economical*. Vol. 1. London: Murray, 1839.
- Pardoe, Julia. *The City of the Magyar, Or Hungary and her Institutions in 1839–40*. Vols. 1–3. London: Virtue, 1840.
- “Opening of the first Italian parliament.” *Vasárnapi Újság*, April 7, 1861.
- “Országgyűlési rajzok 1” [Parliamentary drawings 1]. *Ábrázolt Folyóirat* January 8, 1848.
- “Országgyűlési rajzok 2” [Parliamentary drawings 2]. *Ábrázolt Folyóirat* January 15, 1848.
- Pulszky, Franz. *Mein Zeit, mein Leben*. Vol. 1. Pressburg–Leipzig: Stampfel, 1880.
- Staël, Madame de. *Considérations sur les Principaux Événements de la Revolution francaise*. Paris, 1843.
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. *Des Kaisers alte Kleide: Verfassungsgeschichte und Symbolsprache des Alten Reiches*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013.
- Széchenyi, István. *Napló* [Diary]. Selections by Ambrus Oltványi. Budapest: Gondolat, 1978.
- Szemere, Bertalan. *Utazás külföldön: Válogatás Szemere Bertalan nyugat-európai útinaplójából* [Travel abroad: A selection from the Western European travel diary of Bertalan Szemere]. Edited by Ágota Steinert. Budapest: Helikon, 1983.
- “Az új képviselőház gyűlés-terme” [The Hall of the New Parliament]. *Vasárnapi Újság*, November 19, 1865.
- Vaszary, Kolos. *Adatok az 1825. országgyűlés történetéhez* [Data on the history of the 1825 parliament]. Győr, 1883.

#### Secondary literature

- Borsos, László. “A régi budai Országháza” [The old Buda Parliament]. *Építés – Építészettudomány. Az MTA Műszaki Tudományok Osztályának közleményei* 5, nos. 1–2 (1974): 55–93.
- Brandt, Hartwig. “Die deutschen Staaten der ersten Konstitutionalisierungswelle.” In *Handbuch der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert: Institutionen und Rechtspraxis im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, vol. 2, 1815–1847, 823–78. Bonn: Dietz, 2012.
- Dobszay, Tamás. “Az országgyűlés bizottsági rendszerének előzményei a reformkorban” [Antecedents to the parliamentary committee system in the Reform Era]. In *Historia Critica: Tanulmányok az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Karának Történeti Intézetéből* [History Critica: Studies from the Historical Institute of the Faculty of Arts of Eötvös Loránd University], edited by Orsolya Manhercz, 199–212. Budapest, 2014.
- Gergely, András. “Ungarn.” In *Handbuch der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert: Institutionen und Rechtspraxis im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, vol. 2,

1815–1847, edited by Werner Daum, Peter Brandt, Martin Kirsch, and Arthur Schlegelmilch, 1041–76. Bonn: Dietz, 2012.

Horler, Miklós et al. *Budapest műemlékei* [Monuments of Budapest]. Vol. 1. Edited by Frigyes Pogány. Magyarország műemléki topográfiaja, edited by Dezső Dercsényi. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1955.

Lupkovics György. *A magyar rendi országgyűlések, 1608–1848* [The Hungarian feudal parliaments, 1608–1848]. Kassa: Szent Erzsébet ny., 1911.

Molnár, András. *Batthyány Lajos a reformkorban* [Lajos Batthyány in the Reform Era]. Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Levéltár, 1996.

Pajkossy, Gábor. “Ungarn.” In *Handbuch der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert: Institutionen und Rechtspraxis im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, vol. 1, edited by Werner Daum, Peter Brandt, Martin Kirsch, and Arthur Schlegelmilch, 944–77. Berlin: Dietz, 2006.

Pálmány, Béla. *A reformkori országgyűlések történeti almanachja, 1825–1848* [Historical almanac of reformdiets, 1825–1848]. Vols. 1–2. Budapest: Argumentum, 2011.

Paulinyi, Oszkár. “A m. kir. belügyminisztérium budai várbeli székházának története: Adalék Buda topográfájához” [The history of the seat of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Interior in Buda Castle: Data on the topography of Buda]. In *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából 6* [Studies on the history of Budapest], edited by Károly Némethy, Jusztin Budó, 16–61. Budapest: Budapest Székesfőváros, 1938.

Révész, László. *Die Anfänge des Ungarischen Parlamentarismus*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1968.

Ruszoly, József. “A német tartományi rendi képviselő történetéből” [On the history of German provincial feudal representation]. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis – Acta Juridica et Politica* 39 (1990): 207–24.

Schulze, Winfried. *Reich und Türkenegfabr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer auseren Bedrohung*. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1978.

Siklóssy, László. “Országházak” [Parliament buildings]. *Tükör* 7, no. 9 (1939): 689–96.

Mat’ a, Petr. “Der steirische Landtag in Raum und Bild um 1730: Symbolische Ordnung und visuelle Darstellung.” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 104 (2013): 163–218.

Szente, Zoltán. “A korai rendi gyűlések fő jellemzői és intézményei” [The main features and institutions of the early feudal assemblies]. *Parlamentum Szemle* 2, no. 1 (2017): 5–25. doi: 10.1556/0406.18.2017.013.

Szijártó, M. István. *A Diéta: A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés 1708–1792* [The Diet: The Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792]. Keszthely: Balaton Akadémia Kiadó, 2010.

Vajnági, Márta. “A Reichstag és a diéta” [The Reichstag and the Diet]. In *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1918-ig* [Feudal order and parliamentarism in Hungary from the beginnings until 1918], edited by Tamás Dobszay, András Forgó et al., 187–99. Budapest: Argumentum, 2013.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Történetírás és történetírók az Árpád-kori Magyarországon (XI–XIII. század közepe) [The writing and writers of history in Árpád-era Hungary, from the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth century]. By László Veszprémy. Budapest: Line Design, 2019. 464 pp.

The centuries following the foundation of the Christian kingdom of Hungary by Saint Stephen did not leave later generations with an unmanageable plethora of written works. However, the diversity of the genres and the philological and historical riddles which lie hidden in these works arguably provide ample compensation for the curious reader. There are numerous textual interrelationships among the *Gesta Hungarorum* by the anonymous notary of King Béla known as Anonymus, the *Gesta Hunnorum et Hungarorum* by Simon of Kéza and the fourteenth-century *Illuminated Chronicle* consisting of various earlier texts, not to mention the hagiographical material on the canonized rulers. For the historian, the relationships among these early historical texts and the times at which they were composed (their relative and absolute chronology) are clearly a matter of interest, since the judgment of these links affects the credibility of the historical information preserved in them. In an attempt to establish the relative chronology, philological analysis is the primary tool, while in our efforts to determine the precise times at which the texts were composed, literary and legal history may offer the most reliable guides. László Veszprémy has very clearly made circumspect use of these methods in his essays, thus it is hardly surprising that many of his colleagues, myself included, have been eagerly waiting for his dissertation, which he defended in 2009 for the title of Doctor of Sciences, to appear in the form of a book in which the articles he has written on the subject since are also included.

Veszprémy aims to shed light on “the most critical questions of medieval Hungarian chronicle research.” However, the focus of his discussion is the *Gesta Hungarorum* by the anonymous notary of King Béla III and the early chapters of the fourteenth-century *Illuminated Chronicle*, which narrates events from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Later developments in the Hungarian chronicle tradition after the middle of the thirteenth century, such as the aforementioned *Gesta* by Simon of Kéza, fall beyond the scope of his analysis, though the author very clearly would have a great deal to say on the subject.

The first section of the volume offers ample testimony to one of the greatest virtues of Veszprémy's method. It provides an overview of the beginnings of and later developments in Hungarian historical literature against the backdrop of medieval European historiography. The rich tradition of history writing in Europe was available only to a limited extent to the first Hungarian readers, as indeed the analysis of the Pannonhalma library catalog demonstrates. However, demand for and interest in historical works date back to the eleventh century, even if the desire to revive the heroic pagan past (or rather, to construct it) was only fulfilled by the work of Anonymus around 1200. One could mention, as evidence of this early interest, the *Pozsonyi Évkönyv* ('Annals of Pozsony') and the annals of the Somogyvár Formulary, the latter of which Veszprémy discusses only briefly. Based on the layout of the pages of the codex of the *Pozsonyi Évkönyv*, Veszprémy came to the possible but not entirely compelling conclusion that the earlier material of the annals was edited and clarified in 1114, which unquestionably would fit into our understanding of the impetus given to writing practices in Hungary and the surge in interest in history under the reign of King Coloman the Learned.

It is common knowledge that the earliest foreign sources on which Hungarian historiography drew were the *Annals of Altaich* and Regino's *Chronicon*. We do not know, however, when the two narrative works came to the attention of Hungarian chroniclers. While news of the *Annals of Altaich* (which show a pro-German bias) may have reached Hungarian historiography already in the eleventh century (at least by 1108), during the long armed confrontation between the Holy Roman emperors and the Hungarian kings, the first Hungarian author to make use of Regino could hardly have been active before Cosmas of Prague (†1125), who was the first historian in the Central European region to have access to the *Chronicon*.

These questions lead us to one of the most important assertions made in the book. The Hungarian chronicles contain a great deal of unquestionably authentic information concerning the eleventh century, though critical analyses of style have suggested time and time again that the narrative was composed or written down in the twelfth century, particularly in the case of the *Gesta regis Ladislai*, which offers an almost epic account of the struggles for the throne between King Solomon and his cousins, the dukes Géza and Ladislaus (the future Saint Ladislaus I). This is also the section which bears the most affinities with the court romances of Western Europe. Veszprémy seeks to resolve this riddle with the suggestion that in the eleventh century only *historical notes* were

taken, the trace of which may have been preserved in the entries of the *Annals of Pozsony*. As the brief annalistic entries could hardly have grown into the vibrant narratives found in the chronicles, Veszprémy argues that these *historical notes* may have been more ambitious writings which covered longer periods of history, while they did not aspire to offer a unified account of Hungarian history. This hypothesis unquestionably offers an explanation for one of the fundamental questions of early Hungarian history writing, though it is perhaps made slightly less persuasive by the fact that Veszprémy, who has a thorough knowledge of the larger European context, makes no mention of any generic parallels which might explain why the individual historical notes were even created or what the intentions of the authors may have been.

After his discussion of the admittedly complex beginnings of Hungarian historical literature, Veszprémy turns his attention to the text of the fourteenth-century *Illuminated Chronicle*, which preserved many earlier works, including the abovementioned *Gesta Ladislai regis* and the *Gesta* by Simon of Kéza. The next few chapters examine the problems concerning the sections of the text which deal with the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Central to his discussion is the issue of authenticity, or in other words, the exact time at which the parts in question were composed. Veszprémy offers an informative analysis of the influence of Gregorian Reform on Hungarian literature. Saint Ladislaus embodies the vision of the ideal ruler at the time, who becomes king thanks to his Christian *idoneitas*, though quite against his will. Of particular interest are the chapters of the chronicle which, as we can conclude on the basis of a comparison with the *Gesta* of Anonymus, had undoubtedly been written before the anonymous notary was active (ca. 1200), i.e., the chapters concerning the Battle of Mogyoród and the Battle of Kerlés. Instead of using the vague expression *ancient gesta* (“ősgeszta”), which one often stumbles across in the modern historiography, Veszprémy consistently writes about a *pre-1200 chronicle redaction*. This conscientiousness about terminological precision constitutes an example worth following.

The next section focuses on Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum*, the study of which has certainly been one of the motivating forces for the rise of medieval studies in Hungary over the course of the past 250 years. Veszprémy's interest was captured by the rhetorical models of the work, which was composed in the decades following the death of King Béla III, and other elements which offer indications as to when it was written. Earlier, Veszprémy identified several citations which are from a Latin novel about the fall of Troy entitled *Excidium Troiae*. The work was not extremely popular, but it was definitely used in schools.

Now, Veszprémy has managed to determine that the version used by the anonymous notary resembled the text preserved in the Brussels manuscript of Guido Pisanus. This constitutes one more clue in the relatively long list on the basis of which Veszprémy concludes that Anonymus probably studied in Italy (though he does not rule out the possibility that he stayed in France, a notion which is often found in the secondary literature). Elements which indicate the period of the writing include the mention of the Black Sea, formerly known in the West only as Pontus, which appears in Anonymus as *Nigrum Mare*. As the expression was first used in western sources only in 1265, the occurrence of the term here used to be considered as one of the few reasons for a later dating of the relevant chapter of the *Gesta* (to the late thirteenth century). Veszprémy and Orsolya Csákváry, his coauthor, now point out that this name already appears in the Scandinavian saga literature in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, though the term may well have made its way to Hungary considerably earlier, during the golden era of ties between Scandinavia and Byzantium in the eleventh century. Veszprémy arrives, after a similarly exciting investigation, at the conclusion that the fate of the only surviving codex of the *Gesta Hungarorum* may be intertwined with the fate of the Turkish-language manuscript *Tarih-i Ungurus*, or History of the Hungarians, which has a considerable textual link to the Hungarian chronicle tradition.

The third major section of the book contains case studies which concern reports on Hungary found not in Hungarian sources but rather in sources from abroad, such as Adémar de Chabannes and the Bavarian traditions of Scheyern. Among these studies, only the one on the European sources of the Hungarian Hun tradition which is very clearly tied to the subject indicated in the title of the book. Veszprémy very clearly feels that the association of the Hungarians with the Huns and with Attila predates Anonymus. This association, however, could hardly have stretched back to the period before the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin and rather should be attributed to intellectuals familiar with the German Attila tradition, who traveled in great numbers to the Kingdom of Hungary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

László Veszprémy's book thus offers an engaging intellectual adventure, and as far as the content is concerned, the reader will not be disappointed. The organization and editing of the book, however, at times leaves something to be desired. I myself was somewhat annoyed that Veszprémy discusses some of the more significant problems (such as the relationship between Anonymus' *Gesta* and the earliest textual layers of the *Illuminated Chronicle*) in isolation, following

the structure of the studies that had been published earlier as articles. The book is not always sufficiently didactic, a problem which is also related to the manner in which the boundaries between the various studies have not been adequately transcended. This will make the book more difficult to use as a handbook on early Hungarian historiography. True, that was not Veszprémy's goal, but given the source material in the book and the new findings which are presented, the specialist readership will undoubtedly hope to use this beautifully published book in this capacity.

Dániel Bácsatyai  
Research Centre for the Humanities  
Bacsatyai.Daniel@abtk.hu

Earthly Delights, Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500–1900. Edited by Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018. 534 pp.

The absence of modern writing on Eastern European food history is sometimes rather conspicuous. It was therefore a pleasant surprise to find that Brill has recently published a volume titled *Earthly Delights, Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500–1900*, which is part of its Balkan Studies Library series. The volume, edited by Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu, contains 17 studies by various authors spanning 534 pages and comes with color illustrations and a general index at the end. The collection starts with the editors' introduction, which is well written and informative. There are also brief biographies of the participating authors, a short historical chronology of the Balkans starting from 1456, and notes on translation and transliteration.

The project was divided into five thematic parts, each containing two to five studies. The first part focuses on the Ottoman world, the second deals with ingredients and kitchens, the third shifts its attention to trade and food supply, the fourth discusses local cookbooks, and the last part examines the issue of representation, in other words how Balkan food, cooking, and (in)hospitality were perceived by foreign observers.

The essays in the collection generally speaking fall into two categories. Some authors strove to present the reader with an overview of a broadly outlined topic, like Moldavian or Wallachian cuisine in the early modern era, while others delved deep into the details of one particular theme, e. g. when and how olive oil replaced butter as the primary source of fat in Turkey. In the following paragraphs, I briefly comment on each study and then share a few general remarks.

After the excellent introduction by the editors, the first study written by Suraiya Faroqhi from Istanbul Bilgi University deals with the gradual introduction of olive oil into Turkish cuisine. It presents an interesting perspective, demonstrating that the dominance of olives was not as absolute as one would have expected in this area based on what we know about ancient Roman and, later, Italian cuisine. It also introduces the topic of cultural resistance, when Faroqhi explains that the relative reluctance of Turks to use olive oil as a staple of Mediterranean cuisine might have been caused by its popularity among Greeks.

The next study, by Hedda Reindl-Kiel, provides a well-written overview of the sources available on Early Modern Eastern cuisine, including a seventeenth-

century Persian cookbook, shopping bills, and lists of food distribution from the sultan's court. This last item is particularly illuminating, and Reindl-Kiel demonstrates how food distributed in the upper echelons of Ottoman society surpassed simple nutritional functions and gained an important symbolic value. As reports written by contemporary European observers, such as the one by the Habsburg ambassador to the High Porte, Heōman Èernín of Chudenice (1576–1651), suggest, foreigners often misunderstood the distinctive role of food in Turkish society.

Özge Samancı's chapter on cuisine in nineteenth-century Istanbul lists a broad variety of foodstuffs utilized in early Turkish printed cookbooks, the oldest of which appeared in 1840. Margareta Aslan's work contains a discussion on the history of food in Transylvania with particular focus on Turkish influence. She points out some interesting comparative differences in food culture between Romanians, Turks, and Hungarians (e. g. the use of sweeteners in certain contexts or diverging preferences for various spices in the Balkan regions). The first part of the collection comes to a close with an essay by Olivia Senciuc dealing with the attractive theme of coffee and tea in eighteenth-century Moldavia and Wallachia. Perhaps Senciuc's most interesting conclusion is the realization that despite the constant Ottoman political, economic, and military influence, the wealthy boyar families began to consume coffee relatively late, only in the second half of the seventeenth century, which coincided with the adoption of caffeinated drinks by upper classes in the other regions of Central and Eastern Europe.

The second section of the book, titled "Ingredients, Kitchens and the Pleasures of the Table," opens with Kinga S. Tüdös's study of early modern festivities in Transylvania. For a readership particularly interested in Hungarian culture, this is perhaps the most relevant passage, as Tüdös brings into focus the Hungarian group of east Transylvanians, called Székelys. Tüdös's extensive use of inheritance inventories resembles similarly oriented research on the cultural history of the dining customs of the early modern noble classes, which became a subject of considerable interest in Bohemia in the 1990s and early 2000s.<sup>1</sup> The study draws heavily on the manuscript cookbook of Princess

---

1 For example, South Bohemian nobility was discussed by Václav Bůžek and Josef Hrdlička, eds., *Dvory velmožů s erbem růže: všední a sváteční dny posledních Rožmberků a pánů z Hradce* [The courts of noblemen with rose in the coat of arms: mundane and festive days of the last members of Rosenbergs and lords of Hradec] (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1997); Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král, eds., *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku* [Festivities and entertainment at courts and residences in early modern period] (České Budějovice: Historický ústav Jihočeské univerzity, 2000).

Anna Bornemisza (1630–1688), which prompts me to suggest that it might be beneficial to compare this source with a collection of three mid-seventeenth-century handwritten cookbooks attributed to the Czech nobility and preserved in the National Museum and Strahov Library in Prague. These Czech collections are nearly contemporary to Anna Bornemisza's cookbook and reflect a similar socioeconomic background.

The following study by Maria Magdalena Székely draws the readers' attention to another historical region, the principality of Moldavia. Székely does not rely exclusively on the scarce written historical records, but also introduces information gleaned from archeological, archaeobotanical, and archeozoological sources which provide an additional perspective. Székely's work offers a comparative analysis of early modern food culture in Moldavia, which will help other Central and Eastern European historians better contextualize their own research. Violeta Barbu, the author of the next study on early modern food culture in Wallachia, uses an equally broad approach, basically providing a textbook-like delineation usable by any historian searching for comparisons with findings in their own research. Like Székely, Barbu also makes creative use of the sources, for example *Rituale Romanum*.

From the conceptually broad studies, we move back towards microhistory at the beginning of the third part of the collection. It begins with a paper by Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi describing food supply in the Romanian city of Cluj in the early modern period, in which Rűsz-Fogarasi builds on her previous interest in the history of hospitals in Transylvania. This text is valuable for its focus on a comparatively early period (1550–1650), but it also shows how challenging it is to work with relatively scarce written sources. Analogically, Mária Pakucs-Willcocks's study focuses on a single Transylvanian place as well, the city of Sibiu. Her paper therefore works very well in comparison with the previous chapter. Pakucs-Willcocks begins with an examination of import fees and other legal contexts for trade with the Ottomans and later delves into detail when discussing the individual types of food. I would highlight her attempt to shape often limited sources into series of data, systematically tracking certain commodities.

While the two previous studies dealt with trade more or less exclusively in Transylvania, Gheorghe Lazăr's paper shifts the focus to trade in eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Wallachia. Lazăr divides his interest between what he calls "the big retail trade," which means the export of horses, cattle, and grain and "the small trade," referring to the import of luxury goods. Both

are equally valuable, but quite distinct from the perspective of writing about the history of food culture, as they offer testimony to differing socioeconomic realities.

The fourth section of the book, which is also the shortest, consists of two chapters examining historical Balkan cookbooks. First, Castilia Manea-Grgin describes two early modern handwritten collections of recipes: “Compendium on the Preparation of Day-to-Day Dishes,” owned originally by Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), and the slightly more recent “Book in which Dishes of Fish, Crayfish, Oysters, Snails, Vegetables, Herbs, and Other Dishes for Fast and Non-fast Days are Written, In their Due order.” The origin of this second manuscript is uncertain, but it is likely a seventeenth-century source possibly linked to Constantin Cantacuzino, who served between 1675–1677 as the Great Steward to the Wallachian princes. It is worth noting, however, that the analysis avoids the food-related parts of both collections, focusing instead on related topics, such as the management of orchards, gardening, and viticulture. Nevertheless, the study is still quite useful for food historians, because these topics are related to the history of nutrition, and Manea-Grgin also provides a thorough examination of the foreign influences she was able to detect, particularly in the Romanian collection.

In the following article, Stefan Detchev writes about the oldest printed cookbooks in Bulgaria, which were published in the 1870s. As this is a very modern topic, it is well outside my area of expertise, but I imagine that a comparative study with other cookbooks of the period, for example, might yield interesting findings related to the birth of modern femininity in the Central and Eastern European context.

The introductory study of the last section was written by Andrew Dalby, the prolific British historian of food, who examines several travelogues written by foreigners about their stays in late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Romania. Although mostly focused on modern history, this chapter does occasionally delve into much older, seventeenth-century reports by William Lithgow, John Smith (of Pocahontas fame), Robert Bargrave, and Edmund Chishull. Dalby’s text is an excellent read and very entertaining, though it does present (understandably) an exclusively outsider’s perspective of the Balkans, as Dalby does not read local sources.

Fortunately, Angela Jianu, the author of the following chapter, addresses this issue in her analysis of travelogues from the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike Dalby, Jianu provides feedback on information published by the travelers mentioned

in her paper. She also pays careful attention to concepts like “commensality” and “otherness” in the Balkans, which she describes as a region “in-between” the East and the West. The penultimate study by Anna Matthaïou draws on a plethora of information concerning modern food culture in the Balkans, while also commenting on its fractured nature. This study chronologically extends well into the twentieth century and provides interesting insights into the construction of Hellenized “national” cuisine and the homogeneity versus the diversity of local traditions.

Finally, Andrei Oișteanu draws the readers’ attention to the Jewish tavernkeepers in Romania with an emphasis on prejudice and stereotypes associated with the life of this minority in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe. His chapter also brings up broader contexts and is worth reading for those interested in Judaic history from the seventeenth century to the twentieth.

Overall, *Earthly Delights* presents an intriguing and critically important collection of studies. The volume is well organized, and the shortcomings to which a reviewer might draw attention are only minor. There are a few typographical errors, but not more than one would expect in such large project. I particularly appreciate the fact that most of the studies were written by authors with clear links to the Balkans and not by foreigners theorizing about the region. This is necessary due to the difficult linguistic landscape of the region, as shown for example by the painstakingly documented trilingual toponyms in passages related to Transylvania.

For foreigners like me, the study highlights certain issues inherent to Balkan historiography. For example, I find it interesting to observe the propensity of Romanian historiography towards the French theoretical tradition of the *Annales* school. In Czech historiography, this source of inspiration is filled mostly by German scholars and, recently, the growing importance of English historical writing.

Another general observation I would make concerns the relative lack of written sources, which became more abundant only after the mid-seventeenth century. It can be partially supplemented by archeological and archaeobotanical findings, but I suspect that this form of research requires levels of funding which are not yet readily available in Eastern Europe.

Perhaps the most striking feature is visible particularly in the final chapters, where readers are continually reminded of the Protean nature of the Balkans as a simultaneously backward, static place where time stands still (and good inns are hard to come by), while it was also a place of tumultuous change in a “melting

pot” of cultures, nationalities, religions, languages, and political interests. The editors appropriately reflect on this phenomenon in the introduction when they claim that globalization and multiculturalism are not modern inventions, as regions like Transylvania were faced with similar challenges centuries before these terms became fashionable, contentious issues for present culture wars. Overall, *Earthly Delights* is an essential read for any historian of food, especially a historian focusing on the seventeenth century and later periods.

Karel Černý  
Charles University  
karel.cerny@lf1.cuni.cz

*Estates and Constitution: The Parliament in Eighteenth-Century Hungary.* By István M. Szijártó. Translated by David Robert Evans. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2020. 350 pp.

Readers interested in the history of Austria, the Habsburg Monarchy, and its successor states may have become accustomed to the high academic quality of the series *Austrian and Habsburg Studies* (edited by Howard Louthan and published by Berghahn Books in association with the Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota), which covers a wide range of themes in fields from ethnic conflict and nationalism to *fin-de-siècle* culture and women's history, to mention only a few of the subjects which have been covered since 1996, the year in which the first book in the series was published. István M. Szijártó's new book (the 30th title in the series) fits perfectly in this trend both because of its subject and by virtue of its complexity and rigorousness. Szijártó's outstanding monograph offers an admirable example of a work of scholarship on complex problems in the somewhat "exotic" history of early modern East Central Europe which both conforms to the local (in this case, the Hungarian) historiographical tradition and meets the standards of the Anglophone academic world. In the case of the latter, credit is also due to the excellent work of the translator, David Robert Evans.

Szijártó's endeavor is unique in the sense that he attempts to bring close to non-Hungarian readers the history of the Hungarian Diet, a topic which has been "grievously neglected in international scholarship," to use the words of Robert John Weston Evans from the back cover of the book. This is not to say, however, that the subject has been entirely ignored in recent non-Hungarian historiography. One could mention, perhaps first and foremost, the monograph by Jean Bérenger and Károly Kecskeméti, *Parlement et vie Parlementaire en Hongrie 1608–1918* (Paris, Honoré Champion Editeur, 2005). Yet *Estates and Constitution* offers more than a work written in the traditional vein of parliamentary history in its narrower sense. To support this statement, it is worth taking a look at Szijártó's earlier works in the field to understand their evolution and determine their places in relation to one another. This is all the more important, since Szijártó himself felt it necessary to point out at the beginning of his work that his book is "the product of almost three decades of research" (xi).

The first significant fruit of Szijártó's long-term research project was his 2005 monograph *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The Diet. The Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792] (Budapest, Osiris), which

became the fundamental work in the field. Although attention was paid to the social historical background (first and foremost to the fundamental role of the *bene possessionatus* nobility, the prosperous landowning gentry in the counties, and, later, the Diets) both in this monograph and in Szijártó's subsequent collection of studies, entitled *Nemesi társadalom és politika: Tanulmányok a 18. századi magyar rendiségről* [Noble society and politics: Studies on the history of the estates in eighteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest, Universitas, 2006), in his later works, Szijártó offered more thorough and nuanced discussions of the social-historical aspects of institutional change. In his 2016 book *A 18. századi Magyarország rendi országgyűlése* [The Diet in eighteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest, Országgyűlés Hivatala) and in his 2017 DSc thesis *Emberék és struktúrák a 18. századi Magyarországon: A politikai elit társadalom- és kultúrtörténeti megközelítésben* [Individuals and structures in eighteenth-century Hungary: The political elite from the perspective of social and cultural history], he provided a thorough analysis of the roles of the *bene possessionatus* nobility and the career paths of political actors. However, in these works, the change of perspective became manifest on another level, namely in Szijártó's growing interest in questions concerning cultural history and the history of political discourse. In fact, these latter aspects come to the fore in *Estates and Constitution*, too, which is a "modified, extended, and restructured" version of Szijártó's abovementioned 2016 book in Hungarian (p.xi). In a sense, Szijártó's recent monograph in English can be seen as a concise account of the main findings of this long-term research project, adjusted to the extent necessary to specific circumstances arising from the situation when a scholar aims to speak to a "global" audience about historical problems rooted in chiefly "local" contexts.

The structure of the book is quite user-friendly, and although its primary character is that of a monograph, it could also be used as a handbook. It has been broken into three sections, each of which is divided into chapters, which again have several subsections, most of them a few pages long. Broadly speaking, each of the main parts covers a fundamental aspect of eighteenth-century politics and is written from a specific analytical viewpoint. In the first part (Chapters 1–2), the principal structural elements of early modern Hungarian politics and the machinery of the Diet are outlined; in the second (Chapters 3–7), the parliament is presented as a functioning institution and the main locus of political practice; in the third (Chapters 8–10), some aspects of the political discourse and social-cultural history are in the foreground, alongside the historiography of the early modern parliament.

One of the main strengths of the book is its primarily holistic outlook. Szijártó presents institutional, social-cultural, and intellectual issues as different aspects of one and the same history. If one reads the analyses carefully, one gets a detailed picture of their complex interrelations, at least in the context of the eighteenth-century parliamentary history of Hungary. In addition, Szijártó's essentially holistic approach goes hand in hand with his highly sensitive insights into grassroots level phenomena. Big processes and large structures are handled in close relation to the dimension of human agency and everyday practices of parliamentary life, and individual occurrences are never treated as mere illustrations of general tendencies. This feature of the book seems to be all the more important, since the mutual interdependence of these two dimensions becomes manifest on various levels throughout the analyses. Accordingly, the most common narrative structure of the subsections is a sequence consisting of a general account of the overall trends, followed by a thorough analysis of the most relevant cases supporting, nuancing, or modifying the original statements. Of course, this manner of writing history is only possible on the basis of a vast corpus of historical sources, and indeed this can be seen as the backbone of the whole work.

Chapter 1 provides a summary of the most crucial elements of eighteenth-century Hungary's political system. Szijártó pays particular attention here to the dualism of king and estates, which made eighteenth-century Hungary an estate polity (*Ständestaat*), and he emphasizes the paramount importance of the *tractatus diaetalis*, the process of negotiation between the two sides of the political chessboard (pp.12–17). The long-term functioning of the Diet as the main locus of the bargaining process between king and estates demonstrates that the power of the latter proved much more durable in Hungary than in other parts of the empire, since the Habsburgs felt it necessary to convoke the Diet in the country “even after a hiatus of five, ten, or even twenty-five years” (p.18). The historical fundament of the Hungarian *Sonderweg*, as Szijártó stresses several times in the book, was the Rákóczi War of Independence and the compromise between crown and country which came in its wake, codified in the Treaty of Szatmár, which “stabilized the position of the Hungarian estates, restoring the dualism of king and estates of the previous era” (pp.2, 98–99). The significance of the separate path taken by Hungary became manifest during the War of the Austrian Succession, in the course of which the Hungarian estates remained loyal to Vienna and, as a result, Hungary (unlike the Hereditary Lands and the Czech provinces) was left out of the centralizing and rationalizing reforms of

Haugwitz, which “represented a turning point in the political development of the Habsburg Monarchy” (p.99).

After portraying the main institutional factors of the workings of the Diet in Chapter 2, Szijártó goes on to outline one of the main findings of his book, and he demonstrates that in the eighteenth century, a profound change took place in the political agenda of the parliament, leading from confessionalism to the emergence of the dualism of king and estates dominated by constitutional questions. Religious issues, after dominating the debates in the 1710s and the 1720s, were (at least until 1790) omitted from the discussions of the Diets. Denominational divisions lost their former importance, and the defense of different aspects of noble privileges came to the foreground in parliamentary politics. As the investigations in Chapter 4 show, this process made it possible for the estates to take a strong line against the ruler in questions concerning the size of the yearly contribution (*contributio*) and the nobility’s exemption from taxation. The new situation induced the decrease of the level of polarization within the estates and gave rise to a new form of antagonism vis-à-vis the crown, narrowing the possibility of compromise between king and estates considerably. In Chapter 6, this sharpening of divisions between crown and country is also demonstrated on the level of the political decisions of the deputies, displaying the process in the course of which “oppositonality and government loyalty” became “mutually exclusive choices” (p.171).

The main social-historical component of this process was the emancipation of the well-to-do gentry, the *bene possessionatus* nobility from the aristocracy, which came to dominate the political life of the counties in the course of the first half of eighteenth century. In the background of this process, which is described in Chapter 9, we find the dissolution of the old networks of *familiaritas* between the aristocracy and the lesser nobility and the takeover of the power of the landowning prosperous gentry in the counties. The breaking up of the system of patron-client relations resulted in a significantly higher degree of social and political independence of the *bene possessionatus* nobility. On the institutional level, the growing significance of the well-to-do gentry manifested itself at first at the county assemblies, where it became the leading political force.

However, several aspects of the institutional development of the Diet in the eighteenth century (most importantly the decision-making mechanisms and the increase of the importance of the county deputies, as shown in Chapter 7) make it clear that the *bene possessionatus* nobility was able to reassert itself on the level of parliamentary politics as the predominant political factor. Undoubtedly,

the “noble-national” movement in Hungary in 1790 was part of this process: in fact, it can be seen as an attempt by the well-to-do gentry to reshape the political system of the country according to its own interests and values, aiming to convert its local dominance in the counties to real political power on the “national” level.

At this point, the relevance of the perspective of intellectual history, from which Chapter 8 is written, becomes clear. Through textual analyses of various sources, Szijártó verifies his thesis concerning polarization between king and estates as the “central tendency of politics” (p.263) on the level of political discourse as well. Szijártó demonstrates *inter alia* the rise of the term “constitution” in the political parlance of the Diets, a process that can be seen as a main element of the conceptual foundations of nineteenth-century developments in political discourse and in the politics of grievance in general.

Henrik Hőnich  
University of Public Service,  
Thomas Molnar Institute for Advanced Studies  
honichhenrik@gmail.com

Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism. Edited by Liliya Berezhnaya and Heidi Hein-Kircher. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 2019. 416 pp.

At the height of the European refugee crisis in 2015, Jarosław Kaczyński, head of the ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party in Poland, explained his strong anti-immigrant position by claiming that the Polish nation had a historic mission to defend Christian Europe from enemies who wanted to destroy it. He has also used this argument to justify homophobia and attacks on women's rights. Similar claims resound across Eastern Europe. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has made similar claims about Hungary, as has Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša for Slovenia. Pro-Western Ukrainians intent on joining the European Union also see their country as a bulwark protecting Europe, albeit against a different enemy: Russian imperialism. In each case, nationalist leaders look back in time and translate histories of wars fought against Bolsheviks, Ottoman armies, and Tatar invaders into myths of heroic martyrdom in order to cast themselves at the center of present-day struggles to define where Europe is and what it should mean to those who live there. Eastern Europe today abounds with visions of nations vying with one another to be the rampart of Europe, a bastion protecting a continent surrounded by enemies. Why are these myths so ubiquitous? And what gives them such power?

The urgency of these questions today makes *Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*, edited by Liliya Berezhnaya and Heidi Hein-Kircher, especially welcome. The fourteen essays in the volume analyze examples of rampart or bulwark nation myths in a variety of contexts, ranging across the region from Russia and Ukraine to Hungary and Romania and in time from the late fifteenth century to the present-day. A helpful introductory essay by the editors frames the entire volume, highlighting the power of these myths to create meaning through the cultural imagination of space. Bulwark discourses abound, they write, “where it is necessary to strengthen identity and culture, to define a society in demarcating it from Others and to imagine a territory” (p.11). They suggest that competition in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to define imperial spaces as national space made Eastern Europe especially fertile ground for this kind of myth-making, imparting fantasies of national sacrifice and civilizational defense with a cultural power still felt across the region today.

Many of the essays in this volume illuminate the ways in which visions (and narratives) of borderlands and border security are so often shaped by beliefs in a civilizing mission. In her own contribution, Heidi Hein-Kircher shows how the city of L'viv (Polish: Lwów) was imagined in late nineteenth-century travel guides as an outpost of Polish civilization surrounded by barbarism. Echoes of this theme can be found in other essays, for instance Paul Srodecki's comparison of anti-Bolshevik ideology in interwar Poland and Hungary, Philipp Hofeneder's account of Polish and Ukrainian history textbooks in Habsburg Galicia, and Steven Seegel's fascinating analysis of maps and the politics of mapmaking in East Central Europe. Volodymyr Kravchenko explains that bulwark myths were largely absent from Ukrainian national discourse until the late nineteenth century, when historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi made this trope a staple element in the national historical imagination. By contrast, several essays—Stephen Norris's on the complex afterlives of artist Viktor Vasnetsov's famous painting *Warriors* and Kerstin Jobst's on the cultural construction of an Orthodox Crimea—reveal how Russian imperial ideology legitimized itself through historical myths about the origins and early history of Slavic Orthodoxy. These studies show that the bulwark myths so central to the cultural geography of Eastern Europe were not always imagined in opposition to enemies from the East. Sometimes the threat came from the West.

Other contributors highlight the sacral power that modern nationalist bulwark myths drew from older languages of religious threat. Kerstin Weiand locates some of the earliest instances of a pan-European bulwark discourse in late fifteenth-century speeches made to the Imperial Diet by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, councilor to Emperor Frederick III and later Pope Pius II. In them, he called on Christian Europeans to unite against an implacably savage Ottoman Muslim enemy. His warnings, which circulated in print form throughout Europe, found especially receptive audiences in Poland and Hungary. Centuries later, nationalists in both countries would refashion this history into dramatic myths of resistance and martyrdom on the eastern marches of European civilization. But this ideological transformation was not peculiar to Catholic societies. According to Liliya Berezhnaya, the Russian Orthodox monks of the Pochaiv Lavra monastery remade their collective memories of conflict with an expanding Ottoman Empire into a vision, updated for the nineteenth century, of Orthodoxy under attack from Jews, Polish Catholics, and a host of cultural ills coming to Russia from the West. Zaur Gasimov proposes that the religious origins of modern bulwark myths were even more malleable, showing in his

essay how émigré Turkic intellectuals from the Soviet Union imagined Atatürk's Turkey as a (non-Christian) bulwark defending Turkish and Turkic culture from Communism.

This collection reflects the diversity of bulwark myths in Eastern Europe. It has less to say about causes: why do bulwark myths spring to life at some times and lie dormant at others? The volume also leaves readers to draw their own connections between bulwark discourses in Eastern Europe and myths of civilizational defense at work in other places. Today, no less than in Piccolomini's age, calls to defend the bastions of Christian civilization resound throughout Europe and across the Atlantic. As this volume shows so well, bulwark myths persist in many places. *Rampart Nations* is an excellent guide to a problem that shows no signs of going away.

Paul Hanebrink  
Rutgers University  
hanebrin@history.rutgers.edu

The Matica and Beyond: Cultural Associations and Nationalism in Europe. Edited by Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 367 pp.

Over the course of the last thirty years, we have seen a growing amount of research in the field of cultural nationalism in Central and Southeastern Europe. Most of these endeavors have aimed to examine, within multidisciplinary frameworks, the complex political, economic, and social roles of the various kinds of cultural activities in the area of great empires and “small nations.” *The Matica and Beyond* is indeed the twenty-first book in the National Cultivation of Culture series published by Brill.

The book is a collection of fifteen works written by cultural historians from all over Europe. The fifteen texts result in a surprisingly consistent volume, as the essays are methodologically and thematically very similar, and they draw on an array of exciting new sources and offer similarly engaging conclusions. The editors of the book, however, faced challenges in combining the essays to form a meaningful whole.

As far as the geographical range of the studies is concerned, the book consists of six manuscripts dealing with cultural organizations in the Habsburg Monarchy, whereas the rest of the papers deal with other European associations, though these organizations and associations all had the same essential purpose: to enhance national and ethnic awareness among members of a certain nation.

In the introduction, Joep Leerssen presents the structure of the book and explains the extent to which the phenomenon of *Matica* has been investigated or marginalized both politically and in the scholarship. Leerssen also calls attention to significant similarities and links in the national movements under discussion and the surprisingly important role of the *Maticas* in linguistic turns and geopolitical changes.

The first essay, Zsuzsanna Varga’s “The Buda University Press and National Awakenings in Habsburg Austria,” is about the roles of publishing in strengthening national consciousness and identity among Slavic peoples. Varga examines numerous books written in vernacular languages and spellings, especially works by Serbs, who played a leading role in the struggle of the Empire’s Slavic nations for autonomy and independence.

Magdalena Pokorna provides the first essay in the collection that offers insights into a *Matica*’s activity. Pokorna offers a detailed discussion of one of the crucial *Maticas* for the Slavs, the Czech one. It is nicely complemented by

“The Slovak *Matica*, Its Precursors and Its Legacy” by Benjamin Bossaert and Dagmar Kročanová. Due to the different political circumstances, these two *Maticas* did not have similar operational policies, but they did have the common aim of establishing stronger connections with the other Slavic nations (Croats, Poles, Serbs, Slovenians, Bulgarians, etc.) in order to achieve greater cultural and national independence in opposition to the dominant German culture. The fourth essay is a short overview by Miloš Řezník of actions taken by Lusatian Serbs, Ruthenians, and Czech Silesians. Řezník offers insights into the ways in which regionalism and nationalism often collided.

Marijan Dović offers an essay on the work of the Slovenian *Matica*, in which he explains how this organization was not just a place for book publishing, but also for self-education and common thinking about issues like the school system and the media culture.

Daniel Barić discusses the emergence of the Dalmatian *Matica* and how it later became part of the Croatian one. Barić claims that “the first maticas were founded in the South Slav area in a time of redefinition of the nation, hence there were competing terms in use” (p.119). He also states that “the multiple engagement of the Croatian maticas mirrors the efforts made to cultivate and celebrate a distinctiveness within a multicultural environment” (p.134). Ljiljana Guschevska’s essay on Macedonian societies details how intellectuals struggled to form a multilayered Macedonian identity.

The essay entitled “Language, Cultural Associations, and the Origins of Galician Nationalism, 1840–1918” deals with the strengthening of language identity, which was meant to be a source of power in boosting nationalism. Philippe Martel offers another example of a struggle for more powerful nationalism through language use in an essay focusing on the “Impossible Occitan Nation.” Martel foregrounds the absurdity of the idea of Occitania due to language and identity anachronisms.

In the Netherlands, in contrast, the rule was one language, two states, and many nations. The essay “Educational, Scholarly, and Literary Societies in Dutch-Speaking Regions, 1766–1886” by Jan Rock deals with three main types of organizations and clubs: philological, intermediating, and non-governmental. These clubs strengthened the language identity of different communities in Netherlands. The author also perceives the similarities with the model of governing the *Maticas*, although “one major difference lies in the political contexts and therefore in the nature of governmental support” (p.204).

The struggle for independence among the Welsh sought cultural and linguistic autonomy rather than political autonomy. Marion Loffler, in her contribution to the volume, presents a nuanced comparison of Welsh cultural nationalism with the aspirations of Slavic people and explains the major differences between pan-Slavism and pan-Celticism. Similarly, Roisín Higgins emphasizes the importance of newspapers in strengthening the Irish nation. She relates the Young Ireland movement with the Illyrian one which began to rise to prominence in the middle of the nineteenth century in Croatia.

Jörg Hackmann focuses in his essay on the roles of school associations in the rise of national consciousness. Through school associations and struggles for language rights in the gymnasiums in bigger, linguistically mixed cities such as Riga, Tartu, and Jeglava, the Estonians, Latvians, and Germans tried to resist the russification of their communities.

Iryna Orlevych presents the activities of a crucial organization which was responsible for cultivating a sense of national consciousness in Austrian Galicia. During almost a century of its existence, *Matica* was a very powerful pillar of the Church and an important element of Galicia's cultural identity. Later, it lost its fundamental role (to strengthen cultural identity) and became a political organization of the Russian Empire.

The last paper in the book deals with specific aspirations of Tatars, among the most marginalized people in the Russian Federation. The author of the paper, Usmanova, examines Tatarian cultural and educational opportunities in Russia, touching on all the obstacles to a possible strengthening of the Russian Tatars' identity.

In a slightly complex conclusion, Alexei Miller claims that "the *Maticas* and comparable organizations were part of the history of European peripheral nationalisms, but they were also a part of the history of Empires" (p.362). Therefore, as Dović formulates it, *Maticas* were the "heart in the body of the nation and [...] literature was its blood" (p.104).

*The Matica and Beyond: Cultural Associations and Nationalism in Europe* is definitely a unique and successful scientific project which has the novelty to give a detailed overview of the activities and roles of cultural organizations, such as the *Matica* itself, in Central and Southeastern Europe. It unquestionably constitutes a contribution to the secondary literature which will be of interest to historians, sociologists, and scholars of culture, since it concerns a very dynamically developing field and draws attention to an array of intriguing topics, such as the role of individuals in these organizations and the complex

relationship between regional and national identities. The volume is particularly interesting in part because of the way in which it treats key moments and the *Maticas*' key roles in the so-called national awakenings among Slavic nations. Some papers would definitely have been more interesting if they had been accompanied by explanatory figures. Overall, the book offers an overview of and insights into the ways in which the *Maticas* and many other associations, such as councils, clubs, cultural and art societies, and political parties, acted in order to strengthen regional and ethnic components of nations in Europe. The book successfully fulfills its ambition to emphasize in a multidisciplinary way the importance of cultural associations in the political and social histories of "small European nations."

Ivan Brlić  
Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar  
Ivan.Brlic@pilar.hr

## Genealogies of Memory 2020 – The Holocaust between Global and Local Perspectives. Conference report.

Organized by the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (ENRS), the conference entitled *Genealogies of Memory 2020 – The Holocaust between Global and Local Perspectives* took place in the form of eight sessions between November 4 and 26, 2020. Due to the ongoing pandemic, instead of an in-person event, the organizers conducted the conference online, streamed via Zoom and Youtube, thus making it accessible to a wide international audience.

The most important goal of the conference was, according to the website of ENRS, “to assess the current state of Holocaust memory research” in the light of increasing globalization, as well as various new trends. Through seven key topics and a final roundtable discussion, the speakers explored issues connected to the interaction of universal and local Holocaust memory and ethical questions related to them. Each session started with a keynote address, which was followed by presentations by young and established scholars and the observations of a commentator.

The first session, which addressed the practical ethics of Holocaust memory, started with Piotr Cywiński’s (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum) keynote, in which he delineated the development and major turning points of Holocaust remembrance. The following four presenters highlighted certain episodes and practices of the memorialization process, such as the role that Raul Hilberg, eminent scholar of the Holocaust, played in the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Olof Bortz emphasized that Hilberg wanted to make the museum’s exhibit as authentic as possible, which generated tensions between different views on how to present the past and thus contributed to the discussion on commemoration.

The second session was dedicated to the Ringelblum Archive, a collection of documents compiled by the Oneg Shabbath group in the Warsaw ghetto, which is considered “the earliest historiography of the Holocaust.” Keynote speaker Omer Bartov (Brown University) linked the Ringelblum Archive to the main topic of the conference by discussing four factors: the increasing importance of history writing from below, local histories, the Holocaust as a first-person history, and the benefits of these new approaches. According to Bartov, the term “industrial killing,” which is so often applied to the Holocaust, is problematic because it obscures the fact that in many cases the victims stood face to face with the perpetrators before they were killed. Research on these atrocities and the

relations between Jews, their neighbors and the Germans, as well as individual experiences can further an understanding of the nuances and dynamics of the Holocaust.

Bartov's points were supported by the following presentations, which discussed various characteristics of the Ringelblum Archive. Katarzyna Person, for instance, focused on the situation of women who were forced to become prostitutes in the ghettos and the assessment of their role by the historians of the archive. By placing a relatively small group in the center of the investigation, Person could provide a more detailed picture of their agency, the difference between sexual barter and rape, and the specificities of how they were written about in the archive.

The third session, which dealt with "borderland memories," began with Éva Kovács's (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute) keynote lecture. Kovács explored and compared various spaces of remembrance: a private Holocaust museum in Rwanda, an exhibition about Srebrenica in Budapest, and the efforts to uncover mass graves of Holocaust victims in Minsk. She then elaborated on the intertwining local and transnational memory, touching on idealized or suppressed local remembrance too. The following panel presentations also addressed the topics of landscapes of memory and remembrance culture, among them the project description of Nadja Danglmaier and Daniel Wutti. The educational project aimed to integrate the common cultural history (including the Holocaust) of Carinthia, a border region between Austria and Slovenia, into school curricula on both sides of the border.

The session "Overlooking the Local Dimensions of the Holocaust," which raised questions concerning linguistics and translation, started with a keynote lecture by Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, Minister of Culture of Lithuania and an academic, about the diaries of Jewish children in Vilnius. Three of the panelists then discussed Claude Lanzmann's documentary film *Shoah*. Dorota Głowacka, for instance, explored the mistranslations in the movie's languages: Polish, Yiddish, German, French, and how this implicitly conveyed an image of anti-Semitic Poles who were ignorant of Jewish culture. Roma Sendyka's presentation, on the other hand, suggested a possible solution to this problem, namely the re-translation of the Polish bystanders' lines.

The fifth session addressed current shifts and methods in Holocaust studies, such as avantgarde environmental history, as discussed by keynote speaker Ewa Domańska (Adam Mickiewicz University), which aims to reveal the complex relationship between the events of the Holocaust and their environment and

thus to construct holistic knowledge. In her presentation, Hannah Wilson presented three objects connected to survivors of the Sobibór death camp and how the meaning of these objects changed from generation to generation.

Jackie Feldman of Ben-Gurion University delivered the keynote for the sixth session. Feldman touched on the digital turn, the end of the age of the witness and the ways in which various technological solutions may alter the existing memoryscape. Liat Steir-Livny's presentation on the short film *Eva.Stories* was strongly linked to this topic. The movie, which is a compilation of Instagram stories, managed to foster interest among masses of young people, and Steir-Livny analyzed the components of its success.

The topic of the seventh session was the connection between global and local memory, to which Daniel Levy of Stony Brook University provided an adept background in his keynote address. The entanglement of national, cosmopolitan, and global memoryscapes was also tackled by Agnieszka Wierzycholska, who discussed the difficulties that emerged when she was pressed to satisfy the expectations of both Polish and German audiences with her research on social relations in pre-war and post-war Tarnów.

During the final roundtable discussion, Éva Kovács, Ewa Domańska, Daniel Levy, and Jackie Feldman summarized the core issues of the conference, raising new questions and discussing new trends and possibilities in Holocaust research. All in all, the conference offered a rich variety of topics examined by some of the most eminent researchers, and it offered young scholars opportunities to talk about their research. Since the sessions were recorded, they are still available both on the Youtube channel and the Facebook site of ENRS. Thus, those who missed the original event can still listen to them. This can be recommended not only to Holocaust scholars but to anyone interested in contemporary history.

Borbála Klacsmann  
University of Szeged  
bklacsmann@gmail.com

Interwar East Central Europe, 1918–1941: The Failure of Democracy-Building, the Fate of Minorities. Edited by Sabrina Ramet. London and New York: Routledge, 2020. 360 pp.

The volume, published in the series “Routledge Studies in Modern European History,” brings together ten internationally renowned scholars to discuss the challenges that interwar Europe faced. The preface positions it in the wake of other all-embracing volumes looking at interwar Central and Eastern Europe, the most recent examples being Josef Rothschild’s *East Central Europe Between the two World Wars* (1974), and Ivan T. Berend’s *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe before World War II* (1998). Recent years have witnessed the emergence of new scholarship drawing inspiration from entangled history and looking at continuities in the post-imperial areas, as well as the impact of nationalizing policies on the processes of democratization. Nonetheless, these trends do not seem to have exerted much influence on the structure of this volume, which is articulated through national unities.

Sabrina Ramet uses the first chapter to clarify the aims of this effort: to trace the roots of the failure of democracy in East Central Europe, as well as the impact of this failure on the statuses of minorities, looking at both domestic (instability and political violence) as well as external factors (the economic crisis and the expanding role of Nazi Germany).

In the second chapter, M. B. B. Biskupski investigates the two alternatives with which the Polish leadership was faced, the one represented by Józef Piłsudski, who envisioned a large and inclusive Poland, and the other, a vision of a smaller and nationally homogeneous Poland, championed by Roman Dmowski. Biskupski, who regards these views as respectively “civic patriotism” and “ethnic nationalism,” blames external factors, which led to a downsizing of Poland’s geopolitical perspective and made the federalist option unfeasible. Chapter three, by Sabrina Ramet and Carol Skalnik Leff, focuses on interwar Czechoslovakia, the only country in the area whose political system is usually praised for its democratic nature. Nevertheless, its major weakness was what the authors describe as the “securitization of democracy” against external enemies. In this context, both the Slovak population and minorities (the German, Hungarian, Jewish, and Ruthenian communities) found themselves in a position of subalternity and unevenness. In chapter four, Béla Bodó examines the Hungarian case, focusing on both minorities within the country and Hungarian minorities abroad. While revisionism remained a central issue of foreign policy,

minorities enjoyed diverse statuses, ranging from that of the Germans, whose fate was increasingly entangled with the relationship between Hungary and the Third Reich, to the Jews, who were subjected to early anti-Semitic legislation which culminated in the late 1930s. The roots and the idea of the “ethnic privilege” enjoyed by the “state-forming nation” in Romania are central to the chapter written by Roland Clark (chapter five). Clark offers an overview of the social, ethnic, and religious context of the country, which included Transylvania, bringing into the country significant Hungarian and German minorities, and saw antisemitism across the political spectrum. As Clark argues, interwar Romania established itself as an exclusionary type of democracy, which drew on the idea of homogenization of minorities. In chapter six, Christian Promitzer explores the case of interwar Bulgaria, retracing its political evolution from the first postwar years of the Agrarian bloc, marked by land reform, to the following shift towards authoritarianism, albeit not fascism, as the later head of the Communist Party, Georgi Dimitrov, would have claimed. This was reflected in the attitude towards the Turkish minority, which was characterized both by increasing discrimination and an attempt to forge an alliance with its most conservative sectors in order to marginalize Kemalism. This marked a difference between the treatment of the Turkish minority by the Bulgarian state and the treatment of Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks, whose assimilation was actively pursued. Promitzer also shows that the contemporary influx of Bulgarian refugees was directly connected with increasing pressure on internal minorities. In chapter seven, Stipica Grgić offers a focused discussion of the Yugoslav state, whose weaknesses and disparities in standards were laid bare in its process of unification. In the background of the rising tensions between centralist and federalist strands as well as widespread instability, non-Slavic minorities experienced pressure, enacted also through the land reform, but they nonetheless tried to establish agreements with government parties. In chapter eight, Bernd J. Fischer offers insights into the turbulent interwar years in Albania, with the ascent to power of King Zog, who created an authoritarian power in a (mostly unsuccessful) attempt to achieve modernization, unity, and stability. While minorities did not represent a troublesome issue for interwar Albania, the existence of an ethnically Albanian population outside the border of the state conditioned both domestic and international relations. The only thematic contribution (Chapter nine) to the book, authored by Robert Bideluex, focuses on peasant parties across East Central Europe. Rejecting the image of backwardness often attached to the agricultural world in Eastern Europe, Bideluex argues that, should they have risen to power, peasant parties

would have pursued an alternative (and more human) pattern of development in respect to both liberal capitalist and communist forces. The afterword to the volume, written by Stefano Bianchini, traces similarities and differences among the case studies and positions the political threads of the region in the interwar period, with an initial minimalistic approach to democracy, which included fair elections but not a real democratization of society, and a gradual shift toward authoritarianism, which accelerated after the beginning of the global economic crisis in 1929.

The effort to put together such a comprehensive volume is noteworthy, though the contributions could have been further harmonized. Moreover, the book acknowledges, with uneven efficacy, the entanglements between domestic and international factors in the treatment of minorities in East Central Europe, which, for the first time, found a theoretical protector in the League of Nations. Furthermore, it shows the social background of the authoritarian drive which led to the demise of democracy in the region by the end of the 1930s.

Nonetheless, the reader might get the impression that, in some of the contributions, nations are regarded as pre-existing entities and multinational states are deemed to fail as not founded on consensus. A further contextualization within the wider European context would have shown that the crisis of democracies was hardly exclusive to the Eastern part of the continent. Furthermore, a deterministic view of the fate of Eastern Europe seems to emerge from time to time, reenforced by the fact that the only country geographically located in Eastern Europe which did not turn to socialism after the Second World War—but shared many features with its neighbors in the interwar period—Greece, is excluded from this analysis. While several contributions stand out for clarity and represent recommended reading for students, specialists might have aspired to some more coherence and transnational insights within the volume. However, the volume is timely in analyzing from a historical perspective two issues that still challenge contemporary Europe: the dialectic between liberal democracy and authoritarianism and the relation with the Other.

Francesca Rolandi

Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences  
rolandi@mua.cas.cz

Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World.  
Edited by James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung.  
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020. 352 pp.

Recently, a small yet growing number of researchers have been working on the transnational history of the socialist countries during the Cold War. Their studies make clear that the socialist countries after the 1950s were far from isolated or autarkic and that these countries developed various transnational connections with the Global South and other parts of the globe. However, while they shed light on various concrete cases of these interconnections, it is often not easy to situate these findings in a larger picture of postwar globalization. The present volume edited by James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung makes an important contribution to the scholarship, not only by illuminating various aspects of the East-South interconnections, but by also synthesizing these case studies into a wider history of “alternative globalizations.”

The book consists of an introduction and fourteen essays on political, economic, and cultural aspects of the Soviet and Eastern European connections with the Global South. Many contributors do not adopt the simplistic view of the Cold War as a mere binary confrontation between the two camps and instead depict the story of the East-South entanglements in connection with the activities of the Western counterparts. Furthermore, they often do not regard these relations as a one-sided transfer of socialist modernity from the developed East to the Global South and point out various unintended or surprising impacts on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The introductory essay by the three editors deserves particular attention, since it integrates the essays of the volume and situates the interactions between the Eastern and Southern peripheries in a broader process of postwar globalization.

The first essay, by Mark and Yakov Feygin, offers a well-written overview on the rise and fall of the alternative, anti-imperialist visions of global economy presented at the fora of the United Nations by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from the 1950s to the 1980s. As Mark and Feygin show, while the socialist countries initially advocated these visions, their adherence to economic bilateralism, the halfway commitment to them, and the accumulating debts to the West fundamentally weakened such visions. The provocative yet stimulating essay by Oscar Sanchez-Sibony also focuses on Soviet economic relations

with the Global South in the 1950s and 1960s, but from different standpoint. According to Sanchez-Sibony, none of the visions of an alternative modernity were the main motive behind the Soviet economic entanglements with the Global South. Rather, these entanglements were motivated by the desire to increase economic exchange with the outer world in the margins of capitalist globalization. While these two articles differ widely from each other on the role of socialist modernity, they are, in fact, mutually complementary and are of special value in that they both further a rethinking of the processes and characteristics of postwar economic globalization.

On a more concrete topic of the interconnections, Alena K. Alamgir and Christina Schwenkel explore Vietnamese labor migration into Eastern Europe. The Vietnamese labor program was initially designed as a means to help Vietnam, but as the economic crisis and labor shortage in Eastern Europe deepened, it became a source of a cheap workforce in the receiving countries. Massimiliano Trentin also examines the attitudes of non-Soviet actors by investigating East German policy in the Middle East. He points out that because of its rivalry with West Germany and its own economic interests, East Germany sometimes behaved autonomously in the region.

As to the cultural relations with the Global South, Łukasz Stanek investigates the interactions between Eastern Europe, West and North Africa, and the Middle East in the field of architecture. To deal with their “weak” bargaining positions, Eastern European actors in West Africa and the Middle East behaved flexibly, which made them highly instrumental for local elites in these areas. Marung examines Soviet Africanists’ activities concerning African agricultural problems. The failure of the Soviet agricultural model in Africa urged these scholars to rethink Soviet agricultural policy at home. The impact of transnational relations on the domestic politics of the socialist countries was also examined by Kalinovsky. He analyzes the interrelations between the Soviet policies in its own South and in the Global South, and he concludes that the Soviet attempt to instrumentalize the regions of Central Asia and Caucasia as a showcase for development in the Global South backfired. In fact, it revealed the weaknesses of the model and encouraged resistance against the regime in these Soviet republics. Maxim Matusевич focuses on the strained relations between the Soviet authorities and the African students at Soviet universities. Whereas the Soviet authorities wished to educate African students about socialist modernization, in practice, these students often emerged as educators of their fellow Soviet students. These interesting case studies make clear that

socialist entanglements with the South were not a simple diffusion of a certain model, but the developed socialist countries were also influenced and reshaped by the South.

At the same time, it should be noted that the transnational approaches by the socialist countries, like every other such endeavor, had its limits. In the case of socialist globalization, the actors from the East often did not show great interest in thinking and acting within a global framework, preferring instead to maximize their own interests. For example, Bogdan C. Iacob presents an interesting case of Balkan scholars' encounters with the Global South in UNESCO. Using the UNESCO project as a platform for their cause, these scholars emphasized the shared experience of Western European colonialism in the Balkan region and the Global South. But since their aim was Eurocentric rather than transregional, they lost momentum in the global arena. Such limits were also present in the transnational relations cultivated by the oppositional movements in Eastern Europe. Kim Christiaens and Idesbald Goddeeris examine transregional collaboration between the Polish *Solidarność* and the oppositional movements in the Global South and conclude that the engagement of *Solidarność* abroad remained limited in scope, as its reserved attitude toward the anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa suggests. Adam F. Kola approaches the limitedness of the Eastern European intellectuals' internationalism from a different perspective. He examines the reason why Polish intellectuals in the late socialist period avoided postcolonial discourse in emphasizing the "Soviet colonization" of Poland.

While these essays analyze the Soviet and Eastern European entanglements with the decolonizing countries, the essay on Sino-Soviet competition over the Global South by Péter Vámos broadens the scope by introducing the Chinese factor to the discussion. In response to the Chinese attempt to forge a worldwide anti-Soviet coalition, the Soviets coordinated the policies of bloc countries vis-à-vis China in an attempt to isolate it globally. Hanna Jansen examines the intellectual thaw under Khrushchev and the activities of Soviet Orientalists in the context of Sino-Soviet disputes. Quinn Slobodian focuses on East German grassroots internationalism, which emerged as a result of the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989.

The book thus covers geographically and thematically wide-ranging topics of global interconnections that emerged after decolonization in the 1950s. The introductory essay provides a good reference point to position these cases within a wider framework of postwar globalization. On the whole, the book enhances

our knowledge of the socialist postwar global entanglements with the Global South, and it will be of use and interest to readers who are curious to know more about the subtle, as yet lesser-known aspects of globalization.

Jun Fujisawa  
Kobe University  
junfujisawa@phoenix.kobe-u.ac.jp

## *Corresponding Authors*

Bácsatyai, Dániel (Research Centre for the Humanities)	Bacsatyai.Daniel@abtk.hu
Brlić, Ivan (Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar)	Ivan.Brlic@pilar.hr
Černý, Karel (Charles University)	karel.cerny@lf1.cuni.cz
Dobszay, Tamás (Eötvös Loránd University)	dobszay.tamas@btk.elte.hu
Forgó, András (University of Pécs)	forgo.andras@pte.hu
Fujisawa, Jun (Kobe University)	junfujisawa@phoenix.kobe-u.ac.jp
Hanebrink, Paul (Rutgers University)	hanebrin@history.rutgers.edu
Hónich, Henrik (University of Public Service, Thomas Molnar Institute for Advanced Studies)	honichhenrik@gmail.com
Klacsman, Borbála (University of Szeged)	bklacsman@gmail.com
Kulcsár, Krisztina (National Archives of Hungary)	kulcsar.krisztina@mnl.gov.hu
Németh, István H. (National Archives of Hungary)	nemeth.istvan@mnl.gov.hu
Rolandi, Francesca (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences)	rolandi@mua.cas.cz
Seitschek, Stefan (Institute of Austrian Historical Research /Austrian State Archives)	franz-stefan.seitschek@univie.ac.at

THE

# Hungarian Historical Review

*Estates and Political Culture  
in the 18th–19th-Century Habsburg Monarchy*

## CONTENTS

<i>Representatives in a Changing World. . . . .</i>	I. H. NÉMETH	3
<i>Legitimizing Power? Inaugural Ceremonies of Charles VI . . . . .</i>	S. SEITSCHKEK	35
<i>Rebellious Priests? The Catholic Clergy and the Diet, 1764–1765</i>	A. FORGÓ	73
<i>With or without Estates? Governorship in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century . . . . .</i>	K. KULCSÁR	96
<i>The Estate System and Power Relations in the Late Feudal Parliament Seating Plan. . . . .</i>	T. DOBSZAY	129



HU ISSN  
2063-8647



9 772063 1864004 2 1001