Introduction

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy

Why Do They Matter?

Klaas Van Gelder

Royal rites and ceremonies appeal very strongly to the imagination of people worldwide. Millions of tourists gaze at the St. Edward's Crown, the Imperial State Crown, and the other regalia in the London Tower each year. Many people know the scenes of Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953, which are frequently shown in the media. Documentary films such as *The Coronation* by BBC One, broadcast in May 2018 on the occasion of the sixty-fifth jubilee of the crowning and featuring the Queen reminiscing about her father's and her own coronation, only add to the appeal of these rare events. The same allure can be observed in the case of the imperial crowns in Vienna's *Schatzkammer* and the St. Stephen's Crown of Hungary in the parliament building in Budapest—the latter referred to as the embodiment of "the constitutional continuity of Hungary's statehood and the unity of the nation" in the country's "fundamental law" dating from 2011.[1]

Analogously to popular fascination, scholarly interest in rituals accompanying and substantiating the start of a new reign—and more generally in symbolic communication—has increased steadily over the past three to four decades. New insights into the significance of ritual and ceremony for power relations have induced new generations of historians and art historians to reconsider coronations

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and inaugurations. They have realized that these performances were not merely dazzling trivialities; they carried constitutional, political, and social meaning. In the premodern society, where power was effective only when it was visible, these inaugural rites helped to end the risky interregnum following the death of a ruler and stabilize the position of his or her successor. Edward Muir classifies coronations among those rites that enacted kingship as opposed to representing it. In his view, they were among the most important rites of passage—together with royal funerals—that made princely succession possible. Nevertheless, Muir also indicates that coronations were part of a string of rituals during the interregnum period, such as joyous entries, the dressing of the new prince in regal attire, and anointing.[2] As we will see in the different chapters in this volume, this ritual complex actually fused rites of enactment and representation. In the modern era, coronations then acquired new functions like uniting the nation around its dynasty or sanctioning the transition toward parliamentary monarchy.

Despite the recent upsurge in historical interest, significant gaps remain. This holds true first and foremost from a geographical perspective. Long-term analyses examining the actual meaning of specific early modern and modern coronations and the transformations they underwent have appeared for several countries. Richard Jackson was a pioneer with his monograph on the French coronations from Charles V to Charles X.[3] Equally ambitious are Roy Strong's magnificently illustrated book on English coronations[4] and Richard Wortman's analysis of Russian royal ritual and ceremony from Peter the Great to Nicholas II, including the czarist coronations.[5] A research project on the Hungarian coronations under supervision of Géza Pálffy has been running at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 2012.[6] When we look at inaugurations, casuistic inquiries are the norm, though exceptions exist for the German and Swiss area and the Burgundian and Spanish Habsburg Netherlands.[7] Nevertheless, historians seem to have largely neglected most of the lands of the sprawling Habsburg Monarchy,[8] an entity that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at least temporarily covered all or almost all of present-day Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Belgium, and Luxembourg, as well as significant parts of Germany, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, Italy, and Poland, and even parts of the Netherlands and Switzerland.[9] This neglect is all the more regrettable because the rulers of this composite monarchy—more than any other princes—participated in countless inaugural rites personally or through representatives; a rough estimation yields some one hundred of them between 1700 and 1848.[10]

Historical interest has been unevenly divided not just geographically but also chronologically. Even a superficial glance at the existing body of literature on princely investitures shows a bias toward the Late Middle Ages and the first half of the early modern period, roughly spanning the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Several works that do examine a longer time frame end with the turn to the eighteenth century, despite evident continuities beyond it.[11] The

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rare long-term analyses covering the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Matthias Schwengelbeck's book on inaugurations in Germany, confirm this impression.[12]

This book therefore proposes to bring to the fore both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the Habsburg realm. It argues firstly that the countless inaugurations and coronations constituted and remained an integral part of the Habsburg conception of rule until the dissolution of the Estates in 1848, and to a lesser degree even beyond. 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. These rites both mirrored ("represented") and helped perpetuate ("enacted") the composite character of the monarchy and the contractual nature of its administration, as Petr Maťa explains in the first chapter of this volume. He presents a broad chronological overview that includes the entire early modern period and supplies the background for the ensuing chapters dealing with one or more specific eighteenth- and nineteenth-century inaugurations or coronations. Maťa demonstrates the uniqueness of the unparalleled number of enthronements that the Austrian Habsburgs participated in. The only other monarchy coming close to their prolificacy was Spain, though the number of inaugural rites on the Iberian Peninsula did not match that in which the Central European Habsburgs were involved. Of course, numbers do not explain everything. The significance of individual investitures could change over time and differed from one territory to another. Moreover, the exact time at which an inauguration or coronation took place is often very telling. They could occur quickly after a new ruler assumed power, or at a later stage when he or she needed support from the Estates or local administrations for specific policies.

Secondly, this volume asserts that inaugural rites in the Habsburg Monarchy more often than not retained their constitutional, political, and social significance and did not degenerate into mere spectacles glorifying new princes. In the late twentieth century, several historians took such a putative loss of meaning for granted,[13] whereas twenty-first-century scholarship usually emphasizes the continued relevance of rites and ceremonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What the chapters in this volume aim to highlight, however, is what specific roles coronations and inaugurations played in the different lands of the Habsburg Monarchy.

It cannot be denied that starting with Leopold I, the Habsburgs interrupted the tradition of some inaugurations—and even some coronations, most notably under Joseph II. This demonstrates that by the late seventeenth century, Habsburg rule was sufficiently strong and considered legitimate enough that neglecting some investitures no longer posed any problems. It is almost certainly no coincidence that this happened primarily in some of the central territories of the monarchy such as Moravia, Styria, and Upper Austria—and not in Hun-

gary, where royal power was less secure, or in the faraway Netherlands with their self-confident and financially very potent Estates. However, the fact that the Habsburgs retained many rites of investiture is telling as well, for it proves that these events held advantages for both the ruler and the representative bodies of specific territories. Even Joseph II's refusal to participate in many investiture rituals shows how important they still were—he avoided them precisely because he understood their binding character very well. Even if his successors Leopold II and Francis II had wished to do so, they could not have followed in his footsteps. Joseph's policies had caused so much discontent that organizing the contractual rites of investiture became an essential element of his successors' appeasement policy, as I argue in my chapter on the Austrian Netherlands. Just as revealing is the fact that in 1790, Tyrol hosted an inauguration for the first time since 1711.

Foregoing such rites once, therefore, did not necessarily mean eliminating them forever. The political turmoil in the late eighteenth century—the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in the first place, but also political and social unrest in various Habsburg lands—even led to a genuine revival of coronations and inaugurations attended by members of the House of Austria, as William D. Godsey argues in Chapter 9. This revival included performing rites that had existed for many generations, but also staging redesigned versions of previously abandoned rites such as the Lombardo-Venetian coronation in 1838. Moreover, the meaning of these rites changed considerably in the early nineteenth century. A rather different affair was the puzzling Galician inauguration of 1772, which had no precursor whatsoever: it was an invention necessary to integrate a newly acquired territory into the Austrian state system, as Miloš Řezník's contribution demonstrates. The continued organization of coronations and inaugurations implies that they were not meaningless for contemporaries. Rather, their survival suggests that centuries-old ritual could successfully be adapted to new political circumstances, as all authors in this volume agree.

Before turning to the reasons for the aforementioned historiographical neglect and some considerations as to why these rites should be taken seriously, it seems requisite to briefly explain what the authors in this volume mean when they write about "coronations" and "inaugurations" (also called "acts of homage" or "acclamations"; German: *Huldigungen*). Both types of inaugural or investiture rites were functional equivalents that ritually enacted the assumption of power by a new ruler. Coronations implied a royal or imperial title and usually also the anointing of the protagonist and the placement of a crown on the head, all of which were mostly absent in the case of inaugurations. In Bohemia, acts of homage had been part of the coronation festivities since 1627 (see figure 0.1). This meant that the Bohemian coronation also involved a contractual aspect, for a key element of many late medieval and early modern homages was an exchange of oaths between the new ruler and his or her subjects—oaths to protect the country's privileges and liberties versus oaths of allegiance to the new prince.

Figure 0.1. The Estates of Bohemia pledging obedience to Maria Theresa in Prague in 1743. Engraving by Johann Josef Dietzler and Michael Heinrich Rentz (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Graphiksammlung, 107199 C).

It is hazardous to assess coronations as more important than inaugurations by definition. For sure, in the hierarchy of titles, the Roman emperor ranked highest on the European continent, followed by kings.[14] The imperial coronation was even more important politically due to the fact that the Empire was an elective monarchy. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned before, Habsburg coronations sometimes implied an accompanying inauguration, like in Bohemia. The inauguration guaranteed the contractual bond between ruler and subjects. In many territories, inaugurations were independent events—and in those cases, the rulers did not necessarily deem them inferior or less important. One specific inauguration should be counted among the investitures standing out for their importance: the inauguration in Lower Austria, the archduchy surrounding Vienna. As William D. Godsey argued in a 2005 essay, it was—together with the Hungarian coronation—the only investiture that always took place after 1700 with the exception of Joseph II. Moreover, from 1700 onward it was the first investiture any new Habsburg ruler underwent, and it took place in Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy since the early seventeenth century. It was therefore the only enthronement directly linked to their accession. Together with the coronations in Hungary and Bohemia, these Lower Austrian acts of homage served as stabilizing events for the new Habsburg ruler and were consequently

upgraded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Due to the gradual abolishment of ever more investitures in the other Austrian territories, such as Styria, Carinthia, or Upper Austria, the inauguration in Vienna even acquired supraregional significance.[15]

The terms "coronation" and "inauguration" both commonly refer to a series of rites that together lifted the new ruler to full power. A wide range of regional variations existed, but some components are almost always encountered: a ceremonial entrance into the city, artillery salvos and bell ringing, high masses and *Te Deums*, and the handing over of the regalia. Consecrations—the most famous being the French *sacre* or anointing with holy oil that gave the French kings thaumaturgic power—also constituted key elements of various European coronations since the Middle Ages.[16] They granted the prince a quasi-sacred aura. Pivotal for the Habsburgs in this context were the consecrations of the emperor and the king of Hungary. Celebrations involving all groups of society followed the official parts of the enthronements and comprised wine fountains, fireworks, illuminations, the throwing of coins and medals to the crowds, and of course banquets, balls, concerts, and theater.

After 1700, the members of the House of Austria, residing in Vienna and ruling a gamut of lands with different constitutions and dissimilar relations to the center of power, apparently still deemed it appropriate or even important to organize inaugural rites or participate in them. How can we relate this to the remarkable neglect of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century coronations and inaugurations in historiography? To a considerable degree, sneering contemporary observations may have accounted for later misinterpretation. See, for example, the scathing assessment by Frederick II of the 1701 coronation of his grandfather, who crowned himself Frederick I, king in Prussia:

> He [Frederick I] mistook vanities for true greatness. He was more concerned with appearances than with useful things that are soundly made. He sacrificed thirty thousand subjects in different wars of the emperor and allies in order to provide himself with the royal crown. He only desired the crown so fervently because he needed a superficial pretext to justify his weakness for ceremony and his wasteful extravagance.[17]

Even though Frederick II modified his judgment by acknowledging the importance of the royal dignity for the Prussian state in the long run, the tone was set. Similarly disdainful statements were made by others elsewhere as well. In 1758, the cameralist thinker and lawyer Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi called coronations and inaugurations "*bloß äußerliche Ceremonien*" ("mere outward ceremonies"). In his opinion, they had been invented to underline the subjects' obligation of loyalty toward their rulers, but were dispensable for the establishment of the new reign.[18] In 1774, the philosopher Marquis of Condorcet wrote to the equally skeptical French controller-general of finances, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot:

> [It would be timely] to destroy the prejudice which fixes the destiny of the fate of the city of Reims, ensures that an oil considered to work miracles (according to a fable rejected by every critic) is used there, adds to the false opinion of a virtue no less fabulous, and could also contribute to the impression that this ceremony, which adds nothing to the rights of the monarch, is necessary.[19]

This quotation illustrates the raging debate about the miraculous powers of the French kings as a result of their anointing, the aforementioned *sacre*—miraculous powers that were used to heal those suffering from scrofula by royal touch and became the target of increasing ridicule during the eighteenth century. Voltaire bluntly stated that he lost his belief in these royal healing powers on learning that one of the sun king's mistresses had died of scrofula despite having been copiously touched by the king.[20] Perhaps the best embodiment of the growing tendency toward contempt for ritual and ceremony was Emperor Joseph II, who was notorious for his aversion for ceremony. He dropped the traditional court dress and reduced the amount of everyday ceremony at court;[21] and after being crowned king of the Romans in Frankfurt in 1764, he never participated in another coronation or inauguration. To be sure, such repudiation of ritual had already occurred before: as early as the sixteenth century, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Thomas Cranmer expressed doubts concerning the efficacy of the coronation ritual and the healing powers bestowed upon kings by anointing with holy oil. Ritual-opposing stances seem to have become much more common in the eighteenth century, however.[22]

These and other observations led historians to believe that coronations and inaugurations in the eighteenth century developed into hollow pageantry—if they were not abolished altogether. These statements, however, are in sharp contrast to the efforts and amounts of money dedicated to these investitures. In fact, huge sums were invested into dozens of coronations and inaugurations held throughout eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. One account of the aforementioned Prussian coronation in 1701 states that thirty thousand horses were needed to transport the king, his family, and his entire court from Berlin to Königsberg and back. The retinue of Frederick I and his wife Sophia Charlotte of Hanover alone required three hundred carriages and carts, and the crown for the queen cost three hundred thousand *Taler*. Estimations of the total cost of all ceremonies and festivities surrounding the coronation amount to six million *Taler*—twice the annual revenues of the Hohenzollern administration.[23] The *sacre* of Louis XVI in Reims in 1774 was less extravagant, with a cost ceiling of nine hundred thousand *livres*. Rumor had it, however, that the actual costs ran as high as a stunning seven million *livres*, which contributed to discrediting the monarchy given the financial instability and staggering debt of the French state.[24] The cost of the five months' progress and coronation of Charles VI in Bohemia in 1723 amounted to slightly more than one million Rhenish guilders. After subtracting the usual costs and salaries of the court, a little more than 625,000 guilders remain as ex-

traordinary costs for the coronation. Contemporaries apparently considered this sum reasonable.[25] Entirely different were the British reactions to the extravagance of George IV's coronation in 1821. The king wished to outdo the magnificence of Napoleon's coronation in 1804, and expenditure rose as high as £238,000. His predecessor George III had even ordered diamonds worth £375,000 to refurbish the St. Edward's Crown.[26] Russian coronations in the nineteenth century were equally expensive, and a single number shall suffice to evoke the gigantic scale of these celebrations: for the coronation of Czar Alexander III in 1883, a feast for four hundred thousand people was prepared. It is presumed, however, that six hundred thousand ultimately attended. Unfortunately, Richard Wortman provides no information on the expenses for the coronation festivities.[27]

If nothing else, these figures prove that many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century princes and their entourage, but also the host cities and the Estates, did not deem such high costs superfluous. Moreover, despite his fierce criticism of his grandfather's spending on ritual, Frederick II of Prussia exploited the benefits of inaugural rites himself, albeit in a less exorbitant fashion. After his assumption of power, he gave orders for more than ten inaugurations in the various territories of his composite monarchy, since he was aware of their legal importance. He personally assisted in Königsberg and Berlin, although—just like his father—he refused to be crowned.[28] Having seized Silesia in 1741, he participated in a series of inaugurations in the Silesian territories between July 1741 and March 1743, thereby acknowledging their value for consolidating his takeover of these regions.[29] This confirms the above observation of increasing doubts as to the supernatural powers coronations bestowed upon the crowned heads, but also that even the most enlightened rulers acknowledged the value of acts of homage for lending legitimacy to their rule and establishing legal bonds with their subjects. In short, there were good reasons to invest a good deal of time and money into coronations and inaugurations even after 1700.

As has been mentioned before, older literature advanced the thesis that in the eighteenth century, inaugural rites turned into pure spectacle in exaltation of princely glory. In part, of course, this notion holds true, for coronations and inaugurations *did* serve the purposes of propaganda, princely representation, and the glorification of rulers to different degrees. Christopher Clark emphasizes the instrumentality of the Prussian coronation of 1701, aimed at inculcating the new royal status on the spectators and the readers of the pamphlets and propagandistic reports printed for the occasion. Frederick and his entourage assembled the self-coronation from ceremonial concepts borrowed from across Europe. Political meaning permeated the highly artificial amalgam they created. For example, it broadcast the independence of the king from the Estates with respect to his coronation and the self-made character of his royal status. Clark calls the 1701 coronation an assembly of traditions from elsewhere rather than an invention of tradition.[30] The situation was different in Milan in 1805, however, when Napo-

leon was crowned king of Italy. This remarkably complex ritual sought to accommodate Italian history and French empire, stressing partnership with the Italian elites and aimed at establishing affinities with and within that group.[31]

The Habsburgs were no exception to the general rule, attempting to instrumentalize their coronations and inaugurations as much as their fellow rulers did. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Zeremonialwissenschaft* (ceremonial science) stressed the didactic-educational function of baroque ceremonies for commoners, thereby underscoring the instrumentalist approach to the enthronement ritual.[32] This applies very well to Petra Vokáčová's chapter on Charles VI's Bohemian coronation in 1723. A leitmotiv in the staging of the emblems, panegyric, and rhetoric surrounding Charles's crowning seems to have been the message of the unbreakable bond between the hereditary Kingdom of Bohemia and the Habsburg dynasty. This was the immediate response to Saxon and Bavarian claims to parts of Charles's heritage. In the same vein, the coronation medals for Maria Theresa in Hungary visualized historical continuity, as Werner Telesko argues in Chapter 4. The medals also emphasized the importance of the Kingdom of Hungary for the young ruler facing invasions by an international coalition including Prussia and Bavaria. Adam Wandruszka previously pointed out the cleverness of Leopold II on the occasion of his election as king of the Romans and his coronation as emperor in 1790: due to the mistrust raised by Joseph II's radical policies, Leopold acted carefully. He was a champion of less costly ritual, yet he understood and skillfully used its power to engender trust in the Holy Roman Empire. Among other things, he participated in popular feasts, which gave him a flair of naturalness.[33] In Chapter 2 on the imperial coronations, Harriet Rudolph confirms the importance of Leopold's approachability, which formed part of a new style of government in which the crowning developed into a protonational constitutional celebration. Ritual thus was and remained a means of self-stylizing and propaganda.

Nevertheless, propaganda is only one part of the story and threatens to conceal the many actors that participated in the feverish organization and performance of many Habsburg public spectacles. Indeed, recent historiography on dynastic ritual tends to drift away from long-established top-down approaches and examines the agency of the wide range of co-organizers. These include princely commissioners, the Estates of the different regions, the magistrates of the host cities, urban militias, princely soldiers, the secular and regular clergy, confraternities, craftsmen, artists, and so on. Their interest in collaborating relates to the fact that early modern Europe was still largely a society of princes lacking written constitutions in the modern sense. The death of a prince and the subsequent assumption of power by his or her successor remained critical moments. In these transition phases, the aforementioned actors therefore communicated, negotiated, and compromised or clashed with regard to the nature of princely power and its range of action. Enthronements thus offered opportunities for (privileged) sub-

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jects as well: they could display their own traditions, stress their free consent to being ruled by the new prince, and visibly act as stakeholders in the monarchical enterprise. The prince in turn had to recognize certain rights and privileges. The cultural approach to politics goes one step further yet, emphasizing the aspect of communication and thus including not only the co-organizers but also all participants in the ceremonies, even the onlookers, as relevant actors. By participating or attending, they implicitly accepted the new ruler.

The extent to which groups of subjects had a say in the organization varied considerably from one region to another. The court in Vienna arranged some coronations and inaugurations on a top-down basis, while others included lengthy negotiations with the Estates and depended on the latter's goodwill and Vienna's willingness to accommodate. The preparations for Charles VI's Bohemian coronation in 1723 exemplify the first pattern, as Petra Vokáčová documents in Chapter 5. It may have been one of the most magnificent coronations in eighteenth-century Europe, but the Bohemian Estates could only marginally influence its design, let alone wrest additional guarantees to safeguard their constitution from the central government. The opposite was true for the Austrian Netherlands: in these regions, the Estates swore the oath of homage after lengthy negotiations, as the chapters by Klaas Van Gelder and Thomas Cambrelin show. The Estates did not hesitate to exact concessions by refusing taxes and postponing the inaugurations, or at least threatening to do so. By employing both tactics, the Estates of Flanders and Brabant even succeeded in extorting an imperial promise to renegotiate the Barrier Treaty of 1715 with Great Britain and the Dutch Republic as a precondition for their oath of homage to Charles VI.[34]

The Austrian lands seem to have taken a middle ground. In 1728, at the last Carinthian *Huldigung*, the Estates negotiated with the imperial entourage only after the emperor had already arrived in Klagenfurt. This considerably curtailed their bargaining position. The main points on the agenda concerned ceremonial issues and the exact procedure of the inauguration.[35] The fate of the Lower Austrian Estates seems not to have been structurally different, although perhaps they had a bit more room for maneuver. In the weeks and months preceding the act of homage in Lower Austria, meetings took place with delegates from both sides to discuss ritual and legal matters connected to the accession and the investiture. Until the end of the eighteenth century at least, the Lower Austrian inauguration provided the opportunity to hand in petitions (*gravamina*) to the new archduke. A clear solution for the problems mentioned in these petitions rarely followed quickly, but William D. Godsey nevertheless relates them to the positioning of the Estates vis-à-vis the new prince. In his view, the inauguration first and foremost expressed the search for a consensus between the ruler and the Estates and their will to collaborate and tackle the task of government jointly.[36] Still, these negotiations can hardly be compared to the long bargaining processes in the Netherlands. The same holds true for the Hungarian Estates, as Chapter 3 by

Fanni Hende shows. With the coronations in 1712 and 1790 following substantial internal turmoil, the Viennese courts of Charles VI and his grandson Leopold II managed to impose versions of the *diploma inaugurale* on the Hungarians that were beneficial to the dynasty, even though they compromised on other points so as not to offend the Hungarian Diet too strongly. The critical point seems to have been whether or not the organization of the inaugural rites and bargaining over taxes were intertwined. Where this was the case, as in the Netherlands, the Estates were in a much more powerful position to impose their will.

The fact that most inaugural rites included reciprocal oaths shows that they remained very meaningful in a constitutional sense, albeit to a different extent in the various lands of the monarchy. The term "constitution" obtained its current meaning—a written basic law containing the rules of the government and outlining the government's relationship with the citizens within a particular state—only during the second half of the eighteenth century. Previously, constitutions consisted of an amalgam of privileges, laws, and traditions, partly passed down orally through the ages and partly written down. This compound helped create political unity and social order and was confirmed during the inaugural rites, whose markedly festive character evoked and renewed the social and legal order and made it tangible.[37] The relationship between the ruler and his or her subjects was therefore central to these ritual acts: it all came down to finding (or restoring) and expressing (a fiction of) consensus between the constituents of the body politic—dissent was omnipresent but could be integrated ritually into the celebration.[38] Andreas Gestrich thus refers to acts of homage as "reciprocal communicative acts."[39] And even if the reciprocal character was stronger in some regions than in others—depending on the unique constitutional features of each region and of political events that had altered its relationship with Vienna—reciprocity remained a key feature of almost all Habsburg inaugural rites. The coronations and inaugurations discussed in this volume demonstrate the contractual and consensual nature of Habsburg rule as well as the engagement of many interacting groups in the Habsburg project, evidenced not least in the fact that the members of the House of Austria never resorted to self-coronation.[40] The few exceptions to the rule of reciprocity—the so-called Retroceded Lands surrounding Ieper and Veurne in the Austrian Netherlands, the Military Frontier securing Habsburg's borders with the Ottoman Empire, perhaps also Galicia—do not contradict the general trend.

It was not only the outcome of the interactions between the involved stakeholders that was important, however. These interactions usually took place within well-established political, administrative, and symbolic-ritual frameworks; and in doing so, they helped to stabilize the body politic. But communication did not occur exclusively between the prince and his or her government apparatus on the one hand and the subjects and their representatives on the other. Rather, the organization of inaugural rites vibrated a web of material and nonmaterial

interests, goals, and tactics between many groups of actors who interacted partly in competition, partly in co-operation with each other. For the Estates and host cities, enthronements offered the opportunity to bargain and obtain royal confirmation of age-old as well as recent (and even of completely new) privileges. Moreover, coronations and inaugurations underlined their privileged position in the state machinery or their ascendency over rivals. The Holy Roman Empire and the imperial coronations illustrate this perfectly. Contrary to many other polities, the empire had no undisputed capital, and many cities, including Aachen, Frankfurt, Vienna, Nuremberg, and Regensburg, played a role in its constitution and administration. In 1759, Aachen brought before the Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*) its petition for the return of the imperial insignia it had lost to Nuremberg in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but was unsuccessful. By the sixteenth century, Aachen had also definitively lost its status as coronation city to Frankfurt, but its status as coronation site—a privilege contained in the Golden Bull of 1356—continued to be confirmed time and again until the end of the eighteenth century.[41] A similar dispute and ceremonial solution existed in the Duchy of Brabant between the original capital city of Leuven and the later capital, Brussels.

Not only cities bickered over privileges. In neighboring Flanders, where the nobility had no separate seat in the Estates' assembly, the nobles made sure to be well represented during each inauguration, which was practically the only event allowing them to present themselves as a corporate group.[42] During the Bohemian coronations of 1791 and 1792, Prince Lobkowitz and Prince Schwarzenberg respectively asserted claims of precedence for themselves or their equipage.[43] In the mid-seventeenth century, a dispute arose between the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne as to which prelate had the right to crown the newly elected emperor. By means of compromise, they arranged to alternate in those coronations that took place outside their respective dioceses. The subsequent *Wahlkapitulationen* even mentioned this agreement, which seems to have been respected until the end of the Holy Roman Empire.[44] What all these examples show is that the symbolic stakes were high, that quarrels were frequent, and that solutions could be of a ceremonial as well as a material nature.

Enthronements thus offered a stage for corporations and individual participants to display their rank in society. Over the past two decades, a new generation of historians, with Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger as one of its pioneers, has stressed that premodern political actions were always symbolic in nature. This applies not only to performative public rites and ceremonies, however, as had long been assumed—symbolic actions also shaped the gatherings and discussions that nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians considered to be solely for the purpose of policy-making, such as diets, Estates' assemblies, and council meetings. To sit or not to sit, to sit or stand closer to the ruler, to sit or stand at his or her right or left side, to sit on an individual chair—with or without cushion and/or armrests—or simply on a bench were meaningful indicators of social status.

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Simultaneously, these indicators helped establish and circumscribe status. And in the same manner, the spot occupied in a procession or during an inauguration or coronation, as well as the acts one was entitled to perform and the dress one was allowed to wear at these occasions, were by no means trivial. During the early modern period, the significance of hierarchy, rank, and precedence increased due to the growing amount of handwritten and printed documents communicating order of rank to an audience—contemporary and future—much larger than the number of actual spectators at a given event. This increased the pressure to claim positions, as even the slightest omission could become a precedent for the disadvantage of later generations. Every seat or spot in a public ritual had legal and social relevance. Or, in the terminology of David M. Luebke, public spectacles such as coronations and inaugurations were a unique opportunity to "theatricalize social order."[45] Thanks to the ever more widespread coverage of public celebrations in prints and newspapers, this remained true—and possibly even became more compelling—in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Several authors in this book refer to this reality, including Fanni Hende, who describes the change in precedence at the Hungarian coronation banquet after Archduke Leopold Alexander was elected as the new palatine in 1790 (Chapter 3), and Klaas Van Gelder, who mentions the discussion on the numbers of delegates in the Flemish inaugurations (Chapter 6).

The importance of the medial outreach of public ceremonies thus increased. Printed and often illustrated official and unofficial coronation or inauguration books, commemorative medals, engravings, newspapers, and panegyric leaflets spread the news of the celebrations and the multitude of messages of the ritual gestures, decorations, and musical-theatrical performances. As a result, the total audience was much larger than the group of immediate participants and onlookers, allowing inaugural rites to achieve international resonance.[46] Of course, many sources (most of them written on behalf of the organizers) must be evaluated critically, since they invariably stress the magnitude of the attending crowd to lend increased legitimacy to the respective act. Numerous thanksgivings, artillery salvos, *Te Deums*, and sermons across the respective country similarly served as multipliers.[47] Furthermore, the progress of the new ruler and his or her court to the site of the investiture and back home often became a triumphal and celebratory journey, an extension of the act of enthronement itself. This was not unimportant for the Habsburgs in particular, who had to travel large distances to the many capital cities in their multiterritorial monarchy.[48]

Given the large number of bystanders that the enthronements attracted and the growing circle of inhabitants and foreigners eager to learn more about them, commercial incentives played an increasing role for certain actors participating in or observing them as well. Grandiose public celebrations, which the coronations and inaugurations as well as liturgical processions, jubilees and commemorations, solemn entries of prelates and governors, and celebrations of peace treaties

or royal marriages and births doubtlessly were, attracted thousands of spectators to the hosting city. In the course of the eighteenth century, a genuine form of tourism developed around these celebrations—a process that was both demand- and supply-driven. Precise and reliable numbers of spectators are rare. Nevertheless, given the enormous publicity that many host cities generated for upcoming investitures in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it is safe to assume that these events were well-attended and lucrative. Estimations of the crowd at Leopold II's coronation in Frankfurt in 1790 run as high as eighty thousand.[49] The people's celebrations (*Volksfeste*) at Francis II's and Ferdinand I's Bohemian coronations in 1792 and 1836 are said to have attracted forty and sixty thousand spectators respectively.[50] At the same time, printed souvenirs ranging from cheap leaflets to luxuriously bound treatises and festival books flooded the market, as Harriet Rudolph exemplifies for Leopold's imperial coronation (Chapter 2). The agency of the ruler in this development was limited, while the agency of commercial actors not associated with the official organizers became ever more real.[51]

Besides being—or rather remaining—a vehicle for propaganda, a focal point of political bargaining processes at different levels, and a means of visualizing order of rank, investiture ritual also reflected political developments and transformations in society. There was, in the words of David Cannadine, a "dynamic dialogue between ritual and society."[52] In the early eighteenth century, baroque princely representation of monarchical authority was an essential attribute of Austrian rule and underlined the *Gottesgnadentum*—the divinely mandated character of kings—of the Habsburg dynasty. The display of pompous ritual and visual arts laden with historical, mythological, and antique allegories reached its climax in what has been called the *Kaiserstil* displayed during the reign of Charles VI.[53] The sophisticated iconographic messages sent out during Charles's Bohemian coronation in 1723 (chapter by Petra Vokáčová) or the coronation medals for Maria Theresa in the 1740s (chapter by Werner Telesko) illustrate the many overlapping layers of meaning that allowed for different readings. Nevertheless, a public sphere emerged and matured alongside court culture in eighteenth-century Europe, and this public gradually supplanted the courts as the driving force of European culture. Essential characteristics of the public sphere were the exchange of information, ideas, and criticism through newspapers, novels, public concerts, art exhibitions, coffee houses, and public libraries.[54] At the same time, supported by cameralist and Enlightenment thinkers, the concepts of the social contract and popular sovereignty gained increasing 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 within a specific territorial circumscription. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, princes were primarily regarded as servants of the state—and in several states, they had to integrate the rise of national identity into their own agenda and purpose.[55] This also influenced the function of coronations, as Harriet Rudolph and William D. Godsey explain in Chapters 2 and 9.[56]

Modern political ideas and social tensions shook the foundations of Europe during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Revolutions in Britain's North American colonies, France, the Austrian Netherlands, the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, and elsewhere, spurred by an ever more lively, fearless, and less controllable public sphere, attacked the very idea of a God-given monarchy. They led to Europe's first modern constitutions, to territorial rearrangements, and to democratic experiments on a supralocal level. The Habsburg Monarchy was not untouched by these developments. Joseph II's anticeremonial stance and his far-reaching reforms, followed by the ensuing revolution in the Austrian Netherlands and the loss of these rich territories, struck the monarchy hard. But despite the revolutionary upheavals, Napoleon's military ventures across the continent, Francis II's assumption of the title of Austrian Emperor in 1804, and the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the Habsburg Monarchy would retain its estates-based structure until 1848. With the exception of the last chapter on the Hungarian coronation of 1867, all authors in this volume deal with inaugural rites within this estates-based framework, which sets the discussed investitures apart from the coronations in France after 1789 or the inaugurations in the new parliamentary monarchies that came into being in the nineteenth century, such as the Netherlands and Belgium.

The question remains, however, how the aforementioned developments affected the different investitures in the Habsburg Monarchy. William D. Godsey provides a concise answer in his chapter using the example—among others—of Tyrol: this Alpine princely county obtained a constitutional patent in 1816 in the wake of the Napoleonic upheavals. Francis I's subsequent inauguration in May 1816 was the first Habsburg inaugural rite to take place within this new and henceforth no longer unwritten constitutional framework. The emperor did not swear an oath, and the celebration no longer enacted a constitution. Godsey calls this Tyrolean inauguration "the first thoroughly modern Habsburg inaugural ceremony."

Another new feature of several inaugural rites during the revolutionary era was the emphasis on national identity and patriotic pride. Hugh LeCaine Agnew masterfully demonstrates how both the Bohemian Estates and the Czech "awakeners," a group of intellectual patriots, used the Prague coronations in 1791, 1792, and 1836 to express Bohemia's unique status in the monarchy. They certainly had diverging interests and political goals, but the coronations served both groups of people who understood themselves as legitimate bearers of Czech identity in completely different ways. Elements that underlined that identity were the ritual use of the Czech language in greetings and welcome speeches during the coronation, and even more so in the preceding swearing of the oath of fealty, the appearance of the traditional officers of the Bohemian crown lands, the creation of new knights of the Order of St. Wenceslas, and perhaps most of all the display of the so-called St. Wenceslas's Crown that was returned from Vienna to Prague

in 1791. Completely new forms of entertainment alongside the coronations highlighted the achievements and cultural heritage of the Kingdom of Bohemia, such as industrial exhibitions, sessions of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, and people's celebrations in which peasants from all parts of the country participated in traditional costumes.[57] Similarly, Harriet Rudolph underlines in Chapter 2 that the festivities surrounding the last two imperial coronations featured nationalistic characteristics relating to Germany as an imagined nation. William D. Godsey also argues in Chapter 9 that several Habsburg inaugural rites after 1790 served to boost popular patriotic support beyond territorial identities, not least to support Austria's war efforts against Napoleonic France.

The argument that inaugural rites in the Habsburg Monarchy did not fall victim to modernity but instead adapted to changing circumstances in the revolutionary era is in line with findings for other monarchies. Matthias Schwengelbeck speaks of a "ceremonial renaissance" in the nineteenth century, which was a response to the growing pressure to legitimize monarchy in postrevolutionary Europe. The organizers of dynastic ritual still largely drew on traditional elements, but these often lost their legal and constitutional meanings. The turning point, according to Schwengelbeck, was the introduction of written constitutions, as a result of which inaugural acts as constitutions *in actu* became dispensable.[58] Focusing on several German states such as Prussia and Baden, he shows how the inaugural acts gradually developed into performances devoid of legal consequences. Investitures such as William I's coronation in Königsberg in 1861 no longer entailed a change of status. Nevertheless, they lent legitimacy to governments that were undergoing radical changes in the transition from estates-based to parliamentary monarchies. Newspapers played a major role in this process, which explains the heightened importance of censorship while at the same time exposing the dwindling chances to monopolize the readings of ritual performances.[59]

The transition Schwengelbeck perceives in nineteenth-century Germany can be observed in other monarchies as well, but it was by no means universal. The Kingdom of Hungary provides an interesting counterexample, as Judit Beke-Martos argues in the last chapter of this volume. Hungary lacked a proper written constitution until 1949, as a result of which the coronation with the St. Stephen's Crown did not lose its constitutional significance. Even though Francis Joseph was the actual reigning king of Hungary from 1848 onward, he was the *de jure* king only after his crowning in Buda and Pest in 1867. The act was necessary to bestow upon him the entirety of the royal authority and sovereignty. His coronation and the issuing of a *diploma inaugurale* were central parts of the Compromise that established the dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and put an end to almost two decades of constitutional crisis.[60]

In light of these observations, several concluding remarks can be made. Behind the seeming outward invariability of the main components of coronations and inaugurations, their format was easily adaptable to changes in society. They

survived antiritualistic attacks—and contrary to previously held notions, these attacks may even emphasize their importance: Joseph II's decision to forego most inaugural rites signals his eagerness not to be bound by them. Investiture rites were reinterpreted during revolutionary turmoil, the rise of nationalist ideologies, and the promulgation of written constitutions. It is difficult to detect distinct ruptures in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Habsburg inaugural rites other than the end of the estates-based society in 1848.[61] Maurer's claim that the French Revolution constituted a clear break in the history of festivities in Europe cannot be applied to the coronations and inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy, as this volume clearly shows.[62] Enlightenment thinking obviously helped to sharpen criticism of ritual and desacralize monarchic rule, even in the Habsburg territories. But the inaugural rites performed by the House of Austria in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nevertheless testify to the remaining validity of contractual rulership and the continued importance of the link between the dynasty and the Church. The historian can thus derive several benefits from the study of these coronations and inaugurations. On a general level, they are illustrative for the role and images of royalty in a modernizing society. They reveal changing political identities and shifting power relations between the dynasty and the privileged partners in the body politic. Specifically for the Habsburgs, they also clarify the extent to which contractual rule and the composite character of the monarchy remained essential features not only before 1848, but also thereafter—and this despite the connecting Austrian emperorship.

This volume has the ambition to give the neglected enthronement ritual in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy the scholarly attention it deserves. However, in no way does it claim to be exhaustive. The essays in this book, as well as the Afterword by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, are new steps in shifting historical attention to coronations and inaugurations during the final decades of the early modern period and the turn to contemporary history. The attentive reader will notice that some important Habsburg lands have no separate chapter in this book, among them Upper and Lower Austria, the Inner Austrian lands, and the Italian possessions. Dozens of inaugural rites in territories such as Bukovina, Transylvania, and the *Innviertel* also need to be examined to obtain a full picture of the functionality and developments of Habsburg's investitures. Another item on the historical agenda should be the wider reception of these celebrations and the different meanings contemporaries ascribed to them. For this, scholars need to look beyond the official reports. What tensions did these performances hide, and how did different groups of spectators interpret them? Perhaps Edward Muir's contention that ritual was not primarily about transferring meaning, but about touching the emotions should be borne in mind when tackling these questions.[63] The authors in this volume formulate some initial answers in hopes that their contributions will incite new research into the splendid world of Habsburg's inaugural rites that, even after 1700, were much more than mere spectacle.

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Notes

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1. Ministry of Justice, Hungary. "The Fundamental Law of Hungary," accessed 26 October 2019, https://www.kormany.hu/download/f/3e/61000/TheFundamentalLawofHungary_20180629_FIN.pdf. I wish to thank Ellinor Forster and Judit Beke-Martos for this information.
2. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK, 2005), 271–73.
3. Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X: Vivat Rex* (Chapel Hill, 1984).
4. Roy Strong, *Coronation from the 8th to the 21st Century* (London, 2005).
5. Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton, 2006).
6. Research project "Az MTA BTK TTI 'Lendület' Szent Korona Kutatócsoport" ["Holy Crown of Hungary Research Project"] under supervision of Géza Pálffy at the Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, accessed 10 October 2019, https://www.btk.mta.hu/aktualis-main/76-az-mta-btk-tti-lendulet-szent-korona-kutatocsoportja.
7. André Holenstein, *Die Huldigung der Untertanen: Rechtskultur und Herrschaftsordnung (800–1800)* (Stuttgart, 1991); Matthias Schwengelbeck, *Die Politik des Zeremoniells: Huldigungsfeiern im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2007); Hugo Soly, "Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97 (1984): 341–60.
8. Coronations of royal consorts received even less attention. Katrin Keller offers a fresh approach in her article on the crowning of the early modern Roman empresses, in which she pleads for a gendered perspective on ritual: Katrin Keller, "Gender and Ritual: Crowning Empresses in the Holy Roman Empire," *German History* 37, no. 2 (2019): 172–85.

9. For example, the Dutch city of Roermond was Austrian until 1794. The Fricktal, with Laufenburg and Rheinfelden as its main urban centers and nowadays part of the Swiss Confederation, belonged to *Vorderösterreich* until the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is different: it was an Austrian protectorate since 1878 and was formally annexed to the Habsburg Monarchy only in 1908.
10. On the composite nature of many states in early modern Europe, in which the Central European Habsburg Monarchy stands out, see Helmut G. Koenigsberger, "Composite States, Representative Institutions and the American Revolution," *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 62, no. 148 (1989): 135–53; J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992): 48–71. These seminal articles remain valuable even though later historians have criticized parts of their views. John Morrill, for example, stresses the volatile nature of many early modern territorial conglomerates and the role of dynastic glory as a catalyst for their formation. He therefore prefers the term "dynastic agglomeration." Recently, a group of scholars studying the Spanish and Portuguese empires proposed the term "polycentric monarchies." They wish to replace the top-down view of a policy-making center and a receptive, passive periphery with an approach that examines the links between multiple centers within territorial conglomerates. These different centers all contributed to the formation of policy: John Morrill, "Thinking about the New British History," in *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage (Cambridge, UK, 2006), 23–46; Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, and Gaetano Sabatini, eds., *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* (Eastbourne, 2012).
11. Illustrative are the volumes in Routledge's European Festival Studies series, which covers the period between 1450 and 1700. See, for example, J. R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna Maria Testaverde, eds., *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Aldershot, 2015). Another example is the aforementioned article by Hugo Soly, which disregards the decades after 1685: Soly, "Plechtige intochten."
12. Schwengelbeck, *Die Politik des Zeremoniells*.
13. André Holenstein, "Huldigung und Herrschaftszeremoniell im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung," in *Zum Wandel von Zeremoniell und Gesellschaftsritualen in der Zeit der Aufklärung*, ed. Klaus Gerteis (Hamburg, 1992), 21–46; Soly, "Plechtige intochten." Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt endorsed Soly's thesis from an art historian's perspective: Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt, "De traditie van de tableaux vivants bij de plechtige intochten in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1496–1635)," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 115, no. 2 (2002): 166–80.
14. Indeed, at the close of the seventeenth century, a series of princes intensively lobbied for the so-called royal treatment or for royal titles. Since 1697, the elector of Saxony was also king of Poland, and the elector of Brandenburg became king in Prussia in 1701. Their colleague from Hanover became king of Great Britain in 1713, and Victor Amadeus II of Savoy obtained Sicily and its royal status in the same year (in 1720, Sicily was exchanged for Sardinia, as a result of which Victor Amadeus became king of Sardinia). Christopher Clark speaks of a "wave of regalisation": Christopher Clark, "When Culture Meets Power: The Prussian Coronation of 1701," in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (Cambridge, UK, 2007), 27.
15. William D. Godsey, "Herrschaft und politische Kultur im Habsburgerreich: Die niederösterreichische Erbhuldigung (ca. 1648–1848)," in *Aufbrüche in die Moderne: Früh-*

parlamentarismus zwischen altständischer Ordnung und monarchischem Konstitutionalismus 1750–1850. Schlesien—Deutschland—Mitteleuropa, ed. Ronald Gehrke (Cologne, 2005), 145–51.

16. For a concise summary of the origins of the consecration in European coronation rites, see Jackson, *Vive le roi*, 3–19.
17. Quoted in German in Peter Baumgart, "Die preußische Königskrönung von 1701, das Reich und die europäische Politik," in *Preußen, Europa und das Reich*, ed. Oswald Hauser (Cologne, 1987), 65–66. Other publications on the Prussian coronation of 1701: Iselin Gundermann, "Ob die Salbung einem Könige nothwendig sey," in *Dreihundert Jahre Preußische Königskrönung: Eine Tagungsdokumentation*, ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin, 2002), 115–33; Clark, "When Culture Meets Power," 14–35.
18. Quoted in Holenstein, "Huldigung und Herrschaftszeremoniell," 42–43.
19. Quoted in Chantal Grell, "The *sacre* of Louis XVI: The End of a Myth," in *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Schaich (London, 2007), 347–48. On the *sacre* of Louis XVI, see also Hermann Weber, "Le sacre de Louis XVI le 11 juin 1775 et la crise de l'Ancien Régime," in *Le sacre des rois: Actes du Colloque international d'histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux (Reims 1975)* (Paris, 1985), 255–72. Page 257 contains the original French quotation.
20. Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Études sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 1961), 398.
21. Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven, 2005), 26–27; Anna Mader-Kratky, "Das Zeremoniell unter Maria Theresia und Franz I. Stephan," in *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835: Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus*, ed. Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna, 2016), 325–31; Marina Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias: Funktion und Zeremoniell in ihren Residenzen, Jagd- und Lustschlössern* (Munich, 2017), 48.
22. Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK, 1994), 223–38; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Verfassung und Fest: Überlegungen zur festlichen Inszenierung vormoderner und moderner Verfassungen," in *Interdependenzen zwischen Verfassung und Kultur*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Becker (Berlin, 2003), 26–30. Symptomatic are State Chancellor Kaunitz's calls to economize in regard to the imperial election and coronation of Francis II in 1792. Although the instigation to economize was almost universal in early modern coronations and inaugurations, Kaunitz's specific propositions—for example excluding ladies from the coronation—and antiritualistic arguments were definitely new: Christian Hattenhauer, *Wahl und Krönung Franz II. AD 1792: Das Heilige Reich krönt seinen letzten Kaiser—Das Tagebuch des Reichsquartiermeisters Hieronymus Gottfried von Müller und Anlagen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 380–84.
23. Baumgart, "Die preußische Königskrönung," 75–76; Clark, "When Culture Meets Power," 17.
24. Grell, "The *sacre* of Louis XVI," 347. Between 1768 and 1788, revenues rose from 317 million to 450 million *livres*. In the 1770s, debt service consumed about a third of these resources: James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK, 2009), 308–22.
25. The Estates of the Bohemian lands contributed two hundred thousand as *subsidii itinerarii*: Ottocar Weber, "Eine Kaiserreise nach Böhmen im Jahre 1723," *Mittheilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 36, no. 2 (1897): 142–43 and 199–204.

Interesting as comparison is the humbler inauguration of Maria Theresa in the County of Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744. It cost the Flemish Estates and the city of Ghent 137,868 Brabant guilders *courant*, approximately 8.5 percent of the annual Flemish taxes to the government: Klaas Van Gelder and Bert Van Cauter, "Een publieke ceremonie in een turbulent tijdvak: De inauguratie van Maria Theresia als gravin van Vlaanderen (1744)," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 67 (2013): 126–27. Taking into account the exchange rates in the eighteenth century, two hundred thousand Rhenish guilders (paid by the Estates of the Bohemian lands) equaled around two hundred eighty thousand Brabant guilders *courant*.

26. Strong, *Coronation*, 372–84. Nevertheless, David Cannadine stresses that the early nineteenth-century British royal ceremonies, including the extravagant coronations, failed to appeal. Instead of conveying the impression of grandeur, they turned into farce and were food for ridicule—among other things because of the unpopularity of the royal family itself: David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820–1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, UK, 1983), 115–120.
27. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, 270–81.
28. Walther Hubatsch, *Friedrich der Große und die preußische Verwaltung* (Cologne, 1973), 39–53.
29. Hubatsch, *Friedrich der Große*, 72–73; Peter Baumgart, "Schlesien als eigenständige Provinz im altpreußischen Staat (1740–1808)," in *Schlesien*, ed. Norbert Conrads (Berlin, 1994), 355.
30. Clark, "When Culture Meets Power," 17–22.
31. Ambrogio A. Caiani, "Ornamentalism in a European Context? Napoleon's Italian Coronation, 26 May 1805," *The English Historical Review* 132, no. 554 (2017): 41–72.
32. Holenstein, "Huldigung und Herrschaftszeremoniell," 22.
33. Adam Wandruszka, *Leopold II.: Erzherzog von Österreich, Grossherzog von Toskana, König von Ungarn und Böhmen, Römischer Kaiser*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1965), 2: 302–11.
34. Klaas Van Gelder, "The Investiture of Emperor Charles VI in Brabant and Flanders: A Test Case for the Authority of the New Austrian Government," *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 18, no. 4 (2011): 450–53.
35. Stefan Seitschek, "Die Erbhuldigung 1728 in Kärnten, ihre Organisation und Durchführung anhand ausgewählter Quellen," *Carinthia: Zeitschrift für Geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 202 (2012): 145–48.
36. Godsey, "Herrschaft und politische Kultur," 156–77.
37. This festive character, most visible in the banquets and balls for the dignitaries and wine fountains for the crowds, did not preclude human drama. The traditional distribution of beef, wine and other dishes to the masses of spectators at the *Römerplatz* in Frankfurt after the imperial coronations repeatedly escalated and led to fights and injuries. This violence was restricted in time and place and therefore tolerated, however. Moreover, it served as an inversion ritual during the coronation festivities: Harriet Rudolph, "Die Herrschererhebung als Fest: Krönungsfeste im Vergleich," in *Festkulturen im Vergleich: Inszenierungen des Religiösen und Politischen*, ed. Michael Maurer (Cologne, 2010), 34–37. In 1781, the fireworks on Brussels's central market square for the inauguration of Joseph II exploded and killed twenty-seven onlookers: Guy van Dievoet, "L'empereur Joseph II et la Joyeuse Entrée de Brabant: Les dernières années de la constitution brabançonne," *Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États/Standen en Landen* 16 (1958): 100.

38. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Verfassung und Fest"; Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe—Thesen—Forschungsperspektiven," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31 (2004): 505–11 and 518–20; Muir, *Ritual*, 252–55.
39. Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994), 118–20; Michael Maurer, "Feste und Feiern als historischer Forschungsgegenstand," *Historische Zeitschrift* 253 (1991): 118.
40. Famous examples of self-coronations are the ones by Charles XII of Sweden in 1697, Frederick I of Prussia in 1701, Napoleon Bonaparte in 1804, and the Russian imperial coronations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Gundermann, "Ob die Salbung einem König nothwendig sey," 120; Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, passim. On Napoleon's imperial coronation, see David Chanteranne, *Le Sacre de Napoléon* (Paris, 2004); Laurence Chatel de Brancion, *Le sacre de Napoléon: Le rêve de changer le monde* (Paris, 2004); Thierry Lentz, ed., *Le sacre de Napoléon* (Ligugé, 2003).
41. Karl Härter, "Aachen—Frankfurt—Nürnberg—Regensburg: Politische Zentren des Reiches zwischen 1356 und 1806," in *Wahl und Krönung*, ed. Bernd Heidenreich and Frank-Lothar Kroll (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 175–88.
42. Van Gelder and Van Cauter, "Een publieke ceremonie," 114–15.
43. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, "Ambiguities of Ritual: Dynastic Loyalty, Territorial Patriotism and Nationalism in the Last Three Royal Coronations in Bohemia, 1791–1836," *Bohemia* 41, no. 1 (2000): 4.
44. Wolfgang Sellert, "Zur rechtshistorischen Bedeutung der Krönung und des Streites um das Krönungsrecht zwischen Mainz und Köln," in *Herrscherweihe und Königskrönung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Wiesbaden, 1983), 21–25.
45. With respect to the Imperial Diet, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Zeremoniell als politisches Verfahren: Rangordnung und Rangstreit als Strukturmerkmale des frühneuzeitlichen Reichstags," in *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin, 1997), 91–132. On the many conflicts about precedence and order of rank, which were frequently subject to lawsuits between circa 1650 and 1750, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Rang vor Gericht: Zur Verrechtlichung sozialer Rangkonflikte in der frühen Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 28, no. 3 (2001): 385–418. On the role of precedence and order of rank in Estates' assemblies, see Tim Neu, "Zeremonielle Verfahren: Zur Funktionalität vormoderner politisch-administrativer Prozesse am Beispiel des Landtags im Fürstbistum Münster," in *Im Schatten der Macht: Kommunikationskulturen in Politik und Verwaltung 1600–1950*, ed. Stefan Haas and Mark Hengerer (Frankfurt, 2008), 23–50; David M. Luebke, "Ceremony and Dissent: Religion, Procedural Conflicts, and the 'Fiction of Consensus' in Seventeenth-Century Germany," in *The Holy Roman Empire, Reconsidered*, ed. Jason Philip Coy, Benjamin Marschke, and David Warren Sabean (New York, 2010), 145–61; Petr Maťa, "Der steirische Landtag in Raum und Bild um 1730: Symbolische Ordnung und visuelle Darstellung," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Steiermark* 104 (2013): 163–218.
46. In German historiography, the terms *Präsenzöffentlichkeit* and *Medienöffentlichkeit* have been coined to underline this difference. See Harriet Rudolph, *Das Reich als Ereignis: Formen und Funktionen der Herrschaftsinszenierung bei Kaisereinzügen (1558–1618)* (Cologne, 2011), in particular Chapter V. For the semiofficial election and coronation books in the eighteenth-century Holy Roman Empire, see Barbara Dölemeyer, "Wahl und

Krönung im Spiegel der Diarien des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Wahl und Krönung*, ed. Bernd Heidenreich and Frank-Lothar Kroll (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 79–98.

47. Rudolph, "Die Herrschererhebung als Fest," 20–22; Klaas Van Gelder, "Dynastic Communication, Urban Rites and Ceremonies, and the Representation of Maria Theresa in the Austrian Netherlands," in *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias: Herrschaft und Bildpolitik im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Werner Telesko, Sandra Hertel, and Stefanie Linsboth (Vienna, 2020), 369–79.
48. For a detailed description of the coronation journey of Charles VI to Prague and back to Vienna, which aimed to maximize the propagandistic impact on his competitors in the empire, see Štěpán Vácha, Irena Veselá, Vít Vlnas, and Petra Vokáčová, *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna: Česká korunovace 1723* (Prague, 2009), 90–114.
49. Rudolph, "Die Herrschererhebung als Fest," 24.
50. Agnew, "Ambiguities of Ritual," 19–20.
51. For more information on the media coverage and the purposes and strategies of its producers in the mid-eighteenth-century Holy Roman Empire, see Werner Telesko, Sandra Hertel, and Stefanie Linsboth, "Zwischen Panegyrik und Tatsachenbericht: Zu Struktur und Zielsetzung von Medienereignissen zur Zeit Maria Theresias," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 44, no. 3 (2017): 441–86.
52. Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual," 161.
53. Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI. Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils"* (Berlin, 1981); Elisabeth Kovács, "Die Apotheose des Hauses Österreich: Repräsentation und politischer Anspruch" and Friedrich Polleroß, "Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger in der bildenden Kunst," both in *Welt des Barock*, ed. Rupert Feuchtmüller and Elisabeth Kovács (Vienna, 1986), 53–86 and 87–104; Huberta Weigl, "Stift Klosterneuburg—Der 'Österreichische Escorial,'" in *Die Krone des Landes*, ed. Karl Holubar and Wolfgang Christian Huber (Klosterneuburg, 1996), 75–98.
54. T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford, 2002), passim.
55. Robert von Friedeburg, "Review of The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789," *European Journal of Political Theory* 4, no. 3 (2005): 309–18.
56. See also Schwengelbeck, *Die Politik des Zeremoniells*, 107–51.
57. Agnew, "Ambiguities of Ritual." The link between nationalism and imperial celebrations is also a central element in Daniel Unowsky's monograph *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*. Unowsky focuses on the imperial visits to the various lands of the monarchy, on processions and jubilees, but not on crownings or inaugurations, which were virtually absent during the reign of Francis Joseph: Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916* (West Lafayette, 2005).
58. For criticism of the constitutional necessity of French coronations from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, mainly evoking the arguments of Ralph E. Giesey, see Muir, *Ritual*, 276–79.
59. Schwengelbeck, *Die Politik des Zeremoniells*, passim; Schwengelbeck, "Monarchische Herrschaftsrepräsentationen zwischen Konsens und Konflikt: Zum Wandel des Huldigungs- und Inthronisationszeremoniells im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Sinnlichkeit der Macht: Herrschaft und Repräsentation seit der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Andres, Alexa Geisthövel, and Matthias Schwengelbeck (Frankfurt, 2005), 123–62.

60. Despite taking place in a modern constitutional framework, to this day, the new Belgian king (and in the future, perhaps also the queen) officially becomes "king of the Belgians" only after swearing the inaugural oath before the assembled chambers of parliament. In the period of time between the death or abdication of a ruler and the swearing in of his successor, the government performs the constitutional duties of the king: Articles 90 and 91 of the Belgian constitution, "De Belgische Grondwet," accessed 19 July 2019, https://www.senate.be/doc/const_nl.html.
61. After 1848, the number of inaugural rites in the Habsburg Monarchy decreased dramatically, with the Hungarian coronation probably being the only one to remain. There was never a coronation for the Austrian emperor. On the abortive attempt to crown Francis Joseph king of Bohemia, see Hugh LeCaine Agnew, "The Flyspecks on Palivec's Portrait: Franz Joseph, the Symbols of Monarchy, and Czech Popular Loyalty," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky (New York, 2007), 48–61. For the ritual and ceremony centered on the emperor Francis Joseph that substituted for the loss of coronations, see Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics*, passim. On the absence of a coronation for the emperor of Austria and the decline in coronations in general within the context of the many continuities between the Holy Roman Empire and the Austrian emperorship and the political relevance of the former for the latter, see Brigitte Mazohl and Karin Schneider, "'Translatio Imperii'? Reichsidee und Kaisermythos in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Was vom Alten Reiche blieb: Deutungen, Institutionen und Bilder des frühneuzeitlichen Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Matthias Asche (Munich, 2011), 101–28, especially 118–20.
62. Maurer, "Feste und Feiern," 115–20.
63. Muir, *Ritual*, 299. For references to the emotional appeal of royal ritual in this volume, see the chapters by Harriet Rudolph and William Godsey.

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