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978-0-521-52588-6 - Joseph II: I - In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741-1780

Derek Beales

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JOSEPH II

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Frontispiece Joseph, 1762. J. E. Liotard, pastel, collection of prince Schwarzenberg. The archduke is shown wearing a rich civilian *habit habillé* such as he seldom wore in later life.

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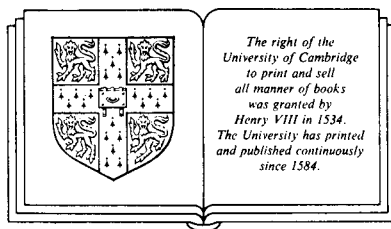
JOSEPH II

I

In the Shadow of Maria Theresa
1741–1780

DEREK BEALES

*Professor of Modern History, University of Cambridge,
and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College*



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*To Kitty and Richard
who advised, encouraged
and warned*

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Preface

When I started working on Joseph II, I had no idea of producing a general study of his life and work. But I came to think, for reasons explained in the Introduction, that it was just such a book that was most needed, as it was certainly what I most wanted to write. When I began writing, I did not dream that the project would run to two volumes. But I found that, under examination, the received account of almost every aspect of his multifarious activity proved to be misleading, and that I could not demonstrate the fact and put forward a new interpretation without discussing each topic at some length. Even on this scale, I know very well that I have left much undone and unsaid, perhaps especially on the army, the partition of Poland, the problems of Bohemia and the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire; but each of these issues deserves a monograph to itself. I am thankful that Dr Peter Dickson's *Finance and Government under Maria Theresa, 1740–1780* will appear at roughly the same time as this book. He very generously gave me a copy of his typescript, which has not only taught me much, but has made me feel justified in passing lightly over the subjects he has covered so magisterially. However, my aim has been to deal both with Joseph as ruler and with Joseph the man, and I believe I have shown that the biographical and the historical approaches illuminate each other. I hope that this book is sufficiently full and reliable to provide a new foundation on which other students of the period can build. At worst, I take comfort from a remark of archbishop Laud's: 'Fifteen years' study cannot but beat out something.'

I owe thanks to a very large number of both institutions and individuals. I have received generous financial assistance for travel and research expenses from the British Academy, the Leverhulme Trust, the British Council, my College, Faculty and University. Unhappily, whenever I go abroad, sterling takes a dive; and more and more archives and libraries hamper research by ridiculously restricting the number of files and books that may be consulted on any one day. But I have been given help beyond the call of duty by archivists and librarians wherever I have worked: at the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Hungarian

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National Archives and the National Museum in Budapest, the Archivio di Stato and the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, the Biblioteca nazionale at Florence, the Žitenice division of the Litoměřice provincial state archive in Czechoslovakia, the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, the Austrian Studies Institutes at Stanford University and the University of Minnesota, the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, and the British Library and the Public Record Office in London. I should like to record that I have learned much in bookshops and from their catalogues. Two debts to institutions stand out: the first to Cambridge University Library, its invariably helpful staff, its unique borrowing facilities and its incomparable Acton collection; the second to my College for the friendship and assistance of its Masters, Fellows and students, and for the grant of rooms in which books can be accumulated and writing done. I doubt whether this volume could have been written at all without these special local advantages.

Abroad, I have received most generous help, kindness and hospitality, in particular from Count Arese, Professor Éva Balázs, Professor Vieri Becagli, Professor Giacomo Becattini, Professor Kálmán Benda, Dr Peter Frank, Dr Eva Irblich, Dr György Kelényi, Professor Grete Klingenstein, Professor Béla Köpeczi, Professor Domokos Kosáry, Dr Elisabeth Kovács, Professor Stanford Lehmborg, Dr Jaroslav Macek, Dr Klaus Peters, Dr Hedwig Szabolsci, Dr Christiane Thomas, the Marquis de Trazegnies, Professor Adam Wandruszka and Dr Anna Zádor. In Britain, I owe much to the guidance, encouragement and support of Miss Betty Behrens, the late Sir Herbert Butterfield, the Reverend Professor Owen Chadwick, OM, Dr Nicholas Cox, Professor William Doyle, Dr Robert Evans, Mr George Gömöri, Professor Ragnhild Hatton, Professor Sir Harry Hinsley, Professor Ralph Leigh, Dr John Leslie, Mr Robert Oresko, Professor Quentin Skinner, the late Dr R. C. Smail, Dr Bernhard Stillfried, the late Professor Walter Ullmann, Professor Ernst Wangermann and Dr Robert Wokler. Dr John Barber, Professor Linda Colley and Dr Nicholas Davidson procured microfilms for me from foreign archives. Dr Boyd Hilton took on my teaching for a term while I went on sabbatical leave. Dr John Hatcher and the Reverend Dr Edward Norman spared me some examining and so enabled me to finish the book. I have often trespassed on the tolerance of the modern linguists of my College: Professor Jostein Børtnes, Dr Peter Collier, Frau Ingrid Hassler, Dr Vivien Law, Professor Barry Nisbet, Dr Sean O'Cáthasaigh and Mr Tom Wyatt.

Three individual debts must be singled out. Dr Hamish Scott not only lent me his notes on French diplomatic documents but also commented on drafts of chapters 9 and 13. Dr Dickson has read my whole typescript, some of it more than once, saving me from error while supplying both information and inspiration. The same is true of Dr Tim Blanning, who has also placed at my disposal with complete unselfishness his time, his library and his unrivalled

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knowledge of the period. His presence at Sidney has constituted my greatest single local advantage. But of course neither he, nor any of the scholars mentioned, should be held responsible for anything in my final text.

I apologise to those who as undergraduates took my Special Subject on 'Joseph II, Enlightenment and Revolution' in the years 1970–6 for the fact that most of the specific contributions they made will not be visible until volume II appears.

Mrs Ann Robson typed and re-typed my scruffy typescripts with great patience and skill.

I am grateful to Mrs Patricia Williams, then of the Cambridge University Press, for her warm initial encouragement. Mrs Elizabeth O'Beirne-Ranelagh as subeditor has corrected countless mistakes, inconsistencies and infelicities. Mrs Jane Williams and Mr Reginald Piggott have taken immense trouble over the illustrations and the admirable maps. Mr William Davies has displayed all the qualities an author seeks in a publisher: patience until the typescript arrives; enthusiasm, liberality and efficiency thereafter.

My wife has read and criticised several drafts of the book, usually at the moment of their completion, and has much improved their clarity and style. But this is only a small part of what she has done to make the whole enterprise possible. My greatest debt is to her.

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Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for Plates 1, 2, 5a, 7, 8a, 10, 11, 13, 16a; Schönbrunn for 3a, 3b, 6 and 8b; Bildarchiv of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, for 4a, 18b, and 21a; the British Museum for 4b, 14a, 16b, 21b and 23; the marquis de Trazegnies, Château de Corroy, Belgium, for 5b; Österreichisches Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna, for 9a and 15b; Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien for 9b, 15a and 17b; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, for 12, 14b and 18a; Sammlungen des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz, for 17a; Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, for 19b; the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library, for 20a; Château de Beloeil, Belgium, for 20b; Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, for 22a and 22b; and the Benedictine abbey at Michaelbeuren for 24. In addition, Lichtbildwerkstätte 'Alpenland' photographed Plates 4a, 18b and 21a, and Alfred Jenderka of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, photographed 22a and 22b. Plate 19a is the author's own.

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| AAE, CP | Archives des Affaires Etrangères [Paris], Correspondance Politique |
| AMMP | <i>Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi</i> |
| AÖG | <i>Archiv für österreichische Geschichte</i> |
| Arneth | Alfred Ritter von Arneth |
| GMT | <i>Geschichte Maria Theresias</i> (10 vols., Vienna, 1863–79) |
| JuK | <i>Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland: Ihr Briefwechsel</i> (Vienna, 1869) |
| JuL | <i>Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana: Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790</i> (2 vols., Vienna, 1872) |
| MAJL | <i>Marie Antoinette, Joseph II. und Leopold II.: Ihr Briefwechsel</i> (Vienna, 1866) |
| MTKuF | <i>Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an Ihre Kinder und Freunde</i> (4 vols., Vienna, 1881) |
| MTuJ | <i>Maria Theresia und Joseph II.: Ihre Correspondenz sammt Briefen Joseph's an seinen Bruder Leopold</i> (3 vols., Vienna, 1867–8) |
| Arneth & Flammermont | Arneth & J. Flammermont (eds.), <i>Correspondance secrète du Comte de Mercy-Argenteau avec l'Empereur Joseph II et le Prince de Kaunitz</i> (2 vols., Paris, 1889, 1891) |
| Arneth & Geffroy | Arneth & M. A. Geffroy (eds.), <i>Marie-Antoinette. Correspondance secrète entre Marie-Thérèse et le Cte de Mercy-Argenteau, avec les lettres de Marie-Thérèse et de Marie-Antoinette</i> (3 vols., 2nd edn, Paris, 1874–5) |
| ASI | <i>Archivio storico italiano</i> |
| ASPP | <i>Archivio storico per le province parmensi</i> |
| ASV | Archivio di Stato, Venice |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Beer, <i>JLuK</i> | A. Beer (ed.), <i>Joseph II., Leopold II. und Kaunitz: Ihr Briefwechsel</i> (Vienna, 1873) |
| Beer & Fiedler, <i>JuLC</i> | A. Beer & J. von Fiedler (eds.), <i>Joseph II. und Graf Ludwig Cobenzl: Ihr Briefwechsel</i> (2 vols., Vienna, 1901) |
| BSSHNC | <i>Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de la Corse</i> |
| Christoph, <i>MTuMA</i> | P. Christoph [D. Pollack], <i>Maria Theresia und Marie Antoinette: Ihr geheimer Briefwechsel</i> (Vienna, 1952) |
| Conrad, <i>RuV</i> | H. Conrad, <i>Recht und Verfassung des Reiches in der Zeit Maria Theresias. Die Vorträge zum Unterricht des Erzherzogs Joseph im Natur- und Völkerrecht sowie im Deutschen Staats- und Lehnsrecht</i> (Cologne, 1964) |
| CSS | <i>Canadian Slavic Studies</i> |
| EEQ | <i>East European Quarterly</i> |
| E.L. | Eleonore Liechtenstein |
| FBPG | <i>Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte</i> |
| Ferd. | Ferdinand, son of Maria Theresa |
| FRA | Fontes rerum austriacarum |
| GV | <i>Gesamtdutsche Vergangenheit, Festgabe für H. Ritter von Srbik zum 60. Geburtstag</i> (Munich, 1938) |
| HHSA | Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna |
| FA | Familien-Archiv |
| HBP | Handbilletenprotokolle |
| NL | Nachlass Lacy |
| Sbde | Sammelbände |
| SKV | Staatskanzlei Vorträge |
| TG | Tableau général |
| TZ | Tagebuch Zinzendorf |
| <i>Hj</i> | <i>Historical Journal</i> |
| <i>HZ</i> | <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> |
| J. | Joseph II |
| <i>JMH</i> | <i>Journal of Modern History</i> |
| K. | Kaunitz |
| KAW | Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| KHM | Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna |
| K-M | Graf R. Khevenhüller-Metsch and H. Schlitter (eds.), <i>Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias. Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters, 1742–1776</i> (8 vols., Vienna, 1907–72) |

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| | |
|-------------------|--|
| L. | Leopold, son of Maria Theresa and grand duke of Tuscany |
| L.K. | Leopoldine Kaunitz |
| M.A. | Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa and queen of France |
| <i>MARB in-80</i> | <i>Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires, publiés par l'Académie Royale des sciences et des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, collection in-80</i> |
| M.C. | Marie Christine, daughter of Maria Theresa |
| <i>MIÖG/MÖIG</i> | <i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung/Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung</i> |
| Mitrofanov | P. von Mitrofanov, <i>Josef II. Seine politische und kulturelle Tätigkeit</i> , trans. from the Russian 1907 edn by V. von Demelic (2 vols., Vienna, 1910) |
| MOL | Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives, Budapest) |
| AG | Acta Generalia |
| <i>MÖSA</i> | <i>Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs</i> |
| M.T. | Maria Theresa |
| <i>MTIZ</i> | W. Koschatzky (ed.), <i>Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit</i> (2nd edn, Vienna, 1980) |
| <i>MVGSW</i> | <i>Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien</i> |
| <i>NCMH</i> | <i>The New Cambridge Modern History</i> (14 vols., Cambridge, 1957–70) |
| ÖAW | Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| ÖGL | <i>Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur</i> |
| ÖNB | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna |
| <i>OPBA</i> | <i>Ordonnances des Pays-Bas autrichiens</i> |
| <i>ÖZKŷ</i> | <i>Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II.</i> (catalogue of the exhibition held at Melk, 1980) |
| <i>PC</i> | G. B. Volz and others (ed.), <i>Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen</i> (46 vols., Berlin, 1879–1939) |
| <i>Pŷ</i> | <i>Preussische Jahrbücher</i> |
| PRO | Public Record Office, London |
| FO | Foreign Office |
| SP | State Papers |
| <i>RH</i> | <i>Revue historique</i> |
| <i>RHD</i> | <i>Revue d'histoire diplomatique</i> |
| <i>RSI</i> | <i>Rivista storica italiana</i> |
| <i>SIRIO</i> | <i>Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva</i> (St Petersburg, 1867–1916) |

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| SOALpZ, LRRa | Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích, pobočka Žitnice (Czech state archives at Litoměřice, Žitnice branch), Lobkowitz family archive |
| SR | <i>Slavonic and East European Review</i> |
| SVEC | <i>Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century</i> |
| TAPS | <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> |
| TRHS | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> |
| VC | T. Besterman (ed.), <i>Voltaire's Correspondence</i> (107 vols., Geneva, 1953–65) |
| VKNGÖ | <i>Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs</i> |
| VSWG | <i>Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i> |
| WBGn | <i>Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit</i> |
| Wurzbach | C. von Wurzbach, <i>Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich 1750–1850</i> (60 vols., Vienna, 1856–91) |
| WZ | <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> (until 1780 <i>Wienerisches Diarium</i>) |
| ZBL | <i>Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte</i> |
| ZKG | <i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> |

Notes on names of persons and places

Where an English form exists, I have used it. Otherwise, following my sources, I have generally used German versions, where such exist, of East European place names. My main aim has been internal consistency.