COURTING DEATH:

ARISTOCRATS AND THE SYMBOLISM OF DYNASTIC AUTHORITY AT HABSBURG AND BRITISH ROYAL FUNERALS, 1694-1780

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by

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TITLE: Courting Death: Aristocrats and the Symbolism of Dynastic Authority at Habsburg and British Royal Funerals, 1694-1780

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LAY ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the funeral rituals of Austrian and British royal families in the eighteenth century, comparing how each court handled the process from the ruler's death to burial. It argues that despite losing direct political power, courtiers remained essential to the belief in the timelessness of their respective monarchies. This research highlights the crucial role that aristocrats played in organizing these ceremonies, maintaining dynastic stability, and reinforcing social order. To do so, this dissertation examines how officials ensured their control over the funeral process, used mourning regulations to reinforce social norms, displayed the ruler's body in all its regalia, and expanded their control over funerals by adapting past traditions for their present day. Overall, this dissertation provides a detailed comparison of royal funerals by using sources from Vienna, London, and Oxford to shed light on this overlooked aspect of early modern royal history.

ABSTRACT

Royal funerals are a window, one of many, that offer a glimpse into the different ritual and ceremonial mechanisms employed by courtiers to safeguard their hereditary privileges within their respective regimes. This dissertation argues that the eighteenth-century British and Habsburg monarchical households were essential to maintaining the symbolic dynastic stability of their respective regimes through control of their funeral rituals. This argument will comparatively analyze four components of British and Habsburg funerals. First, it will examine how aristocrats within the two households organized and interpreted funerary rites. Second, it will consider how officials modified mourning regulations to enforce social hierarchy and aristocratic privilege. Third, this thesis will explore shifts to the courts' control over the monarch's corpse, comparing preservation and lying-in-state traditions that reinforced dynastic legitimacy. Finally, a close reading will be conducted on the funeral services for both monarchies. The analysis will demonstrate how the British Royal Household expanded its control over the funeral ceremonies as they became more private, while Habsburg officials maintained traditional rites amidst evolving conceptions of monarchical sacrality during the Enlightenment. Sources have been used from archives in Vienna, London, and Oxford, offering a comprehensive analysis of the entire funeralization process. It reveals how these grand, theatrical pageants were instrumental for household institutions in shaping the ritual culture of their respective states, ensuring their central role in monarchical authority. The dissertation contributes to the scholarly understanding of royal funerals, providing one of the most detailed accounts in English of these overlooked ceremonies in early modern history.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Annæ	Queen Anne
AO	Records of the Auditors of the Imprest, Commissioners of Audit, Exchequer and Audit Department, National Audit Office and related departments
ÄR	Ältere Reihe
AT-OeStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv
CA	College of Arms, London
ff.	folios
Gul. & Mar.	King William III and Queen Mary II
HA	Hausarchiv
Hen. VIII.	King Henry VIII
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
HWA	Hoftwirtschaftsamt (Hofkontrolleramt)
IÖHK	Innerösterreichische Hofkammerakten
KA	Kriegsarchiv
KHM	Künsthistorisches Museum
LC	Lord Chamberlain's Office
LG	*London Gazette*
MMThO	Militär-Maria Theresien-Ordens
MS	Manuscript
OMeA ÄZA	Obersthofmeisteramt Ältere Zeremonielakten
ÖNB	Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek
PC	Privy Council Office
Rawl. B.	Rawlinson B Medieval Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford
SP	State Papers
StO	Sankt-Stephans-Orden
UK	United Kingdom

WAM	Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room
WD	*Wiennerischs Diarium*
WZ	*Wiener Zeitung*
ZA-Prot-Konzepte	Zeremonialakten-Protokelle-Konzepte

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Justin C. Vovk is the sole author of this thesis.

Introduction

On Monday, September 22, 2022, the state funeral was held for Queen Elizabeth II at Westminster Abbey, followed that afternoon by a committal service at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. As the funeral for the longest-reigning monarch in British history drew to a close, Andrew Parker, Baron Parker of Minsmere, the Lord Chamberlain, approached the coffin and broke his ceremonial staff of office. The two pieces of the staff were placed atop the queen's coffin as it was lowered through the floor into the royal crypt below. After the Dean of Windsor recited Psalm 103 and the coffin slowly descended from view, David Vines White, the Garter King of Arms, read out the queen's styles and titles, followed by a blessing upon the new king:

> THUS it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto His Divine Mercy the late Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.
>
> LET us humbly beseech Almighty God to bless with long life, health and honour, and all worldly happiness the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Excellent Monarch, our Sovereign Lord, now, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of His other Realms and Territories King, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. GOD SAVE THE KING.[1]

The Lord Chamberlain and the Garter King of Arms were just two of the many court officials who participated in the different stages of the queen's funeral. The Earl Marshal, Keeper of the Privy Purse, Master of the Royal Household, members of the Household

[1] "The order of service for Queen's committal at St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle," *BBC*, September 19, 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-62952665.

Cavalry, Royal Bodyguards, equerries, gentlemen and ladies-in-waiting, and secretaries all carried out the same ceremonial roles that their predecessors had for centuries.[2]

Queen Elizabeth II's funeral reminded audiences around the world that the British court has continued to play a prominent role in royal ceremonials to the present day. Since the early modern period, the officials who populated the monarch's court have been essential in the conducting of royal funerals, not only in Britain but throughout Europe. By the eighteenth century, however, European courts were losing their political influence over governance. This courtly decline was partly the result of the expanding legislative power of institutions like Britain's Parliament or the chancelleries set up to administer the Habsburg monarchy after 1742. Historians of the eighteenth century have produced a vast body of literature on this transition and its impact on the European political landscape of the time.[3] Even those studies that have argued for the court's continued importance as a venue for political, cultural, and social patronage have minimized a significant facet of court life: the importance of ritual culture in facilitating symbolic dynastic stability through the relationship between aristocrats

[2] Laura Elston, "Who are the royal courtiers working behind the scenes after the Queen's death?" *Independent*, September 8, 2022, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/charles-buckingham-palace-clarence-house-emmanuel-macron-andrew-parker-b2163124.html; "Lying-in-State of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II," UK Parliament, September 14, 2022, https://www.parliament.uk/business/news/2022/september-2022/lying-in-state-of-her-majesty-queen-elizabeth-ii/.

[3] For some of the more relevant British sources, see Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber, eds., *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London: Longman, 1995); Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, eds., *The British Problem, c.1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); S. J. Connolly, ed., *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998); Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603–1715* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999). For literature on this political transition in the Habsburg state, see Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs: The Dynasty as a Political Institution," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800*, A. G. Dickens, ed. (London: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 121-45; and *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016); William Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power: Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State, 1650-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); and A. Wess Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

and monarchs.[4] The term *symbolic* is being used here in a colloquial way, describing the decline of tangible political power experienced by monarchs in the eighteenth century. As such, *symbolic* stability or authority can be defined as the manner in which royal dynasties use rituals, traditions, and even physical objects as a way of preserving the image that their regime continues to play an active role in the social, political, and religious life of the state. These rituals, icons and regalia, moral and religious leadership, and even historical narratives have enabled sovereign dynasties to construct and maintain the perception of their legitimacy to rule. The early modern period offers numerous windows into examining the ways to study how ritual mechanisms were employed by court officials to preserve their privileged status over the symbolic authority of their respective regimes. This study does so by focusing on the funerals of the British and Habsburg monarchs between 1694 and 1780. These rituals provided one of many avenues for courtiers to maintain their prerogatives over royal ceremonials in the face of the declining political currency of the court as an institution.

European royal funerals have often transcended confessional and political boundaries, making them ideal for studying courtly influence over dynastic symbolic stability. Virtually every facet of a monarch's life, from their coronation to their day-to-day activities, was organized by their court officials; aristocrats who were often key players in those events. The same was true for their funerals. Court officials were the organizers, stage-managers, and

[4] E. Wangermann, "Maria Theresa: A Reforming Monarchy," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800*, A.G. Dickens ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 286; Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, revised ed. (London: Hambledon, 1987), 436-9; Robert Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 188, 200-1; Hannah Smith, "The Court in England, 1714—1760: A Declining Political Institution?," in *History*, vol. 90, no. 1 (Jan., 2005), 24-5; Mark Hengerer, "The Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors in the Eighteenth Century," in *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Michael Schaich, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 367-8, 392-3; Andrew Thompson, *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 5-6. For analyses of Maria Theresa's governmental reforms, see Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 178-80; Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765—1918: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 33-7; and Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 28-31, et al.

primary actors in the pageantry of royal death.[5] From Spain to Poland, it was the responsibility of the most senior court officials to organize the various components of a monarch's funeral: planning the ceremonial details, conducting the post-mortem, organizing the lying-in-state, and participating in the burial service. These same elements were used by both the Catholic, semi-absolutist Austrian Habsburgs and the Protestant, parliamentary British monarchy.[6] These rites were part of a shared funerary tradition that stretching back to the medieval courts of the Valois kings of France and thus pre-dated the Reformation. Only later did the English and Habsburg monarchies, among others, adopt many of these practices (which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters). At the same time, officials at both courts remained the principal architects and participants of these rites and occupied surprisingly similar roles despite being two such different regimes.

Given this context, this study aims to demonstrate that royal funerals were essential rituals for maintaining the symbolic dynastic authority and legitimacy of the eighteenth-

[5] For studies on royal funerary rites at these courts, see Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960); Jennifer Woodward, "Funeral rituals in the French Renaissance," in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 9, no. 4: France in the English and French Theatre of the Renaissance (Dec., 1995) and *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997); Carlos Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 255-368; Sara González Castrejón, "An Iconography of Chaos: Music Images in the Royal Funerals of Philip III, Philip IV, and Charles II of Spain," in *Music in Art*, vol. 31, no. 1/2: Music in Art: Iconography as a Source for Music History, vol. II (Spring-Fall 2006), 143-52; Robert Nicolich, "Sunset: The Spectacle of the Royal Funeral and Memorial Services at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV," in *Sun King: The Ascendancy of French Culture During the Reign of Louis XIV*, David Lee Rubin ed. (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992), 45-72; Harry Garlick, *The Final Curtain: State Funerals and the Theatre of Power* (Amsterdom: Rodopi, 1999); Eckhart Helmuth, "The Funerals of the Prussian Kings in the Eighteenth Century," in *Monarchy and Religion*, 451-72; Jill Bepler, "Funerals," in *Early Modern Court Culture*, Erin Griffey ed. (London: Routledge, 2022), 245-60; Václav Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," in *Historie—Otázky—Problémy*, no. 2 (2015), 260-73; Wojciech Fałkowsky, "Dwa Pogrzeby Kazimierza Wielkiego—Znaczenie Rytuału," in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Rocznik CXVI, 2009, no. 1, 55-74; Christian Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France: 'Cordial Immortality'," in *Medicographia*, vol. 31, no. 4 (2009), 430-8; Lennart Katzenbach, "Die Inszenierung des Todes: Das Funeralzeremoniell Kaiser Leopolds I. in vergleichender Perskpektive," in *Central Europe Yearbook*, vol. 3 (2021), 91-113; Rudolf Meyer, *Königs- und Kaiserbegräbnisse im Spätmittelalter: von Rudolf von Habsburg bis zu Friederich III* (Köln: Böhlau, 2000).

[6] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 3, 19-22, 29-35, 43-5, 184-7.

century British and Habsburg monarchies. The subsequent chapters aim to demonstrate that court officials used the rituals and physical regalia of monarchical authority to maintain the fiction that they continued to have political power when, in fact, governing authority was shifting to legislative bodies like Parliament. Court officials were the architects of rituals that promoted a perception of dynastic continuity, in this case, royal funerals. These same officials were the caretakers of the physical objects that represented this symbolic authority: crown jewels, dynastic regalia, and even the monarchs themselves. They were the custodians of the ritual and material culture of royal authority, enabling the aristocrats that controlled the court to function as the guardians of dynastic symbolic stability. To explore these concepts further, this chapter will introduce the reader to three major themes that shape this dissertation. The first section will explain the functions of courts in the early modern state, the role of aristocrats as the senior officials of those institutions, and the relevant literature that has been produced on the British and Habsburg courts. Section two focuses on ritual culture as a mechanism that shaped the relationship between monarchs and aristocrats at court. The third section explores three components in the typology of royal funeral: the broad dynastic, social, and anthropological function of royal funerals; the terminology that scholars use to categorize different kinds of royal funerals and how this study seeks to add to that lexicon; and the historiography of eighteenth-century royal funerals. This introduction will conclude with an overview of the source base, the methodology used, and a brief description of each chapter.

Aristocratic and Court History

The court was the most significant body for shaping the social, political, and confessional identity of the early modern state. Robert Bucholz, the leading scholar on the later Stuart monarchs (1660-1714), describes European courts at this time as “the very center of earthly

power, the arbitrator of good taste and the fount of worldly success."[7] One of the most important functions carried out by these aristocrats at court was to serve as advisors to the sovereign, sitting on the various councils and committees that governed the state. As a result, the same core group of individuals who formed the aristocratic power base of the realm were also in charge of financial, military, and even social policies, leading to what one author has called the "politics of intimacy."[8] The early modern court helped govern the realm and was meant to represent the proper Christian state by containing within its apparatus members of every order of society, from the highest aristocrats all the way down to common workers.[9] In her study on queenship and court culture in early modern Britain, Clarissa Campbell-Orr describes the court as "both an institution and a place," one that was "constituted by various sets of personnel, and governed by its own ethos… it is an intangible entity that involves people from the top to the bottom of society and requires to be understood holistically."[10] Although this is somewhat of a maximalist definition, it does help to highlight the fact that the court served a number of functions in the early modern state beyond the management of the monarch's daily routine. The Cambridge historian John Adamson defined the early modern

[7] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 1, 8; Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 24. In addition to *Augustan Court*, for Bucholz's other relevant works for this project, see "'Nothing but Ceremony': Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual," in *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3 (Jul, 1991), 288-323; and "The 'Stomach of a Queen,' or Size Matters: *Gender, Body Image, and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne*," in *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, 242-72).

[8] John Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1700* (London: Weidenfeld, Nicolson, 1999), 12-3, 15. The terms *aristocrat/aristocracy* will be used for the hereditary governing class. Although it is common to use the terms *aristocracy* and *nobility* interchangeably, Beckett notes that in practice, the latter term fell out of popular use in Britain when the moral qualities associated with it "became corrupted" (J. V. Beckett, *The English Aristocracy 1660-1914*, [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986], 21-2). This convention will also be used for German and Austrian elites, since the German word for both nobility and aristocracy is *Adel*. Throughout this study, the terms *peer* and *aristocrat* will both be used. *Peer* is only used for the titled elites who sat in the House of Lords. *Aristocrat* is used for the entire elite class, such as the non-inheriting children of peers but who are still part of the land-owning establishment. The term *gentry* is also used for the untitled class below the aristocracy but who were not necessarily land owners.

[9] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 3.

[10] Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain,* 24.

court as a "matrix of relations, political and economic, religious and artistic, that converged in the ruler's household."[11] The court directed all aspects of life within the state, and the officials who managed the various court departments formed the household, the center of the court that attended to the monarch's daily needs.[12] This distinction between court and household officers will be examined in detail in chapter one, but during the early modern period both the English and Habsburg courts were managed by officials with similar titles, responsibilities, and privileges.[13] Both regimes will be examined here individually.

Since more detailed sources are available on the English monarchy and court, this will be used as the basis of comparison with the Habsburgs. The English court (officially known as the Court of St James's since the end of the seventeenth century) is one of the oldest, continually functioning court institutions in Europe.[14] Following the Norman invasion of 1066, many of William the Conqueror's aristocrats who had assisted him in governing his lands were transplanted to England and eventually coalesced into the court.[15] During the High Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the English court remained the centre of gravity for all the officials, staff, and servants who attended the sovereign; the land-owning aristocrats with seats in the House of Lords, known as Peers of the Realm; the Members of Parliament; and anyone else involved with the bureaucratic and administrative functions of the state.[16]

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[11] John Adamson, "The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500-1700," in *Princely Courts of Europe*, 7.
[12] Griffey, ed., *Early Modern Court Culture*, 12 n5.
[13] M. L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 13, 50.
[14] Archival materials suggest that the English court was often referred to as the Court at Whitehall, until a fire destroyed most of that palace in 1698. There was, of course, that eleven-year gap between the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the Restoration under his son Charles II in 1660.
[15] For a discussion of the medieval Norman offices that were established in England after 1066 and became the foundation of the Royal Household, see Alastair Bruce, Julian Calder, and Mark Cator, *Keepers of the Kingdom: The Ancient Officers of Britain* (London: Seven Dials, Cassel, 2000), 10-13, 21, 43-4, 50-1, 62. The court apparatus for the Holy Roman emperors was arguably the longest functioning from 800 until 1806, if one considers Charlemagne's court at Aachen as the genesis of the imperial court.
[16] Neville Williams, "The Tudors: Three Contrasts in Personality," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800* A.G. Dickens, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 147; Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 48-9. The court took its name from St James's Palace. Even though the places like Kensington, Whitehall, and

Since the 1950s, historians have been at a loss to explain *why* political power shifted away from the English court, with a focus on the role of the aristocracy.[17] Indeed, court and aristocratic history can hardly be disentangled from one another. In 1968, Mark Thomson identified a contradiction regarding the continuation of eighteenth-century English aristocratic authority contrasted against the declining influence of the House of Lords.[18] J. V. Beckett made a similar observation and pointed to this decline of aristocratic power in the House of Lords as being, at least part of, the impetus for their overall diminishing political influence.[19] Although this contradiction was largely about the control of state finances shifting from the Lords to the House of Commons, Thomson and Beckett's observations reinforce the argument here that eighteenth-century British aristocrats were something of a study in contradictions. When one considers that many of these same aristocrats also held paid positions within court and the monarch's household, another contradiction becomes apparent. It is an accepted fact that court institutions were losing their political power in the eighteenth century, yet the aristocrats populating those courts were seemingly at the height of their political and social influence.[20] Scholarly attempts to reconcile this contradiction have resulted in two distinct historiographical groups emerging, both of which were written based on popular trends within the academy at their times of publication, so a chronological component is at play in courtly and aristocratic historiography.

The first group is comprised of mid-to-late twentieth century scholars who have focused on the political rise and fall of the aristocracy as a political class, removed from the

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Buckingham Palace have served as the monarch's primary home since the late seventeenth century, St James's Palace is still technically the official residence of the monarch. And although this may appear to be a typo, the name of the court is as shown above: St James and not St. James's (Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 208).

[17] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 1-12, 35, 200-1.

[18] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 93.

[19] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 412, 428.

[20] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 93; Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 150; Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 1, 412, 428; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 12; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 422-3.

court context.[21] This group has largely focused on the decline of the aristocracy as a nineteenth-century phenomenon. This removal of the court as a venue for aristocratic activity can be attributed to two major trends within the historiography. The first trend emerged in the nineteenth century. Historians favoured revisionist narratives claiming that it was inevitable for modern European states to form themselves according to ethnolinguistic divisions.[22] This trend viewed the early modern court as being incompatible with these nationalist histories and was treated as "virtually an academic taboo" subject; an almost imperialist construct in the post-colonial world of the mid-twentieth century.[23] The second major trend began in the 1950s when scholars started focusing on the history of partisan politics and ignored the networks holding parliamentary parties and factions together; namely, aristocratic activity at court.[24] Beginning with the work of William Willcox and Harold Perkin in the 1960s, industrialization and capitalist enterprise were seen as the defining traits of the decline of the British aristocracy.[25] The historians who followed them focused their studies on economic, political, and industrial factors to explain this decline, while virtually ignoring the role of the aristocracy at court or in monarchical households.[26] Historians like M. L. Bush, John Cannon,

[21] This is the author's own term derived for use in distinguishing the two groups of historians discussed in this introduction.

[22] Richard Bassett, *For God and Kaiser: The Imperial Austrian Army* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 1; John Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1077), 9; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 20.

[23] Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7; Duindam, "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork at two courts: France and the Habsburg Monarchy c. 1550-1720," in *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen un der frühen Neuzeit, 15.-18. Jh*, Klaus Malettke and Chantall Grell, eds. (Münster: Lit, 2001), 369; Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 9.

[24] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 1. One of the notable departures from this trend was Robert Walcott, who in 1956 examined the networks holding parliamentary parties and factions together (*English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956], 47, 60, 79).

[25] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, viii, 18-9. See William Willcox, *The Age of Aristocracy: 1688 to 1830* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1966); and Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge, Paul, 1969).

[26] Bush, *The English Aristocracy*, 48, 150-69, 203-4; Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 6-9, 133-49; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 4-8; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 450-7, 464-73;

Lawrence and Jeanne Fawtier Stone, J. V. Beckett, and David Cannadine, agreed that the decline of the English aristocracy was inevitable, but believed it was the result of nineteenth-century economic changes and political factors rather than the decline of the court.[27]

M. L. Bush is one of the first scholars to push back "against [this] standard treatment of the English aristocracy," which he claims has unfairly focused on "the narrow confines of a period" rather than dealing with the aristocracy's "complete life-span." He argues that the nineteenth-century decline of the aristocracy was caused by changes in wealth distribution, fiscal responsibility, the lack of popular discontent against land-owning elites, and the gradual withdrawal of aristocrats from professional political and bureaucratic roles.[28] His arguments are supported by fellow British historians J. V. Beckett and David Cannadine. Beckett aligns with Bush in suggesting that the long eighteenth century, from the Glorious Revolution in 1688 until the First Reform Act of 1832, was the highpoint of aristocratic dominance in Britain. He agrees that it was the aristocracy's relationship with state economics, industrialization, and political franchise expansion contributed to the class's decline in political power in the nineteenth century.[29] Cannadine also backs this decline narrative and even goes so

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Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 7; Duindam, "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork," 369; Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 283-6; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 150, 159-68, 178-85; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 33-9; Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (London: Reaktion, 2014), 67-80; R. J. W. Evans, "Communicating Empire: The Habsburgs and Their Critics, 1700-1919: The Prothero Lecture," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, vol. 19 (2009), 121; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, 28-36.

[27] Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 150-69, 203; Lawrence and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4; Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, 1, 6-9, 133-49, 468-9; Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 125, 179, 404; Cannadine, *Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 36-138. Bush does, however, note that not all aristocrats withdrew from civic life, with some becoming career politicians.

[28] Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 1, 150-69. He contrasts the failure of the British population to rise up *en masse* against the governing class and the survival of the aristocracy with the French Revolution and overthrowing of the *ancien régime* and its aristocracy. Cannon expresses a similar sentiment in his contemporary study, *Aristocratic Century*, where he claims that the lack of major revolution, or even a cause for it, was one of several factors that ensured the continued stability and survival of the British aristocracy past the eighteenth century (Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 125). When it comes to the withdrawal of aristocrats from professional life, Bush does note that obviously some chose to pursue careers as professional politicians. See also Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 231, 281-2.

[29] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 5-15, 133-49, 404, 468-9. Although three specific sets of page numbers are given here, the entire second section of Beckett's book, spanning pp. 133-322, is focused on the aristocratic relationship with British economics.

far as to claim that the aristocracy did not even hit its full stride of political influence until *after* 1830. This view contrasts with J. C. D. Clark's argument that the 1832 Reform Act signified a detrimental break for the elites from the eighteenth century.[30] Additionally, while Cannon examines the court's role in providing a political and social network for aristocrats, he limits this context to the Victorian era, after 1871.[31]

These historians collectively agree that various economic and political factors led to the nineteenth-century decline in power of the British aristocracy. However, some, like Bush, challenge this narrow focus by also exploring the class's relationship with the early modern monarchy. Bush describes their involvement in constitutional monarchical governance as an exercise in self-preservation and protecting their own historic rights. He implies that proximity to the Crown through institutions like the court and household, was essential for maintaining these rights and privileges. According to Bush, the aristocracy's efforts to uphold the traditional, hereditary system relied on maintaining close ties with the monarchy and the general population's acceptance of this social hierarchy. While the public perceived aristocratic power stemming from "popular deference", its actual legitimacy was rooted in the elites'

[30] Clark, *English Society*, 21. Clark is primarily talking about whether pre-1832 England constituted an *ancien régime* comparable to its continental counterparts. He strongly suggests that earlier British historians have compared the rupture of the 1830s to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. It is also worth noting that Clark was a Tory historian, and his *English Society* took something of an iconoclastic approach to the Whig interpretation of English history. Although some of his evidence is useful, his conclusions on the fate of Restoration-era Protestantism and the constitutional settlement have not aged well. Richard Brown, writing in 1991, was one of numerous scholars who described Clark as a "revisionist historian" whose Tory works are "both challenging and infuriating" (Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain 1700-1850* [London: Routledge, 1991], 32).

[31] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, 5, 36-138, 244-50. His choice of 1871 seems to be based on the year that Queen Victoria ended her complete secluded mourning following the death of Prince Albert and the recovery of her son, the Prince of Wales, from typhoid fever. The prince's recovery was celebrated with a public thanksgiving service that marked Victoria's first public appearance in years. For a more detailed examination on this mourning period and its effects on the court and the standing of the royal family in British public life, see Helen Rappaport, *A Magnificent Obsession: Victoria, Albert, and the Death That Changed the British Monarchy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

relationship with the Crown.[32] Beckett similarly notes the importance of the bond between the sovereign and the aristocracy for ensuring dynastic stability, even on just a symbolic level. He reasons that a stable dynasty meant a stable aristocratic class, which in turn, safeguarded their system of hereditary titles and estates remained undisrupted, particularly during times of royal vulnerability, such as a monarch's death.[33]

There are, of course, always outliers. One of the first studies written before the mid-1990s that considers the interests and impact of the English court is H. T. Dickinson's *Liberty and Property* (1979). Dickinson describes the eighteenth-century court as a complex entity with diverse individual interests, yet he acknowledges that the aristocracy's survival and the state's stability depended on the sovereign being "allowed to exercise [political] power." He further argues that, even as the court's political influence diminished, its members recognized the value of continuing artistic and cultural patronage as a tool for influencing Parliament. They found it particularly useful at times when Parliament attempted to pass legislation that limited the aristocracy's financial privileges. understood that the continuing artistic and cultural patronage was a useful tool for exerting influence over Parliament, particularly any time the latter attempted to pass legislation that limited the former's financial privileges.[34] John Cannon similarly confronts the trend of scholars focusing on political and partisan elements of aristocratic history while ignoring the ceremonial, social, and courtly network holding it all together. Cannon laments that this trend has led to historians neglecting the eighteenth-

[32] Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 59-60, 203; Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 277. Clark rejects this idea of popular deference, a term he considers "unhelpful" in describing the class relationships in Hanoverian Britain. He argues that there was much more "personal friction between individuals" within the social hierarchy. This friction was generated by where individuals perceived their own social positions within the class system. He does not totally throw out the base ideas of popular deference but does make his dislike for the term *deference* clear because of "its connotation of supine self-abnegation before authority." Clark instead asserts that there was "a robust disrespect by inferiors for superiors, which seemed far removed from an idealised deference" (Clark, *English Society*, 170).
[33] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 6.
[34] H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Holmes, Meier, 1977), 95-9.

century English peerage, despite its being "one of the most successful of all ruling elites."[35] Lawrence and Jeanne Stone, who wrote on the same subject a few years later, agreed. They described the aristocracy as being "remarkably successful" in maintaining their rights and privileges from 1590 until 1880.[36] Cannon, in his efforts to rectify this oversight, is one of the first (relatively) modern scholars to re-evaluate this long-standing narrative that court institutions were incompatible with the twentieth-century academy. Somewhat echoing Bush's statements about the aristocracy's relationship with monarchs as an act of self-preservation, Cannon writes that the "relationship between aristocracy and monarchy is the main theme of European political history in the century before the French Revolution." He brings the Crown back into the historical discourse around the continuation of the aristocracy, arguing that the close, personal relationships early modern monarchs had with their aristocrats at court were critical to the class's survival and need to be considered as part of British political history. These monarchs likewise knew that their regimes would likely collapse without aristocratic support.[37] The early modern monarchy was a vulnerable institution, one that depended on the cooperation and loyalty of members of the court. Cannon was not only asserting that the

[35] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, vii-viii, 18-9.

[36] Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 280.

[37] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 1-2. The capitalized *Crown* is being used here and throughout to specifically refer to the monarch and the institution of their office. The capitalization cuts down on confusion when referring to the physical crown. This usage is also preferred over the term *monarchy* since this can be used to describe the sovereign, the royal family, or the entire political state. For a discussion of the word *Crown* and its impartation of authority on a physical person versus a geographical state, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 341. For others precedents of using *Crown* in this manner, see Geoffrey Holmes, ed., *Britain After the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 15, 17; Clyve Jones, ed., *Britain in the First Age of Party 1680-1750* (London: Hambledon, 1987), 14-5; Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, 25, 42, 53, 64; Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain, 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 7-8, 9, 12, et al; Paul Seaward, "Parliament and the Idea of Political Accountability in Early Modern Britain," in *Realities of Representation: State Building in Early Modern Europe and European America*, Maija Jansson, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 46-9 et al; Levin and Bucholz, eds., *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, xxv, xxx; George Southcombe and Grant Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture: Britain and Ireland, 1660-1714* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 6, 8-9, 14, 41, 48, 50; Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550—1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11, 19, 22-5, 37-8, 48.

eighteenth-century aristocracy was an elite class worthy of scholarly inquiry, but that it existed in a symbiotic—albeit sometimes contentious—relationship with its monarchs; a relationship that could be examined outside the scope of industrialization and capitalist narratives.

Lawrence and Jeanne Fawtier Stone fall into this mid-to-late twentieth century group of historians, however their study *An Open Elite?* offers one of the most nuanced analyses of the rise, dominance, and eventual decline of the English aristocracy. The study mostly deals with the practical and day-to-day realities of being an English aristocrat: inheritance, land ownership, housing, finances, and even architecture and construction. Where *An Open Elite?* stands out is the way that it problematizes the decline of the aristocracy. Unlike Bush, Beckett, or Cannadine, the Stones go beyond the dominant industrialization narrative and argue that a series of crises between 1590 and 1880 resulted in aristocratic decline. These crises occurred largely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They included the reduction of land-based income and Whig-Tory partisan divisions, which created a deep political rupture among aristocrats as a class. Other factors were declining marriage rates among the titled elites, this naturally led to fewer male heirs being produced and threatened the continuation of aristocratic family lines.[38] While the Stones do an excellent job of reconciling these early modern crises with the nineteenth-century narrative, they still seem to have fallen into the common pattern of examining changes in aristocratic power without exploring the aristocrats' place at court; the undisputed venue of early modern elite power. They even argue that the aristocracy remained so stable and politically relevant throughout the early modern period, but

[38] Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 280-2. The declining marriage rates not only led to smaller families. According to the Stones, there was a noticeable pivot in family values in the eighteenth century. Aristocrats were becoming less concerned about perpetuating their family line and more focused on individual satisfaction. The "self-gratification of the individual" was now placed above "the long-term economic ambitions of the family" (282). For a more detailed study on aristocratic marriage trends throughout the early modern and modern eras, and one that reframes the Stones' titular question, see Kimberly Schutte's *Women, Rank, and Marriage in the British Aristocracy, 1485-2000: An Open Elite?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

base this around legal privileges (or lack thereof), rise of the merchant and middle classes, and commercial foreign policies. The Court of St James's is conspicuously absent.[39]

Since the mid-1990s, some historians have attempted to revise this long-standing approach to aristocratic history. There is no disputing the decline of the English aristocracy, but more recent scholars have argued that this process occurred in the eighteenth century and was concomitant with the decline of the court as a center of aristocratic political power.[40] They argue that courtly decline occurred because royal courts became less relevant to governance amidst the expansion of legislative bodies like Parliament and the centralization of state administration.[41] This interpretation was influenced by Norbert Elias's *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (1969), a sociological examination of the French court at Versailles as the model for early modern court institutions. Elias has been criticized for being somewhat naïve in his failure to realize that Versailles was a unique system that other courts sought to emulate rather than the standard model used by all others. However, his work remains "pathbreaking" for bringing courtly studies back into the historical discourse and for demonstrating that the

[39] Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 289-308.

[40] To claim that economics was entirely disregarded by more recent historians would be inaccurate. Charles II, suffering from a constant lack of funds, cut down on providing daily meals and other amenities for 200 of his court and staff. Although this was somewhat reversed by James II after 1685, court reductions to save the Crown money certainly played a role in diminishing the grandeur, scale, and attendance at court (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 15-21; Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain*, 10).

[41] Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 436-9; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 1, 5, 8-12, 188, 200-1; Campbell Orr, ed. *Queenship in Britain*, 1, 5, 25, 36; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*; Smith, "The Court in England," 24-5; Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 9, 95, et al; Schaich, ed., *Monarchy and Religion*, 367-8, 392-3; Thompson, *George II*, 5-6; and Griffey, *Early Modern Court Culture*. As noted in the bibliography, Bucholz has produced an impressive collection of literature on Queen Anne and the early eighteenth-century British court. These subsequent works will be cited as needed, but for the purposes of the current discussion of court decline historiography, only *The Augustan Court* is needed. The same is also true for Duindam, though much of the work included in this study is further development of his comparisons between the early modern French and Austrian courts. An honourary mention also goes to Karin MacHardy for her study *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria: The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521-1622* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), which explores on the role of the Habsburg court in the early stages Thirty Years' War. The study is extremely useful for understanding the early seventeenth-century court and the role of its aristocrats in politics and state-building, but it ends in 1622 and unfortunately has little bearing on the eighteenth-century context of the current project.

court's "seemingly superficial features" surrounding ritual, etiquette, and protocol were reflective of important socio-political realities within the given state.[42] Shortcomings notwithstanding, Elias effectively jumpstarted court studies as a dimension of a social history in the 1970s and 1980s, leading to subsequent scholars taking more holistic approaches by considering the ritual and ceremonial functions that they served.[43] This multi-faceted approach to re-evaluating the early modern court incorporates the more traditional topics like governance and power politics with the often dismissed and underestimated features like gender, entertainments, and ritual culture for their impact on governance and the state.[44]

Scholars now contend that the political power over the British state was firmly in the hands of Parliament, specifically the House of Lords, by 1714. Its members, in turn, viewed the courts of the early Hanoverians as a rigid, outdated institution hampered by debt and a growing popular disillusionment with the Crown itself.[45] Amy Oberlin argues that because the Crown became more reliant upon Parliament after 1689, it was more beholden to public opinion for its legitimacy, necessitating a grudging acceptance that power was held by the legislature.[46] At the same time, since political power was shifting to the aristocrats that dominated Parliament, the Crown itself was not as dependent on public recognition for its

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[42] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 1, 5; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 1; Griffey, ed., *Early Modern Court Culture*, 12 n5.

[43] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 1; 401-2; Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 9.

[44] Andrew Barclay, "William's Court as King," in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, Esther Mijers and David Onneking, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 242.

[45] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 1-12, 35, 200-1; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 1; Smith, "The Court in England," 24-5; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 95 et al; Thompson, *George II*, 1-9; Mark Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight': Royal Deaths and the Politics of Ritual in the Late Stuart Monarchy, c. 1685-1714," unpublished doctoral diss. (University of Essex, 2016), 21-4, 32. Adamson's chapter presents a detailed overview of the court from Henry VIII's accession in 1509 until Queen Anne's death in 1714, yet he barely mentions the post-1689 monarchy and court. Mary II, William III, and Anne are mentioned only fleetingly on the last page, and only in relation to the architectural developments of royal residences shaping the evolution of court life and summarizing two centuries of court culture (Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 117).

[46] Her premise, which is based on funerary print culture rather than rituals, certainly has some truth to it in the modern era. However, the fact that royal funerals became more private suggests a declining need for public support, at least during the eighteenth century (Amy Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *Parergon*, vol. 31, no. 2 [2014], 111-2).

legitimacy as it had been under the Stuarts. The historians supporting this view have accepted the premise of a courtly decline thesis. Scholars like Robert Bucholz contend that political factors from the late seventeenth century, for example, the period of the Glorious Revolution and the subsequent rise of partisan politics caused the eighteenth-century court to transition from being primarily a center of aristocratic political power to becoming a venue for social, cultural, and even political patronage. Bucholz argues that the decline and transition of the British court resulted from the aristocracy's growing interest in artistic, culture, and social causes. These factors were coupled with the growing need for the sovereign to almost convince them that all those things could be found at court, with the added incentive of proximity to and potential favour from the monarch. He asserts that this courtly decline reached terminal velocity during Queen Anne's reign (1702-14). Bucholz contends that ritual life at Queen Anne's court became symbolic, that is, lacking tangible political power. As a consequence of this shift, much of the ceremonials that legitimized the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the court also became symbolic.[47] Paul Kléber Monod, drawing directly on Bucholz, makes a similar observation, noting that the early eighteenth-century court was "never…the nerve centre of high culture."[48] Michael Schaich takes Bucholz's assertions a step further, drawing a direct connection between the decline of the court's political power and a lack of interest in royal rituals as communicators of monarchical splendour. Schaich argues that "a marked decline in ceremonial splendour" and the "decline and fall of royal ceremonials" were inextricably bound together.[49] There is a bit of the chicken-and-the-egg dilemma in his argument, however. He does not go into detail as to which was the proximal cause: ritual decline or the loss of the court's political influence. This may have been to leave the reader to

[47] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 8-12, 203-9, 228-51.
[48] Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe 1589-1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 295.
[49] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 422-3.

consider it for themselves, or by the limits imposed by writing a chapter within an edited collection. It may very well be both.

Clarissa Campbell Orr, one of the more prolific advocates of court studies in the last twenty years, seems to argue against Oberlin's assertion. [50] There was certainly an important transition in royal ceremonials from public to private in the eighteenth century, and this will be discussed in depth in chapter five. But Campbell Orr is something of a maximalist when it comes to her treatment of court life and culture. She frames much of the patronage and aristocratic activity as being consistently grand, opulent, and based on accepted traditions. On the one hand, this interpretation is at least partly supported by the continuing use of royal rituals and ceremonials that legitimized symbolic dynastic authority in the age of parliamentary power. On the other hand, not every facet of court life continued to function with the same grandeur and pageantry of the Tudor and early Stuart eras. Even Campbell Orr ultimately concedes that the eighteenth-century court had ceased to be the centre of culture and patronage and only became one venue among many for aristocrats, royals, and elites to operate within these socio-cultural networks. She also reinforces the earlier work of scholars like Cannon, who emphasized the importance of the monarch as the central nexus around which the entire courtly and aristocratic system operated. In her words, the entire culture that permeated the British court was "one that embraces the royal household, together with its

[50] Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain*, 36. Her edited collection takes this more holistic approach to court studies by framing it through the lives of the queens regnant and consort from 1660 until 1837. She makes it clear that the purpose of *Queenship in Britain* is to re-evaluate the roles of women in dynastic politics (16), the influence of royal women on court life (24), geographic conceptions of the court as a physical location (26), culture and patronage (29), and the intersection of gender and court history (32). Given the topic, it is somewhat surprising that there are no more than a few passing references to Mary II. Andrew Barclay, whose work on William III is cited throughout this study, and Robert Bucholz were both contributors. For a more vivid description of how patronage shifted from being exclusively the purview of the court and became part of London's commercial centres after 1660, see John Brewer's *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013). He takes a more nuanced approach to the topic, arguing that this transition was not an absolute binary: some patronage and cultural elements successfully found consumers among the purchasing public, while some elements remained the exclusive prerogatives of the court.

public and private poles, within its concentration in the heart of the main palace, or its rural retreats."[51]

When considering how these studies have handled the decline of the eighteenth-century British court and the transition of aristocratic power from tangible to symbolic, the historian is confronted by two challenges. First, historiographic conceptions of the court have been shaped, at least in part, by dynastic compartmentalization. Unlike in Austria, the British monarchy changed dynasties three times between 1485 and 1714—albeit still in the same family tree going back to William the Conqueror. This change from Tudor to Stuart to Hanoverian has created the tendency among scholars to focus on the monarchy and court in terms of how they functioned under those separate dynasties or even under individual rulers like Henry VIII or Elizabeth I. This has led to voluminous microhistories on the Court of St James's. There is similarly a vast body of literature on the dynamics of the Protestant settlement in 1688 and 1701 and the factionalism at court over who should succeed Queen Anne upon her death.[52] In contrast to the grandeur and drama of the Tudor and Stuart courts, nineteenth-century historians have tended to regard the early Hanoverian courts of 1714-60 "as things vague and trivial, or misinterpreted and hastily described."[53] This has been somewhat remedied

[51] Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain*, 25. While Campbell Orr has received considerable praise for her collection, this particular, encompassing methodology for court studies has in fact been around for decades. Both she and Bucholz point to the earlier work of David Starkey for initiating some of the earliest reappraisals of the English court (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 2; Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain*, 24).

[52] For some of the relevant works as relate to this study, see Holmes, ed., *Britain After the Glorious Revolution* and *British Politics in the Age of Anne*; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (New Haven: Yale University Press, [1980] 2001); Jones, ed., *Britain in the First Age of Party*; Jupp, *The Governing of Britain*; David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Andrew Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006); Tim Harris, *Revolution: the Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007); Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004); Southcombe, *Restoration Politics, Religion and Culture*; Andres Gestrich and Michael Schaich, eds., *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); and Joseph Hone, *Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[53] Edward Raymond Turner, "Committees of the Privy Council, 1688-1760," in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 31, no. 124 (Oct., 1916), 545.

in the last century. In 1967, the historian John Beattie was one of the first scholars to explore the structure of King George I's household, and how aristocratic factionalism impacted both the court and the government.[54] Subsequent studies have attempted to examine the court and political culture under George I (1714-27) and George II (1727-60). In some cases, these have been attempts to trace the origins of partisan politics, with its system of prime ministers, cabinet, and opposition; a system that continues to form the basis of responsible government in the United Kingdom and Canada even today. Jeremy Black, Hannah Smith, and Andrew Thompson are some of the leading experts on the early Hanoverians specifically because of their studies on the court and reign of George II.[55] But even as Thompson has noted, full books on the second Hanoverian king "are very thin on the ground."[56]

The second major challenge facing historians working on the Court of St James's is the court/household paradox. The court—with its entourages, hangers on, and denizens—is treated synonymously with the Royal Household that attended the sovereign, yet both institutions are often studied in binary terms.[57] The court is more often associated with

[54] John Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1967.
[55] For Jeremy Black's relevant work in addition to *The Hanoverians*, see "'George II and All That Stuff': On the Value of the Neglected," in *Albion*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Winter, 2004), 581-607; and *George II: Puppet of the Politicians?* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007). For Hannah Smith's relevant works, see "The Idea of a Protestant Monarchy in Britain 1714-1760," in *Past & Present*. Vol. 185, no. 1 (Nov., 2004): 91-118 "The Court in England, 1714—1760: A Declining Political Institution?" In *History*. Vol. 90, no. 1 (Jan., 2005): 23-41; and *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Like Black, Andrew Thompson has also produced studies on the broader history of the Hanoverian settlement and the early Georgians. Along with *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest*, see *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). For other, more generalized biographies of George II, see Charles Chenevix Trench's very outdated *George II* (London: Allen Lane, 1973) or the more recent study by Mijndert Bertram, *Georg II. König und Kurfürst. Eine Biografie* (Göttingen: MatrixMedia, 2003). There was also an earlier biography by J. D. Griffith Davies, *A King in Toils* (London: L. Drummond, 1938), but should be treated with some skepticism. From the mid-1850s until the late 1930s, there was a popular trend among royal biographers to depict their subjects in very dramatic terms, often either as a victim of history or a great hero and leader. Royal biographers of this era are largely narrative in nature, with analytical or argumentative works not emerging until the late 1950s.
[56] Thompson, *George II*, 1.
[57] The term Royal Household is capitalized herein since it is the formal name of the British Crown institution and is still functioning today. This also helps provide distinction from general royal households throughout Europe

political authority, factionalism, culture and patronage. The sovereign's household, however, evokes images of the staff serving the Crown and the rituals of the monarch's daily life.[58] Thompson argues that scholars must begin considering how the fluid relationships and interactions of individuals and institutions that surrounded the monarch—not just the politicians—were instrumental in the displaying and exercising of royal authority.[59] Bucholz expressed a similar sentiment, astutely noting how "the careful historian must, like the assiduous courtier, be sensitive to information that is often conveyed subtly, incidentally, inadvertently, evenly unconsciously by his subjects."[60] These insights underscore the importance of understanding the nuanced and often understated elements that shape historical narratives.

With this in mind, the Habsburg court was a more complex entity that was an expression of their asymmetrical dynastic empire. The Habsburgs were the hereditary archdukes of Austria since the mid-fourteenth century, the elected Holy Roman emperors since 1452, and kings of Hungary and Bohemia since 1526. The imperial court dated from the time of Charlemagne and was known simply as the *Reich*, an itinerant institution that was attached to the office of the emperor and moved every time a new one was elected. Hungary and Bohemia, as separate kingdoms, each had individual court institutions. The Habsburgs established their own dynastic court, the *Hof*, to manage their *Erblande* (hereditary lands) in present-day Austria and Slovenia.[61] By the early seventeenth century, *Reich* and *Hof* had been

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that are mentioned throughout the text. See "Inside the Royal Household," *The Royal Household* © Crown Copyright, https://www.royal.uk/inside-the-royal-household, accessed March 10, 2022.

[58] Holmes, ed., *Britain After the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, 8; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 3; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 7; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 45; Griffey, ed., *Early Modern Court Culture*, 2.

[59] Thompson, *George II*, 5.

[60] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 4.

[61] The term Austria will be used to specifically identify the Habsburgs' crown lands that were neither part of the Holy Roman Empire nor the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. They also acquired a long list of duchies, principalities, and counties that became the *Erblande*. The Habsburg state is a term that encompasses all the territories that were ruled in a personal union with the head of the family, as there was no territory or state

merged into a single institution, the *Hofstaat*, at the Habsburg capital of Prague in Bohemia. It was only later in the century when the court permanently relocated to Vienna.[62] Although there should have been a theoretical separation of the imperial and dynastic courtly institutions, functioning of court ceremonials in Vienna often blurred the lines between the two. The rituals, pageantry, and iconography of eighteenth-century Habsburg ceremonials was an asymmetrical amalgamation of *Reich* and *Hof*. The Habsburg monarch's prerogatives as emperor as compared to the head of the hereditary lands were treated as one and the same. The functioning of the *Hofstaat* was further complicated by the fact that the *Reich*, although laid out by Emperor Charles IV in the Golden Bull of 1356, had largely become obsolete by the eighteenth century. Its only practical function was the staging of imperial coronations in Frankfurt.

The complex nature of Habsburg sovereignty has made it notoriously difficult to categorize or define the *Hofstaat* with the same precision as the Court of St James's. The famed Habsburg historian R. J. W. Evans went so far as to describe the *Hofstaat* as the institutional

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formally known as Austria until 1804. This was a unique case of state formation by dynasty. After 1558, the Habsburgs were increasingly recognized as the "House of Austria." By 1700, the term Austria began to be used more consistently to describe the lands that they ruled (Peter Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* [London: Allen Lane, 2016], 438; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 23). The *Erblande* was comprised of the archduchies of Upper Austria, Lower Austria (including Vienna), Further Austria (which included Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, and parts of German Swabia), and Inner Austria (comprised of the largely Slovene-populated dukedoms of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria); the port city of Trieste; and the littoral counties of Gorizia and Gradisca, with a mix of Slovene and Italian inhabitants. See Duindam *Vienna and Versailles*, 306; Volker Press, "The Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," in *The Journal of Modern History*, no. 58, supplement: Politics and Society in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500-1806 (Dec., 1986), 25; and Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire*, 55.

[62] Maria Golubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000), 74, 77; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond: Changing Views of Household and Government in Early Modern Europe," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 429. Prague had been the imperial capital, the city where the Holy Roman emperor held court and governed, since 1583. Until the mid-1600s, the dynasty was still divided into multiple branches that ruled Upper Austria (*Oberösterreich*), Inner Austria (*Innerösterreich*), Lower Austria (*Niederösterreich*), and Further Austria (*Vorderösterreich*). The major centres were Graz, Linz, and Innsbruck; Vienna's importance rose and fell depending on the preferences of each individual monarch (Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 32-4).

embodiment of the dynasty itself, one that evolved over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from an oversized, aristocrat-dominated confederacy of councils to a functioning state bureaucracy.[63] John Spielman describes the *Hofstaat* as a "retinue" or entourage for members of the imperial family, yet his overview of the court matches other scholars' descriptions of the *Hofstaat*. He uses *Hofgesinde* as a description of all the people at court.[64] Jeroen Duindam, the current expert on the Habsburg court, has problematized these definitions, revealing some of the complex nuances around defining such a complex institution. He corrects Spielman's use of *Hofgesinde*, noting that this was mainly a Renaissance term for the network of people surrounding the emperor, more akin to the household than court.[65] He and other scholars like Evans and Volker Press state that the term *Hofstaat* became standard in the seventeenth century for all the officials, aristocrats, servants, retainers, entourages, and anyone who attended the Habsburg monarch on a regular basis, served in government, or participated in the cultural and patronage networks that surrounded the Crown.[66]

As these issues of taxonomy reveal, any scholarly work on the Austrian Habsburgs requires consideration of the German and Austrian literature that has been produced.

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[63] John Spielman, *The City and the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1993), 53; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 160-1, 178-85; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 7; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, 31-2, 55-63.

[64] Spielman, *City and Crown*, 53, 59, 169-70.

[65] Jeroen Duindam, email message to the author, January 20, 2022.

[66] Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of Imperial Government," 24, 31; Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 121, 124; Duindam "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 403-4; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs c. 1500-1700," in *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1700*, John Adamson, ed. (London: Weidenfeld, Nicolson, 1999), 166-7, 171, 186. The name *Hofstaat* was not proprietary to the Habsburgs in the same way that the Court of St James was in Britain, or Versailles in France—both of which were locative, being based on the palace that served as the seat of power. Since *Hofstaat* was technically a generic term that encompassed everyone involved in the court, it was used by other German-speaking states as well. The Bavarian court in Munich was also known as the *Hofstaat* (Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 12). See also Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles: Materials for Further Comparison and Some Conclusions," in *Zeitenblicke*, 4 (2005), no. 3 [13.12.2005] <16>, http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/3/Duindam/index_html, URN: urn: nbn: de: 0009-9-2411. I am deeply grateful to Jeroen Duindam for his correspondence helping to clarify some of the periodization issues surrounding early modern vocabulary for the Habsburg court.

Naturally, there is a prodigious number of German studies on Habsburg history, with an entire wing of the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv devoted to the dynasty. One of the most significant scholars on the early modern Habsburg court and its denizens is the Austrian archivist Irmgard Pangerl, who has contributed to several important collections on the topic. These collections have been especially useful for this project by providing information on court offices and their incumbents not readily available elsewhere.[67] Along with Martin Scheutz and Thomas Winkelbauer, Pangerl co-edited *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokelle*, a detailed breakdown of different topics associated with the Austrian court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These include an analysis of how the various court departments overlapped with the state administration, religious and ritual life, and (not least importantly for this study), a series of case studies on key Habsburg funerals.[68] In 2011, she contributed a chapter on the court life of the Austrian Habsburgs and their officials as part of a collection to commemorate the tricentennial of Charles VI's accession to the throne.. Beyond Pangerl's contribution, this collection includes a detailed overview of the court, ceremonial life, and the aristocrats who formed the imperial household and influenced the cultural, political, and religious culture in Vienna.[69] More recently, Pangerl and several other archivists contributed chapters to the massive collection on Habsburg court life, *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit* (2019). Although more of a compendium of

[67] Although not specifically focused on the Habsburg aristocrats of the eighteenth century, some credit also needs to be given to Hermann Rehm's *Prädikat- und Titelrecht der deutschen Standesherren. Eine rechtlich-kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung im Auftrag des Vereins der deutschen Standesherren unternommen (*Munich: J. Schweitzer, 1905). This is one of the few monographs that breaks down the titles and predicates of sovereign and aristocratic houses within the Holy Roman Empire throughout the early modern period and includes useful information on Austrian magnates as well. This study has been extremely useful for understanding the context of status, rank, and competition among Austrian and German elites for position and privilege.

[68] Irmgard Pangerl, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds. *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokelle (1652-1800)* (Innsbruck, StudienVerlag, 2007).

[69] Stefan Seitschek, Herbert Hutterer, and Gerald Theimer, eds., *300 Jahre Karl VI. 1711—1740: Spuren der Herrschaft des "letzten" Habsbugers* (Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, 2011). *Der Wiener Hof* is frequently referred to in *300 Jahre Karl VI* as a key source. See 29, 31, 58, 60-1, 63, 76 et al.

court departments, offices, and the aristocrats who filled those positions than an analysis, the level of detail included by the editors and contributors provide something of a Rosetta's stone for understanding the composition and functions of the eighteenth-century imperial court.[70]

In contrast to the detailed and comprehensive literature produced by Austrian historians, the English scholarship on the Austrian court and aristocrats is, perhaps not surprisingly, minimal. Both the Habsburg state and dynasty have been the subject of detailed scholarly analysis for decades. Scholars like Benjamin Curtis, Paula Sutter Fichtner, Jean Bérenger, and Pieter Judson have all produced broad studies covering centuries of Habsburg history. Most of these books cover the same approximate topics: the amalgamation of early modern states under Habsburg absolutism, the rise of nationalist agendas in the nineteenth century, and the dissolution of the empire into successor states after 1918. Along with this tendency toward generalized dynastic histories, scholars have largely avoided more niche topics like the Austrian court. The reluctance to examine the *Hofstaat* is partly due to the complexities of Habsburg rulership and how court institutions supported this asymmetrical, multifaceted monarchy that has often defied conventional definitions.[71]

The relatively small pool of English studies that have examined the early modern Austrian court generally fall into one of two categories. The first is reprinted nineteenth-

[70] Michael Hochedlinger, Petr Mat'a, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1: *Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegsweden und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019).

[71] Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1273-1700*, trans. by C. A. Simpson (London: Longman, 1994); Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Fichtner, *The Habsburgs* (2014); and Judson, *The Habsburg Empire* (2016). Maria Golubeva's *Models of Political Competence: The Evolution of Political Norms in the Works of Burgundian and Habsburg Court Historians, c. 1400-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) can and should be included in broader, early modern court histories for its analyses of contemporary Burgundian and Habsburg court historians and their roles in normalizing dynastic political culture. It is an ambitious and innovative approach to Habsburg court history, though it may require a second or third edition to remedy some of its issues surrounding sweeping historical claims and broad generalizations of a highly specific topic. For a concise introduction to the topic of historiography at the *Hofstaat*, see R. J. W. Evans "The Austrian Habsburgs: The Dynasty as a Political Institution," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* A. G. Dickens, ed. (London: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 139-40.

century primary sources, which either embellish or diminish the role of the aristocrats at court based on authorial bias. Some of the more well-known, pro-Habsburg of these sources include Eduard Vehse's *Geschichte der deustchen Höfe seit der Reformation* (1852), whose English translation is a frequent primary source, and his later book *Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy, and Diplomacy of Austria* (1856).[72] The second category of English literature on Habsburg aristocrats and/or the court is the collection of scholarly studies produced in the last thirty years. Book-length studies that have been published deal almost exclusively with Bohemian aristocrats living under Habsburg rule, with almost none analyzing their Austrian counterparts.[73] Most of the literature that directly examines the *Hofstaat* are articles or chapters that use the court as their framing device to focus on other topics like political factionalism or confessional conflict. Some of the most noteworthy are Linda and Marsha Frey's "The Latter Years of Leopold I and his Court" (1978), Press's "The Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government" (1986), and Duindam's "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs" (1999) and "Ceremonial Staffs and Paperwork at Two Courts" (2001).

An examination of both these sources and the broader dynastic histories reveals

[72] Eduard Vehse, *Geschichte der deustchen Höfe seit der Reformation*, vol. 12: *Oestreich* (Hamburg: Hoffmann, Campe, 1852); and *Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy, and Diplomacy of Austria*, vols. 1 and 2, trans. Franz Demmler (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1856). For popular usage, see Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London: Penguin, 1996), 181; Robert Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History: From Late Baroque to Romanticism* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), 74-5; James and Joanna Bogle, *A Heart for Europe: The Lives of Emperor Charles and Empress Zita of Austria-Hungary* (London: Gracewing, 1990); John Van der Kiste, *Emperor Francis Joseph* (2005), and Dieter Kindermann, *Die Habsburger ohne Reich: Geschichte einer Familie seit 1918* (German Edition; Vienna: Kremayr, Scheriau KG, 2012), Kindle Edition.

[73] See George Rudé, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Aristocracy and the Bourgeois Challenge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Hamish Scott, ed., *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, 1995); Eagle Glassheim, *Noble Nationalists: The Transformation of the Bohemian Aristocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Rita Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

a popular narrative common in Habsburg historiography: that the eighteenth century was a period in which religion became less significant to both the imperial dynasty and its subjects.[74] According to what Mark Hengerer calls the "classic interpretation," the 1700s were marked by a shift to a less religious, more secular society within the Habsburg state. There was a growing critique of what had been, up until then, traditional Catholic religiosity by the aristocrats and officials of the imperial court.[75] Perhaps the most well-known supporter of this 'decline of religion' approach is Derek Beales, who addressed the impact of the Enlightenment on the Habsburgs in his definitive study on Joseph II.[76] Benjamin Curtis has also supported this decline interpretation. He argues that after the end of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, and the onset of the Enlightenment, this new secular Europe had little interest in the royal grandeur of the Baroque era.[77]

This interpretation is closely connected with what can be described as the mid-century rupture narrative. According to this view, there was a break in the continuity of the Austrian court up until that time, resulting in measurable changes in aristocratic power, displays of piety, and patronage for the remainder of the eighteenth century.[78] Following the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, Maria Theresa was able to initiate the first of several unprecedented reform programs that were, according to Charles Ingrao, unlike anything the

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[74] See Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 40-1; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 179; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 201-2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367-9.
[75] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367.
[76] See Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, vol. 1: *In the Shadow of Maria Theresa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); and *Joseph II*, vol. 2: *Against the World, 1780-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[77] Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 201-2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367; Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, 349-50.
[78] Examples of this mid-century approach until 1750 include Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," and Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs. Some of Duindam's other works, notably his companion studies "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond" and "Vienna and Versailles" do contain some metrics on the Habsburg court and household until Maria Theresa's death in 1780, but largely remain focused on the first half of the century. For post-1750 analyses, see Wangermann, "Maria Theresa,", Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, and Judson, *Habsburg Empire*. In fairness, both Okey and Judson are conducting much broader studies through to the collapse of the monarchy in 1918, however both take the mid-eighteenth century as their starting points.

Habsburg state had ever seen.[79] The Theresian reforms of 1749-56 and the 1760s have been thoroughly examined by scholars and need not be revisited in detail here. However, the significance of these reforms on the Habsburg state has led scholars to treat the post-1750 period as a separate paradigm from the first half of the century, particularly with regard to the court's impact on governance. In 1740, the Habsburgs lost the imperial crown to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and, as a result, the court of the Holy Roman Empire moved to Munich. Wangermann implies that this created a rupture in Habsburg court culture that may have led historians to begin to shift their focus from the *Hofstaat* to the reformed state administration post-1750. Maria Theresa's cleaning house of the old guard at court by replacing the aging ministers with younger and more qualified civil servants may have all contributed to this shift within the historiography because it brought it a new generation of bureaucrats who undertook the Theresian reforms, thus contributing to this break with the earlier half of the century.[80] This historical approach that has focused on the Theresian court after 1750 was part of the larger pattern discussed previously in which nineteenth century scholars fixated on the development of the nation-state, with its centralized administration, civil service, and political bureaucracy; a paradigm that disregarded the court as irrelevant to modern political institutions. In this conceptualization, the eighteenth-century court was viewed as a superfluous extension of Baroque monarchy for its obsession with rank, status, and hierarchy that is unworthy of scholarly study. Since the 1970s, historians have begun to re-evaluate the

[79] Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 160.

[80] Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 283-6; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 150, 159-68, 178-85; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 33-9; Paul Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490-1848* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 67-80; Julia Gelardi, *In Triumph's Wake: Royal Mothers, Tragic Daughters, and the Price They Paid for Glory* (New York: St. Martin's, 2008), 168-72, 184-5; R. J. W. Evans, "Communicating Empire: The Habsburgs and Their Critics, 1700-1919: The Prothero Lecture," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, vol. 19 (2009), 121; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, 28-36. Wangermann argues that these reforms actually strengthened the court's influence over governance because control of rural areas outside the major urban centres was handed over to the bureaucratic civil service, who in turn answered directly to Maria Theresa. In the end, Wangermann's assertion of this courtly expansion was at the expense of aristocrats' ruling power in their own regional estates (284).

place of the court within the development of the eighteenth-century Habsburg state. Evans argued that Habsburg governance until the mid-1700s was inherently shaped by life at court.[81] At the same time, Wangermann, in the same edited volume as Evans, conceded that the Theresian reforms enabled the court to become "the administrative nerve-centre of the monarchy to an unprecedented degree."[82]

Much of the literature on the early modern Habsburg court was a result of renewed albeit short-lived scholarly interest in the 1970s and 1980s. The *Hofstaat*'s survival as a topic of scholarly inquiry is largely thanks to the work of Jeroen Duindam. His articles, chapters, and monographs have focused on establishing the *Hofstaat* as a critical institution in shaping dynastic authority in the eighteenth-century Habsburg state and separating it from the nineteenth-century, post-Napoleonic court that became increasingly subservient to the authority of legislative bodies.[83] Duindam has rejected some of the major concepts within Habsburg historiography. While acknowledging the decline of the imperial court as the primary mechanism for aristocratic political power, he pushes back on the traditional view that this meant aristocratic influence over symbolic dynastic authority diminished as well: "In the Habsburg lands, nobles retained and strengthened their directly responsibility for government as well as court office – thus, when the two spheres slowly moved apart, from the 1750's onwards, this did not markedly change the position of the families concerned." He also rejected the popular notion that the *Hofstaat* was little more than a maximalist tool of the Crown to control its aristocrats. He calls this scenario "implausible," and suggests a greater

[81] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122; Duindam, "Ceremonial Staffs," 402; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 9-10, 24; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 1; Godsey, *Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 5-6; Duindam *Vienna and Versailles*, 7.
[82] Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 284.
[83] Duindam, "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork," 369-70; Duindam "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 402; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 165-6, 171 181 et al. Much of Duindam's work compares the *Hofstaat* with the contemporaneous court of Versailles.

level of agency on the part of aristocrats at court.[84] The tacit implication of Duindam's conclusions reinforces this study's assertion that court officials were able to play a key role in the legitimization of the symbolic authority of their ruling dynasties through their participation in elaborate rituals like coronations and funerals. This assertion connects with similar comments made by Cannon and Campbell Orr that validate the importance of the relationship between aristocrats and monarchs through court rituals that upheld the symbolic legitimacy of both groups. This pivotal relationship between monarchy and aristocracy was shaped by the ritual culture of the British and Habsburg courts. Consequently, an examination of what constitutes ritual culture becomes essential for understanding the mechanism that reinforced ceremonial traditions that reaffirmed the accepted social order.

Ritual Culture at Court

The multifaceted role of courts in shaping the symbolic dynastic authority of the monarchy was deeply intertwined with early modern ritual culture. Writing in 1960, the French funerary historian Ralph Giesey remarked that "the continuity of the royal power did find striking symbolical expression at the hands of the household officers."[85] These officers not only played an administrative role at court. They were also responsible for the rituals and ceremonies that reinforced the monarchy's symbolic authority. In its simplest form, any ritual can be described as a pre-arranged or choreographed set of behaviours that could encompass multiple meanings for participants.[86] When such symbolic behaviours are repeated and ingrained in social or

[84] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <29, 32>. He further asserts that the regional courts of Austrian aristocrats were frequently seen as a centripetal force that was simply part of the monarch's attempts to consolidate the early modern state. The topic of the court as political history has been neglected by historians, or only examined as an apparatus of the government, the crown, or administrative functions, not as its own institution. To some extent, this study seeks to fill this historiographical gap by repositioning the princely court as an institution within the framework of eighteenth-century political decision-making power (Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 226, 260).
[85] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 69.
[86] Thomas Woodcock and J. M. Robinson, eds., *Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 140, 152, 155, 180.

cultural practices, they evolve beyond mere ceremonies and become part of a group's identity, thus forming a ritual *culture*.

The terminology surrounding rituals needs some clarification as well. British sources seem to prefer the word *ceremonial* rather than *ritual*. The *Oxford Guide to Heraldry* describes the word *ceremonial* as a duty or service that is symbolic rather than performing a necessary function. The primary sources kept in the College of Arms and the National Archives only seem to use the word ceremonial when referring to royal funerary rites.[87] This vocabulary is also present in official parliamentary records that distinguish between a state funeral for the sovereign, and a ceremonial funeral for other members of the royal family.[88] This preference of *ceremonial* over *ritual* seems to be primarily an English phenomenon and does not appear to be present to the same degree in German and Austrian scholarship. Austrian sources primarily use the word *Zeremonial/Zeremonielle* (ceremonial) for its collections on Habsburg ritual culture.[89] In his article on the funeralization of Emperor Leopold I, Katzenbach does briefly make the distinction between "*Rituale und Zeremonien*." He seems to suggest that rituals were conducted for the corpse itself, while ceremonies were part of the accession of the new ruler.[90] There is also a tendency within microhistories or studies of one specific court to use the terms

[87] For examples of this, see "Collections respecting funerals, and royal feasts and ceremonials," MS. Rawl. B. 146, no. 2; Privy Council Records: Mary II, 1694 - order concerning mourning; printed form of funeral ceremonial; portion of printed order for changes in the form of prayers for the Royal family, PC 1/13/50; 1714, Ceremonial of the Interment [...] At y^{e} Funeral of Qu. Anne, WAM 6475*; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment Of his late Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Second, Of Blessed Memory, From the Princes-Chamber to* Westminster Abbey, *On* Tuesday *the 11th* Day of *November*, 1760 (London: William Bowyer, 1760)*, Royal Funerals. Coll: Arms H*; Ian Archer, "City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625," in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1 (Mar., 2008), 158-60; Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: Allen, Unwin, 1983), 48, 60; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 2, 9, 54, 59, 62-3; Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonials Since Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), 1, 5-9, 81, 84, 91-2, 96, 97, et al.

[88] Paul Bowers, "State and ceremonial funerals, SN/PC/0600, Parliament and Constitution Centre, 3.

[89] See bibliography, primary sources, Vienna: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Ältere Zeremonialakten, Hofzeremonialldepartment, and Zeremonialprotokoll (*Protocollum Aulicum in Ceremonialibus*).

[90] Katzenbach, "Die Inszenierung des Todes", 95.

ritual and ceremonial interchangeably. Mark Walker's dissertation (2016) on the funerals of the Stuart monarchy between 1685 and 1714, is one such example.[91]

In the context of the early modern court, ritual culture served multiple functions. It structured the daily life of the monarch and formed the primary language of interaction with their aristocrats in an institutionalized setting. Ritual culture was a tool for the aristocracy as well, providing a way for individuals to seek personal advancement, promote their agendas in state business, or express religious beliefs. These choreographed activities communicated the rank hierarchy of those involved, particularly among the aristocrats that dominated the senior positions and controlled various facets of royal governance. Since at least the Renaissance, these kinds of these choreographed or stage-managed behaviours were ultimately for the purpose of constructing a temporal representation of the idealized social order in places like France and the Italian states; regions that strongly influenced culture and societal values throughout the rest of Europe.[92]

The noted early modernist Edward Muir describes the early modern period as the most significant turning point in the development of European ritual culture. He characterizes the era as one in which rituals became widely recognized communal activities that also had an emotional component to them. These choreographed behaviours activate feelings in those involved and imbue the event with meaning through participation. According to Muir, ruling classes have been eager to appropriate rituals for their own use because those who controlled the ritual—like the aristocrats at court who planned royal funerals—could shape and direct the

[91] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 12-24.

[92] Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 29. These kinds of "cross-court exchange", as Griffey calls them, was common for centuries and went far beyond funerary traditions. Courts adopted various legitimizing rituals to place their own regimes on par with other major European powers. One prominent example is the use of anointing oil during the coronation, which was first practiced by the medieval Holy Roman emperors as a way of transforming them into God's ordained vessels. The use of anointing oil was so significant that the English court adopted the practice as well. Even the Scottish court petitioned the pope for permission to use oil in their coronations but were denied on the basis of being considered a lesser monarchy that was not the equal of the imperial, English, or French rulers (Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 309).

popular meaning that their subjects attach to large-scale urban events.[93] Historians like Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water and Paolo Cozzo have taken this a step further and describe monarchical control of ritual culture as a way of perpetuating the popular belief in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the ruler was imbued with divinity, with court rituals intentionally being designed to mimic liturgical rites. This form of monarchical power and authority is referred to as *Repraesentatio maiestatis*.[94] This was showcased through a ritualized presentation that often included three key features. First, there was an apotheosis or veneration of the monarch in some way that, by the eighteenth century, bordered on a cult around the person of the ruler. Second, the rite would often include some kind of declaration or act that symbolically renewed the monarchy's social contract with its subjects. Lastly, there needed to be some kind of display or visualization of the status hierarchy of the courtiers and officials who were participating. This was a fixed hierarchy, and the behaviour of each member was strictly regulated by ritual culture, giving those at the top control over behaviour at court.[95] "Ceremony structured court life through rank," Duindam writes, "and thus not only made rank visible, but also reassured those enjoying high rank of access to the ruler." Duindam describes significant court rituals like coronations, funerals, or religious festivals as "great ceremonies of dynasty and commonwealth" that were inherently public spectacles in nature, occupying at least some physical space outside palaces, chapels, or private residences.[96] These rituals also created distance between the ruler and their subjects, adding to the perception of the monarch occupying a place above other mortals.[97]

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[93] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-5, 7-8, 57, 64, 68-9, 231, 234-7, 239, 251, 257.
[94] Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod: Zeremonialstrukturen des Wiener Hofes bei Tod und Begräbnis zwischen 1640 und 1740* (Vienna: Herder, 1989), 13; Paolo Cozzo, "Religious rituals and the liturgical calendar," in *Early Modern Court Culture*, Erin Griffey, ed. (London: Routledge: 2022), 173.
[95] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 13.
[96] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 178.
[97] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 13-4.

Stephanie Schrader describes a phenomenon that occurs during these royal ceremonials that she terms "ritualization," which occurs when a person actively appropriates the ritual significance of an event for their own legitimization.[98] The death of one ruler, the succession of the next and subsequent coronation, or the birth of an heir all renew the social contract via this ritualization. They renew, reaffirm, and sometimes redefine "the ties between ruling house and various corporations representing the commonwealth."[99] In the eighteenth-century Habsburg state, the imperial court used ritual culture to communicate their conception of the idealized state; one in which the peoples of central Europe, the aristocracy, and the Church were united under the pious rulership of the Habsburgs.[100] After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, Britain was, by all accounts, a constitutional monarchy with political power vested in Parliament.[101] The sovereign remained head of state, but their *Repraesentatio maiestatis* became largely symbolic by the end of the seventeenth century, as did the court's ritual culture when it came to royal authority.

Although public-facing ceremonials focused on communicating symbolic authority were a significant function of ritual culture, it is important to remember that these events were primarily structured around the daily life of the monarch. They also served as a critical mechanism for interaction among court officials. Aristocrats at court, for example, competed with one another to be present at the king's *levée* in the morning and his *coucher* in the evening. Although these two events were based on the rank of attendees and was often more about who

[98] Stephanie Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was': Ritual and Power in Charles V's 1558 Funeral Procession," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 49: Hof-, Staats- en Stadsceremonies (1998), 88.
[99] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 182.
[100] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 150-1; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 25, 26, 181, 184; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 192. See also James Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word: Cultural Reform and the Rise of Literate Culture in Eighteenth-Century Austria," in *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 58, no. 1 (Mar., 1986), 97-8.
[101] 1° Gul. & Mar. Session 2, c. II, in *The Statutes of the Realm. Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third. In Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain*, vol. 6: 1819 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall), 42; Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 12; Archer, "City and Court, 166; Maureen Waller, *Sovereign Ladies: Sex, Sacrifice, and Power—the Six Reigning Queens of England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008), 272.

was in favour with the king at the time, both provided ritualized access to the ruler. This access could then be used by court officials to manipulate and exert influence over various royal policies. Court officials were also able to use rituals to influence domestic politics and foreign affairs because the monarch needed to meet with ambassadors and hold diplomatic receptions. At the same time, officials could use rituals to promote loyalty to the Crown and the state church through civic events like processions and feast days that were recognized as holidays by the Catholic and Anglican churches.[102] These kinds of public rituals could strengthen the relationship between the monarchy and its subjects during periods of national crisis. A British example of this use of ritual occurred in November 1702 when Queen Anne and her court attended a public service at St. Paul's Cathedral to give thanks for a victory against France in the War of the Spanish Succession. The pomp and pageantry of the thanksgiving service brought together the entire court, senior aristocrats, clergy, and members of the government in a way that publicly normalized "royal and national ritual" as mechanisms that unified the people around the monarch.[103] The British court was not as isolated from the population of London in the manner that the French monarchy at Versailles was from the people of Paris. As such, British ceremonials provided the framework for court entertainments and religious services that were often accessible to the populace—presuming they were "respectably dressed."[104] Public dining was also a common feature of life at the post-Restoration court, when the monarch would take their meals at Whitehall with a crowd of curious onlookers who were allowed to watch; a ritual that continued into George II's reign in the mid-eighteenth century.[105] Public dining, court festivities and religious observances are all forms of Schrader's

[102] Anna Keay, *The Crown Jewels* (London: Royal Collections Publications, 2011), 57.
[103] Bucholz, "'Nothing but Ceremony'," 294.
[104] Archer, "City and Court Connected," 158.
[105] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 63; Smith, "The Court in England," 29.

ritualization, which reinforced a normative social hierarchy that determined who could access the monarch based on their status through widely recognized ceremonies.[106]

Royal Funerals

The obsequies for a monarch were among the most effective of all court rituals because they were "not merely a simple demonstration of grief, but the presentation and representation of the monarchy" and its people.[107] Royal funerals provided a grand pageant that displayed *Repraesentatio maiestatis*, often engaged the local populations, legitimized the new sovereign and the orderly transfer of royal authority, communicated hierarchies, and drew on longstanding cultural traditions. Like births and coronations, the death of the sovereign could not be planned as part of the regular court calendar, but despite this unpredictability, officials structured monarchical funerals around ritual elements familiar to the populace. If one considers Schrader's ritualization approach mentioned earlier, one can begin to understand how court officials combined choreographed behaviours with material symbols of royal power—crown jewels, chivalric regalia, and religious objects—to promote the belief of symbolic dynastic stability.[108]

Royal funerals were one of the few rituals that brought together the entire court, royal family, aristocracy, government, clergy, and the orders of the state to mourn and commemorate the deceased monarch. The interaction between and participation of these groups provided legitimacy for monarchical authority and meaning for those involved through what social anthropologist Don Handelman calls the model/mirror paradigm. Royal funerals used crosses, masses and church services to demonstrate the piety of the Crown and court. The common people were then expected to emulate this piety being modeled for them by the

[106] Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 7.
[107] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 10.
[108] Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was', 88.

governing class.[109] As mirrors, royal funerals also reflected idealized representations of the state. According to Monod, "monarchy was not just a system of worldly dominance; it was a reflection of God, and an ideal mirror of human identity. It was a link between the sacred and the self."[110] The mirror approach was often seen at funerals in the way that the court presented their monarchs as the most pious and devout rulers of their people, which itself was also supposed to mirror Christ's relationship with His disciples.[111] In this Christological comparison, the senior court officials might well be placed in the role of Jesus's Apostles: His closest friends and confidantes who curated and cultivated His legacy after His death and resurrection.

One of the earliest examples of royal funerals appropriating these different ritual functions was the death of King Louis IX of France in 1270/1, which involved a public display, procession, and burial. Not surprisingly, the French format became the general model used by European monarchs and established a number of fixed elements for later royal funerals: removing and embalming vital organs, a lying-in-state, and a burial procession.[112] The similarities in funerary rituals across various ruling dynasties was the result of a process that Claude Levi-Strauss called "parcelling out," which occurred when individual dynasties appropriated each other's funeral customs and adapted them for their own unique rituals.[113] As such, the English and Habsburg monarchs 'parcelled out' French royal funeral customs,

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[109] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 3. See also Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[110] Monod, *The Power of Kings*, 3. As Monod notes immediately after this quote, religious conceptions of the Renaissance-era monarch as the spiritual mediator between God and their subjects underwent significant changes by the eighteenth century. He argues that although there was a noticeable decrease in beliefs of monarchical sacrality, religious rituals remained the foundation of the relationship between monarchs and their subjects. This decline did not mean religiosity was replaced by secularism, but rather made space for the individualistic morality of a post-Reformation and Enlightenment-era context.

[111] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 5.

[112] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 22-3; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 2-4. (Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was'," 87).

[113] Michael Stausberg, "Ritual Orders and Ritologiques: A Terminological Quest for Some Neglected Fields of Study," in *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, 18 (Jan., 2003), 231.

removing some elements like the elaborate organ burials and added others, such as a unique ritual for entering the burial site, which will be examined in chapter five.[114] An aspect of this "parcelling out" of funerary rites that is present in both the British and Habsburg states is the way in which monarchical obsequies were comprised of numerous overlapping rituals. These ranged from the planning process and organizing state-wide mourning to preparing the body for the lying-in-state and the burial.

Terminology

Since there were so many overlapping rituals involved in preparing for a monarch's funeral, the vocabulary needs some clarification. The phrase *royal funeral* is an umbrella term for the various rites and ceremonies that were used to prepare members ruling European dynasties for burial. There has been a tendency among scholars to describe the numerous rituals between the monarch's death and burial as *the funeral*.[115] In the case of the eighteenth-century Habsburgs, as Hengerer notes, there was a plurality of rituals under the generalized label of *funeral*: "a royal funeral was not a single coherent event or ritual, but a sequence of several events and rites, each with different participants and different forms of participation." He makes the point that these events between death and burial created a kind of observer effect in which one's

[114] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 4, 231. The Habsburgs later even codified these rituals into the *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriacae*, a four-volume compendium published between 1750 and 1760 (Marquard Hergott, *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriaca*, vol. 1: Paris, 1750; vol. 2: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1752/3; vol. 3: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1760; vol. 4: Saint Blasien, 1772 [L. J. Kaliwoda].). The Habsburgs' ancestors, the medieval dukes of Burgundy, used a similar ritualized format of public displaying the corpse and having a procession to the burial site. The Habsburgs appropriated the style and format of the Burgundians' obsequies in order to build their own ritual culture surrounding death, one that connected the eighteenth-century imperial dynasty to one of medieval Europe's wealthiest and most pious elite families

[115] Giesey, *The Royal Funerary Ceremony in Renaissance France*; Olivia Bland, *The Royal Way of Death* (London: Constable, 1986), 13-9, et al; Michael Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," in *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*" (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 422-3, 431; Eckhart Hellmuth, "The Funerals of the Prussian Kings in the Eighteenth Century," in *Monarchy and Religion*, Hengerer ed., 452-3; Hengerer, "The Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors, 372-3; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 5.

experience of the various rituals was dependent on one's level of participation.[116] Range's study on the music of British royal and state funerals acknowledges a similar problem with this funerary taxonomy. Drawing on the work of historian David Cressy, Range notes that terms like "funeral", "burial" and "interment…are now equally used to refer to the whole of the ceremonies."[117]

When discussing Habsburg funerals, this study will at times refer to the entire process as royal funerals when comparisons are being made. When discussing the dynasty's rites in their own context, most notably in chapter five, the term *imperial funeral* is used, since the Habsburgs were the only eighteenth-century monarchs in western Europe to hold the title of emperor. As much as possible, the term *monarchical funeral* is used hereafter to distinguish those rites performed for any member of a royal family. Members of royal families naturally receive *royal* funerals, but certain ritual elements are only used for the monarch. These include the use of the crown jewels or regalia of state, the number of participants, and the kinds of precedents being consulted during the planning stages. In Britain, a further distinction is made for royal funerals to either be state or ceremonial events. State funerals are reserved for the sovereign or, in rare instances, can be granted to "exceptionally distinguished persons" only after being approved by Parliament.[118] Due to these complexities and variations, it is necessary to utilize more precise vocabulary that separates the various funeral *rituals* that precede the funeral *service* and burial. As such, the term *funeralization* will be used to describe the interval

[116] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 372-3. Hengerer does not go into further detail on this point.
[117] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 5.
[118] Bowers, "State and ceremonial funerals," SN/PC/06600, 3. Winston Churchill is the most recent example of one such distinguished person being granted a state funeral. Ceremonial funerals were held for the monarch's consort, heir apparent, senior members of the royal family (particularly those with a prominent military rank like Lord Mountbatten in 1979), or former prime ministers. All funerals for members of the British royal family since the death of George VI and accession of Elizabeth II in 1952 have been ceremonial rather than state funerals, such as those for Diana, Princess of Wales, in 1997, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother in 2002, and Margaret Thatcher in 2013. There is no formal protocol for determining whether an individual outside the royal family—even a divorced member like Diana—should receive a ceremonial funeral, but past precedents suggest the decision was made in consultation between Parliament, the prime minister, and the monarch.

between death and burial, a process that involved planning, post-mortem, lying-in-state and interment. The term funeralization is the most accurate word choice, since it describes the acts of preparing the corpse for the funeral and can encompass any rituals or ceremonies deemed necessary by the court for that process. This study asserts that the eighteenth-century British and Habsburg courts were able to utilize the entire interval between death and burial to demonstrate and project their symbolic relevance to royal authority, not only during the funeral service.

Eighteenth-Century Royal Funerals

As this introduction has already shown, there has been considerable scholarly interest in European political history, particularly on the British aristocracy. However, few have considered how royal funerals serve as a window into the different ceremonial and ritual mechanisms employed by early modern aristocratic courtiers to preserve their privileged status over the symbolic authority of their respective dynasties. Beginning with Ralph Giesey's groundbreaking study *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (1960), most dynastic funerary studies have focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth century French and Spanish monarchies. Some of the most notable of these include Jennifer Woodward's "Funeral Rituals in the French Renaissance" (1995) and *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England* (1997), which, despite the title, offers significant comparative analysis with the French monarchy.[119] When considering works on the Spanish Habsburgs, and early modern death rituals more broadly, one of the most significant is Carlos

[119] For other works on the French monarchs, see Nicolich, "Sunset: The Spectacle of the Royal Funeral and Memorial Services at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV," 46-7; Elizabeth Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Gower: Aldershot, 1991); and Woodward, "Funeral Rituals in the French Renaissance," 385-94. For an interesting comparison with royal funerals (or the equivalent of) in the Dutch Republic, see Geert Janssen, "Political Ambiguity and Confessional Diversity in the Funeral Processions of Stadholder in the Dutch Republic," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 40, no. 2 (Summer, 2009), 283-301.

Eire's *From Madrid to Purgatory* (1995). Although Eire focuses on sixteenth-century Spain, his methodology for understanding how mentalities regarding death were "a barometer of faith and piety" is essential for any examination of how those two elements could be reshaped by later events like the Reformation. Also important for this study is Eire's push back against the post-Reformation Protestant claim that one's preoccupation with eternity was incompatible with concerns about rank and status.[120] As groundbreaking as Eire's book was, it only really addresses the funeralization of Philip II, significant though his death and burial may have been. Sara González Castréjon's article on the funeral music of Philip's successors covers less than eighty years; Schrader's article only addresses Charles V. This tendency towards more narrowly-focused studies reinforces Range's observation, and one of the implicit claims of this dissertation, that more comprehensive dynastic funeral studies on the Habsburgs and their counterparts are necessary for a greater understanding of the significance of burial rituals. Lucinda Becker's *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (2003) is important because it is thematically connected to Eire's. Her methodology uses a combination of close textual readings of funerary documents and some qualitative analysis of printed materials and local customs that shaped death beliefs in early modern England. Her work has been useful for developing an understanding of not only how beliefs surrounding death were constructed in the Tudor-Stuart era, but also how those beliefs were reinforced by the visual and social culture specific to women.

Although the Habsburg and British monarchies are popular topics with historians, the historiography of their respective funeral rituals has only developed sporadically since the 1970s. Scholarly examination of British royal funerals during this period largely began thanks to the late Paul Fritz.[121] The former McMaster University professor was one of the first scholars to examine eighteenth-century British royal funerals in an academic framework that

[120] Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 5, 249-50.
[121] Sadly, Fritz passed away during the completion of this dissertation on January 16, 2024.

went beyond simply providing a description of these events for popular interest. He is particularly well known for his two articles "From 'Public' to 'Private': The Royal Funerals in England, 1500-1830" (1981) and "The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830" (1982). While the latter provides fascinating insights into the relationship between the monarchy and the private mortuary industry, it was the former that made a long-term impact on funerary history. "From 'Public' to 'Private'" demonstrated that early modern British royal funerals experienced a shift from grand, public events, to private, solemn occasions. Fritz's primary goal was to correct the misconception that private funerals meant they were clandestine affairs shut away from the eyes of all but a privileged few. The role of senior officials like the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl Marshal is central to his premise that this transition was part of a much larger shift in early modern royal ritual culture.[122] His examination of how many or few heraldic displays were provided for the ceremony by the College of Arms, Yeomanry, etc., and how many of its members participated in the funeral ceremonials has made his work a cornerstone of royal funerary history. Fritz also argued that the lack of scholarly studies on this topic was a fault of the historiography of royal funerals in general. Historians and biographers alike, he asserted, had missed the point that royal funerals "underwent a profound change" in the two centuries before 1830. These shifts meant that the elements used to communicate the monarch's symbolic authority were much more open to revision and adaptation than previously considered.[123] This premise will be explored in more detail in chapters one and four.

[122] See Paul Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private': The Royal Funerals in England, 1500-1830," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, Joachim Waley, ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 61-79; and "The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830," in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Spring, 1982), 291-316. The formation of a private undertaker profession was part of a larger development of service-oriented careers in the eighteenth century. Private morticians were springing up alongside lawyers, clerks, medical professionals, architects, and artists (Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 291).
[123] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 61-2.

Fritz's premise has since become the accepted narrative of eighteenth-century British royal funerals by subsequent historians. Unfortunately, there is still no detailed scholarly study specifically on how the relationship between court and government officials was a driving force in this shift to private ceremonials. Much like Fritz, Michael Schaich argues that the shift from public to private was not the significant break with earlier funeral ceremonials as one may think. Instead, he argues that even though the post-Reformation monarchy may have eschewed any kind of divine right or absolutist authority, its ritual culture did not become devoid of religious meaning. Schaich instead argues that by shifting from public to private (heraldic) funerals, the later Stuarts and early Hanoverians sought to embrace and reflect the more subdued form of Pietist Protestantism that became popular in England by the mid-eighteenth century. [124] Matthias Range clearly considers the public-to-private shift as a major feature of early modern royal funerals, since he devotes an entire section of his introduction to addressing the ceremonial differences between the two. He provides an overview of English funerary and mortuary studies to demonstrate that the shift indeed took place but does provide his own interpretation as to why it happened in the first place. Instead, he argues that the transition "was probably no forgone conclusion" and that, as Schaich also notes, ceremonial changes could have easily pushed eighteenth-century royal funerary culture in a different direction.[125]

Some historians, like Olivia Bland and Matthias Range, have produced monographs on the long-term evolution of British royal funerals. Bland's *Royal Way of Death* (1986) uses a qualitative approach for looking at public participation and the material culture of royal mourning but falls short of offering any new insights. Range's *British Royal and State Funerals* (2016), which is more explicitly argumentative in its approach than Bland, conducts a close reading of printed materials to understand the function of music in all British royal and

[124] Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," 422-3, 440-50
[125] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 9-15; Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429

state funerals since Elizabeth I in 1603. Any study on British royal funerals must include some discussion of these two works, both of which begin with Elizabeth I's death in 1603. Bland uses a qualitative approach for looking at public participation and the material culture of royal mourning, while Range offers a close reading of printed materials to understand the efficacious function of music in royal funerals. Although both studies are impressively researched and well written, the authors' broad analyses make it difficult to demonstrate how royal funerals were shaped by contemporary events unique to each period. Again, these are impressive studies, but highlight the importance of having an analysis focused on a more specific timeframe rather than half a millennium of funeral rituals of five ruling dynasties.

This gap in the literature is the result of two interrelated problems. First, studies on the Stuart queens Mary II (r. 1689-94) and Anne (r. 1702-14) are heavily gendered and minimize the roles they played in contemporary British culture.[126] Bucholz, who has largely been responsible for rehabilitating Queen Anne's image, asserts that she is perhaps the most obscure of Britain's queens regnant.[127] This obscurity has largely been due to the fact that scholarly opinions of Anne have been shaped by whether individual authors and historians were sympathetic or hostile to the last Stuart monarch.[128] Even more than her sister Mary, Anne has

[126] Elaine Anderson Phillips, "Creating Queen Mary: Textual Representations of Queen Mary II," in *Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Spring, 2013), 61.

[127] Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen'," 242. Perhaps the most gendered—and unkind—assessments of Anne can be seen in individual historians' "portrayal of the Queen's physical size and shape—from pleasantly round to grossly obese—[and] is usually a fair index of that author's view of her character and abilities" (109). Bucholz offers what remains the most balanced examination of Queen Anne. His chapter "Queen Anne: victim of her virtues?" in Orr's *Queenship in Britain* provides a detailed and clear examination of the equivocal way in which the queen has been treated by historians and biographers. She did not fit into the archetypes of "cruel religious bigot" or "glamorous tragic heroine" that have since been ascribed to her predecessors and successors, yet more negative attention has been paid to her weight, skin complexion, and general health than any other British queen regnant. (Robert Bucholz, "Queen Anne: victim of her virtues?" in *Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed. [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002], 94-5, 96, 98, 102, 109; Mauren Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters: The Stuart Princesses Who Stole Their Father's Crown* [New York. St. Martin's Press, 2002], 372).

[128] John Oldmixon's eighteenth-century account, while cited by recent historians like Schaich and Range, is entirely sympathetic to Anne to a degree that should be taken with some skepticism. "It is an invidious, dangerous, and difficult Task to enlarge on the character of this Princess," he wrote, "who had doubtless many

been underestimated and treated with undue harshness, yet the last Stuart monarch was ultimately the most successful of her entire dynasty. On a symbolic level, she successfully led the country through the long years of the War of the Spanish Succession, secured a smooth transition to another Protestant dynasty descended from James I after her death, and, not least significantly, presided over the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain, ending the personal union of the English and Scottish crowns by bringing them into a single institution that has endured for the last three hundred years. According to Bucholz and other historians who have wanted to rehabilitate Anne's image, what made her the most successful Stuart monarch was her shrewd ability of knowing when to delegate power and to whom. He summarizes by stating that no "previous Stuart was so adept at delegating royal authority to men of ability… Anne was, arguably, the first fully successful constitutional monarch in British history, maintaining her prerogative…while setting a pattern for the delegation and constitutional restraint that did much to render the postrevolutionary regime secure."[129]

This trend of struggling to reconcile interpretations and assessments of eighteenth-century monarchs, including their funerals, continued with the Hanoverians. King George II (r. 1727-60) was one of the longest reigning British sovereigns until the nineteenth century, and the first Hanoverian monarch to die and be funeralized in Britain. Yet his reign has been "significantly under-examined" by scholars, creating a dead zone in mid-eighteenth-century

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excellent Virtues mix'd with very few *Foibles*, and those owing to her Easiness of Temper, which gave her too much up to those into whose Hands she put herself" (John Oldmixon, *The History of England, During the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I* [London: Printed for Thomas Cox, Richard Ford, and Richard Hett, 1735], 561). Somewhat surprisingly, Oldmixon devotes considerable space to discussing Mary II's death and funeral, Anne's death, and all the politics and events of the Hanoverian Succession yet omits her funeral entirely.

[129] Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen'," 243, 262; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 328. Anne was particularly successful by delegating much of the war effort to John Churchill, the Earl (and later Duke) of Marlborough, the husband of her favourite Sarah Churchill. Ironically, in attempting to rehabilitate Anne's image, Bucholz has somewhat run afoul of gender scholars who have wanted to portray her as an independent queen with her own agency and abilities. At the same time, the queen appointed "one of [England's] greatest financial minds" Sidney Godolphin as Lord of the Treasury. Completing this trifecta of astute governing delegation, Anne gave over management of Parliament to Robert Harley (Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen'," 246).

British historiography. There has, however, been some renewed interest in the second Hanoverian king in the twenty-first century.[130] Andrew Thompson describes the enormity of Whig historiography on shaping George II's posthumous image. In post-1760 Britain, the Whig establishment sought to construct a narrative of liberal parliamentary growth and progress where the monarch understood their place as secondary to the sovereignty of British constitutional traditions. For George III to be placed comfortably within this subordinate narrative by later scholars and parliamentarians, it was necessary to minimize George II's own reign and legacy. It would be a stretch to describe these Whig historiographical efforts as attempts to delegitimize George II entirely. Instead, the king's reputation had to be muddied somewhat for the purpose of showing that the Hanoverian monarchs were ultimately "dominated" by the Whig coteries that surrounded them.[131]

This traditional interpretation of the eighteenth-century monarchy as an irrelevant institution in the formation of the modern British state creates a second problem in the scholarship. Since the eighteenth-century British monarchs have been largely neglected by historians, their funerals have been deemed to be less worthy of scholarly inquiry than those of the Tudors or the later Hanoverians of the nineteenth century. The funerals of the post-Restoration Stuarts and the early Hanoverians have been largely overlooked by historians. This may have emerged from a belief that they had become "farcical events" that desperately tried to hold on to earlier ceremonials during a period of declining royal and courtly significance.[132] The following comments made by Horace Walpole have been used multiple times to show the level of irreverence that was displayed at King George II's funeral in 1760:

> When we came to the chapel of Henry the seventh, all solemnity and decorum ceased; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of

[130] Orr, "Introduction," 6; Thompson, *George II*, 1.
[131] Thompson, *George II*, 3-4.
[132] Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," 421-2.

> the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the bishop read sadly and blundered in the prayers; .... This grave scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque duke of Newcastle [the Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Lords]. He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back into a stall, the archbishop hovering over him with a smelling-bottle; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his [eye]glass, to spy who was or who was not there, spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold; and the duke of Cumberland [the king's son]...felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the duke of Newcastle standing upon his train, to avoid the chill of the marble. It was very theatric to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay, attended by mourners with lights.[133]

Walpole's displeasure with the ceremonial is evident in his comments on the lack of decorum and his accusation that the bishop blundered the prayers. His description of Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, comes across as a mixture of farce and embarrassment as the head of the government alternated between his fits of hyperbole and his almost nosey staring at other mourners. This quote, which has been pruned down from its much longer original text, conveys a perception by Walpole that this was an undignified funeral for a sovereign, and was especially indecorous given that one of the biggest sources of poor behaviour was the Prime Minister himself. Schaich similarly asserts this quote reveals that contemporary mourners did not take the king's funeral seriously, which is why royal funerals in that century have rarely been examined by present-day historians.[134] Range, on the other

[133] Letter of Horace Walpole to George Montagu, Esq., in Horace Walpole, *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole with George Montagu, Esq*, vol. 1: 1739-1759 (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), 49. For examples of other historians' use of this quote, see Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 102-3; Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," 421; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 182. Bland attributes this description as evidence that George II was sincerely mourned by few at his funeral, having become difficult and temperamental in his final years; a point that the king's recent biographer, Andrew Thompson, confirms (Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 102-3; Thompson, *George II*, 288-92).

[134] Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," 422, 434, 444-6, 450.

hand, does not provide any commentary or analysis of its implications on the funeral service aside from saying that "it appears to have been rather disorganized."[135]

This lack of consensus among historians as to the implications of the disorder and irreverence at George's funeral serves as a sign that the literature on eighteenth-century British royal funerals is somewhat piecemeal and still evolving. There is certainly some evidence to support Schaich's interpretation, but he and other scholars like Range and Fritz have focused on demonstrating how this change in attitudes led to ceremonial changes and declining respect for monarchical funerals. None of the authors mentioned here actually address how or why this shift in mentalities occurred. Such an effort would require a detailed examination of the aristocracy's relationship with the Crown from one reign to the next, as well as a close analysis of aristocrats' own perceptions of their role within the social hierarchy; an approach that will build on the works of previously mentioned scholars like Cannon and Clark. This project does attempt to address those shifts, but only insofar as they relate to the declining ceremonial role of the aristocracy in royal funerals. A more detailed study focusing on this monarch-aristocratic relationship via ritual culture is needed to fully understand the implications of the behaviours and attitudes witnessed in 1760.

In providing a comparative analysis of British and Habsburg funerals, this must consider both the German and the English literature on the topic, and the former does represent a significant body of scholarship. Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water is critical to any analysis of this topic. Her two most relevant works are *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien*, which is a kind of registry of the Capuchin Crypt and the Habsburg tombs therein; and *Der schöne Tod*, which a kind guidebook cum detailed analysis of the mourning and funerary rites of the Austrian court from 1640 to 1740. Studies have also been written on the funerals of individual Habsburg monarchs prior to the eighteenth century, with some of the most notable ones being Karl Vocelka's article on the funeral of Emperor

[135] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 182.

Maximilian II, Peter Schmid's chapter on the funeral of Maximilian I in 1519, and Václav Bůžek's article on the comparative funeral rites of the sixteenth-century Habsburg emperors and the archdukes.[136] Bůžek's article is perhaps the most innovative in its approach by examining the evolution of Habsburg funerary rituals as events of public participation and interaction through comparing the funerals of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1564 to his sons: the emperor Maximilian II in 1576, and the archdukes Charles II of Inner Austria (Styria) in 1590 and Ferdinand II of Further Austria (Tyrol) in 1595. Aside from biographies of individual monarchs that include some funeral details as part of the narrative, historians have either focused on the funerals of specific emperors prior to the seventeenth century, like Frederick III, Maximilian I or Charles V; or they have consigned the topic of Habsburg funerals to a section in a broader study of the dynasty as a whole. For example, Kneidinger and Dittinger's chapter "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof" in the weighty study *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokolle* provides individual accounts of Austrian monarchical funerals between 1657 and 1792.[137] Frank Huss has similarly written an extremely informative and helpful study on the cultural history of the eighteenth-century Austrian court yet devotes less than three pages to their funeral rituals.[138] This is an extremely helpful guide that provides an analysis of the evolution of Habsburg funeralizations, yet it omits the funerals of Leopold I (1705) and Joseph I (1711), without much explanation as to why. The funeralization of Leopold I was one of the largest of the century and set many of the ritual precedents for his successors. His

[136] See Karl Vocelka, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten für Kaiser Maximilian II. 1576/77," in *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, vol. 84 (1976), 105-36; Peter Schmid, "Sterben—Tod—Leichenbegängnis Kaiser Maximilians I," in *Der Tod des Mächtigen: Kult und Kultur des Sterbens spätmittelalterlicher Herrscher*, Lothar Kolmer, ed. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), 185-215; Waltraud Stangl, "Tod und Trauer bei den österreichischen Habsburgern 1740-1780 dargestellet im Spiegel des Hofzeremoniells (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Vienna: 2001); and Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 260-73.
[137] Michaela Kneidinger and Philipp Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof, 1652 bis 1800," in *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokelle (1652-1800)*, Irmgard Pangerl, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds. (Innsbruck, StudienVerlag, 2007), 531-55.
[138] Frank Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof: Eine Kulturgeschichte von Leopold I. bis Leopold II* [Gernsbach: Casimir Katz Verlag, 2008], 240-2.

exclusion makes it difficult to develop a comprehensive framework for understanding eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals since.

Although there is voluminous scholarship in German on the Austrian Habsburgs, the lack of English studies on their funerals presents a significant gap in the literature. To date, Mark Hengerer's chapter "The Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors in the Eighteenth Century" (2007) is currently the only English study on this topic. Hengerer conducts a close reading of court records for the lyings-in-state, processions, and mourning exequies of eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchs to understand how the imperial court's visual and ritual culture changed over the course of the century due to the Enlightenment. When considering why Austrian monarchical funerals have received so little scholarly attention, one must consider the state of Habsburg historiography and how historians have assessed its monarchs. Since the mid-nineteenth century, English historians have been highly critical of the Habsburgs, viewing the dynasty as a mistake of Austrian history; an opinion that was only made firmer during and after World War I.[139] Since the 1990s, there has been an interest in the origins, consolidation of power, and collapse of Habsburg authority. This interest had led to Habsburg historiography being populated by studies of broad dynastic history covering the dynasty's origins through to the collapse of their monarchy in 1918. These studies provide helpful overviews of the dynasty's long-term history and often include short sections on the major elements of each monarch's reign, but these works do not provide a detailed analysis of the different rulers beyond how they fit into the grand tapestry of Habsburg history.[140]

[139] Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 1; Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*, 9; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 20.
[140] For examples of these works, see Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs* (1996); Curtis, *The Habsburgs* (2013); Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy* (2014); and Mitchell, *Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire* (2018). For studies on more specific elements of early modern Habsburg history, see Ivan Parvev *Habsburgs and Ottomans Between Vienna and Belgrade (1683-1739)* (New York: East European Monographs, 1995); MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria* (2003); Anne Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, eds., *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities* (London: Routledge, 2016); and William Godsey. Cruz and Galli Stampino's edited collection takes a genuine transnational and transcultural approach to the role of women in both the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and their unique gendered experiences.

Despite a large body of literature on the early modern Habsburgs and their empire, the Austrian monarchs of the eighteenth century have, like their funeralizations, received scant attention from scholars. One of the main reasons for this oversight seems to be because historians have divided the eighteenth-century monarchs into two categories, using Maria Theresa's accession in 1740 as the demarcation. Historians have paid little attention to the early emperors like Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI, compared to the more popular works on Maria Theresa and her successors.[141] Hengerer admits, "We still lack a comparative and detailed study of Habsburg funerals throughout the entire eighteenth century."[142] He states that eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals underwent "a decline in the relevance of religious matters, despite the fact that funerals were a highly traditional procedure" and the continued use of older, more traditional forms of Christian rituals.[143] Since Hengerer's work is only one chapter in a larger collection, its relatively short length does not give him the space to problematize the changes of religious and ritual culture at the eighteenth-century Austrian court, a reality that has led to a bit of an oversimplification in his conclusions. With respect to Hengerer, whose own work has been instrumental in this project, this study asserts that there was not so much a "decline in the relevance of religious matters" at Habsburg funerals over the

[141] Maria Theresa's successors have largely been evaluated under different historical paradigms. Joseph II is perhaps the most thoroughly examined Habsburg monarch of the eighteenth century, second only to Maria Theresa. But the impressive studies on Joseph from Derek Beales and T. C. W. Blanning, or discussions on the emperor by Ingrao, Judson, or Okey focusing on placing the emperor within the Enlightenment context and his bureaucratic, administrative, religious, and military reforms as extensions of that ideology and therefore should be considered a different paradigm of historiography than that of his mother and predecessors. Joseph's brother and heir, Leopold II, has been almost entirely ignored by English historians aside from sections in dynastic history, although there is a larger body of literature on him in German. Leopold's son and successor, Francis II (later Francis I of Austria) is a major figure in early nineteenth-century Austrian and Napoleonic studies.

[142] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367. Some attention has also been paid to the funeral of Empress Zita, wife of the last Austrian emperor Charles I, in 1989. Aside from biographies of Zita, Garlick's *The Final Curtain: State Funerals and the Theatre of Power* (1999) devotes most of its epilogue to an examination of the empress's funeral and draws comparisons with the public response at the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales, in 1997, albeit on a much larger scale (Garlick 221-31). The most recent publication to examine Zita's funeral is the author's own article, Justin Vovk "The Last Journey: Ritual and Commemoration at Empress Zita's Funeral," in *European Royal History Journal*, iss. CXXI, vol. 22.1 (Spring, 2019), 1-9.

[143] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors, 392-3.

course of the century but rather a shift in how some of those matters (i.e., liturgical and sacred rituals) were incorporated into the funeralization process, which will be discussed in chapters two, three and five.

Sources and Methodology

This study seeks to build on the works of the numerous scholars discussed throughout this introduction by offering the first comparative analysis of British and Austrian funerary rites. This study aims to demonstrate how various shifts in ritual culture, religiosity, and conceptions of rank and hierarchy enabled the aristocrats of the eighteenth-century British and Habsburg courts to perpetuate the symbolic authority of their respective monarchies; authority that, in turn, legitimized the hereditary system of aristocratic privileges, wealth, and status.[144] The subsequent chapters will also reveal how these court officials used funerary rituals as one way of maintaining their historic prerogatives over royal ceremonials, likely in reaction to the declining political currency of courtly institutions.

Such an examination requires a careful approach, as comparative history is a tricky methodology to employ, potentially leading to one side of the analysis being privileged over the other, or only producing insights into one component of the topic being considered. It also raises challenges in determining what topics to compare, how to go about doing so, and finding meaningful connections between seemingly disparate source bases. Many of the secondary sources on British and Habsburg funerals are either broad narrative histories (like Bland's *The Royal Way of Death*) or short articles; namely, Fritz's "From 'Public' to 'Private'," Hengerer's "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors in the Eighteenth Century," or Schaich's "Funerals of the British Monarchy." The one exception has been Range's *British Royal and State Funerals*. While Range offers a much-needed comprehensive study, its focus on music history has meant that the funerary ceremonials are the framing device and not the main point of analysis. The

[144] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 6.

other major dilemma posed by the available literature has been the lack of comparative analysis. Raymond Grew describes the process of comparative history as "the task of integrating concepts and methods from different disciplines by providing common categories of analysis and a common focus."[145] Comparative analysis is useful for shedding light on long-term changes in multiple states and across multiple regimes. Historians have provided valuable insights into the funerary and ritual culture of individual courts, but until now, no study has examined these elements in a broader European context. By taking such a comparative approach, this dissertation's goal is to show that the ritual culture of royal funerals was malleable enough to adapt to the changing relationships between aristocratic officials and elites at the British and Habsburg courts. The comparative method is also particularly useful when examining royal courts because of the cross-pollination that happened between these institutions, such as the French funerary rites being adopted by the English and Habsburg courts after the late thirteenth century.[146]

The common focus between the seemingly disparate Habsburg and British monarchies has been the archival records that document how the two courts controlled their respective funerary rituals. To understand how these rites enabled court officials to perpetuate symbolic dynasty stability, it has been necessary to consult sources for the entire funeralization process, not simply the funeral service and burial. These sources include records from the committees and councils that were formed to plan the funeral, the mourning regulations that were distributed throughout their respective empires, medical records for the embalming of the corpse, and descriptions of the processions, liturgies, and participants in the funeral service.[147]

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[145] Raymond Grew, "The Case for Comparing Histories," in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 85, no. 4 (Oct., 1980), 763-5, 778.

[146] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 22-3; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 2-4; Erin Griffey, ed., *Early Modern Court Culture* (London: Routledge, 2022), 9-10.

[147] The term *empire* is applicable to early eighteenth-century Britain, as evidenced by the Privy Council instructions for mourning Queen Anne and proclaiming George I as king that were sent to colonies in North America and the Caribbean. The territories specifically mentioned are Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania,

The British sources rely heavily on the ceremonial records kept at the College of Arms in London. These records include funeral plans, descriptions of mourning attire, and detailed schematics of processions to Westminster Abbey for the funeral, such as the photograph of the plans for King George II's funeral (Appendix: Fig. 1). The National Archives in Kew was also invaluable for its access to the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office, the Privy Council, and the State Papers. These records focused less on the ceremonial elements and more on the materiality of royal funerals: orders for mourning fabrics for the court, manufacturing replicas of the crown jewels for display, decorative preparations for lyings-in-state, and balance sheets for money spent by the court on monarchical funerals.

Similar sources were consulted for Habsburg funerals. The main resource on all eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals was the *Protocollum Aulicum in Ceremonialibus*, the registry for all ritual and ceremonial events at court since 1652.[148] They are only available digitally through the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Much to the chagrin of historians, recordkeeping at the *Hofstaat* was considerably less consistent than its English counterpart. Contemporary court culture in Vienna was often understood as having a significant "unrecorded and informal component," which meant that many events at court were not consistently documented. The *Hofstaat* had a significant gap in its records prior to 1715, when it first began printing an annual court calendar.[149] These gaps were compounded by the unstandardized German dialect spoken at the Austrian court, which included elements of medieval French, Latin, and Italian, seemingly used in writing at the whim of the original author. The use of the printing press was used for recording court history during Maria

Virginia, Carolina, Barbados, Nevis and the Leeward Islands (later St. Kitts and Nevis), Bermuda, and Hudson's Bay (PC 2/85, 44-5).

[148] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241. See also Karin Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell. Das "Etiquette-Normale" für den Wiener Hof von circa 1812. Edition und Kommentar* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019), 35-6.

[149] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," 7; Duindam, "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork," 369; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 47.

Theresa's reign made transcribing and translating sources post-1740 considerably easier, albeit these records were being printed in the flourished fraktur script. Historians working on the Habsburg court owe a considerable debt to the nineteenth-century Austrian court chaplain Cölestin Wolfsgruber, who transcribed many sections of the *Protocollum Aulicum in Ceremonialibus* in his collection *Die Kaisergruft bei den Kapuzinern in Wien* (1887). Although Wolfsgruber omitted considerable sections of the original text in his final version, it has nonetheless provided an invaluable cypher to begin decoding the writing and dialect of the eighteenth-century Austrian court.

Visual and material records have also been a necessary and rich repository for scholarly investigation, since mourning and funerals are inherently sensory, visceral experiences. To that end, over two dozen engravings, prints, photographs, and schematics have been included in a separate appendix. These are also hyperlinked within the document to help facilitate going back and forth between the chapter and the relevant image. Images for the Habsburgs have been provided by the Albertina Museum, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Permission to use imagery for the British royal funerals was graciously granted by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, the Victoria and Albert Museum, Historic Royal Palaces, and the Royal Collection Trust. A detailed list of the illustrations, charts, and diagrams has been included as part of the front matter, with the required titles where necessary and the current copyright holders. As unusual or seemingly tangential some of the image titles may be, they are listed according to the required information provided by the issuing institution.

The use of visual imagery serves a multifaceted purpose within this dissertation. For the most part, they provide a visual reference for readers who may not personally be familiar with the crypts below Westminster Abbey, or the mourning coaches used by the Habsburg court. In other instances, the analysis will interact more directly with the accompanying visuals, such as when discussing the dressing and positioning of corpses during lyings-in-state. In some cases,

contemporary prints are unavailable, resulting in photographs being sourced from archival repositories or taken by the author to provide at least some visual frame of reference for the reader. A notable example is the recurrent use of replicas of the crown jewels and regalia constructed for both British and Habsburg funerals. This ephemeral regalia was based on the real objects but often hastily made by craftsmen and discarded after the funeral; the materials being claimed by members of the household as a perk for service. Given the absence of surviving eighteenth-century prints documenting these imitation crown jewels, photos of the original objects on which they were based have been used as a visual reference point.

For all their complexities, nuances, and even gaps, these diverse archival collections have provided the foundation for this comparative analysis of three British and three Habsburg monarchical funerals between 1694 and 1780. The British sections will analyze the funerals of Queen Mary II (1694), Queen Anne (1714), and King George II (1760). Their funerals will be compared and contrasted with those of the Habsburg emperors Leopold I (1705), Charles VI (1740), and Empress Maria Theresa (1780). In selecting the three British monarchs for this project, there is something of a truncated version of the long eighteenth century model at work here. One must recognize the political, religious, and cultural factors that shaped royal and aristocratic institutions in the late seventeenth century until just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. The decision to focus on funerals within that period was made for several reasons. First, the Glorious Revolution of 1688/9 placed Mary on the throne, jointly, with her Dutch husband William III. When Mary died unexpectedly in 1694, she was the first monarch to be funeralized in the new, post-revolution, constitutional parliamentary climate. Her funeral in March 1695 was one of the largest in British history and, in many ways that will be discussed in the following chapters, an attempt by the governing elites to legitimize the rights of Parliament and the aristocracy. As such, Mary's funeral was thoroughly documented by the court and provides a strong basis for comparison with the funeralizations of Queen Anne and King George. The selection of Anne was a natural choice, as the last Stuart monarch and queen

regnant of early modern Britain. Nearly fifty years later, George II was both the first Hanoverian king and the last British monarch to die in the eighteenth century. George III's funeral in 1820 was part of a new paradigm of royal culture and values defined by the Regency Era.[150]

There are, however, three eighteenth-century British monarchs who have not been included as major points of reference in this thesis: James II, William III, and George I. James was naturally omitted because he died in exile in France in 1701 and was funeralized according to Catholic rites. James's son-in-law and Mary's husband and co-monarch, William III, died in 1702 and left instructions that he was to be "interr'd by his Queen without any pomp."[151] His funeral was so private that it was considered virtually obscure.[152] It was held at 11:00 p.m., there was minimal pageantry, and the Officers of Arms who handled the heraldic elements of royal funerals were barely involved. Few people felt any real grief over William's death, since he was still viewed by his English subjects as a "foreigner," but the Dutch people "were prostrated with grief."[153] There is minimal documentation on his funeral, making it difficult to use it as a point of meaningful comparison.[154] Additionally, there was already a transition underway within British funerary culture away from grand, public ceremonials to more private, solemn occasions by the time of William's death. This transition renders William's funeral not particularly helpful in tracking the broader ceremonial changes over the course of the century, let alone the court's involvement in such a private event. King George I, who succeeded Queen

[150] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 224-8. For a case study of regency culture and mourning following the death of Princess Charlotte of Wales in 1817, three years prior to George III's death in 1820, see Stephen Behrendt, *Royal Mourning and Regency Culture: Elegies and Memorials of Princess Charlotte* (London: Macmillan, 1997).
[151] Council Register 1, Aug 1714-25 Feb. 1716/7, PC 2/85, 31; Notes on the Funerals of Queen Mary, King William, Queen Anne and Queen Caroline, WAM 61777; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 71.
[152] Clifford Brewer, *The Death of Kings: A Medical History of the Kings and Queens of England* (London: Abson, 2000), 201; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 112-3; Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 102-3.
[153] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 84
[154] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 46.

Anne in 1714, has also largely been omitted from this study for the simple reason that he died and was buried in his native Hanover in 1727. His funeralization was managed by his German court officials and did not involve the Royal Household.[155]

When it came to selecting the Habsburg cases that would be included, there were several considerations. Leopold I ruled for nearly fifty years when he died in 1705, meaning there had not been an emperor's funeral since his father's in 1657. As chapter one will demonstrate, Habsburg funerary protocols as standardized rituals were still in their infancy in the 1650s, and Leopold's own funeralization became the model for subsequent monarchs. The decision was also made to make Maria Theresa's funeral in 1780 the last one included in this study, but she was by no means the last Habsburg monarch of the century. She was succeeded by her two eldest sons, the emperors Joseph II in 1780 (died 1790) and Leopold II in 1790 (died 1792). Joseph II's reign marked a significant pivot in religious and social culture within the Habsburg state, one that was shaped by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. This led to changes in Habsburg ritual culture that needs to be studied in the context of that revolutionary period. The field would benefit from a monograph-length English study that specifically focuses on the entire eighteenth century from Leopold I to Leopold II, to explore in greater detail how these later changes reshaped Habsburg ritual culture. Unfortunately, such an analysis is beyond the scope of the current project. As a final point on the cases that have been chosen, Joseph I (d. 1711) and Francis I (d. 1765) have also been limited to secondary reference points. Joseph's funeral was only six years after his father's. It was, by and large, a reproduction of Leopold's with few ritual changes made. Francis I was Maria Theresa's husband, and therefore not the Habsburg sovereign, though he was Holy Roman emperor, and his funeral was planned using some elements for previous monarchs.[156] Even though

[155] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68-9; Thompson, *George II*, 68; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19.
[156] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 376r.-380r., 385v.-386r., 390v., 392r., 395r./v., 397r.-398r./v., 401r.-403v.; Krankheit, Tod, Begräbnis und Hoftrauer für Maria Theresia (1780.11.26-1780.12.16), AT-

Joseph and Francis are not being treated as their own case studies, elements from their funeralizations are still utilized in the following chapters to help construct a more complete picture of eighteenth-century Habsburg funerary rites.

There are five chapters in total that will each address a different facet of the funeralization process by drawing on all six cases for comparison. Chapter one explores the aristocrats, courtiers and members of the monarchical household who were tasked with organizing and interpreting funerary rituals. It argues that these officials were able to ensure their continued role as guarantors of symbolic dynastic stability through their dual roles as the individuals at the heart of the court and the government. The purpose of chapter one is to demonstrate that these groups were pivotal in exercising control over the funeralization process and maintaining public acceptance of dynastic stability. The chapter draws on the ceremonial precedents that officials used to plan their funerals, analyzing how the British and Habsburg courts took different approaches but achieved the same results. The way that Habsburg officials sought to maintain the perception of hereditary dynastic authority through continuity is of particular importance to this examination. The aristocrats within the British Privy Council and Parliament followed a similar strategy, but also adapted and modified funeral precedents to accommodate their evolving political landscape. In both cases, this left the court officials with greater authority over royal ceremonial and rituals than they had ever previously possessed. Since the primary mode of contact at court and with the monarchy's subjects was ritual culture, officials now had a monopoly on how the Crown interacted with its people.[157]

OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 276r., 280-1; 303r; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 30r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung des geyerlichen Leichenbegängnisses Weiland Ihrer k.k. apostol. Majestät Marien Theresiens, böchstseliger Gedächtniß, so Sonntags den 3. Christenmonats 1780 vollzogen worden*, 422.774-B; Cölestin Wolfsgruber, ed., *Die Kaisergruft bei den Kapuzinern in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1887), 251; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 377-8. The section of the *Wiener Zeitung* that begins with *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...] is on the ninth page of this edition of the newspaper. There are no page numbers, however archivists have penciled in the page range of this account of the empress's death and funeral from 422.722 to 422.755-B. It will be referred to hereafter as *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...] with the corresponding number reference.

[157] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 1-2.

The purpose of chapter two is to demonstrate that officials modified mourning regulations to reinforce their position as custodians of an ordered, structured society based around aristocratic rank and privilege that was accepted by the general population. This chapter takes a more holistic approach to the comparative model than the previous one. Rather than examining the British and Habsburg contexts separately, it analyzes broad European mourning culture and how the two courts adapted their rituals within that early modern context. Perhaps more than any other chapter, it draws heavily on material culture, textiles, and cost as a way of showing the court's control over the social hierarchy. The chapter will examine how two particular elements of mourning that were present in both the British and Habsburg states were mechanisms for aristocratic enforcement of the social hierarchy. The first was the period of national mourning that was ordered when a monarch died, and the second were class-based sumptuary laws. The Habsburg context will examine how state-wide mourning was enforced through Catholic conceptions of sacred time and the *Hofstaat*'s ability to restrict activities and material culture during mourning periods. The analysis of sumptuary laws will also explore how mourning attire was used to enforce hierarchy through visual coding. The examination of British royal mourning will explore the similar role of clothing in communicating hierarchy through regulations applied to the aristocracy and attempts at enforcing penalties for noncompliance. This will also include a discussion of the British chief mourner, an official role that was second in rank only to the monarch during the funeral.

Chapter three takes a somewhat different approach by shifting the focus onto the court's control over the monarch's corpse. The analysis seeks to demonstrate that the British and Habsburg household establishments used shared traditions for preserving the corpse and displaying it at a lying-in-state. These traditions were part of the accepted social order in which the aristocracy used material objects and iconography to symbolically reinforce the continued authority of the dynasty and the Crown even in death. The chapter's first half compares the post-mortem process for the Habsburg and British monarchs. The analysis will examine how

Habsburg officials prepared the imperial body as if it were a sacred relic, at a time when overall conceptions of monarchical sacrality were declining. This will be contrasted with the way in which British officials followed similar traditions, but were used to legitimize constitutional, Protestant conceptions of monarchy. The second half of the chapter focuses on how both courts used the lying-in-state to shape conceptions of the corpse as the personification of the realm. The Habsburg court constructed the lying-in-state as essentially a specialized Catholic mass that reinforced conceptions of an idealized Christian state managed by a corps of loyal, pious aristocrats. This is contrasted with the Court of St James's, which utilized material culture like insignia, heraldry, and dynastic regalia to serve as a representation of the corpse as a metaphor of the kingdom; one that was compatible with a Protestant worldview that rejected Catholic conceptions of death and the body.

The two final chapters are devoted exclusively to the British and Habsburg funeral and burial rites, respectively. The aim of chapter four is to demonstrate that the British court not only maintained its control over funeral ceremonials between 1695 and 1760 but was able to expand its authority as these rites became increasingly private in the eighteenth century. The chapter examines the processions to Westminster Abbey and the funerals held there, focusing on the increasing participation of the court and the exclusion of members of the aristocracy not employed at court or in government. This will be closely connected with the narrative of royal funerals shifting from public to private events and will show that this transition was both part of a broader change in ritual culture and a tool utilized by the court to ensure their control over the ceremonials. The chapter will also demonstrate that the privatization of royal funerals did not mean a reduction in their scale; on the contrary, the private funerals of the 1700s were still heavily attended and structured around elaborate ceremonials.

The goal of the fifth and final chapter is to bring the imperial court back into the scholarly conversation of Habsburg funerals. The analysis will reveal that senior officials were the principal participants of these rites, and played a critical ritual function even as conceptions

of monarchical sacrality were evolving throughout the Enlightenment. This role will be explored as it relates to senior courtiers handling the emperor's coffin, participation in a liturgical ritual that is unique to the Austrian Habsburgs, and being allowed exclusive entry into the crypt for the final interment. In the same way that the previous chapter is set against the backdrop of public and private funerals, so too is this one shaped by the *Hofstaat*'s changing views on religiosity. The purpose here is to show that even though the Enlightenment did shape many traditions at the Austrian court, its officials only modified funeral precedents when it was considered necessary. This chapter will demonstrate that the court maintained tight control over these elements. In so doing, they ensured they remained vital to a ritual that was essential in the life cycle of early modern monarchy.

These five chapters offer the first comparative study of the British and Habsburg monarchies, and the first to conduct a long-term analysis of their funerary rites during one of the more overlooked eras in their ritual history: the eighteenth century. This dissertation is structured to provide as comprehensive an analysis as possible of the entire funeralization process, from the moment of the sovereign's death until their interment at the end of the funeral. This will provide one of the most detailed works on royal funerals ever written in English, when most attempts at doing so have either been articles or popular trade books. Through the detailed analysis of sources in Vienna, London, and Oxford that have never previously been compared before, this study has recreated the ritual and ceremonial accounts of some of the most forgotten funerals and their architects in early modern royal history. The following chapters will show that not only were these funerals grand, theatrical pageants unto themselves, but they provided a mechanism for courts to shape the ritual culture of the British and Habsburg states. These mechanisms ensured that officials in both institutions remained essential to the belief in dynastic authority and stability into the modern era.

Chapter 1: Death in the House

The Role of Royal Households in Funeral Planning

On Friday, December 28, 1694, a special committee met at the Palace of Whitehall in London to begin preparations for the funeralization of Queen Mary II.[1] This committee included, among others, the High Officers of the Royal Household, who were critical in the planning process.[2] The funeral of any monarch is an event that reaffirmed royal power, but in 1694, this special committee was given a unique mandate from Parliament: plan a grand, theatrical funeral that displayed the success of the Glorious Revolution. This mandate also aimed at publicly legitimizing the reign of King William III, who had been Mary's co-monarch since 1689 and was now governing alone.[3] This was an unprecedented situation. Never before had there been a co-monarchy in Britain, so special care needed to be taken in planning the funeral of the woman who had the stronger claim to the throne and was significantly more popular than her husband and co-monarch.[4] Parliament was determined that no expense would be

[1] Lord Chamberlain's Department: Expence of the Funeral & Mourning of her Majesty Queen Mary, 1694, LC 2/11/2, no. 9; Letter of Henry Howard, duke of Norfolk, to Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms, December 28, 1694, in *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 23; Memo, undated, January 1694/5, *Funerals, College of* Arms; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1: 1618-1738, 165; Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral Of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary Of Ever Blessed Memory, in the Abbey-Church in Westminster, Upon March 5. 1694/5** (London: Printed by H. Hills, 1709), 15; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65-6; Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 117; Hester Chapman, *Mary II, Queen of England* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), 255; Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, *William's Mary: A Biography of Mary II* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), 334. *Funerals, CA*, no. 6 does not use consistent numbering for the papers within it, some of which are loose-leaf pages, while others are part of the original binding. Where there are page numbers or identifiers, these have been included in the citations.

[2] "List of orders and letters issued, extracts from entries in the Council Books; draft orders for proroguing Parliament and for general mourning; order appointing a committee to arrange the late King's funeral and list of persons nominated; etc., 1760 Oct 27," PC 1/6/89, f. 5; PC 2/85, 23; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65-6.

[3] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 423; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 89.

[4] Lois Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 4 (Winter, 1989), 743; Richard Price, "An Incomparable Lady: Queen Mary II's Share in the Government of England, 1689-94," on *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 3 (Autumn, 2012), 324; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 290.

spared and approved a staggering £50,000 to cover costs beyond what the Crown was already spending.[5]

It would be next to impossible to determine the exact amount spent, since the court records do not necessarily account for things like the cost of labour from general workers, basic building supplies, municipal costs incurred by the city of London like mourning arches, or changing royal arms, prayer books and material objects used by the Crown. Discussions around the costs of royal funerals are largely missing from the historiography, which undermines attempts to examine the efficacy of ritual by only considering the performative or ceremonial actions. The monetary cost of ritual, who supplied those funds, and how were they distributed reveals as much about the motive and intent behind a given ritual as does the number of people who participated in it. In the case of Mary II's funeral, the archival records are surprisingly comprehensive when compared to those of her predecessors. Unlike the court documents for the funerals of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, the heraldic records from the

[5] Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 334; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 331. There are varying estimates when it comes to calculating how much Queen Mary's massive funeral cost. According to the Lord Chamberlain's office, all the expenses for the funeral paid out by the Great Wardrobe amounted to £42,884.5s.5d (LC 2/11/2, "Total of the Bills for the Funeral of the Late Queen Mary"). James I's funeral in 1625, which was perhaps the largest for any previous English monarch, only totalled £31,217 (Archer, "City and Court Connected," table 1, 161). Westminster Abbey claims that figure for Mary II's funeral is closer to £50,000, but this may be a reflection of the sums voted by Parliament rather than that actual total paid out as listed in the "Total of the Bills [...]" (Queen Mary," Westminster Abbey, https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/mary-ii, accessed February 7, 2019; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 13). According to the contemporary diarist Narcissus Luttrell, the entire funeral was "computed at 100,000*l*"—an astronomical amount for the time, but one which has been accepted by some authors and historians (Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, vol. 3 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857], 421). Henri and Barbara Van der Zee point to several treasury papers held in the National Archives as their basis for claiming the funeral cost £100,000, but most of their data is merely a series of quotations from Luttrell's contemporary observations (E. S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 5: *Kalendarium, 1690-1706* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], 204 n6; Henri and Barabara Van der Zee, *William and Mary* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf], 393; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 331). In his chapter on Queen Mary for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the late historian W. A. Speck also claims the funeral cost £100,000 (W.A. Speck, "Mary II (1662-1694), queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019], 26, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246, accessed July 30, 2019).

College of Arms and from the lord chamberlain's department at the National Archives include the costs and measurements of everything from the drapings used in each room at Whitehall for the lying-in-state to the number of candles needed by the children's choir for the funeral and even the colours needed for the heraldic bannerolls and the banners of state.[6] It took nearly two months for all the arrangements to be finalized and approved by Parliament.[7] Finally, on February 19, 1695, the Privy Council announced the finalized details for the queen's funeral, which was scheduled for Tuesday, March 5.[8]

Some of the most important participants in planning a monarch's funeral were members of their household. These were aristocrats who surrounded the monarch and managed his or her daily life and formed the "counsels of the realm" that governed the early modern state.[9] In various European states throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was standard procedure for members of the monarch's household and senior members of the government to plan his or her funeral. At the Habsburg court in Vienna, decision-making power over the emperor's funeralization was held by a handful of officials who occupied the senior positions in the imperial household and on the Habsburg state's governing bodies.[10] The preliminary plans for Emperor Leopold I's massive funeral in 1705 were drafted by only two men: the *Obersthofmeister*, who managed the imperial court, and the *Oberstkämmerer*, who directed all of the emperor's servants and staff. These two men were Leopold's senior household officials, chief advisors, and closest friends. Once the initial

[6] Archer, "City and Court Connected," 159-60, 164.
[7] *Funerals, College of Arms*; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 422; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66, 68. There is no page numbering system for *Funerals, College of Arms*, presumably because it is largely a collection of bound, dated orders-in-council. The section entitled "The death and solemnity of the Funerall of Queene Mary with the most material transactions for the performances thereof" is numbered as pages 1-5.
[8] *LG* no. 3055 (Feb. 18-21, 1694 [1695]). A long interval was not without precedent for English monarchs. The interval between the monarch's death and their funeral was approximately a month even into the Tudor era (Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169).
[9] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 96, 105.
[10] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <16>; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167-8.

preparations had been drafted, other members of the household were consulted the next day for the rest of the planning.[11]

Despite the critical role of monarchical households in planning and participating in royal funerals, there are virtually no studies on these bodies as institutions within their respective courts. There are likewise no studies that consider how aristocrats used these rites to perpetuate the symbolic stability of the dynasty and, in so doing, legitimized their own rights and privileges.[12] This oversight is largely the result of a focus on the declining political power of the European aristocracy, with scholars deeming the eighteenth-century court as less deserving of historical inquiry. It is true that the aristocratic political power via the court did decline as that authority shifted towards bureaucracies and legislatures. However, the monarch's household straddled both Crown and government and continued to shape perceptions of royal and aristocratic authority.[13] Consequently, the objectives of this chapter are two-fold. First, this chapter will demonstrate that it was the household at the centre of the that court was responsible for orchestrating and managing the monarch's funeral. By having this authority to plan royal funerals, the British and Habsburg households were able to shape the Crown's interactions with their respective subjects by selecting and controlling the rituals of funeralization, particularly between 1694 and 1780. This analysis will demonstrate that one of the ways monarchical households maintained their influence over dynastic stability was by

[11] Zeremonialprotokoll (*Protocollum Aulicum in Ceremonialibus*) 6 (1700-1709), AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 331v.-332r., 333v., 341r./v., 356v.-357r.; Verhandlungsakten betreffend das Begräbnis und die Exequien für den verstorbenen Kaiser Leopold I. (1705.05.06-1706.12.26), AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; Zeremonialprotokoll (*Protocollum Aulicum in Ceremonialibus*) 17 (1739-1740), AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 246r.-248v., 249r., 253r., 255v.; Linda and Marsha Frey, "The Latter Years of Leopold I and his Court, 1700-1705: A Pernicious Factionalism," in *The Historian*, vol. 40, no. 3 (May, 1978), 483, 491. Most of the papers in HausA Familienakten 67-5 are not numbered in proper folios. The archivists at the HHStA have said this is because many of the records for Emperor Leopold predate the consistent use of the folio system. As such, the pages will be referenced using the karton number and then page number (ie 67-1r., 67-1v., 67-2r., 67-2v., etc.), each one in sequential order as they appear in the file.

[12] Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 1; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 9, 24, 39-40, 96.

[13] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 17; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 96, 105.

adapting symbolic funeralization rituals. In so doing, the aristocrats that populated the monarchs' households at both courts were able to perpetuate the fiction that they were guardians of their respective idealized states. These analyses will explore the broader contours of major ceremonial components of the funeralization process like the lying-in-state and funeral service, while the more specific changes within each one will be explored in later chapters.

The first section of the chapter will examine how members of the Austrian imperial household used earlier precedents to construct a standardized protocol for Habsburg funerals. Doing so allowed them to demonstrate the continuity of Habsburg authority and their creation of the idealized Christian state. The basis for harmony in the body politic was created through a consent-based form of rulership between the Habsburg monarchs and their regional aristocrats.[14] This idea is introduced here but will be developed further in subsequent chapters. The second section will consider how British household officials reinterpreted centuries' old funerary rites to publicly communicate the triumph of Protestant monarchy and parliamentary authority over both securing succession to the throne and the security of the state.[15] The second major objective of this chapter is to correct the misconception that the monarch's household and the court were synonymous. The court may have been the sum of every aristocrat and hanger-on interacting with the Crown either directly or indirectly, but the monarch's household were the officials, servants, and guards employed at court specifically to attend to the monarch's daily needs and oversee the functioning of the Crown. If the court was a series of dynastic, social, political, and cultural networks, then the household was technically the personal establishment of the monarch, but since the monarch was the head of state, the household inherently intersected with the political life of the state as well.[16] To demonstrate

[14] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 180-1.
[15] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 17; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 96, 105.
[16] Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of Imperial Government," 34; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 58; Williams, "The Tudors," 147; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 167, 174; Robert Bucholz, ed., *Office-Holders*

how the household was different from the court, it is necessary to closely examine how the British and Habsburg households were structured, who were its senior officials, and what role did they place in facilitating the lives, deaths, and funerals of its monarchs. These sections are somewhat narrative at times because it is necessary to provide the reader with the relevant context of how one distinguishes the court from the household, identifying the key officials who overlapped between the household and the state administration; and the ritual culture that shaped the funeralizations of the Habsburg and British monarchs.

AUSTRIA

The *Obersthofämter*

The early modern Habsburg state was an enormous, composite monarchy of various territories and lands held together by little more than the dynasty. There was no single governing body for this unwieldy dynastic state until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Instead of Parliament or a diet that functioned as the bureaucracy, the Habsburg state was governed by a handful of councils and conferences controlled by powerful aristocrats that answered to the emperor. If the *Hofstaat* was the centre of gravity for this asymmetrical empire and the sum of every individual involved in serving the Crown, then the hierarchy of staff and servants holding it all together was the imperial household. The household was responsible for managing every aspect of the monarch's daily schedule: devotions and religious observances in the morning, government business, "dinner" around noon, sport (i.e., hunting) and recreation for most of the afternoon, audiences in the evening, followed by supper and, if there were no other audiences scheduled, music and theatrical entertainments before an early return to bed. Each adult member of the imperial family had their own household establishments, and its size was dependent on their individual rank. An empress or heir to the throne might have a household

in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837 (London: University of London, 2006), *British History Online*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11?page=0, accessed March 20, 2022.

of between 50 and 100 staff, but their numbers were dwarfed by the emperors' establishments. In the year prior to Leopold I's death in May 1705, his personal household numbered at least 1,361 officials, staff, and servants and cost 620,068 florins (fl.). During Joseph I's brief reign (1705-11) and into Charles VI's reign, the household swelled to nearly two thousand and costs rose by more than 150%. Only three years into Charles's reign, his household was costing over 1.6 million fl. per year. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), the household shrunk—somewhat expectedly—to approximately a thousand people, its lowest size in sixty years, though it rebounded after 1748. Despite the Seven Years' War and other European conflicts, Maria Theresa's household eventually returned to its antebellum size of approximately two thousand people and was on par with the court of Versailles by the time she died in 1780.[17]

[17] Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168-70, 171, 174, 177; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 73, 77-8, 88 table 5a, 303; Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles <8 table 1>; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 411; *Kayserlich- und Königlicher, Wei auch Erz-Herzglocher, Dann Dero Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien Staats- und Standes-Calender, Auf das Gnaden-reiche Jahr Jesu Christi M.DCC.XL. Mit einem Schematismo Gezieret. Cum speciali Gratia & Privilegio S.C.R. Majest* (Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, Reichs-hof-Buckdruckern, 1740), 361-91 (hereafter *Staats- und Standes-Calender*); Irmgard Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof—die Hofstaaten der kaiserlichen Familie und die obersten Hofämter," in *300 Jahre Karl VI. 1711—1740: Spuren der Herrschaft des "letzten" Habsbugers*, Stefan Seitschek, Herbert Hutterer, and Gerald Theimer, eds. (Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, 2011), 80, 87. This total also included the pensions paid to former household officials and courtiers. The expansion of the Carolinian household led to a 60% increase in the number of clergy, aristocrats, and civil servants who were required to regularly appear at court and established permanent residences in Vienna. By 1730 amounted to 240 aristocratic and court-associated residences, many of which rivaled sections of the emperor's own accommodations. This significant increase in Vienna's courtly population meant a concomitant increase in housing costs. Even a modest aristocratic residence within the city walls could cost upwards of 80,000 fl., which also led to a proportional decline in the number of bourgeois homeowners in the city (Stefan Seitschek, "Der Adel," in *300 Jahre Karl VI. 1711*, 64; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 125; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 11; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 181). As Adamson notes, this trend towards increasingly grandiose aristocratic residences rivaling the monarch's own was also occurring in London at the same time. Vienna was the largest court in central Europe, and in the German-speaking states. The scale and structure of the court was modeled by other states within the Holy Roman Empire like Prussia and Bavaria in the hopes of matching Vienna's courtly splendour (Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 23; Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 433). The size and grandeur of the court led to it being described in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as showcasing "the majesty of the [Holy Roman] Empire, as in the past in Rome," and as "the largest and most magnificent in Europe" (Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 165).

Even though experts like Evans, Spielman, and Duindam agree that the household had been a driving force in Habsburg governance since the Renaissance, the institution has received surprisingly little attention from historians. This oversight has been the result of several trends within the historiography. First, even leading Habsburg scholars like those just mentioned have sometimes conflated the court and the household, using the terms interchangeably.[18] Members of the household were indeed courtiers, but not all courtiers were in the imperial household. The court of any European monarch, be it Versailles, St James's or the *Hofstaat*, was populated by men and women who were neither employed at court nor performed a formal function aside from having rights of entry based on their status. They were considered "part of the social world of the court." Conversely, membership in the imperial household can be defined as any staff who were paid for their services attending to the monarch's daily needs that were tracked in the *Hofzahlamtsbücher* (the court payment records). Despite what the name suggests, these records only covered the "civil expenditures" of the imperial household and not any of the incidental costs of running the *Hofstaat*.[19]

To help further illustrate the distinction between the household and court, one need only examine the financial data from the eighteenth century that distinguishes between the two

[18] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122; Frey, "Latter Years of Leopold I," 488; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 53; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167-8, 171; Duindam, "Ceremonial Staffs," 369-70; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 410, 417, 424; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226-9. Although Duindam is perhaps the leading scholar in English on the *Hofstaat*, at times he seems to conflate the household and court, particularly in his chapter "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs" (1999), implying that he may have viewed the difference between the two as somewhat semantic and not needing greater differentiation (167-8). By the time he completed "Vienna and Versailles," (2005), however, he had developed a much clearer framework for the seniority of the household and its overlap with Habsburg governance. Meanwhile, Huss frames his discussion of the household offices within the context of the *Hofstaat* and provides a clear description of what responsibilities each senior official had at court. His description, however, is framed within the context of the larger *Hofstaat* and would have benefited from a clearer discussion of how these senior officials comprised the echelons of the imperial household beyond being the managers of the major court departments.

[19] Krankheit, Tod, Begräbnis und Hoftrauer für Maria Theresia. (1780.11.26-1780.12.16), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 280-281; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 76, 83-4; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168, 169-70, 171; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 12, 15.

institutions.[20] At the time of Leopold I's death, the *Hofstaat* was costing the Crown a whopping 2.86 million fl.[21] Since it has already been established that Leopold I's household at that same time cost 620,068 fl., this meant that the emperor's household only represented 21% of the total revenues spent on the court; a trend that continued under subsequent reigns.[22] During the six years of Joseph I's reign, the cost of the *Hofstaat* swelled to 4 million fl.[23] According to the celebrated nineteenth-century historian Alfred von Arneth, Charles VI's court, at its peak, housed and fed nearly forty thousand people—or half the population of Vienna—at a cost of 9.5 million fl. per year. Only 5% of those courtiers, however, were paid members of the emperor's household.[24] The average cost per annum of the Carolinian *Hofstaat* was slightly less, at 5 million fl., but that was still the most expensive Habsburg court of the eighteenth century.[25] Even at the time of Maria Theresa's death, her joint household with her son numbered close to twenty-four hundred staff but cost 700,000 fl. less than her father's.[26]

The second reason that scholars have been reluctant to examine the imperial household is because there is disagreement on how precisely the household overlaps with the government, and how that relationship shifted and evolved throughout late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; ambiguities that have made it difficult to draw a clear distinction between the two, or pin-pointing where they intersect.[27] Evans, Press, and Spielman argue that there was a clear

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[20] Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 169-70, 171, 177; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 73; Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles <8>; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 411; *Staats- und Standes-Calender*, 361-91; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80, 87.
[21] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 228.
[22] Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168-70.
[23] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 228.
[24] Johann Baptist Weiss, ed., *Geschichte der Kaiserin-Königin Maria Theresia*, vol. 1: *Der österreichische Erbfolgekrieg* (Vienna: Karl Gronemeyer, 1872), 13; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 124.
[25] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 228.
[26] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 73 n91.
[27] Duindam "Vienna and Versailles," <12>. Duindam identifies the misconception of a clear division of authority between the monarch's household/court and the governing apparatus as a major barrier to meaningful courtly history, compounded by the earlier historiographical desire to see the governing elements of the early modern

distinction between the household and the government, while still acknowledging that the household officers often served as the emperor's advisors and members of the government.[28] More recent scholarship by Duindam has recognized that the boundaries between household and government were less firm and more porous than previously considered, making it difficult to try and conceptualize them as separate and distinct institutions.[29] He subsequently argued that the overlap between household and government in the Habsburg state was more prominent than in other countries like France and joint appointments to both household and governmental offices were ubiquitous. In 2011, however, he echoed Press's earlier position, claiming that the household and governing councils "were institutionally separated to a large extent" while simultaneously confirming the *Obersthofbeämter* as participants in the councils of state.[30]

The current study does not claim to reconcile these different elements of Habsburg historiography. However, the funerals of the eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchs provide a unique lens through which to view the overlap between the household and government, like a magnifying glass over the blurred boundaries lines on a map. An examination of royal funerals helps to clarify at least some of the uncertainties and disagreements within the literature because there is an intersectionality to these rituals: aristocrats and other elites planned and participated in the funeralization process as both officers of the imperial household and ministers of state. This intersectionality becomes particularly focused when the succession to the new monarch was contested or disputed because these officials were

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polity as the direct ancestor of the modern nation-state, centralized and divided along clear ethno-linguistic lines (*Vienna and Versailles*, 12; "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond" 402)

[28] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122-3; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 58. Press acknowledges the fact that the *Obersthofbeämter* were all Privy Counsellors but claims that the household was "apparently strictly distinct from the bureaucratic offices" (31).

[29] Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 171. At times, Duindam's position on this distinction seems to oscillate. In 1999, he noted that the functioning of the household and state administration "were inevitably mixed" at the Austrian court; a mixture that allowed the *Obersthofbeämter* a voice in governance.

[30] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <32>; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 423-4.

responsible for ensuring both the smooth transfer of sovereignty from the decedent to the next ruler while at the same time as members of the government ensuring harmony within the state and body politic. Participation in these and other courtly rituals was the primary mechanism for courtiers and officials to gain greater influence over the monarch—and therefore governance.[31]

The court decree (*Hofordnung*) of 1527 structured the household into *Obersthofämter* (high court departments). These departments were run by the *Obersthofbeämter* (high court officers) who served as the heads of emperors' household and managed the entire *Hofstaat*.[32] These officers enjoyed privileged access to the monarch and the ability to act in advisory capacities. As such, they were each given a golden key that gave them direct access to the monarch's personal chambers.[33] Unlike in Britain or France, official appointments within the Habsburg household were handled by the emperor personally and were largely non-hereditary. This also meant that the power structure at court changed every time the monarch died because a new set of *Obersthofbeämter* were appointed.[34] The length of time in office technically ended upon the death of the monarch who had appointed them, but in practice

[31] Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31.
[32] Irmgard Pangerl, 1.1.1. "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Michael Hochedlinger, Petr Mat'a, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., vol. 1: *Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegsweden und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019), 151. The decree, followed by another in 1537 laid out the structure of the court and household, which remained virtually unchanged until the collapse of the Habsburg monarch in 1918.
[33] David Jones, *The Life of Leopold, late Emperor of Germany, &c. Containing the difficulties and particulars of his election. Of his first war in Hungary under the conduct of the famous Count Nicholas Serini. Peace with the Turks, and mutual ambassies. Conspiracy of the Counts Peter Serini, Nadasti and Frangipani. First war against France, and imbroilments with the Hungarians. Rise and progress of Teleki. Peace with France, infractions of it. Second War with the Turks, his wonderful victories, sieges and conquests. Characters of his generals. Second war with France on the Rhine, and in Italy, and the intrigues and articles of the peace. Treaty of Carlowitz, and revolt of the Hungarians. Of his last war against the French and Bavarians, in Italy and the empire. Of his death and character at large*, 2nd ed. (London: n.p., 1708), 382-3. The golden keys also symbolized divine authority, based on the keys of heaven and earth that Christ offered to St. Peter in the Gospel of Matthew. See Friedrich Rest, *Our Christian Symbols* (Philadelphia: The Christian Education Press, 1954), 29, and Matthew 18:18.
[34] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 306; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168; Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <41>.

this did not become official until the late ruler's household was formally dissolved at the end of the funeral.[35]

The four most important *Oberstbofbeämter*, in order of precedence, were the *Obersthofmeister*, *Obersthofmarschall*, *Oberstkämmerer*, and *Oberststallmeister*. A simplified breakdown of the household officials, their subdepartments, and staff is provided in Appendix: Fig. 2. The *Obersthofmeister* was the Master of the Court with seniority over all other officials, staff, and courtiers. He was the person with whom the emperor had the most personal contact and served as head of the household, managing everyone from the chaplains, clergy, and musicians and the palace kitchen staff.[36] From 1740-65, Maria Theresa had a joint household with her husband and employed two male to two female *Obersthofmeisteren*. Following her husband's death in 1765, Maria Theresa had a similar shared household with her son and co-ruler, Emperor Joseph II.[37] The *Obersthofmarschall* was the marshal of the court who organized its various rituals, housing and accommodation, dealt with disciplinary matters, and relations with foreign diplomats.[38] The *Oberstkämmerer* or Lord Chamberlain managed the private apartments and the staff that regularly came into contact with the emperor, such as chamberlains (*Kämmereren*), valets (*Kämmererdienern*), treasurers of the privy chamber (*geheime Kammerzahlmeisteren*), quartermasters (*Kämmerfourieren*), and the imperial

[35] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 350 r.; Johann Friedrich Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten, Großmächtigsten und Unüberwindlichten Römischen Kaisers Carl des Sechsten, Denckwürdiges Leben und Thaten: Aus denen besten und bewährtesten Schriften und Urkunden kürzlich verfasset, und mit dienlichen Kuppfern versehen* (Nuremberg: Johann Albrecht, 1741), 231; Zdislava Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," in *300 Jahre Karl VI.*, Seitscheck, Hutterer, and Theimer, eds., 216; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 29; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 251.

[36] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 280-281; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 76; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168, 169-70, 171; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 12, 15; Pangerl, 1.1.1. "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," 151-2.

[37] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 79; Pangerl, "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," 1.1.5., 158-9.

[38] Pangerl, "Das Obersthofmarschallamt," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hochedlinger, Mat'a, and Winkelbauer, eds., vol. 1, 1.5, 213-4, and 1.5.5, 216.

physicians.[39] The *Oberstkämmerer* had considerable power, since he was responsible for managing any audiences requested with the emperor, and therefore determining who could have personal access to the monarch.[40] The *Oberststallmeister* (Master of the Horse) managed transportation, the stables, and supervised the aristocratic pages (*Edelknaben*) who served as ceremonial escorts for the monarch during processions.[41] The *Oberststallmeister* had significant authority over court rituals because he was responsible for the transportation needed for any processions. Whereas the *Oberstkämmerer* had control over who had access to the emperor within his palaces, the *Oberststallmeister* controlled who could accompany him on trips, and therefore had authority over the public display of status and rank in relation to the Crown.[42]

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[39] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 280-1; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 76; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168, 169-70, 171; Pangerl, 1.3, "Das Oberstkämmereramt," 204.

[40] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 76; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168.

[41] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland Ihrer Röm. Kayzerl. Majestät Leopold/ Dieses Nahmens des Ersten/ Glorwürdigsten Angedenkens/ höchst-Seeligstem Ableiben/ Und hierauff angestellter orächtigster Leich-Begängnuß*; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 235r., 239r.-242r.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 230; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 387v., 391v.-392r., 399r. In 1740, more than 500 pages were employed at court (Duindam *Vienna and Versailles*, 76).

[42] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80-1; Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 54-5; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167-8; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 15; Pangerl, "Das Oberstkämmereramt," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hochedlinger, Mat'a, and Winkelbauer, eds., vol. 1, 1.3, 204; Mario Döberl, 1.8. "Das Oberstallmeisteramt," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hochedlinger, Mat'a, and Winkelbauer, eds., 230-1. These offices were only responsible for the Habsburgs' Austrian lands, since Hungary and Bohemia both had separate royal courts (Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 123). For further details on the *Obersthofämter* and their development under Ferdinand I and Maximilian I, see Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 30-2, and MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria*, 155-6. Under Charles VI, two new high offices were added to the administration: the *Oberstjägermeister* (master of the hunt) and *Oberstfalkenmeister* (master of the falcon), though neither exercised the same authority as the four primary *Obersthofbeämter*. After 1765, Maria Theresa also shifted the *Obersthofämter* by adding a first and an alternate *Obersthofmeister* and *Oberststallmeister* (Christoph Gottlieb Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten u. Großmächtigsten Fürstin und Frau Maria Theresia jetztregierenden Königin in Hungarn und Böheim &c. mit unparthenischer Feder pragmatisch beschrieben und hin und wieder Mit nützlichen* Anmerckungen *erläutert* [Vienna: n.p., 1743], 161 n83; Stefan Seitschek, "Höfische Belustigungen," in *300 Jahre Karl VI.*, Stefan Seitschek, Hutterer, and Theimer, eds. [Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, 2011], 74; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 79).

As heads of the household, these officials participated in the various stages of the monarch's funeralization process. The *Obersthofmeister* and *Oberstkämmerer* were typically responsible for planning immediate concerns like preparing the corpse, ordering the coffin, and scheduling the funeral; plans that were then fleshed out in greater detail after consulting with the other *Obersthofbeämter*. For the autopsy and embalming, the corpse could only be opened under the supervision of the *Obersthofmeister* or *Oberstkämmerer*. During the funeral procession to the Capuchin Crypt, these four officers were accorded the privilege of walking adjacent to the coffin, ranking just below the imperial family and archbishops.[43] At the climax of the funeral, when the body was deposited into the crypt, the *Obersthofbeämter* opened the coffin with their golden keys to confirm that it was in fact the late monarch who was about to be interred.[44] At that point, the golden keys were surrendered to the Capuchin monks and the decedent's household was formally dissolved.[45]

The upper echelons of the household were reserved for the Austrian, Bohemian, and German aristocratic and princely families.[46] By securing a post within the household, they were able to ensure the continuation of aristocratic authority at the centre of Habsburg power since it was considered common for the aristocracy to simultaneously serve in both the imperial

[43] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 331v.—332r., 333v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 246r.-248v., 249r., 253r., 255v.; Jones, *Life of Leopold*, 382-3.

[44] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 233r./v.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 231; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 227, 242.

[45] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 372. The day after the funeral, the Capuchins would arrange for the keys to be returned to the Treasure Chamber in a sealed envelope (OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 401v.; Akten zum Leichenbegräbnis Maria Theresias. (1780.11.30-1780.12.11), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 34; *WZ* no. 98 [6 Dec. 1780], *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.775-B. For a detailed description of what was involved with transferring the keys from the Capuchin Church to the treasury, see ff. 402r./v. In 1740, the keys were given directly to the *Oberstkämmerer* (Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 231; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216).

[46] Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 167.

household and in government.[47] There were several powerful councils on which household officials frequently sat. The *Obersthofmeister* frequently served as head of the Imperial Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*), the emperor's highest legal court and adjudication department. Household officials also regularly sat on the War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), which was responsible for all things military in the Habsburg state; the Privy Council (*Geheimrat*), dealing with matters of protocol, privileges of the Austrian estates, and handling of taxes; and the Privy Conference (*Geheime Konferenz*), the small group that functioned as the emperor's closest and most important group of advisors on matters of foreign policy for the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg state.[48] By the turn of the eighteenth century, the *Obersthofbeämter*

[47] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 280-281; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 76; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168, 169-70, 171; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 12, 15; Pangerl, 1.1. "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," 151. The chamberlains were a largely ceremonial position within the household and are not always counted as part of the essential staff by historians. Any family with the rank of *Reichsgraf* (imperial count) or higher could pay a fee to the court treasury to have its sons granted one of these positions. Since it essentially became an income source by the eighteenth century, the number of chamberlains swelled to enormous numbers under Maria Theresa, when it was estimated that there were 1,500 chamberlains at court (Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 124; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 227).

[48] Frey, "The Latter Years of Leopold I," 482-3; Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*, 25; Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 15-17, 60, 160; Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 122; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 21, 46; Stefan Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz unter Kaiser Leopold I.: Personelle Strukturen und Methoden zur politischen Entscheidungsfindung am Wiener Hof* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 7; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 42; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 171, 181, 186. These councils had originated as governing bodies for handling various legal, military, and financial matters for the Holy Roman Empire. In the seventeenth century, however, they gradually transitioned to functioning as administrative mechanisms for the Habsburgs' Austrian lands—a fact that may have been partly influenced by Vienna becoming a more permanent capital during the same period (Evans, "Austrian Habsburgs," 122-3). The War Council was one of the most important early modern Habsburg governing institutions. Established in 1556, the council was a "bureaucratic leviathan" that exercised considerable influence in promulgating military laws and directing foreign policies. Although the War Council was streamlined by Maria Theresa in 1754, it was still a significant enough body that it was responsible for a sweeping census of the Austrian and Bohemian lands in 1770 (Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 122; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, 37). It also had authority for overseeing financial contributions from the Austrian estates (Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 171). The Privy Conference was founded by Leopold I, then was dissolved and eventually reinstated by Joseph I in a different form. The conference was not an all-powerful body and could have its wings clipped if there were enough aristocrats at court who opposed a particular policy. This factionalism was apparently a problem after Charles VI became emperor in 1711 (Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 182). The Council of State (*Staatsrat*) was added to this list of councils in 1761. It was supposed to

and other senior officials held three or even four postings in government, with most being Privy Counsellors. So many aristocrats served in both the household and the political apparatus that this dual occupancy was considered standard Habsburg governing convention.[49] Count Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach, Leopold I's *Obersthofmeister* from 1699-1705, also served as the emperor's chief minister, Master of the Horse in the Austrian territories (*Obersterblandstallmeister*), and, in the emperor's words, "his only friend."[50]

This aristocratic monopoly has led some scholars like Duindam to describe Habsburg governance as a dyarchy. This was not a dyarchy in the truest sense of the word, since that suggests a level of equality or co-rulership between the parties involved; there are medieval precedents for that in the Holy Roman Empire with "co-kings and emperors."[51] It may be more accurate to amend Duindam's description to an asymmetrical dyarchy, or even a polyarchy, to reflect the hierarchical divisions between the monarchy and the different levels of

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serve as a liaison for all court departments, but eventually became just another cumbersome body (Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 284).

[49] Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 55-6; Frey, "Latter Years of Leopold I," 488; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of Imperial Government," 31; Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <32>; Duindam "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 424, 430; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226-7.

[50] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 331v.—332r., 333v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 246r.-248v., 249r., 253r., 255v.; Frey, "Latter Years of Leopold I," 483, 491; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80-1; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 54-5; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31. For a helpful detailed breakdown of the multiple roles and government positions held by senior officials in the early eighteenth century, see Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz.* Harrach's position as the *Obersterblandstallmeister* only applied to the Austrian lands and ranked below the *Oberststallmeister*, which was an *Obersthofamt*.

[51] Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 312-3, 334-52. The co-regencies between Maria Theresa and Francis I from 1740-65, then with Joseph II from 1765-80 were arguably closer to a dyarchy than the Crown- aristocratic power relationship as described by Duindam: Derek Beales, "Francis Stephen of Lorraine (Emperor Francis I, 1745—65), Consort of Maria Theresa, Ruler of the Austrian Monarchy from 1740," in *The Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, Charles Beem and Miles Taylor, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 131; and Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, vol 1: *In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 4, 16, 25, 32, 39, et al. As with many aspects of early modern Habsburg history, however, the lines of power and authority are not always clear. For other examples of this consent-style governance in absolutist states, see James Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 214, 221, et al; and William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 219 et al.

aristocrats. The Habsburgs' vast lands in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, northern Italy, the Balkans and the Netherlands were ruled through a compact between the emperor and the land-owning aristocracy who controlled the governing councils. The emperor needed these elites to keep the government functioning and to ensure that the state's far-flung regions remained loyal—or at least non-adversarial—to the monarchy. Those same elites also needed this relationship to legitimize their own titles, lineages, and historic privileges to participate in governance, which were granted by the Crown. Even if the Habsburg state was not a dyarchy in the truest sense of the word, the aristocrat's idealized conception of the Habsburg state was one in which rulership was maintained by this concord between the emperor and these elites. "A confident ruler determinedly using the state apparatus could act with great authority and power," Duindam argues, but "run of the mill government, however, was characterized by endless compromise rather than by authoritarian practices." As a result of this concord, harmony was created in the body politic through this symbiotic power relationship (which will be discussed in further detail in the final chapter).[52] Regardless of the taxonomy of dyarchy or consent-based rulership, early modern monarchy was a vulnerable institution that was often dependent on the cooperation and loyalty of its aristocrats, who often doubled as government ministers, advisors, and state bureaucrats.

The common language of interaction between these groups, and the mechanism for facilitating this symbiotic power relationship were court rituals. Rituals were adaptable, fluid mechanisms that reminded both participant and observer of the strict social hierarchy that governed the state; a hierarchy that was held in place by the court, aristocrats, and monarch at the top. Court rituals were made up of choreographed movements and activities, with each participant carrying out a specific role within the ritual, all of which served to create loyalty and obeisance to the Crown. All of these choreographed behaviours constructed a representation of the idealized social order by structuring them around the early modern class hierarchy.

[52] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <29>; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 180-1, 186.

These rituals could be religious or dynastic, but often were a syncretisation of both to create royal rituals that were unique to each particular monarchy while still sharing commonalities with their European counterparts.[53] Volker Press asserts that the *Obersthofbeämter* and other officials within the household acquired greater political power and influence with the emperor by participating in court rituals than by sitting on multiple councils.[54] The rituals associated with chivalric orders were some of the most prominent examples of how influence could be gained through rituals rather than governance. By the eighteenth century, the Order of the Golden Fleece included nearly every official at court and in government, and its members were granted positions near the emperor at virtually every major court ceremony, including funerals.[55] Following Leopold I's death in 1705, the knights participated in transferring the emperor's organs, marched in the funeral procession with the rest of the court, and attended all the exequies.[56] Since the order was so closely connected with the institution of the Habsburg crown and the ritual culture at court, it played a prominent role in the dynasty's monarchical funerary rites, always dressed in their chivalric regalia. There were at least fifty "Fleece Days" set aside in the court calendar every year and often these coincided with the Catholic liturgical calendar.[57] This overlapping arrangement provided a form of supra-departmental functionality within the *Hofstaat* that linked male courtiers into yet another hierarchy that granted them

[53] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 27-8, 40; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 29.
[54] Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of Imperial Government," 31.
[55] Seitschek, "Der Adel," 64-5.
[56] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 334r./v., 337r., 340v.; Obersthofmeisteramtsakten, AT-OeStA/HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 12, file 2, f. 423r.; Refert über das Zeremoniell bei Beerdigung, Hoftrauer und Exequien für Kaiser Leopold I. (1705.05.06), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, ff. 4r./v.; Exequien für die Erzherzogin Maria Josepha, Tochter Leopold I. und für Kaiser Leopold I. (1703-1705), AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA IÖHK 12-3; *WD* no. 193 (June 6-9 1705); AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, February 5, 1706.
[57] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 174.

proximity to the emperor, with seniority based on when a person was inducted into the order.[58]

These court rituals served several important functions, none of which were mutually exclusive and need to be understood as having overlapping layers of meaning. Three components frequently feature in public court rituals: an apotheosis or veneration of the monarch in some way; a clear, recognizable status hierarchy for the court, officials, and other participants—observers would be able to quickly identify the status of the participants; and some kind of declaration or act that symbolically renewed the monarchy's social contract with it subjects. These kinds of ceremonies temporarily reconciled disparate groups within society and presented the ideal form of the state that was ordered based on God's will and recognizable to all.[59] This courtly ritual culture was not only crucial to maintaining the day-to-day functions of the Crown, by the end of the seventeenth century, courtiers saw their service to the imperial family as being part of broader loyalty and service to the Church. In theory, dynastic loyalty was seen as a form of piety. This loyalty and service to the Crown as an expression of religiosity via ritual interactions continued throughout the monarch's final illness and even after their death.[60]

Expressions of religiosity at the Habsburg court were rooted in *pietas Austriaca*, a unique form of dynastic piety that presented the Habsburgs as being more sincerely devout than any other ruling house and therefore were more favoured by God. What set the Habsburgs' religiosity apart from other Catholic ruling families was the way in which they appropriated Church traditions and ceremonies and fused them with their own dynastic traditions in order to create a syncretised, uniquely Habsburg religious framework. This new Habsburg *pietas* was expressed through the dynasty's acts of worship, their efforts to sacralise

[58] Evans, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31.
[59] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 181, 184; Duindam, "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork," 370. See also Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word," 97-8.
[60] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 186.

and legitimize their authority, and in the use of relics and objects in major ceremonial events, most notably coronations and burials. The use of relics created a sense of continuity while at the same time legitimizing the authority of the monarch and adding a layer of sacrality to the dynasty that possessed them.[61] These relics also played an interesting role in conceptions of a harmonious state. The Habsburgs' ability to acquire numerous holy relics, royal vestments, and even art, in a "harmonious" collection in the Hofburg's Treasure Chamber (*Schatzkammer*) was viewed as a microcosm of the harmony of their state. These sacred relics were imbued with both religious and dynastic meaning, creating another layer of the Habsburgs' claim to "*Gottesgnadentum* (divine right)." These material objects helped facilitate public acts of piety and devotion by the emperor and court. It was believed that religious rituals that employed relics were efficacious for adding a layer of spiritual anointing on the emperor while reinforcing the absolute authority of Catholic moral strictures over the court, whose members were expected to follow the monarch's example of piety.[62] In 1726, the French ambassador to the Habsburg court wrote of the Lent season in Vienna: "Only a Capuchin with the most robust health could endure this life during Lent… I have spent altogether between Palm Sunday and Easter Wednesday, 100 hours at church with the Emperor."[63]

Expressions of ritual piety were most important when the monarch fell ill and the entire household was required to attend and be on call. Liturgical rituals in the form of prayer services were a way of interceding for God to aid the monarch's recovery. The household, *Hofstaat*, members of the Lower Austrian estates, officials from the Hungarian, Dutch, and

[61] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 25, 26; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 192; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 37. Hengerer has noted that the importance of religiosity on monarchical authority in the eighteenth century has been overlooked and downplayed by historians who favour a secularization model for the century. The fact that sacral iconography was still a major structural feature of court rituals speaks to the continuing importance of religiosity to eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchs and their subjects (Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367).
[62] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 25, 26; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 192; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 173, 182.
[63] Gelardi, *In Triumph's Wake*, 136; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 173.

Italian chancelleries, and even the Jesuit faculty from the University of Vienna were required to attend these vigils in the Hofburg's small court chapel. These vigils typically lasted three days, going from morning until night, with each court department required to take a one-hour prayer shift. If it was clear that "there was no hope left" of recovery, the *Ave Maria* was recited at least seven times per day to prepare the monarch's soul for its final journey. Ritualized prayer services were also held when the monarch died. In 1705, a twenty-four-hour vigil was ordered for Leopold I. Household officials and clergy were required to stand watch over the body on its deathbed and recite the Office of the Dead. Ten new attendants came on duty every hour; a total of 193 men were required for this first day of vigils alone.[64] In 1780, the chapel at Schönbrunn where Maria Theresa had died the day before was opened to the public from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. and 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. so that local inhabitants could offer prayers for her soul. Attendance during these vigils was mandatory for the household and all court departments.[65]

These post-mortem liturgical rituals will be explored in greater detail in chapter three, so only a few brief comments will be made here. These rites were not only important ways of communicating the household's responsibilities to the monarch even after death but were also a critical component of how eighteenth-century Catholics viewed death. Philippe Ariés argued that early modern Europeans saw death not as an event but rather as a process that connected

[64] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 232v., 259v.-260r.; Verhandlungsakten betreffend die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten und Exequien für Kaiser Karl VI. (1740.10.20-1740.12.13), AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16, f. 54r.; Krankheit und Tod Karls VI. (1740.10.15-1740.12.14), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, ff. 7v.-10r. The court chapel was a separate institution from the court church, which was located in the Hofburg's Augustinian Wing near the imperial library (Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168). These services were led by the household's Augustinian or Minoriten clergy. The text of the prayers, along with instructions for reciting the *Ave Maria* are found in AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 260r./v. and AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, f. 10r. The prayer vigil for Charles VI was still held in the court chapel even though he died at the Favorita. The prayer vigil for Maria Theresa in 1780 was held in the chapel at Schönbrunn Palace, where she lay dying.

[65] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 270; Verhandlungsakten betreffend den Tod der Kaiserin Maria Theresia (1780.11.29-1780.12), AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, f. 132.

death and dying to the eschatology of the Resurrection and Last Judgement. By the sixteenth century, Christians had accepted the belief that the actions of their life—good and bad—were recorded in a cosmological *liber vita*. Ariés concluded that the last chapter of this "individual biography" was completed at the Last Judgement rather than at the moment of death, reinforcing the belief that the intercessions by the living for the deceased were efficacious in how that last chapter was reviewed by God.[66] More recently, Elizabeth Tingle's study on Catholic religiosity and death in early modern Brittany provides a strong analysis of the role that masses played in the broader Catholic European culture surrounding death after the Reformation.[67] Ariés and Tingle both suggest a common death conception among early modern Catholics in which dying was the process of life leaving the body, but death required the soul to complete its journey through purgatory to face God's judgement. The death process was not complete until the soul reached its eternal destination, and it was the responsibility of the living to ensure a favourable judgement from God.

The *Hofkonferenz*

For a monarch, intercessions and displays of piety during the lying-in-state, funeral, and exequies were examples of rituals constructed to facilitate the living's responsibility to the dead; rituals that were critical for ensuring the soul entered Heaven. At the same time, these rituals also reinforced the continuity of dynastic authority during the transitional period from one reign to the next. Yet despite the importance of funerals in securing one's eternal life, there were no formal protocols for planning Habsburg funeralizations throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was the age of inconsistency and there were no firm guidelines for even those who were responsible for planning the funeralization process; Privy Counsellors

[66] Philippe Ariés, *Western Attitudes Toward Death From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Patricia Ranum, trans. (London: Marion Boyars, 1972), 32-3. See also Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 168-76.
[67] Elizabeth Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany 1480-1720* (London: Routledge, 2016), 92.

or local clergy from the area where the deceased held their court were consulted to varying degrees. In some cases, the decedent left instructions on how they wanted things done. Ferdinand II, for example, had chosen Graz for his funeral and interment in 1637. In other instances, it was the new emperor who had to make inquiries as to how their predecessor should be funeralized.[68] These events were largely planned on a case-by-case basis. Recognizable late medieval and Renaissance funerary elements like the lying-in-state and funeral procession were present, but how these rites were organized or even the structure of the funeral itself were done on *ad hoc* bases.

In 1654, the death of King Ferdinand IV of Hungary, Leopold I's elder brother, was a turning point for Habsburg funeralizations for two reasons. First, his death set the precedent that funerals were to be planned by a *Hofkonferenz* (court conference or committee). This was not a formal body like the Privy Council, but an informal gathering of senior courtiers specifically tasked with advising the monarch in governance, but often pertaining to family and dynastic events like making funeral arrangements.[69] The death of Emperor Ferdinand III in 1657 took this a step further and established the primacy of the household specifically in planning funeralizations. The right to make the first arrangements immediately after death belonged to the *Obersthofmeister* and *Oberstkämmerer*. When Leopold I died in 1705, Counts Ferdinand von Harrach and Heinrich Mansfeld met to begin making preliminary arrangements. Harrach was *Obersthofmeister*, Master of the Horse in the Austrian territories, and the emperor's chief minister, and thus had authority over the entire court and much of the government. Although Mansfeld held fewer offices, being the *Oberstkämmerer* meant he was responsible for all the emperor's servants and household staff. Between the two of them, Harrach and Mansfeld had a monopoly on power within the household, court, and

[68] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 374-5.
[69] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa: The Habsburg Empress in Her Time*, Robert Savage, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 40.

government.[70] The next day, Harrach and Mansfeld presented their preliminary plans to a *Hofkonferenz* of eleven men (Appendix: Fig. 3), all of whom were Privy Counsellors, and so functioned as the senior courtiers of the Habsburg state and served as the closest advisors to the late and incumbent emperors.[71]

The presence of both Leopold's and Joseph's officials speaks to the dynastic influence wielded by the *Obersthofbeämter* even after the monarch died and their terms of office ended, since they still had authority in determining how the orders of the state would come together to mourn and funeralize the late emperor. This authority was found in the household offices themselves, rather than the individuals holding them. The more offices a person held, the greater agency they exercised over the planning process. This agency is further shown in the way that members of the decedent's household still held the authority to plan the funeral in consultation with the new emperor's staff. The offices of the *Obersthofbeämter* imbued planning and authoritative agency onto the aristocrats who held those posts, even after death. The presence at the meeting of both the old and new household officers allowed the new reign to begin with a degree of proper respect for the deceased and maintain continuity from one reign to the next; the *Obersthofbeämter* representing the new emperor gave their approval to the funeral plans and, in so doing, also legitimized their own authority and the transition of authority to a new household.

[70] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 331v.—332r., 333v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 246r.-248v., 249r., 253r., 255v.; Frey, "Latter Years of Leopold I," 483, 491; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80-1; Spielman, *City and the Court*, 54-5; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31.

[71] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, f. 1r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 341r./v., 356v.-357r.; Frey and Frey, "The Latter Years of Leopold I," 482-3; Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*, 25; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 15, 17; Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz*, 7; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80-1; Spielman, *City and the Court*, 54-5; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31.

The planning process was critical because it defined the parameters, format, and intent of a monarch's funeralization while also communicating how the *Obersthofbeämter* conceived the ideal Christian state under Habsburg rule. Planning an imperial funeral was as much about bringing together the orders of the state as it was about making arrangements for burying the corpse. As the architects of these ritual events, the *Obersthofbeämter* wielded authority to not only bring together the monarchy's subjects but also to decide on *how* they would come together. The planners had the power to literally bring together the state in ways that reflected their own conceptions of the ideal body politic. Monarchical funerals were therefore one of the best examples of the power that ritual planning gave officials because funerals brought together all the members of the early modern body politic through participatory rites of mourning and commemoration that showcased the piety and uniformity of the idealized state. This communication through funerary rites was aimed at two main audiences: the general population and the *Hofstaat* itself. The lying-in-state, funeral procession, and post-burial exequies were accessible—or at least visible—to the public, and thus communicated the idea that the household were the guarantors of monarchical continuity. The household had been responsible for the decedent's daily life, and this responsibility continued after death. The personal legitimacy of the late sovereign, the sacrality of Habsburg rule, and the uninterrupted continuation of monarchical authority through the lawful succession to the new ruler. This format for the *Hofkonferenz* being composed of household officials for the deceased, their widow, and the new emperor remained relatively static throughout much of the eighteenth century. Adaptation for unique circumstances still happened, however. Charles VI's household was not dissolved in 1740 following his death, and most of his *Obersthofbeämter* stayed on to serve in Maria Theresa's household.

As the imperial household and the state administration evolved, so too did subsequent iterations of the *Hofkonferenz*. In 1740, it included the presidents of the Imperial Aulic Council; the Marshal of the Lower Austrian Court, who was responsible for all ritual and

ceremonial events within that territory; and the president of the Court Cameral Council (*Hofkammerrat*), which handled Crown revenues and expenses.[72] Perhaps the most significant change in attendance at the *Hofkonferenz* was the presence of Maria Theresa and members of her family following the death of Charles VI in 1740. The new queen of Hungary and Bohemia was accompanied by her husband Francis Stephen (Emperor Francis I after 1745), aunt, and brother-in-law.[73] Maria Theresa's presence at the *Hofkonferenz* has been largely overlooked by historians even though it "was an extraordinary assertion of her unparalleled position" as sovereign.[74]

The second reason Ferdinand IV's death was a turning point in Habsburg funerals was because it led to a more "systematic" approach to planning the funeralization process by using the records of past monarchs as precedents.[75] The use of precedents in planning rituals was a normal part of life at the Austrian court, where interaction between household departments, groups at court, and individuals was mediated by ritual interaction. Everything from the ordering of ceremonies to housing accommodations to food menus were arranged based on the way similar events had been handled in the past.[76] Starting in 1652, secretaries for the Ceremonial Department (*Zeremonienamt*) kept detailed records of how *Hofstaat* rituals were planned and conducted in the *Protocollum Aulicum*—including the schematics for Ferdinand's funeral.[77] When Ferdinand III died in 1657, the plans from his son's funeral three

[72] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 234r./v; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 18r./v.; *Staats- und Standes-Calender*, 362, 373; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 213; Stefan Seitschek, "Was blieb von Karl VI.?": Funktionträges am Hof Kaiser Karls VI., in *300 Jahre Karl VI.*, Seitschek, Hutterer and Theimer, eds., 250-2; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 15.
[73] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 234r./v; Verhandlungsakten betreffend die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten und Exequien für Kaiser Karl VI. (1740.10.20-1740.12.13), AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 18r./v.
[74] Beales, "Francis Stephen of Lorraine," 131.
[75] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7.
[76] Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68.
[77] Duindam, "Ceremonial Staffs," 376; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7; Pangerl, 1.1.1. "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," 152-3. The Ceremonial Department was part of the *Obersthofmeister*'s staff.

years earlier were therefore available in the *Protocollum Aulicum* to be used as precedents.[78] When Leopold I died, the scale of his funeralization needed to be commensurate with his forty-eight-year reign; a period that was marked by the re-Catholicization of the Habsburg *Erblande* and opposition to Louis XIV's expansionist foreign policies.[79] To plan a funeral of appropriate grandeur, Counts Harrach and Mansfeld made the decision to use Ferdinand III's as their model, which also happened to be the most recent one for a Habsburg emperor. Leopold's father had been a devout monarch who played a vital role in establishing the *pietas Austriaca*, a legacy that could be readily adapted for Leopold's funeralization.[80]

Harrach and Mansfeld only made minor changes to the Ferdinandine funerals of the 1650s. The plans that remained mostly unchanged were the embalming of the emperor's corpse and the burial of organs in key religious sites; the preparations for the three-day lying-in-state in the Hofburg Knight's Hall (*Ritterstube*); the construction of temporary altars to hold liturgical rites in the Knight's Hall during that time; the interment in the Capuchin Crypt; the number of clergy required to attend; and some of the early preparations for exequies.[81] By using these same precedents from fifty years earlier, Harrach and Mansfeld created the illusion

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[78] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241. See also Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 35-6.

[79] Hawlik-van de Water, *Kapuzinergruft*, 132; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 125, 143; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 150. For an overview of Leopold's religious policies, see Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, particularly 61-5. For a detailed study on relations between Leopold and Louis XIV, see Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 17, 214-43, 273, 292, and Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*, 52, 58, 80-2, 199-200. For a detailed analysis of the conflicts between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, see Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans Between Vienna and Belgrade*, 19-140, and Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 39-42, 58. For a discussion of how Louis and Leopold's rivalry played out during the Turkish crises, see Martin Wrede, "Türkenkrieger, Türkensieger: Leopold I. und Louis XIV. als Retter und Ritter der Christianheit," in *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: Konkurrierende Modelle im dynastichen Europe um 1700*, Christoph Kampmann, Katharina Krause, Eva-Bettina Krems, and Anuschka Tischer, eds. (Böhlau: Köln, 2008), 149-65.

[80] Evans, "Communicating Empire," 119-20; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 142; Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories: Multiple Versions of the 'Pietas Austriaca'?," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 97, no. 2 (Apr., 2011), 277. The concept of the *pietas Austriaca* in modern historiography was developed by the late Austrian historian Anna Coreth. For her work on this topic, see *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1959) and *Pietas Austriaca: Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1982).

[81] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7.

of an unchanging, timeless Habsburg burial ritual, even though their funeral model was not even a century old. These rituals created a ceremonial link with the past, creating a sense of continuity that was particularly important for the Austrian dynasty since their primary claim to European authority was the elected imperial title that predated their authority by centuries.[82]

Consulting past funerary records for planning contemporary ones maintained dynastic consistency through rituals; a consistency that was expressed by connecting the decedent with the piety, virtue, and legitimacy of their predecessors. This concept will be expanded upon in the final chapter discussing funerary sermons, but there was a belief that these legitimizing qualities were inheritable through the Habsburg bloodline. By using the funerary plans of virtuous, pious monarchs, the *Hofkonferenz* was able to posthumously transmit those legitimizing qualities onto the deceased.[83] Duindam describes this process of using both unaltered and modified precedents as a permanent intertwining of "innovation and tradition" that led to "frequent *ad hoc* attempts to restore an imaginary old order [that] may have had more 'innovative' results than premeditated attempts at change."[84] The pragmatic nature of this *ad hoc* approach allowed Habsburg officials to use past funeral precedents while at the same time being able to modify certain rituals to accommodate the individual being funeralized. The plans that the committee modified, or the ones they chose to keep as is, were an expression of their own understanding of monarchical legitimacy and their place within the social hierarchy. Rituals that publicly demonstrated the close relationship between the Crown and the aristocrats, particularly the ones that privileged the rights of the household, were often the last ones to be changed.

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[82] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 291; Evans, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 23.
[83] Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories," 276, 291-2.
[84] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 12. Duindam, for his impressive body of work and all his insights, does not ever discuss royal funerals in his kaleidoscope of rituals in which the court would be on full display, despite the fact that Leopold's funeral had approx. 1,900 people just in the procession (see chapter five).

The use of precedents was also a way to accommodate changing circumstances without departing too much from established traditions, thereby maintaining the continuity of courtly authority that kept order over the normative social hierarchy. When Charles VI died, the *Hofkonferenz* consulted the Leopoldine funerary records in the *Protocollum Aulicum* as the main precedent.[85] This was the first instance in which the court records specify that the protocols from the previous imperial funerals were read aloud to the conference members, though Kneidinger and Dittinger note that this was likely done in the past as well but just not recorded in the notes for the conference.[86] For the century prior to 1740, court funerary rites had changed very little, but alterations of precedents adapted to contemporary circumstances was standard procedure at most courts.[87] Charles had been the last male Habsburg, and his death necessitated one significant alteration to previous funeral plans.[88] In the Middle Ages, it was necessary for the new monarch to be publicly visible during the funeral procession as proof that the succession had been secured; only then could a royal funeral be lawfully held and sovereignty passed onto the new monarch.[89] In 1740, however, the new Habsburg monarch was a woman, and a pregnant one at that. The decision was made by the *Hofkonferenz* that Maria Theresa would not participate in her father's funeral out of fear that the emotional strain would overwhelm her and risk a miscarriage.[90] Instead, Francis Stephen was allowed to

[85] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, ff. 11r./v.; Bepler, "Funerals," 245. The funeral of Emperor Joseph I, who succeeded Leopold and reigned briefly from 1705-11, was also consulted for general reference (Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 377-8).
[86] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 540.
[87] Bepler, "Funerals," 247. These "local circumstances" Bepler mentions include whether the funeral was for an emperor, king, duke, or other rank of ruler. As happened frequently in the early modern period, titles changed from one ruler to the next. The funeral of King August II of Poland in 1733, for example, would have had to take into account the fact that he had initially been elector of Saxony and was later elected king. As such, the precedents for an electoral funeral had to be modified to reflect August's status as a king.
[88] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 69.
[89] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 20.
[90] Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215-6. The *Protocollum Aulicum* provides a detailed summary of the ceremonial issues of having a male proxy for a female sovereign (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 263v.-267r.). It does not appear that the court sought to use the Carolinian exequies as an opportunity to legitimize the new gendered nature of the Crown in a way that

act as her proxy at the funeral, occupying the place of the monarch, partly because there was an expectation that he would be elected emperor to succeed his father-in-law.[91]

Charles had left instructions that his funeral should follow the protocols of his predecessors but wanted it to be an unforgettable grand affair. "My funeral will be such a beautiful celebration that I would like to walk behind my own coffin," he remarked.[92] In most other respects, the *Hofkonferenz* kept the other elements of the Carolinian funeralization almost identical to earlier ones. Having the funerals of father and son mirror one another, both of whom reigned for long periods and were known for their great piety, served to construct legitimacy through ritual symmetry.[93] Arranging for nearly identical lyings-in-state in the Hofburg Knight's Hall and funeral processions to the crypt also played a role in constructing a corporate memory among the local population of their participation in the monarchy's life cycle and the eternal destination of their rulers.[94] By using these earlier precedents to create

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recognized Maria Theresa's own agency as the Habsburg state's first woman monarch in her own right. Since the *Hofstaat* seemed to view Maria Theresa's accession as an *ad hoc* solution to an unprecedented problem, the court seemed disinclined to create a ceremonial role for the new queen, in favour of maintaining the past precedents of strict gender divisions by absenting Maria Theresa from the funerary rites (Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 541). None of this should be taken as a lack of agency on Maria Theresa's part. In fact, according to one royal historian, in the 1730s before ever ascending the throne, Maria Theresa "let people know that she would be a monarch on her own terms and not one at the mercy of advisers" (Gelardi, *In Triumph's Wake*, 143).

[91] Francis Stephen had no formal role at court. He became the grand duke of Tuscany in 1737, but this still placed him relatively low in the court hierarchy. Since there was no precedent for a female Austrian monarch, being the husband of the queen regnant was virtually meaningless in terms of position. Francis Stephen did inherit the grand mastership of the Golden Fleece from Charles, but it was acting as the monarch's proxy throughout the funeralization process that gave the grand duke a visible role as the senior most person at court. This was particularly helpful in providing a level of legitimacy for the queen's husband, who up until that time had been rather unpopular with her subjects and was regarded as a dismal failure as a general of the Habsburg armies (Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 153-4).

[92] Eva Demmerle and Gigi Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?" Habsburgische Begräbnisstäten in Österreich* (Vienna: Amalthea, 2019), 55.

[93] For contemporary references to their piety on their deathbeds, see AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 332r./v.; Kaiser Leopold I. empfängt die Sterbesakramente. (1705.05.05), AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-40, f. 1, "Kaiser Leopold I. empfängt die Sterbesakramente," May 5, 1705; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten "Vienne ce 26. d'Oct: 1740"; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 54v.

[94] Tingle, *Piety and Purgatory in Brittany*, 179. One major change that was made extended Charles's lying-in-state from three days to four. This modification was made to accommodate the fact that had the standard three days been followed, the funeral would have fallen on a Sunday, which was forbidden by court protocol. The extra day

ritual symmetry, the *Hofkonferenz* was able to posthumously legitimize Charles's reign and connect him to the pantheon of Habsburg monarchs and send the message that this legitimacy was passed on to Maria Theresa as his rightful heir.

Maria Theresa's own funeralization in 1780 was marked by several significant alterations to earlier precedents, notably the use of a hearse to transport the corpse to the crypt and cutting down the size of the procession by having the household and government officials go on ahead to the crypt to await the arrival of the corpse.[95] These modifications were partly as a consequence of being the only funeral for a female Habsburg monarch, and partly in response to the empress's own self planning. As early as 1753, she had commissioned the Italian architect Niccolò Pacassi to expand the imperial crypt to include a new section for her and her family, including a giant double sarcophagus for her and Francis.[96] After Francis died in 1765, she spent years planning many details of her funeralization, from the shoes she would wear at the lying-in-state to her interment alongside her husband.[97] Chapter five will expand on these in greater detail, but most of the changes were made to the funeral itself, such as the use of a horse-drawn hearse and alterations to the structure of the procession. Even though the empress had already planned a number of details, her *Obersthofbeämter* still needed to consult records for the overall structure of the funeral and interment. They relied on the plans used for Francis I from 1765, which had been based on Charles VI's and which Maria Theresa had herself been involved in organizing. The *Obersthofämter* still played a central role in the funeralization, notably the burial of vital organs at St. Stephan's Cathedral, escorting the coffin

would also allow more mourners to visit the Knight's Hall and pay their respects (Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 214-5).

[95] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35, ff. ff. 385v.-386r., 390r./v., 392r.-393v., 397v., 400v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 285, 306r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.773-B/422.774-B.

[96] Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien* (Vienna: Herder, 1987), 30; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241. This new section of the crypt was appropriately named the *Maria-Theresien-Gruft*.

[97] Wolfsgrüber, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 254; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241-2.

into the crypt for interment, and the exequies that legitimized the empress's life and reign.[98] Their involvement in these rites reinforced the household's continued importance at the heart of monarchical power and dynastic continuity.

In some cases, however, there were no precedents for certain circumstances and the *Hofkonferenz* had to consult and adapt records outside of those kept just for reigning monarchs. When Maria Theresa died in 1780, the protocols for funeralizing Habsburg monarchs had been entirely gendered.[99] Conceptions of female authority and rulership in the Habsburg state were reflective of broader early modern views on the place of women within society. In the Habsburg state, female rulership was tethered to ideas of "companionate marriage…and a willingness to embrace political power in conjunction with husbands and sons."[100] There were no provisions for funeralizing a female Habsburg sovereign, and Maria Theresa occupied a unique position at the time of her death as both dowager empress and queen regnant. Her *Hofkonferenz* needed to consult the funeral plans for recent Habsburg women: the two dowager empresses Eleonora Magdalena (1720) and Elizabeth Christina (1750), who was Maria Theresa's mother; and the two wives of Joseph II: Isabella of Parma (1763) and Maria Josepha of Bavaria (1767). In the end, although specific rites were modified, the overall format of the Theresian funeralization remained largely consistent with those of other Habsburg monarchs from the previous century. The plans from her female predecessors were only taken as suggestions rather than formal guidelines to be followed.[101] The lying-in-

[98] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 376r., 378r., 380r., 385v.-386r., 390v., 395r./v., 397r., 398r./v., 401r.-403v.;; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 276r., 280-1; 303r; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 30r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35, ff. 377r./v., 379r./v., 392r., 397v.-398r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* […], 422.774-B; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 251; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 378.

[99] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 98. Even Leopold I's widow, Eleonora Magdalena, was adamant that her entire autopsy, embalming, and dressing of her corpse in 1720 should be done only by women. The lack of women who were able to receive medical training meant that the late empress's chambermaid could do little more than wash her mistress's face and hands.

[100] Charles Beem, *Queenship in Early Modern Europe* (London: Red Globe Press, 2020), 155.

[101] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, ff. 167r., 170r.

state, funeral, and exequies remained the ritual foundations of the funeralization process even throughout the nineteenth century.

BRITAIN

The Royal Household

In the same way that the imperial household at the core of the *Hofstaat* oversaw Habsburg funerary rites, so too did the Royal Household, the nucleus of Britain's Court of St James's. Royal households in general carried out similar functions from one state to the next, so there are inescapable parallels in how they managed events like dynastic funerals. As such, the remainder of the chapter will outline three key components to understanding how the Royal Household shaped British monarchical funerals. First, the structure of the household and how it functioned in relationship to the Court of St James's will be examined. The chapter will then analyze the role of the Privy Council as the primary body of courtiers and parliamentarians that advised the Crown on the planning of royal funerals. Thirdly, the discussion will explore the evolving role of the College of Arms in organizing royal funerals. As the organization responsible for the heraldic elements, it is necessary to analyze the college's declining involvement in monarchical ceremonies to better understand the shift to private royal funerals after 1695. Separate sections are set aside to discuss the case of Mary II's funeral as an important case of Parliament mandating a royal funeral to legitimize its own claim to authority following the Glorious Revolution; followed by an analysis of how the funerals of Queen Anne (1714) and King George II (1760) reflected an increasing privatization of royal ceremonials as the Crown became less critical to the legitimization of governance in late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a process that led to the decline of the College of Arms against the expanding authority of the monarch's household.

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the origins of the Court of St James's date all the way back to William the Conqueror's invasion of England in 1066. As the Crown's

needs grew over the centuries, so too did the responsibilities of the court and those who attended to the king on a daily basis.[102] Lawrence and Jeanne Fawtier Stone argue that it was during the sixteenth century that the household underwent a profound evolution. They contend it evolved from being a somewhat undefined corps of retainers who surrounded the sovereign to "a much larger central bureaucracy" in which aristocrats served the Crown as paid employment with "access to rich perquisites and rewards."[103] By the late seventeenth century, the Court of St James's in its simplest form, if such a reductive phrase can even be used, was an extension of the Royal Household and served as a bridge with Parliament.[104] One expert described the household as existing "to provide a wide variety of services to the monarch and the nation, not all of which are reducible to structural analysis or rational measures of efficiency or cost."[105] The size of the Royal Household fluctuated considerably in the century between Charles II's Restoration in 1660 and George II's death in 1760. During William and Mary's co-reign, the average size of the Royal Household was 1,100 people, with an average yearly cost of £307,983—the highest for any reign during that century and with the largest staff-to-cost ratio. Both metrics did decline somewhat following Mary II's death with the elimination of her household from the overall count.[106] Changes in size and expenditure over the course of the eighteenth century reflected the personal habits of the reigning monarch. Queen Anne, for example, had one of the smallest households since the mid-seventeenth

[102] For a discussion of the medieval Norman offices that were established in England after 1066 and became the foundation of the Royal Household, see Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 10-13, 21, 43-4, 50-1, 62. An argument can be made that the court of the Stuart and Hanoverian monarchs was largely a transplant from Normandy and therefore a distant aulic cousin to their French rivals.
[103] Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 277.
[104] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 95; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 17.
[105] Bucholz, ed., "Introduction", in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/lxxvi-xcviii, accessed March 20, 2022.
[106] Despite being queen regnant in name and title, Mary II's household was structured as if she were a queen consort, meaning her household was only a fraction of her husband's establishment as king (Barclay, "William's Court as King," 255).

century, yet still cost a whopping £427,193 (£62.2 million)—an amount that eclipsed the household costs for Emperor Leopold I, his wife and five children.[107]

Scholars and royal documents still use these terms 'court' and 'household' interchangeably to describe both the individuals who surrounded the monarch and the political, social, and religious networks that connected the Crown with the government and the state. This synonymy creates several challenges for historians. The first and most basic challenge is determining how one differentiates the court from the Royal Household. The answer is similar to what has already been observed in Vienna. The monarch's household can be categorized as the officials, staff, and servants who attended the monarch and facilitated the day-to-day management of the Crown. Like in Austria, there were courtiers who were not members of the household but were still regarded as being part of "the court", while other individuals attended court for entertainment or as part of a higher-ranking person's entourage. For this study, the term *court* will only be used in specific instances when referring to the wider

[107] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 20, table 1.2, 53-4, table 2.2. It should be noted, however, that her court expenses nearly doubled to £427,193, an amount that was becoming comparable with the Austrian Habsburgs. She did, however, managed to cut 250 positions from the Royal Household (54, table 2.2). This calculation is based upon https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1714&amount=427193&year_result=2020, accessed May 27, 2021. Converting household costs between one court and the next is far from an exact science and should be regarded as more of a general reference point. This is an issue that Duindam has observed in his own work comparing early modern France and Austria, since converting between the French *livre* and the Austrian Rhenish *Guelder/florin* has a considerable margin of error (Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 87). It is also worth noting that even though George II's household appeared to rebound to over a thousand staff at an annual cost of £300,000 when he died in 1760, these metrics are just averages and do not necessarily reflect his more frugal financial habits in his last years that enabled his revenues to exceed his expenses. A more detailed, year-by-year analysis would invariably show a much starker contrast in the king's household finances (Bucholz, ed., "The Early Hanoverian Royal Household 1714-1760," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/xcviii-cv, accessed March 12, 2022). The Royal Household was financed by the Treasury, through directives from the monarch, which were then passed on to the Barons of the Exchequer, who then distributed bills, accounts, and moneys to the various departments (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 40, figure 2.2). The Crown's income—and thus, its payment for the household—came primarily from the Civil List, a revenue granted to the monarch independent of parliamentary oversight that was generated from a number of historic privileges like hereditary lands, the post office, and the excises (E. A. Reitan, "From Revenue to Civil List, 1689-1705: The Revolution Settlement and the 'Mixed and Balanced' Constitution," in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 13, no. 4 [Dec., 1970], 571-2; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 46).

network of workers, patronage, and social networking of St James's's beyond the management and ceremonial functions of the Royal Household, or when referencing the work of other scholars who prefer the courtly designation.[108]

The second challenge created by this view of the court and household being indistinguishable is connected to a contradiction within the courtly decline thesis. If the court is the extension of the Crown, and the court declined and lost significance in the eighteenth century, why then did the monarchy remain "supreme over almost all aspects of government: head of the executive, arbiter of justice, the fount of honours and titles, and…the head of the English Church"?[109] The answer to this question may be found in understanding the paradox that the historiography has created by interpreting the court and household as a single, indistinguishable institution. Even though the court is an extension of the household, the former is often associated with political authority, factionalism, culture and patronage. The monarch's household, on the other hand, evokes images of staff serving the Crown and facilitating rituals of royal life.[110] The courtly interpretation that dominates the literature argues that the primary impact of the Court of St James's on the development of the early modern state was as a political and/or cultural institution. Historians examining St James's' as a purely political institution have focused on the power jockeying, rise of the party system, patronage, and high society that was conducted in the royal residences occupied by the court. This is fundamentally a spatial interpretation.[111] The business of state was conducted in the physical areas within royal residences. David Starkey conceptualizes the sixteenth-century

[108] Williams, "The Tudors," 147; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 2 et al; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 95-100; Bucholz, ed., "Introduction," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/xx-xxxvii, accessed June 18, 2021; Barclay, "William's Court as King," 246-7, 250-5; Smith, "The Court in England," 23 et al; Thompson, *George II*, 40-1; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 17-8; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 11; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 24, 30; "Inside the Royal Household," https://www.royal.uk/inside-the-royal-household, accessed March 10, 2022.
[109] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 95-6.
[110] Holmes, *Britain After the Glorious Revolution*, 8; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 3; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 7; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 45.
[111] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 258.

Tudor court as being defined by these indoor spaces where royal authority and political power were exercised; namely the monarch's personal chambers, the Privy Council Chamber, Privy Gallery, and the passages that connected them.[112] Bucholz and Archer similarly present the late seventeenth and eighteenth-century court as a geographic spatial institution maintained by a network that linked royal centres of authority like Whitehall Palace with national seats of political, religious, and ritual power in London, particularly Westminster.[113]

Juxtaposing this spatial-political interpretation within the historiographical paradox is the household interpretation, which considers how daily royal rituals shaped the Crown's influence on the state and its interactions with its subjects, rather than the politics conducted at court. This methodology is particularly popular among Tudors and early Stuart scholars, but British political history after the Interregnum and Glorious Revolution has focused largely on the rise of parliamentary sovereignty. The household interpretation, however, reconciles two seemingly disparate trends within the historiography: the decline of the court as a major political force yet the Crown remaining the centre of political life in the state.[114] The household interpretation of this paradox reveals an institution whose influence over government may have declined in terms of policymaking but ensured the continued importance of the monarchy as the historic institution that legitimized the state. The upper echelons of the Royal Household were filled by members of the government. During Queen Anne's reign, no fewer than thirty peers and fifty-two Members of the House of Commons served in her household; many of whom were also continuing on in their offices after William III died in 1702 or went on to be employed by George I in 1714.[115] By 1726, a quarter of the entire peerage was employed at court or in government as a paid official.[116] By ensuring the

[112] Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 24; Griffey, ed., *Early Modern Court Culture*, 3.
[113] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 8; Archer, "City and Court Connected,"; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 24.
[114] Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 25.
[115] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 260-4.
[116] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 406.

Crown's position as the source of executive power in Britain remained intact, the officials within the household were ensuring continued legitimacy for Parliament's authority—and by extension, for those peers who controlled the House of Lords and the Royal Household. If the monarchy's interactions with its subjects were mediated by the Royal Household, and that household was managed by peers and parliamentarians, then the members of the aristocracy who also populated the government played an active role in communicating their own importance as the symbolic source of royal authority, which was done most often through rituals and ceremonies.

It therefore becomes necessary to consider who is occupying these senior positions in the government and the household to understand how the latter shaped and continued to influence the former. Like the *Obersthofbeämter* managing the court and household of the Habsburg monarch, their British counterparts were the High Officers of the Royal Household who were all appointed personally by the monarch and received staves of office and golden keys to the monarch's chambers.[117] There were seven High Officers responsible for overseeing everything within the household.[118] The Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward, Master of the Horse, and Groom of the Stole were the most powerful and influential officers because they

[117] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 65-7, figure 3.1, 101; 255; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 433. The High Officers of the Household are separate from the Great Officers of State, whose positions are linked to the functioning of parliamentary monarchy. The Great Offices developed out of the medieval royal households but were more directly involved with governance and were thus pulled more into the parliamentary sphere. Like the household officials, the Great Officers also received golden keys and white staves as symbols of their link to the Crown—yet another similarity of the Austrian household, one that speaks to the universality of how royal institutions were managed even after the Reformation and the confessional divisions separated previously similar monarchical regimes (Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 20, 42, 44, et al). The Great Officers of State (in order of precedence) are the Lord High Steward (as separate from the courtly Lord Steward), Lord High Chancellor, Lord High Treasurer, Lord President of the Privy Council, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; Lord Great Chamberlain; Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and the Lord High Admiral.

[118] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 433. The departments of the Royal Household between 1660 and 1837, in order of rank, were the Royal Bedchamber; the Public Rooms; the Presence, Privy Chambers, and Guard Chambers; the Medical, Artistic, and Military Establishments; the Hunting, Sport, and Gaming department; transport; the Chapel Royal; tradesmen; the Household Below Stairs; the Stables; and the menial servants (Bucholz, ed., *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11, accessed June 18, 2021).

were directly responsible for the day-to-day functioning of the household and the monarch's daily life. Of all the High Officers, they wielded the greatest influence over the Crown via their ability to regulate access to the monarch, act as go-betweens with Parliament, and reinforce the social hierarchy. In addition to these four, the other High Officers were the Master of the Robes, the Lord Almoner, and the Keeper of the Privy Purse. They were less involved in household ceremonials and had minimal staff.[119]

The Lord Chamberlain was the head of the Royal Household. He was responsible for managing the staff who attended the monarch Above Stairs in their Privy and Presence Chambers, the Chapel Royal, the Jewel House, the royal body guards, and, in a less direct role, the Great Wardrobe (see chapter two). As the Head of the Royal Household and the person in charge of managing many of its ceremonial or protocol issues, the Lord Chamberlain was responsible for making any arrangements that involved the physical space within royal residences. After the monarch died, this included everything from draping the palaces in mourning to embalming the corpse.[120] In practice, this meant he had the widest patronage network of the High Officers, as his authority overlapped by the ceremonial and cultural sides of the court.

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[119] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 38, figure 2.1, 41, 66-7, fig. 3.1, 101, 255. As figures 2.1 and 3.1 show, the Master of the Robes oversaw the Yeomen of the Robes and their staff, while the Lord Almoner managed the subalmonry and its staff. The Keeper of the Privy Purse was a single person who had direct control over the monarch's personal finances (Bucholz, ed., "Chamber Administration: Keeper of the Privy Purse, 1660-1837," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp11-12, accessed March 26, 2022).

[120] "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; *I.4 Funerals of Kings, Princes, &c.*, 114; Funeral: Anne, 1714, LC 2/18, no. 49: "Mourning for King Henry the 7.ths Chapel &c."; PC 2/85, 17; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73-4; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 292; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 38, figure 2.1, 171, 255; Bucholz, ed., "Chamber Administration: Lord Chamberlain, 1660-1837," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp1-8, accessed March 24, 2022; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 11; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 30; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19-20. There was also a Vice-Chamberlain who ran the household in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain, which, according to Bucholz, was a common occurrence (Bucholz, ed., "Vice Chamberlain 1660-1837," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp1-8#h3-0003, accessed March 26, 2022).

Even though the Lord Chamberlain was the Head of the Household and the architect of court ceremonials, the Lord Steward was considered the oldest High Office and given precedence accordingly. This was the "plum job" at the Williamite court, with the perk of being able to oversee hundreds of appointments to different positions at court.[121] Part of the decision to place the Lord Steward after the Lord Chamberlain in this study is based on the fact that the latter had authority over twice as many court positions as the former. The Lord Steward managed all the servants Below Stairs: the clerks, pages, chefs, and servants who worked in the palaces and handled more of the administrative tasks of the household and did not come into contact with the king or queen.[122] It was the Lord Steward's responsibility to organize the practical elements of royal funerals such as preparing a hearse for transporting the body and arranging incidentals like candles to illuminate Westminster Abbey for the service.[123]

The Master of the Horse, as the name suggests, was responsible for the royal stables, equerries, footmen, and transportation. Until the reign of George III, this office went to a Peer of the Realm, and thus had a seat in the House of Lords; was a member of the Privy Council; and, during the early Hanoverian period, was even a member of the Cabinet.[124] During royal funerals, the Master of the Horse was responsible for providing the coaches and horses that transported the corpse and members of the royal family.[125] The last of the four senior officers was the Groom of the Stole, who oversaw the bedchamber staff such as the Grooms of the Presence and the Maids of Honour. This was the one department Above Stairs that was not managed by the Lord Chamberlain. It was also the only High Office that was strictly

[121] Barcley, "William's Court as King," 246.
[122] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 41-2, table 3.1, 66-7; Bucholz, ed., "The household below stairs: Lord Steward 1660-1837," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp397-398, accessed March 26, 2022.
[123] "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; Funeral: George II, 1760, LC 2/27, 85, 96.
[124] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 62-3. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Royal Stables spent approximately £95,000 on acquiring and outfitting horses for William III's various campaigns in Ireland and on the continent (Barclay, "William's Court as King," 248.
[125] PC 2/85, 24; *Funerals, College of Arms.*

determined by gender since anyone who came into physical contact with the monarch had to be the same gender; during the reign of queens regnant, the bedchamber staff had to be women.[126]

Approximately thirty-five positions in the Royal Household were primarily reserved peers; it was a prerequisite for the High Officers to have at least an earldom. Between 1660 and 1685, more than half of Charles II's household were aristocrats or came from the gentry.[127] Like the *Obersthofbeämter*, it was common for the High Officers to hold multiple appointments. During most of Queen Anne's reign, Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, was Groom of the Stole, Mistress of the Robes, and the Keeper of the Privy Purse.[128] From 1702-14, an average of ten members of Queen Anne's household sat in Parliament, nearly all of whom occupied political offices as governors, lords lieutenant, trade commissioners, and military commanders. Throughout much of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, approximately twenty-five householders were sitting members of Parliament; around 20% of the House of Lords was comprised of household peers.[129] In addition to the house, most of the High Officers were members of the Privy Council.[130] William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire, George II's Lord Chamberlain in 1760, was simultaneously a Privy Counsellor and the Lord High Treasurer of Ireland. He had also

[126] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 38, figure 2.1, 171, 255; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 433; Barclay, "William's Court as King," 246-7.
[127] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 12-3, 101, 255; Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 35. According to Bucholz, as many as 400 householders came from the gentry, while the bulk of the approx. 800 Low Offices were held by menial or common workers (*Augustan Court*, 255-6).
[128] Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 314-5; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 392-5.
[129] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 189, table 6.1; Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 436-9; Robert Bucholz, "'The King's turnspit was a member of Parliament': And other Tales from the Expanded Database of Court Officers 1660-1837," in *The Court Historian*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2022), 130-1.
[130] Smith, "The Court in England," 28.

previously been Master of the Horse, Leader of the House of Lords, and even Prime Minister for several months.[131]

These parliamentary and court officials "were often the same people wearing different hats"—which was inevitable considering there were so few peers at any one time.[132] For intrepid and high-ranking peers like the Duke of Devonshire, being appointed as one of the High Officers could be and was used as a gateway to earning a seat in Cabinet since they had direct access to the monarch. There was a contemporary belief, whether it was true or not, that the most important state business was conducted at court, and Parliament was only an ancillary institution.[133] In reality, the House of Lords was arguably the most powerful governing institution in eighteenth-century Britain, while the House of Commons' claim to fame at that time was its oversight of royal finances.[134] Perhaps the most important link in the chain that connected the eighteenth-century Parliament and Royal Household was the Privy Council, which was one of the most important decision-making bodies in Britain for several centuries.[135] Although it originated sometime around the thirteenth century, Henry VIII reinterpreted the council's role as an equipoise against Thomas Cromwell's increasing political power.[136] From 1529, the Lord President of the Council was one of the Great Officers of State, usually the Leader of the House, and, eventually, a member of Cabinet.[137] The rest of the council was populated by some Members of the Commons but was largely made up of senior

[131] Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, "Cavendish, William, fourth duke of Devonshire," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4949, accessed March 24, 2022.
[132] Thompson, *George II*, 5.
[133] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 133, 152.
[134] Thompson, *George II*, 42.
[135] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 149; Michael Everett, "The Privy Council," Briefing Paper, Number CBP7460, February 8, 2016, 3-4.
[136] G. J. Meyer, *The Tudors: The Complete Story of England's Most Notorious Dynasty* (New York: Delacorte Press, 2010), 335-6.
[137] 21° Hen. VIII, c. XX: "An Acte that the pꝛsident of the Kynges Counsaile shalbe associate with the Chauncellor and Treasourer of Englonde and the Keper of the Kinges Privie Seale," in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, 304; Everett, "The Privy Council," 5; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 64.

peers from the House of Lords, including members of the Royal Household like the Lords Chamberlain and Steward or Grooms of the Bedchamber.[138] The council helped maintain the balance of power between the monarch and Parliament by providing "a suitable body, with its powers vested in precedent, to continue in helping monarchs exercise their lingering powers [after 1688] and to fulfil residual judicial and other responsibilities."[139] Its role in governing the country on a day-to-day basis expanded considerably after 1714, since the Hanoverian king George I spoke little English and was preoccupied with the welfare of his German territories.[140] By the early eighteenth century, the Privy Council had effectively become a constitutional body used by the government to advise the Crown, including state ceremonies that displayed royal authority.

The Privy Council and Royal Funerals

Like the Habsburg *Hofkonferenz*, the Privy Council was responsible for planning the monarch's funeralization, since it was made up of senior parliamentarians and the High Officers and advised the monarch on political and ceremonial matters relating to the Crown. The Privy Council arranged the funerals for every British monarch from 1685 to 1830; the one exception was George I, who died at Osnabrück in 1727.[141] Since Privy Counselors were frequently MPs, planning the monarch's funeral meant there would be some overlap between courtly and parliamentary jurisdictions—though the goal as a constitutional monarchy was for these interests to agree with one another. Parliamentary interests therefore influenced the size, cost, and messaging of a royal funeral through the Privy Council, which consulted earlier

[138] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 242-3; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 563; PC 1/6/89, f. 5; PC 2/85, 16; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 149; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 127. In some cases, Privy Counsellors were members of the court but not necessarily members of the household, as in the case of the Great Officers of State (21, 43, 44).
[139] Everett, "The Privy Council," 3-4.
[140] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 149; Thompson, *George II*, 48-9.
[141] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68-9; Thompson, *George II*, 68; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19.

precedents and modified or reinterpreted them to communicate the legitimacy of Parliament's authority over the state and its ability to ensure stability and an uncontested succession to the throne after the monarch died.

The council appointed special committees from among its members to oversee the minute details of funeral planning, though final approval rested with the entire Privy Council. Special committees were standard operating procedure for the Privy Council in handling much of the Crown's governing responsibilities; some committees were temporary while others met on a permanent basis. In some cases, Officers of the Household, peers, and MPs served on multiple committees, resulting in decision-making power being concentrated in a core group of men that were just an extension of the Privy Council.[142] Between 1694 and 1760, these special funeral committees normally had around twenty-seven members, including the archbishop of Canterbury, the Great Officers of State, and the High Officers of the Household.[143] The committees assembled as soon as the monarch died to determine the overall structure of the funeralization process, ordering the creation of escutcheons bearing the Royal Arms to be displayed on the coffin, and drafting the proclamation of the decedent's titles and styles that would be read out during the burial.[144] Since the death of Henry VII in 1509,

[142] Turner, "Committees of the Privy Council," 545-6, 547. The Privy Council special committees oversaw a wide range of issues, mostly relating to domestic affairs in Ireland, colonial issues like the redemption of slaves in Africa, and governance of the Channel Islands (547, 551, 557). These committees became more important to the functioning of the government after 1714 when they were needed to help George I in his role as king (Turner, "Committees of the Privy Council," 550; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 131). The rise of Cabinet government under the Hanoverians may very well have had its origins in these permanent committees. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Cabinet had superseded the Privy Council committees as the more important body for dealing with royal governance. The king was initially present for these early cabinet meetings, but George I quickly stopped attending, requiring the members to conduct business themselves and appoint men as ministers for different aspects of governance (Turner, "Committees of the Privy Council," 572).

[143] PC 1/6/89, f. 5; PC 2/85, 23; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65-6. Turner claims that George II's Privy Council only had thirty-two members in the final decade of his reign, but notices published in the *London Gazette* beginning in 1714 indicate that there were nearly sixty Privy Counsellors at the time of George II's death in 1760, thus making the special committee for planning his funeralization nearly half his Privy Council. These records can be found at https://www.thegazette.co.uk/all-notices, accessed July 7, 2021. As of 2016, the Privy Council for the United Kingdom (as separate from those of other countries like Canada or Australia) had 650 members.

[144] LC 2/11/2, no. 9; PC 2/85, 27; *Funerals, College of Arms*; *I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 91.

English royal funeralizations were consistently structured around a series of ceremonials that began almost immediately after death. The body was embalmed and publicly laid out in one of the royal residences for several days, after which it was transported via public procession to Westminster Abbey for the funeral and burial service. The detailed account of Henry VII's funeral is the earliest complete surviving record of its kind and became the standard format for monarchical obsequies by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[145]

The Privy Council and special committees did not consult these ceremonial records themselves. This task was the responsibility of the College of Arms, a body that was similar to the *Hofstaat*'s Ceremonial Department.[146] The college was a unique entity because it was officially part of the Royal Household but did not play a role in facilitating any aspect of the monarch's daily life, nor was it considered part of the court. Its only function within the household was only in consulting royal precedents and making recommendations on ceremonial events like coronations and funerals.[147] The college falls under the purview of the Duke of Norfolk, whose family—the Howards—has held the hereditary office of Earl Marshal of England since 1483.[148] As one of the Great Officers of State with authority over chivalric and heraldic matters, the Earl Marshal served as "the architect for England's greatest State occasions" for centuries and stage managed royal funerals assisted by the thirteen Officers of Arms who collectively comprise the college. The thirteen officers were appointed to the Royal

[145] *Vincent's Presidents*, vol. 151, *The marshalling of all Estates and degrees at publique assemblies and funeralls together with their severall priviledges and institutions, habits, robes and their fashions, herses, modesse proportions and allowances for the same. And also the severall fees of Officers to be imployed in the service*, 522-32; Collection of papers relating to the marshalling of funerals by the heralds, between the years 1634—1695, MS. Rawl. B. 48, no. 3, 28-9; Notes of royal and funeral processions, 1603—1661, MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 40, 41, 45r./v., 48r., 57; MS. Rawl. B. 146, no. 2, ff. 71, 73; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 63, 68.
[146] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68; Thompson, *George II*, 68; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429.
[147] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 23; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429; Bepler, "Funerals," 245-6.
[148] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 97, 101, 152; J. M. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: a quincentennial history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, revised edn., Chichester: Phillimore, 1995), 7; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 21, 58. The office of earl marshal itself was not made hereditary in the Howard family until the reign of Charles II.

Household by the monarch on the advice of the Earl Marshal and were active participants in the planning and managing the royal funeral, particularly the procession.[149]

The officers were—and still are—divided into three Kings of Arms, six heralds, and four pursuivants. The Garter, Clarenceaux, and Norroy Kings of Arms were the senior officers who were often the first officials consulted after a monarch died.[150] They were responsible for gathering all the "books and papers [considered] necessary to inform and answer the Councils Questions upon this Occasion" of the precedents for planning the funeralization process.[151] During the funeral procession, the Clarenceaux and Norroy Kings walked directly in front of the coffin, while the Garter King was allowed to walk behind the coffin, reflecting his superior rank to all other Officers of Arms and showing his status as comparable to the High Officers of the Household. During the funeral service, the Clarenceaux King often carried the crown into the church on a cushion. One of the most important roles during the service fell to the Garter King and is still practised to this day: announcing the decedent's titles and styles and proclaiming a blessing upon the new monarch as the coffin is lowered into the crypt.[152] Next in

[149] Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 139; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 58.

[150] Ibid; Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, 58. The Garter King was established in 1415 by Henry V, which made him the *de facto* senior officer since it was the first one ever created in England. The Garter King was initially responsible for managing the heraldry and arms for the Order of the Garter. The Clarenceaux King, whose name is ostensibly related to the medieval de Clare family, is responsible for all heraldic matters in England south of the Trent River. The Norroy King (est. 1276) was Clarenceaux's junior counterpart and had responsibility for the lands north of the Trent. The Lord Lyon King of Arms, which dates from at least 1318, handles Scottish heraldry, while the Ulster King is responsible for Ireland (Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 57, 58).

[151] Letter of Henry Howard, duke of Norfolk, to Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms, December 28, 1694, in *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 23; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 137; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69. Henri St Thomas, the Clarenceaux King of Arms in 1694, along with three other officers, was called upon to advise the special committee when Mary II died.

[152] PC 2/85, 53-4; Extracts from the Chapter Books of the Heralds' College concerning the arrangements for Queen Anne's funeral, 1714 Aug 4-17, SP 35/1/18, ff. 67r.-68r., and 35/1/24, ff. 78r., 80r.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 156, 240 insert 3 and 4, 253, 171-2; *I.4*, f. 86r., 119-20, 123; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 4-6, 8; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 96-7; Anonymous, *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1760* (Dublin: Printed for H. Saunders, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, J. Williams, W. Colles, T. Walker, and C. Jenkin, 1773), 180-1; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6; *Miscell: Collections—Coronations, Funerals, Installations, &c.*, vol. 1, 73; Lord Chamberlain's Department: Records of Special Events. Funeral: Queen Mary, 1694/5, LC 2/11/1, 82; Order of the Lords Justices in Councill to (Francis Atterbury) Dean, and

precedence after the Kings of Arms are the six heralds, whose responsibility was to keep proper order in the procession among the different ranks and prevent anyone from attempting to use the funeral to move above their social class.[153] The third and final group of officers are the four pursuivants, who carry the Rouge Dragon, Portcullis, Bluemantle, and Rouge Croix heraldic banners and insignia that have been a part of English royal funerals for centuries.[154] The pursuivants also had some impact on regulating funeral policies within the college. One of the Rouge Croix Pursuivants in the mid-seventeenth century, for example, was responsible for setting down regulations as to the size of the funeral hearse to which each rank of the aristocracy was entitled.[155]

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the Chapter of Westminster to receive Qu. Anne's Corpse in the Abbey and to arrange for due solemnity therein: 5 Aug. 1714. Signed :— Christo(pher) Musgrave, (Clerk of the Council), paper signet, Privy Council seal, paper, 2 leaves, WAM 6464 and 6475*; Letter from Sir Christopher Musgrave, Clerk of the Council, to (Francis Atterbury) Bishop of Rochester, as Dean of Westminster inclosing an extract of the order for that part of the funeral procession of Qu. Anne which relates to the Dean and Choir, Dat. Whitehall, 23 Aug. 1714, Signed. Paper, 2 & 2 leaves, paper signet, defaced, WAM 6476 A & B; "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5^{o} Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Annual Register*, 181; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 32. When the Garter King was undisposed or unable to participate in the funeral, the position behind the coffin went to Clarenceaux. Regarding citations, the pages in the *Miscell: Collections* are completely out of order from events; dates jump from 1695 to 1727 to 1684 etc.

[153] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 153; 168-9; *I.4*, 119-20; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 96-7; *Annual Register*, 180-1; Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 140; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 76; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 7. Heralds had existed in England as early as the twelfth century, acting as announcers or criers at entertainments (Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 58).

[154] PC 2/85, 53; SP 35/1/18, ff. 66r./v; *I.4*, 119-20; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 4-5; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 96-7. Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 140; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 58. The Officers of Arms each received £40 as payment for their services at royal funerals since they first participated in Henry VIII's in 1547 (Great Wardrobe.: [Miscellaneous.]: R. Earl of Montagu, Master of the Great Wardrobe. Funeral of the Queen Mary, 1694, E 351/3150; "Item to S:^{r} Henry S:^{t} George," Wardrobe: Royal Funerals and Coronations. Funeral of Anne and coronation of George I, 1714, AO 3/1192; LC 2/27, 139; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 75). As part of their remuneration, the officers also traditionally claimed the high quality items left in Westminster Abbey after the funeral: the "Standing Herse" (also referred to as the mausoleum or a *castrum doloris*), wood from the scaffolds and additional seating that was erected, the guard rails, palls, the canopy, and all the cushions, chairs, and stools (*Funerals, CA*, no. 6; *Funerals, College of Arms*; WAM 6424; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 75).

[155] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500-1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 60-1.

Queen Mary II: A Case in Parliamentary Legitimacy

Until the late seventeenth century, royal funeral planning had mainly been an expression of monarchical and dynastic power, but this needed to be adapted following the death of Queen Mary II on December 28, 1694. Her death and funeral provided Parliament with an opportunity to demonstrate the stability of its own authority and of constitutional monarchy in the wake of the Glorious Revolution and changed how the Crown and its subjects interacted through royal funerals.[156] Centuries' old funerary rites were adapted to legitimize changes to the succession following the Glorious Revolution, William and Mary's joint rule, the Stuart extinction, and the Hanoverian succession. This reinterpretation was part of a larger shift in British royal funerals from large-scale public events to smaller, private ones limited to the monarch's household and senior courtiers. The afternoon that Mary died, Parliament assembled to begin planning addresses of condolence to the king and determine "the best method of performing the funeral rites."[157] As one of the co-monarchs installed in the Glorious Revolution, and the one with the stronger claim to the throne, Mary's funeral was the first one in which the Privy Council and College of Arms were given a specific mandate to plan an event that would communicate the legitimacy of this constitutional, Protestant monarchy and the triumph of this political revolution.[158] At the same time, Jacobite sentiments were still present in Britain, so it was necessary that her funeral be utilized to demonstrate the unimpeachable legitimacy of Parliament's right to dethrone James II and offer the crown to Mary and William.[159]

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[156] Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 100.
[157] "House of Commons Journal Volume 11: 28 December 1694," in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11, 1693-1697*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1803), 193. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol11/p193, accessed February 7, 2021; Chapman, *Mary II*, 255; Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 332.
[158] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65.
[159] Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 288.

Barclay suggests that William III encouraged the idea that Mary's funeral should be based on "the full-scale heraldic funerals" of the pre-Civil War monarchs as a way of shoring up support for his continued solo reign.[160] William had not been terribly popular with his British subjects since his joint accession with Mary in 1689, and was now viewed "in an even less favorable light than before…, and without Mary his court began to appear less admirable."[161] There was genuine concern in Britain and abroad that the king's reign would not be able to endure without his wife "given his unpopularity with the English ruling classes and the continued strength of Jacobite feeling." At the exiled Stuart court in France, it was "reported gleefully"—if somewhat inaccurately—that William "no longer having the right of his wife, becomes a stranger to the nation."[162] Various scholars have commented on the use of Mary's funeral to improve William III's public image and the legitimacy of his rule. Tony Claydon (1996) described the funeral as one "of the most carefully organised and impressive pieces of reformation propaganda [designed] to remind the nation of Mary's virtue, and to stress what a loss the godly cause had suffered with her demise."[163] It was thought by Parliament that a massive funeral that brought the nation together in mourning around the grief-stricken king might just help ensure stability as he navigated the continuation of his reign.[164]

Planning such a grand public funeral to meet these expectations was a monumental undertaking. The Officers of Arms were instructed to consult the ceremonial precedents as far back as 1509. The plans for the funeral processions of queens Mary I and Elizabeth I were also reviewed for directions on how the heraldic insignia and regalia should be arranged for a queen

[160] Barclay, "William's Court as King," 257. According to Barclay, William may also have simply been planning the kind of funeral expected from a Dutch *stadtholder*, since lavish public funerals were considered relatively normal in Delft. Schaich refutes Barclay's assertion that the king was actively involved in planning, describing William as being so hands-off that he did not even know when his wife's funeral happened (Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 89-90).
[161] Price, "An Incomparable Lady," 323-4.
[162] Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 389, 392.
[163] Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78.
[164] Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 101.

regnant.[165] The funeral of James I in 1625 was used as the main precedent, since it was reputedly the largest one for a British monarch until that time. In the same way that Ferdinand III's funeral was used as a precedential model for Leopold I, so too were the plans consulted from Charles II in 1685, since it was the most recent one to Mary's.[166] Naturally, Charles I's post-execution burial from 1649 was not consulted. By drawing on these earlier Tudor-Stuart ceremonials, Parliament made it clear that they wanted the funeral for Queen Mary II to evoke memories of past Protestant monarchs like Henry VIII and James I and to be among the grandest in the nation's history.[167] Doing so also meant preparing for an unprecedented guest list. The household departments Above Stairs were invited to attend, along with the senior members of the household, Peers of the Realm, Officers of Arms, London's mayor and aldermen, clergy from the court and Westminster Abbey, hundreds of local women, and, for the first time in English history, both Houses of Parliament. Normally, Parliament was dissolved upon the death of the monarch, but this did not happen in 1694 since William continued to reign uninterrupted.[168] All of these participants meant that more than 1,600 people attended Mary's funeral, all for the purpose of reflecting "the degree & estate of the defunnct."[169]

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[165] *Vincent's Presidents*, vol. 151, 522-32; MS. Rawl. B. 48, no. 3, 28-9; MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 40, 41, 45r./v., 48r., 57; MS. Rawl. B. 146, no. 2, ff. 71, 73; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 63, 66; Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 101. Although the records do not specifically mention Elizabeth I's funeral as one of the precedents used in 1695, the structure of Mary II's funeral—particularly the ordering of the procession from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey—bore consider a considerable resemblance to the funeral of the last Tudor monarch (*Vincent's Presidents*, vol. 151, 522-32).

[166] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 418; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 147; Fritz "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65, 67; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 117; Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 60-1. According to Fritz, the lavishness and scale of Mary's funeral, with its basis in the ceremonial structure of James I's, made the funeral for the normally ostentatious, grandiose Charles II pale by comparison (Fritz, 65).

[167] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 423-4.

[168] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 91; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 336-7; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 289.

[169] MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 71r.-75; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell: Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 167-71; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral Of Her late Majesty QUEEN MARY II. Of Blessed Memory, From the Royal Palace of* Whitehall *to the Collegiate*

Eight meetings were held between December 29, 1694, and January 8, 1695, before the Privy Council agreed to the plans presented by the Officers of Arms. It took nearly two more months and 168 individual warrants for all the arrangements to be finalized and approved. It was nothing new for funeral plans to be rejected or revised, or for the Officers of Arms to have to return the next day with modifications. In 1685, James II rejected the officers' plans to give Charles II a public funeral in favour of one without any of the royal insignia, heraldry, or standards—thus making it "a funeral after 'the private manner'."[170] The House of Lords did not approve the Marian plans until February 13, and the funeral was scheduled for Tuesday, March 5, at Westminster Abbey.[171] It was "the last of the great 'public' or heraldic funerals for an English sovereign" in the early modern period.[172]

Queen Anne, King George II, and the Rise of 'Private' Royal Funerals

The process of using precedents for planning eighteenth-century British royal funerals was more fluid and adaptable than what was seen in the Habsburg state at that time, where the *Hofkonferenz* sought to create a sense of legitimacy through ritual consistency. In Britain, however, the evolving political landscape after the Glorious Revolution led to some significant alterations to earlier funeral ceremonials. By the turn of the eighteenth century, full-scale

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Church at Westminster*; the* 5th *Day of this Instant* March, 169⅘. *To begin at Twelve a Clock.*; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 60.

[170] *Funerals, College of Arms*; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 422; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66, 68-70. The Officers of Arms also met with the special committee at least six times to finalize the arrangements just for the funeral service in Westminster Abbey and the various regalia, banners, and insignia that would be needed (66; *Vincent's Presidents*, vol. 151, 522-32).

[171] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 439; *LG* no. 3055 (Feb. 18-21, 1694 [1695]); Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66, 68. This delay was partly logistical: the funeral could not take place until after the lying-in-state at Whitehall, but the renovations to the palace were not completed until February, pushing the date of the funeral back until it was finalized for March 5 (Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 438). The abbey was paid £67.11s.8d for performing the service (Fees for Westminster church at the funeral of Mary II, 1694/5, WAM 6425 B.). The cost of burial in the abbey had gone up to £68.6s.8d for Queen Anne's funeral (Fees due to the fabric and officers of Westminster Abbey for the interment of Qu. Anne in the Chapel of Henry VII. [1714], paper, 2 leaves, no seal, WAM 6468).

[172] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68; Claydon, *William III*, 78.

public royal funerals were no longer needed to legitimize parliamentary authority in the same way they had in the decade after the Glorious Revolution. Statements issued in Parliament at that time reinforced the acceptance that the Crown's legitimacy coming from the government:

> We hope that nothing has been omitted which might contribute to the Safety of these Realms, and the Preservation of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in this great Conjuncture. As these Invaluable Blessings *have been Secured to Us by those Acts of Parliament* [emphasis added] which have Settled the Succession to these Kingdoms in the most Illustrious House of *Hanover*, We have Regulated our Proceedings by those Rules which are therein prescribed.[173]

This acceptance of sovereignty and legitimacy being rooted in the post-1689 parliamentary system, rather than the monarchy, meant that the ceremonials for planning Queen Anne's funeral could be adapted to make it a semi-private event that was more reflective of the queen's personal wishes than her sister's had been. The planning of Queen Anne's funeralization was a turning point in royal ceremonials because it was the earliest one in which a formal precedent for a private monarchical funeral was established by combining the funeral plans for William III and Prince George.[174]

From the moment she became queen in 1702, Anne's reign was defined by the fact that it was a preparation for her death. When the time came, the government, her household, and the nation were focused on ensuring the Hanoverian succession proceeded without contest or unrest. As Edward Gregg has noted, the security of the succession and preventing a potential Jacobite coup created a sense of unity among the English people like had never happened previously during Anne's reign. "All possible preparations had been made for the smooth transfer of power from the house of Stuart to the House of Hanover," Gregg writes. "All that

[173] *LG*, no. 5248 (August 3-7, 1714).

[174] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 428. There was also a degree of uncertainty in planning each funeral, and a private ceremony was not always guaranteed. Schaich notes that when Queen Caroline died in 1737, there was speculation as to whether it would be a private or public ceremony (428-9).

now remained was to await the queen's death."[175] A Council of Lords Justices composed of Privy Counsellors, the Great Officers of State, leading MPs, the Royal Household, the judiciary, and the military was established by act of Parliament to govern until George I came

[175] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 455-6. There was a concerted effort by Parliament to clamp down on Catholic sentiments that might have fueled attempts by Jacobites to reclaim the throne in the period between Anne's death and George I's arrival in Britain. The day before Anne died, a naval detachment was sent to reinforce Portsmouth against a possible sea invasion, while reinforcements were sent to Scotland, where Jacobite sympathies ran deep (Oldmixon, *History of England*, 561). The city of York was locked down and "all Papists and reported Papists" had been rounded up and forced to take the Oath of Allegiance and acknowledge the Hanoverian succession (SP 35/1/18, f. 19r. For the text of the oath, see 6º Annæ, c. XLI: "An Act for the Security of Her Majesties Person [...]," in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. 7, 741). Irish Catholics were deprived of any arms they possessed and had their horses seized (*LG*, no. 5251 [August 14-17, 1714]; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 455). The mayor of Oxford, which was a pro-Jacobite city at the time, was sent a threatening letter if he did not acknowledge James Francis Edward as the lawful monarch. Jacobites in Aberdeen proclaimed James Francis Edward ("the Pretender"), son of James II (d. 1701) and younger half-brother of Queens Mary and Anne, as King James VIII of Scotland. A false story began to circulate when Anne died, presumably started by the Jacobites, that Anne had muttered "My brother, my poor brother," in reference to her younger half-brother, Prince James Francis Edward, but the severity of the queen's strokes meant that this was impossible, as she could barely acknowledge her ministers with a simple "yes" or "no" (Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 452; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 400; Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion* [New York: Alfred Knopf, 2013], 566). Anne had played a prominent role in perpetuating the lies that her and Mary's younger half-brother, James Francis Edward, was an illegitimate changeling who had been smuggled into their stepmother's bedchamber during labour; all for the purpose of de-legitimizing James II's children from his second marriage and presenting Mary and Anne as his only legitimate heirs to the throne (Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 20). Whereas Mary's legitimacy was about the legality of her taking the throne that her father had forfeited on account of his unconstitutional, Catholic absolutism, for Anne her legitimacy was predicated on the issue of her living half-brother, whose own legitimacy she had discredited (Hone, *Literature and Party Politics*, 12-3; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 376). Legitimacy, as Hone points out, was not purely based on her hereditary as a daughter of a former king, but really was borne out of William and Mary's accession via Parliament in 1689 and confirmed by the Act of Settlement. If heredity alone had been enough to legitimize Anne's claim, then Parliament would not have had to pass the Succession to the Crown Act of 1707 that could charge anyone publicly speaking or publishing that Anne was not the lawful queen, or that Prince James Francis Edward had any claim to the throne, with treason (6º Annæ, c. XLI: "An Act for the Security of Her Majesties Person and Government and of the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line," in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. 7, 738; Hone, *Literature and Party Politics*, 5). The conspiracy theories surrounding the illegitimacy of Prince James Francis Edward and the "warming-pan story" were revealed to be false by Whig politicians in 1710 during the treason trial for Henry Sacheverell for attacking Anne's legitimacy and the Hanoverian succession (Waller 382, 391-2; see also "Trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverell," UK Parliament, https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentwork/offices-and-ceremonies/collections/parliamentary-collections/trial-of-sacheverell-/#:~:text=Henry%20Sacheverell%20(1674%2D1724),sermons%20attracted%20attention%20in%20London.&text=Articles%20of%20impeachment%20for%20high,Hall%20on%2027%20February%201710, accessed May 19, 2021).

over from Hanover.[176] As Anne lay dying, her ministers were so consumed with ensuring the Hanoverian succession occurred smoothly that the queen was almost forgotten by the senior members of her household. Normally, all the senior officials, ministers of state, and clergy would attend a dying monarch at their bedside. In 1694, Queen Mary had been surrounded by at least two dozen officials.[177] In 1714, however, Anne's officials were elsewhere, focused on securing the succession. Peter Wentworth, one of the queen's equerries, wrote in a letter that her chaplains wanted her "servants that were in waiting to come and pray for the Queen, so I and three or four more was the whole congregation."[178] None of the Catholic and anti-Hanoverian threats translated into action, and everyone from the queen's apothecary to cabinet ministers wrote of their great relief that the "predictions of civil unrest had proved so wide of the mark."[179]

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[176] "At the Court at S:t James's the first of August 1714," LC 2/18; Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records, 1516-1920, LC 5/3, 22; PC 2/85, 16-7; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 561; Thompson, *George II*, 35, 39; James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 634. George I arrived at Greenwich at 7:00 p.m. on September 20. Anne, who had a reputation for being petty and self-centered at times, had refused to allow George or any of his family to set foot in Britain during her lifetime and potentially establish a rival court to her own (Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 382-3). Parliament initially appointed seven Lords Justices, five of whom were Great Officers of State: the Lords High Chancellor and Treasurer, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord President of the Privy Council, and the First Commissioner of the Admiralty. The two other initial counsellors were the archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. King George I had provided a list of eighteen additional men whom he wanted on the council, including the archbishop of York, the Commander-in-Chief of Scotland, and more than a dozen lords lieutenant. These were peers who maintained order in England's different Crown lands, acting as sheriffs, constables, and Justices of the Peace. ("At the Court at S:t James's the first of August 1714," LC 2/18; LC 5/3, 22; PC 2/85, 16-7)Most importantly for the events of 1714, however, was that the lords' control over militias within their lieutenancies made them responsible "for the suppressing of any commotion, rebellions or unlawful assembles" ("History of the Lieutenancy," *The Surrey Lieutenancy*, http://www.surreylieutenancy.org/history-of-the-lieutenancy/, accessed April 1, 2022).

[177] Oldmixon, *History of England*, 96; Chapman, *Mary II*, 252, 254; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 385; Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 331; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 325-6, 330.

[178] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 455.

[179] Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 567. Somerset has noted that the relief felt throughout England at the lack of any Jacobite unrest or violence overshadowed the queen's death to the point that the national mood could almost be described as uncharacteristically "buoyant" for a monarch's death. This was not to suggest that the people did not feel genuine sadness over the queen's passing, but the assurance of their national security arguably provided an even greater source of shared emotion

Two hours after Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, a committee of the Lords Justices, the Earl Marshal, Shrewsbury, Anne's Comptroller of the Household and her Vice-Chamberlain met at St James's's Palace to address some of the immediate issues. Although the committee did consider some initial funeral plans and preparing the corpse, their primary mandate was to arrange the public proclamation of King George I as quickly as possible to prevent any Jacobite schemes.[180] The committee did not begin making funeral arrangements until August 4; a delay that contrasts the same-day efficiency of the Marian obsequies and underscores the shift in parliamentary focus away from any sense of urgency to mandate the queen's funeral to support the government's legitimacy. Matthias Range also attributes this delay to a related desire among the committee members not to rush planning the funeral in the face of "the relative time-pressure caused by the Hanoverian succession."[181] This assertion is consistent with the larger focus in Britain with ensuring the succession happened smoothly and without any unrest.

In the end, Parliament simply did not need to orchestrate a grand funeral for the last Stuart monarch to legitimize the succession in the same way as it had in 1694/5 and could plan a more subdued affair. The committee initially intended to use William III's funeral from 1702 as the blueprint for Queen Anne's, but shortly after her death, two drafts of her last will and testament were discovered among her personal items at Kensington Palace. These documents were incomplete at best. Names of beneficiaries were left blank, and there were few directions for handling her estate or the outstanding wages she owed her household, but she wanted a private funeral based on the one from 1708 for her husband, Prince George of Denmark:

[180] "Aug.st 3^{d}. 1714. as on the other Side," *Funerals, College of Arms*; "At the Court at S:^{t} James's the first of August 1714," LC 2/18; LC 5/3, 22; PC 2/85, 16-7; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 241; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 457; Clark, *English Society*, 235. This was also the meeting at which George I's list of eighteen additional lords justices was unsealed. The Privy Council technically planned Anne's funeral, since the Lords Justices were Privy Counsellors, though it is largely a semantical point.

[181] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 132.

> And I do hereby Will Direct and Appoint, That my Body Shall be buryed within the Chapell of our Royall Ancestor King Henry the Seventh, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster, in the Same Vault with, and near unto the body of My Dear Husband the prince of Denmark deceased, and that my Funerall with the proceeding thereunto, The Mourning, And all other Matters concerning the same be performed in the same manner and forme and with the same solemnities as were used or appointed upon the decease of my said Dear Husband.[182]

Although a search was conducted for a more complete, signed will, none was found, and the most recent version quoted above was presented to the Privy Council on August 3, who accepted Prince George's funeral as the main precedent.[183] The Privy Council thought it would be "proper (according to the Will left by her Ma:[tie]) that she should be buried from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster, as the late Prince George of Denmark was."[184] George's funeral was conducted "after the same manner as King Charles the 2nd, which was privately, at 12 at night."[185] While precedents and traditional ceremonies were an integral part of the royal funeralization process, the sovereign's own wishes were often taken into account when holding the planning councils. The fact that Anne's personal wishes to be buried according to the ceremonials of her husband, who was only the royal consort, instead of the precedents used for her brother-in-law, the late king suggests that these rituals were much more contingent and adaptable than has previously been considered. The same was very much the case for George II in 1760, which will be discussed below. He made clear his intent to be funeralized according to

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[182] PC 2/85, 25; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 561; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 72. Perhaps the only study on the last wills and testaments of the English monarchy is Michael Nash's *Royal Wills in Britain from 1509 to 2008* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) does an admirable job of dealing with five centuries of royal wills, but as happens frequently with English royal history, Mary II and Anne receive only a single reference each, pertaining to how they related to the plans of their predecessors and successors (51, 71, 96).

[183] *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Royal Funerals, Coll Arms H*; LC 2/18, no. 49: "Mourning for King Henry the 7.[ths] Chapel &c."; PC 2/85, 26; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 561; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 457; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 566; Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 105.

[184] PC 2/85, 31, 49; SP 35/1/18, f. 41v. The Prince's Chamber was also used to display the body of Queen Anne's only child who survived infancy, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, before his funeral in 1700 (Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 353). George's funeral was conducted "after the same manner as King Charles the 2nd, which was privately, at 12 at night" (Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 85).

[185] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 85.

the private ceremonials for his late wife, Queen Caroline, who had predeceased him in 1737.[186] Caroline's funeral bore strong similarities to Queen Anne's: a private lying-in-state was held in the Prince's Chamber the day before the funeral service in the Lady Chapel.[187] George II therefore used Caroline's plans, which were based on Queen Anne's, which in turn were requested to be modelled on Prince George's. There is a degree of irony to this pattern, since Anne's funeral in 1714 unintentionally became the precedent for all subsequent eighteenth-century royal funerals, yet it originated from the queen's personal wishes to be funeralized in the same manner as her husband. This sheds light on how one monarch's wishes for their own burial could make rituals more adaptable in the short-term, yet still become accepted as precedent within only two generations.

Even though the Privy Council agreed to arrange Anne's funeral according to her wish, the Officers of Arms' plans for how the funeral procession would be organized and who would participate were revised at least twice. Delays by the Lords Justices in approving the arrangements also meant that the date was pushed back more than once.[188] The funeral was initially scheduled for Sunday, August 22, but was delayed until Tuesday, August 24, by George I, who refused to enter London until after the funeral, possibly because he did not want his entry overshadowed by his predecessor's funeral.[189] This explanation of George's order that Anne's funeral be conducted before he arrived is speculative. Fritz, Range, and Walker all cite the same statement by Edward Gregg but without elaboration: "The new king issued orders that the queen's funeral should take place before his arrival in London."[190] It is

[186] *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 83; PC 1/6/89, f. 5; Minutes of the Committee appointed to arrange the late king's funeral; post mortem report on the body of George II, 1760 Oct 28, PC 1/6/90, f. 1.
[187] (Missing) relating to the Funeral of George the Second on Nov:^{m} 11 1760 in the Royal Vault in King Henry the 7:^{ths} Chapel Westm^{n}. Abby, WAM 61783, 1; Thompson, *George II*, 125.
[188] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 240, inserts 1-4; *Funerals, College of Arms*; LC 2/18, no. 2: "The late Queens appartm:^{n} at Kensington [...].
[189] SP 35/1/18, ff. 41r., 70v.; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 599; Thompson, *George II*, 39.
[190] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 397.

possible that future research into the Calenberg papers at the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hanover, where many of the Georgian documents are kept, may shed light on this.

On August 17, the Privy Council approved the recommendations made by the Officers of Arms. The queen's body would be transferred to the Prince's Chamber at the Palace of Westminster at night, followed by a funeral in Henry VII's Lady Chapel the next night. The Prince's Chamber was also used to display the body of Queen Anne's only child who survived infancy, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, prior to his funeral in 1700.[191] This shift from grand, public funeralizations to less costly, private ones became the defining trait of eighteenth-century British royal funerals. The ceremonial changes to the funeral procession, service, and burial will be discussed in detail in chapter four, however it is necessary here to highlight how these broader changes impacted the planning of royal funerals. These changes enabled the Royal Household to maintain and, in some cases, expand its authority through its re-interpretation of funerary rites that shaped the Crown's relationship with its subjects; a relationship that was no longer dependent on public recognition through participatory rituals in the same way it had been under the Tudors and previous Stuarts as recently as 1695.

Over the course of the century, the Privy Council continued to convene special committees for funerary planning, but the authority to make major decisions transitioned away from the Earl Marshal and College of Arms to the Lord Chamberlain; essentially, the power to control the monarch's funeral, how it was experienced and by whom, moved from the government to the household.[192] Several factors contributed to this shift. The fees charged by the College of Arms to provide heraldry, insignia, banners, and the Officers of Arms' marshalling the procession were becoming prohibitively expensive among the population at large. One of the few incentives for one's family to pay the college's exorbitant prices was that a heraldic funeral made a public statement that the decedent and their relations had at least some

[191] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 353.
[192] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73-5; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19-20.

aristocratic lineage that was recognized by the Crown and theoretically prevented challenges to one's social status from rivals. But by the eighteenth century, families no longer saw the public statement as being worth the cost and the college "had literally priced itself out of the market." Ironically, the process of making royal funerals less public by diminishing the role of the College of Arms resulted in the Royal Household opening up funerary preparations to untitled, non-aristocratic workers. In some cases, funerals for senior members of the royal family were handled by commoners. In 1751, a "private funeral furnisher-cum-cabinet-maker" was hired to arrange the funeral for George II's son Frederick, Prince of Wales, marking the first time since the mid-sixteenth century that the College of Arms was shut out of planning a royal funeral, nor would it ever return to its previous prominence—and with it, the Earl Marshal.[193]

As the college was gradually shut out of royal funeral planning in the eighteenth century, the Earl Marshal's place of prominence on the special committees was replaced by the Lord Chamberlain's. The services provided by the College of Arms that had previously signalled a 'public' royal funeral were becoming an outdated afterthought that was concomitant with a decline in the overall importance of heraldic ceremonies throughout early modern England. Since the Lord Chamberlain was responsible for managing the Royal Household, his planning of the funeral made it a *de facto* private event that revolved around the household and not the Crown as a state institution. As a politically oriented institution, the court may have declined in its influence over governance, but the Royal Household eclipsed the political apparatus (i.e., the Earl Marshal as a Great Officer of State representing the government) as the primary planning mechanism for royal funerals, signalling the transition from politically oriented to more intimate, private funerals.[194] Signs of this shift were evident as

[193] Julian Litten, "The Funeral Trade in Hanoverian England 1714-1760," in *The Changing Face of Death: Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal*, Peter Jupp and Glennys Howarth, eds. (London: Macmillan, 1997), 53.
[194] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429-30, 435.

early as 1714. In 1714, the Duke of Shrewsbury had almost unlimited authority when it came to planning Queen Anne's funeral as both her Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward. An order issued on August 15 stated "That the Lord Chamberlaine may have a General Order to Issue his Warr.ts for Any thing else which may be necessary; as was done at the Funeral of the late Prince George of Denmarke."[195] A similar order was issued for the funeral of George II in 1760 allowing the Lord Chamberlain to issue any warrants as needed so that nothing should be left wanting "on so solemn an Occasion."[196]

The death of George II in 1760 sounded the final death knell of the Earl Marshal and the Officers of Arms as architects of royal funerals and cemented the precedent that British monarchs were funeralized privately by their Lords Chamberlain. Three days after the king died, the Privy Council convened a special committee that used the private funerals of Queen Anne and the king's wife Queen Caroline as the main ceremonial precedents. The Lord Chamberlain, William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire, drew up the plans.[197] The decision to make George II's funeral an entirely private event with a tightly controlled guest list was repeatedly made clear in the *London Gazette* in the week prior.[198] This was also a matter of crowd control, since public interest led to so many spectators converging on Westminster to see the preparations being made that at least one person was killed and several injured.[199]

The Officers of Arms were also entirely shut out of planning George II's funeral, and the Earl Marshal was not even invited to join the committee. Once the plans were drafted by the Privy Council, they were presented to the Garter King of Arms, John Anstis, merely to consult. When it came time to actually distribute plans for the funeral, it was the Lord

[195] PC 2/85, 50.
[196] LC 2/27, 89.
[197] *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 83; PC 1/6/89, f. 5; Minutes of the Committee appointed to arrange the late king's funeral; post mortem report on the body of George II, 1760 Oct 28, PC 1/6/90, f. 1.
[198] *I.4*, 115; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 1; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 179. See also *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760).
[199] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 294-6.

Chamberlain who provided them to the Garter King and other heralds. An additional explanation for this decline in the officers' role in planning royal funerals occurred when George II's wife, Queen Caroline, died in 1737. The officers and heralds had reportedly produced such a perplexing and badly organized funeral that the Privy Council "could only marvel at the officers' incompetence."[200] Although the Privy Council continued to be the main body that oversaw planning monarchical funeralizations, it was the Lords Chamberlain that became the chief architects for funeral planning as part of a long-term shift in funerary and court culture that would remain largely unchanged until the death of Queen Victoria in 1901.[201]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to correct misconceptions that royal households in eighteenth-century Britain and Austria were irrelevant institutions unworthy of scholarly study. A close analysis of the planning and precedents of British and Habsburg monarchical funerals between 1694 and 1780 reveals that the various monarchs' households—the very nuclei of their courts—maintained and even expanded their ceremonial authority in some cases. The preceding examination has focused on how the *Obersthofbeämter* and the High Officers of the Royal Household were able to ensure they continued to shape perceptions of royal authority. This influence was achieved through planning funeralizations at a time when court institutions were losing political power over state governance.

The first section of this chapter has explored how the Austrian *Obersthofbeämter* used earlier precedents to construct standardized protocols for Habsburg funerals following the

[200] *I.4*, 114; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73, 78-9; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19-20.
[201] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 268-9. Queen Victoria's funeral consisted of two distinct funeral services. There was a public procession in London and a service was held at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, on February 2 followed by a private ceremony two days later where her body was interred next to Prince Albert's in the royal mausoleum at Frogmore on the Windsor Estate (268-9).

deaths of Ferdinand IV in 1654 and Ferdinand III in 1657. The *Hofkonferenz* saw ritual consistency with earlier funeral precedents as the key to maintaining an image of dynastic stability. The *Hofkonferenz* was slow to modify or change earlier rites, and only then as *ad hoc* solutions to acute situations like the male-line extinction of the Habsburgs in 1740, or funeralizing the only female sovereign in Austrian history in 1780. Consistency of rituals meant legitimacy because it connected contemporary funerals with those of the past, and drew upon associations of virtue, piety, and sacrality. The *Obersthofbeämter* used precedents to connect the Leopoldine, Carolinian, and Theresian funeralizations with those of their seventeenth-century predecessors through unchanging ritual planning that communicated the legitimacy and piety, not only of the decedent, but also their successor and the dynasty as a whole. In doing so, the *Obersthofbeämter* were able to use the process of planning the monarch's funeral to create the illusion of timeless funerary rituals and dynastic stability even in the face of dynastic extinction or changing religious values. Despite some noticeable changes in 1780, consistency remained the watchword for the *Hofkonferenz*. Since the death of Ferdinand IV in 1654, householders who sat on these planning committees sought to uphold the religious and dynastic rituals of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In doing so, they created a ritual tapestry of legitimization that connected the decedent with their predecessors, while at the same time maintaining a sense of monarchical and dynastic continuity as the new reign began.

The second section has revealed how the authority given to the Privy Council's special committee for planning for the Marian obsequies of 1694/5, and the mandates issued by Parliament, shaped the importance of royal funeral ceremonials in post-revolutionary Britain. By 1714, parliamentary authority was secure enough that a grand public funeral for Queen Anne was simply not needed as a legitimizing factor as the nation rallied to ensure the security of the Hanoverian succession. At the same time, the High Officers of the Household were able to begin exercising greater authority in planning Anne's funeral and abiding more with her

personal wishes for a more intimate ceremony. With Jacobite and anti-Hanoverian sentiments largely eliminated by the mid-eighteenth century, private royal funerals became the norm as costly, public funerals fell out of fashion even among the aristocratic and business-owning classes. The College of Arms, with its officers, heralds, and pursuivants, became largely irrelevant in the planning of royal and elite funerals. The senior members of the household, particularly the Lord Chamberlain, were able to shut the Earl Marshal and his staff out of the planning process. In so doing, the Royal Household became the arbiters of how British monarchs would be funeralized until the twentieth century.

The British and Habsburg monarchies could not have looked more different: Protestant and Catholic, parliamentary and semi-absolutist, centralized and asymmetrical. Yet despite these glaring differences, their household institutions were structured in surprisingly similar ways, with the core duties and the day-to-day function of monarchy being facilitated by officials from the highest levels of the aristocracy who also held the reins of government. In the end, these two seemingly different groups succeeded in ensuring their continued place at the core of royal governance even as the courts' political currency waned in the face of expanding legislative power. The *Obersthofbeämter* and the High Officers of the Royal Household achieved this feat during the most vulnerable period for the Crown by knowing when to maintain earlier precedents for legitimacy and when to modify them to adapt to a rapidly changing political and social landscape in the eighteenth century. As the next chapter will show, this household authority extended beyond the planning into the construction of the early modern social hierarchy; authority that was expressed through mourning regulations with the monarchy and its household enforcing the structure of the society of orders.

Chapter 2: "The Deepest Mourning That is Possible"

Mourning Regulations and Social Stability

Following the death of Queen Anne in August 1714, the Privy Council special committee that was planning her funeralization instructed the Lord Chamberlain to order 5,214 yards of black and purple fabric to drape in mourning all the interiors of all the royal residences, Westminster Abbey, and Parliament. Everything from the walls to furniture, curtains, and even cushions were covered in purple velvet and black silk.[1] These fabrics were a visual reminder of the rank of not only the deceased. It was also a marker of her place atop the class hierarchy that existed in early modern Britain, where purple as a mourning colour could only be used for the monarch. This use of fabrics was one example of how the material culture of mourning regulations were used to communicate the normative social hierarchy within the British and Habsburg states following the monarch's death. It fell to the senior officials within these two household establishments to set out the mourning regulations at the court and state levels. In so doing, these aristocrats were able to visually communicate their interpretation of the idealized society of orders and classes at a moment of national tragedy and change.

Everyone from the lowest commoner to the most decorated peer was expected to go into mourning. The further up on the social ladder an individual sat, the more numerous mourning regulations they were expected to observe.[2] The monarch was at the very top of that

[1] "To David Bosanquett," AO 3/1192; "William Barnsley," LC 2/18; "To W^{m} Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192.
[2] *Allerhöchste Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung, wie solche bei allen künstigen Fällen auf vorherig-gewöhnliche Anfage und Erinnerung, welche Classe es betrifft, mot dem Eingang das nächst-eintretenden 1768ten Jahres zu beobachten, und allerdings gehorsamst su befolgen. Wien, den 22ten Decemb. des 1767ten Jahres* (Vienna: Johann Thomas Edlen von Trattnern, 1767), in Familienakten, Gutachten der Hofkonferenz betreffend das zu beachtende Zeremoniell bei dem am nächsten Sonntag stattfindenen ersten öffentlichen Kirchgang nach dem Tod von Kaiser Karl VI (1740.10), AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 102-10, 5; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, ff. 12r./v., 19; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 376v., 410v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, ff. 137, 138, 140, 141; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 102-10, ff. 6r./v.; E 351/3150; LC 2/11/2, no. 28; R20, f. 97; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 150, 253-4;

hierarchy, and the Crown as an institution was the "guarantor" for ensuring that hierarchy remained intact, undisrupted, and reinforced the proper functioning of the state.[3] The Crown directly expressed its role as the protector of society and the preserver of the hierarchy by dressing its people in ways that manifested their dependence upon the monarchy and its household. Without needing to speak a word, mourners in the eighteenth-century British and Habsburg states could tell where an individual sat on the social ladder based on their attire alone, as well as understanding their own position within that hierarchy. This nonverbal communication was part of a broader mechanism for transmitting values of order and harmony within the body politic in the form of sumptuary laws that are most famously associated with the Tudor period. Even after they fell out of common use by the turn of the eighteenth century, sumptuary regulations could still be utilized during periods of change and transition, such as following the sovereign's death. By limiting the style, colour, and composition of clothing based on each class, governing authorities were able to enforce symbolic social stability within the state as institutions transitioned to the new reign. Every group, from merchants to gentry to aristocrats, had to dress according to the parameters laid out in the sumptuary law, and anyone who attempted to dress above their station were penalized, thus reaffirming everyone's station within the hierarchy. In doing so, subjects kept the vertical class structure intact. Mourning as a form of sumptuary and class regulation therefore played an important role in maintaining the harmony of the community after the death of an individual, and when the decedent was the monarch, the ritualization of mourning became critical to the stability of the body politic and the state.

There is a voluminous body of literature on the materiality of mourning culture like clothes and printed materials. However, very little has been written on the role of mourning

"Lord Chamberlains Order for Mourning for Queen Anne of Great Brittaine," *Miscell: Collections* (74?); SP 35/1/18, f. 67r.; *I.4*, 123; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760).

[3] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 105; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168.

periods for the monarch and clothing regulations to understand their impact on the social hierarchy of the state.[4] Even Lou Taylor's foundational work *Mourning Dress* (1983) discusses the topic almost exclusively in terms of the material culture. One need only look at the pages and pages of archival orders for textiles to see the importance that funeral planners attached to this aspect of mourning.[5] Some important work has been done on the ritualization of mourning, but only in limited capacities. Hawlik-van de Water's *Der schöne Tod* addresses both the periods of and clothing associated with mourning in the Habsburg state from 1640-1740, but much of her information is summary in nature and only briefly touches on how the *Hofstaat* mourned for the monarch.[6] The comprehensive collection *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokelle* offers a much more detailed analysis of Habsburg court mourning and the importance of rank and hierarchy. It takes a case-study approach to examining the evolution of Habsburg mourning but omits entirely the deaths of Leopold I and Joseph I, resulting in a noticeable topical and chronological gap.[7]

In the British context, Walker's "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight': Royal Deaths and the Politics of Ritual in the Late Stuart Monarchy, c. 1685-1714" does make some strides to remedy this oversight by using Prince George's death as a case study on Queen Anne's personal grief and the gendered politicization of mourning at her court. Walker addresses how the monarch was able to set the tone of mourning at their court when they were involved with their consort's funeral, but not when it was the reigning sovereign or how mourning shaped the national response to death.[8] Other scholars have begun to explore some aspects of ritualized mourning. Alice Lovell and Lucinda Becker frame their studies on gender and mourning in

[4] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 226.
[5] For example, see *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 141-4.
[6] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 131-7, 145-52.
[7] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 529-72. In Kneidinger and Dittinger's defense, this is still perhaps one of the best sources published on eighteenth-century Habsburg court mourning, and the authors admit several times that they were limited in terms of the material they could include in their chapter (529 n1).
[8] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 226-7, 258, 271.

early modern England by noting that "public displays of mourning and commemoration" created a tangible quality that allowed mourners to come together in shared grief; displays that were inherently ritualistic in nature and defined by the regulations that this chapter will explore.[9] Jennifer Woodward's body of work on Renaissance royal funerals frames early modern public mourning within the context of a way to stage-manage public support for the monarchy. She describes public mourning as a ritualized process that turns the entire state into a "theatre of death" that brings together the society of orders in mourning, though she does not expand on different elements of mourning culture aside from an overview of attire.[10]

While these various works have aided in our understanding of specific aspects of mourning in Catholic and Protestant states, the field still lacks a detailed analysis of how these state-level regulations, directed by the household and those closest to the Crown, had the ability to shape the experiences of those in mourning for monarchs. This difference in perspective and approach therefore makes it necessary to examine how the senior officials within the British and Habsburg establishments used these regulations as a way of publicly displaying their conceptions of the ideal social hierarchy after the monarch died. These regulations served to unite "communities disrupted by death, promoting civic values or negotiating loyalties and allegiances [to the monarchy] within smaller sodalities." They simultaneously ensured that the aristocracy respected the integrity of the class hierarchy and did not attempt to move up the social ladder during these transitional periods.[11] As was discussed in chapter one, there is a general consensus among scholars that the political power of

[9] Lucinda Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (London: Routledge, 2003), 141; Alice Lovell, "Death at the beginning of life," in *Death, Gender and Ethnicity*, David, Jenny Hockey and Neil Small, eds. (London: Routledge, 1997), 32; Oberlin, "'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'," 110.
[10] Woodward, "Funeral Rituals," 389; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 5-6 et al. Woodward does note a possible link between the forty-day period after English monarchs died until their burial with a "*quarantaine*" or mourning period (*Theatre of Death*, 114). Andrea Brady echoes a similar sentiment as Woodward, arguing that mourning needs to be understood as a ritual event and a deathly "rite of passage" that has an impact on the living (Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006], 91-3).
[11] Brady, *English Funeral Elegy*, 2.

royal courts was declining in the eighteenth century. Mourning for a monarch, however, was one area where the household continued to exercise a symbolic or perceived authority over those below them in the social hierarchy. It was the structured nature of mourning rituals that served the monarchy's interest in using it to broadcast its conception of an idealized polity, one defined by a strict but elaborate hierarchy under the direction of the Crown. The utility of these rites extended to strictly controlling such elements as time and space but also the materiality of the ritual and human gestures/behaviour.

This chapter is divided into Habsburg and British sections that will each explore two elements of how their households maintained this control over the hierarchy: the official mourning period and the regulation of mourning attire based on rank and status. The first component of each section will examine how the *Hofkonferenz* and the Privy Council special committees set out parameters for state-wide mourning periods. These parameters enabled their members to exercise control over the social hierarchy during the time by regulating activities and the clothing people could wear based on their rank. The second components of the Habsburg and British sections will build on the role of clothing in communicating hierarchy by examining the relationship between sumptuary laws and their influence on the development of regulations for mourning attire, with a particular focus on ensuring compliance from the aristocracy. This section will particularly emphasize the ways that the quantity and quality of fabrics used to create the mourning attire that would be easily recognizable to any observers watching the funeral and clearly communicate the wearer's rank and place within the society of orders.[12]

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Landestrauer and Sacred Time

[12] Bepler, "Funerals," 247.

When the *Hofkonferenz* met in the hours after the Habsburg monarch died, one of the first things they planned were the orders for state-wide mourning. These instructions were then distributed to how each rank in the social hierarchy was expected to attire themselves, their servants, and their homes to show proper grief. In so doing, it became an expression of the idealized Habsburg state as a harmonious, pious society of orders maintained by a strict social hierarchy, with a unified court atop the social pyramid ensuring order for all subjects.[13]

Since classical antiquity, there has been a perception that the feelings associated with grief were seen as destructive to mourners and therefore needed to be regulated by those in power.[14] In the sixth century BC, the Athenian "laws of Solon" sought to reduce untoward funerary and mourning extravagance by restricting expensive food from being served, reduce the scale of the procession, limiting what women could wear to no more than "three mourning shawls" and they could not make any marks on their faces "as signs of mourning." They also served as a deterrent against families using funerals and mourning as a way to compete with one another for status and avoid violence and disorder within the city-state. The Romans promulgated similar restrictions in 450 BC with the *Leges Duodecim Tabularm*, which limited the amount of money people could spend on their funerals and for mourning the deceased.[15] In medieval Europe, unrestrained or improperly managed mourning continued to be viewed negatively, evidenced by the fact that mourning was included in some of the earliest lists of the eight cardinal vices. Scholars have theorized that mourning disappeared from the Church's recognized list of seven deadly sins by the time of the Renaissance because it may have been lumped in with sloth/idleness.[16] Even after mourning stopped being considered sinful

[13] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 136.
[14] Claudia Jarzebowski, "Loss and Emotion in Funeral Works on Children in Seventeenth-Century Germany," in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany*, Lynne Tatlock, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 195.
[15] Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Laws* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 18-9; Donald Phillipson, "Development of the Roman Law of Debt Security," in *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 20, no. 6 (Jun., 1968), 1231-2.
[16] Jarzebowski, "Loss and Emotion," 195.

expressions of human emotion, "excessive mourning" was still seen as a path to an "excess of irrational passions."[17]

By the early modern period, many European states used timetables for mourning that limited the amount of time spent grieving and secluded from society; formats that were often adopted, to varying degrees depending on wealth and status, by people of different ranks across the social hierarchy. Limits were also set for the appropriate amount of time someone should mourn the deceased. There was an element of community concern for the individual here, as time restrictions on mourning were to prevent one's grief from becoming overwhelming by letting those closest to the deceased know when it was socially acceptable to try and move forward. These restrictions also provided support for mourners by requiring members of their households to visit and otherwise keep them company, receive support from the community, and local religious orders; all for the purpose of protecting "the sincerely grieving survivor from the excesses of his [or her] grief."[18]

For early modern monarchs, "excessive grief" was seen as particularly dangerous because it could leave their kingdom vulnerable to a variety of threats. An example of this vulnerability was the intense grief that consumed William III after Mary died in 1694. A key component of the legitimacy of William's co-reign had been his role as the defender of Protestant Europe against the territorial predations of Louis XIV. There was concern from the court and Parliament that the welfare of both Britain and Protestantism more broadly could be jeopardized if the king was consumed by his mourning and did not return to his duties in a timely manner.[19] Regulating mourning was therefore a way to prevent these excesses and secure the stability of the state and the purity of the individual(s). Monarchs were also expected

[17] Becker, *Death and the Early Modern English Woman*, 18. This concern about "excess of irrational passions" was particularly focused on women.
[18] Ariés, *Western Attitudes Toward Death*, 66-7; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 85.
[19] Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 392; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 328; Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II," 741; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 243, 247.

to rule by example, including through their piety. If excessive mourning was seen as sinful, then the monarch needed to rise above their personal grief and show their subjects how to do likewise, thereby demonstrating proper Christian virtue.

Establishing the date for the official mourning period was critical for setting out the broad parameters for how the kingdom was expected to properly mourn the monarch. Like prayer vigils in the court chapel after the emperor died, mourning for a reigning monarch was a finite experience. The official mourning period began at a designated time, usually within a few days of the monarch's death, and had a formal ending, often on the anniversary of the decedent's passing. The monarch's entire household, court, and orders of the state participated in this ritualization of grief through the restriction of activities, clothing, and participation in various memorials and vigils dedicated to the late ruler. These choreographed "rituals of dress and decoration" reflected a coming together of the society of orders in idealized harmony to commemorate the decedent and to fulfill the early modern belief that the living had a responsibility to the dead.[20]

Mourning for the Habsburg monarch was comprised of an elaborate set of rituals and restrictions defined by both time and space, but prior to 1746, the imperial household had no standardized protocols for how it was to organize the general mourning period.[21] The only consistent element that shaped the mourning period was sacred time—this idea that the duration of different stages of mourning were planned according to a divine chronology that began from the moment life ended, continued after the funeral and was concluded when the

[20] *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Miscell: Collections*, 70; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG*, no. 5247 (July 31-August 3, 1714); "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; *I.4*, 123; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760); *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; Verhandlungsakten betreffend die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten und Exequien für Kaiser Karl VI. (1740.10.20-1740.12.13), AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 22r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 16r.-17v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35 ff. 372v.-373r., 389r./v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 131; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 15-6; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-6, 308; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 241.

[21] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 529-30.

decedent received their final judgement from God.[22] The convention was simply for *Hofkonferenz* to call for a general mourning period within twenty-four hours of the monarch's death that lasted for one year to coincide with this process of funeralization and the soul's final journey.[23] A proclamation in 1705, for example, was issued reminding the *Hofstaat* of the ongoing mourning for Leopold I continued after his funeral, that required all princes, officials and loyal subjects to participate in the mourning exequies as an act of vassal obedience ("*gehorsambstem* [*sic*] *Vasallen*").[24] Church bells rang out for an hour each day before an exequy service, summoning those courtiers and officials required to participate in the vigil while reminding those living in Vienna that official mourning was continuing after the funeral.[25]

Exequies were the most important feature of post-funeral mourning rites for the Habsburgs planned and carried out by the imperial household. Exequies normally lasted three days, each with a daily mass that advanced the soul closer to its eternal destination through absolutions of sins and reciting the Office of the Dead.[26] Exequies were held based on a strict schedule of liturgical time and were held approximately one month, three months, and one

[22] Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 415.
[23] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 22r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 16r.-17v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 135; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 213, 216; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376; Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 530, 540. According to Kneidinger and Dittinger, a mourning regulation drafted in 1746 required the longest mourning period at court to last one year and two months. They do not directly explain why two months was added to the duration but seem to imply it was to accommodate the pre-existing required lengths of deepest and half mourning (530). Later in the same chapter, they return to the maximum length of one year (540), which is also mentioned by Hawlik-van de Water and Röhsner.
[24] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA IÖHK 12-3.
[25] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705). Bell tolling was a common expression of mourning through sound and was used by various courts to commemorate the passing of a monarch. At the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the death of the Charles VI was marked by the tolling of bells every day at 11:00 a.m. for one hour for two weeks (Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 135).
[26] Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 39-40; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 165-6; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 383; Bepler, "Funerals," 252. Exequies essentially ceased to exist as a formal aspect of English funeralizations after the outlawing of requiem masses in 1529 (Beem, *Queenship in Early Modern Europe*, 8).

year after the monarch died. The exequies provided rationale for having a one-year mourning period. Any institution could plan their own exequies for the monarch during this period, but protocol required the exequies organized for the *Hofstaat* be the first ones held after the funeral. For most of the eighteenth century, the court exequies were not held for at least several weeks, if not a month, after the funeral. The reason for this gap between the funeral and the exequies was practical rather than ritual: the exequies could not be held until construction had finished on the *castrum doloris*.[27] This was a large, temporary monument built at the site of an exequy for the purpose of commemorating the dead monarch, making grand political statements about their rule, and acting as a physical representation or proxy for the deceased individual being commemorated (Appendix: Fig. 4).[28]

The *castrum doloris* as part of Habsburg funeralizations originated as part of the funeral service itself in the form of the *chapelle ardente*, which was used during the two funeralizations for Charles V at Brussels in 1558 and Augsburg in 1559. During the funeral of Ferdinand I in 1565, a *castrum doloris* had been built at St. Stephan's, into which the emperor's corpse was placed and participants were required to circle the structure several times. Those of the highest rank, including the emperor's sons, were required to make contact with the corpse upon the *castrum* as an act of reverence and sacralization. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the use of the *castrum* shifted from the funeral to the exequies, presumably after the funeralizations of Ferdinand IV in 1654 and Ferdinand III in 1657, though exactly when and how this occurred remains unclear. Hengerer asserts that the *chapelle ardente* and subsequent

[27] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 267r., 289r.-290v.; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16, f. 48r.; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 383.

[28] Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 36; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 168-9; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 384-5; Bepler, "Funerals," 252-3. Since the funeral of Archduke Charles, Maria Theresa's second son, in 1761, the size and opulence of the exequial *castra* were scaled back due to "the classical Enlightenment justification of reducing unnecessary costs." As a result of this scaling back, the *castra* took required significantly less construction time and, by 1780, the court's exequies were able to begin the day after Maria Theresa's funeral (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 376r., 380r., 385v.-386r., 402v.-403v.; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 387).

castra doloris were part of the exequies since Charles V, but Stephane Schrader's microhistory of the emperor's two-day funeral procession in Brussels in 1558 makes it clear that the *chapelle* was part of that event, and not the subsequent exequies. [29] Although it is unclear how the funeral *chapelle* evolved into the exequial *castrum*, by the eighteenth century the latter had become such a popular feature of royal funeralizations that they were seen as being just as important to the exequies as the corpse was in the funeral, and *castra* were erected in all the major centres of the deceased ruler's lands. These were not permanent structures, however, and were taken down once the mourning period had ended. [30]

Groups throughout Vienna, the Habsburg state, and the Holy Roman Empire would commission *castra* for their own exequies to participate in coming together to collectively intercede for the emperor's soul. The Jesuit faculty at the University of Vienna, the Austrian town of Wiener Neustadt, and the imperial bishopric Würzburg were just a few of the various entities that held their own exequies and built their own *castra*. [31] General mourning was based around the idea that every Catholic understood that during this time period, the living had specific responsibilities toward the dead; the exequies were the ritual fulfillment of that obligation. The imperial household, the *Hofstaat*, the state administration, and common subjects were expected to participate in a series of exequies and commemorations that were

[29] Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was'," 73, 86; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 384-5.
[30] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 168-9; ibid. For a discussion of how the *castrum doloris* developed from medieval funerary rituals as part of the *absolutio ad tumulum*, see Hengerer, 385. The use of the *Castrum doloris* was not limited to western European royal funerals. Magnates in eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania received *castra* that were very similar to those in the Habsburg state, including religious, classical and imperial iconography that described the virtues and piety of the deceased (Urszula Kicińska, "Ceremonia pogrzebowa w drukach żałobnych XVII I XVIII wieku [wybrane element]," in *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 62, no. 3 [2014], 423).
[31] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705); Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 224-7. Lavish exequies were also held outside the Habsburg hereditary lands, stretching from the Palatinate in northern Germany down to Florence and Rome. In Regensburg, the seat of the Perpetual Reichstag, official exequies on behalf of the empire were ordered. These exequies served as visible demonstrations of the fidelity and regard that these regional rulers had for the imperial, transnational monarch. As Golubeva notes (224), the largest and grandest exequies were in the Catholic, Habsburg-aligned imperial states.

intended to help the soul of the deceased exit Purgatory as quickly as possible.[32] This meant that the mourning period was a key component in facilitating the responsibility of the living to intercede for the deceased, helping them exit Purgatory quickly and to pass "definitively into the world of the dead." This concept will be expanded upon in chapter three, but for this analysis it is sufficient to state that the official mourning period was therefore a critical juncture for the Habsburg society of orders to come together and participate in rituals that expedited the monarch's departure from Purgatory.[33] State-wide exequies and vigils were an opportunity for people across the state to come together in the ubiquitous Catholic ritual culture to aid the monarch's entry into Heaven; a coming together that was facilitated by the imperial household. In 1705, the *Hofstaat* paid 3,189 fl. for exequies to be held at thirteen cloisters and cathedral chapters in Upper Austria that often staged performances celebrating the emperor and the dynasty. The clergy at these locations also solicited local donations to help pay for these services.[34] Appendix: Fig. 5 provides a more detailed breakdown of the amounts paid by the *Hofstaat* in 1740 for these abbeys to hold exequies for Charles VI.

These state-wide services mobilized the population into actively interceding for the late monarch and served as rallying points around which the Habsburgs' subjects could unify; by participating in or donating funds to these exequies, the monarchy's subjects was a way to show loyalty to the crown and patriotism to the state. The exequies also helped to serve as a stabilizing mechanism to encourage popular engagement with the monarchy at its most vulnerable time: the death of one monarch and the succession of the new one. The mourning period therefore had a profound unifying quality to it that brought together the imperial

[32] Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 79; Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 39-40; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 383.
[33] Tingle, *Piety and Purgatory in Brittany*, 88-90.
[34] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, July 26, 1705; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16, f. 76v.; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 55. When converted to today's currency, 3,189 fl. amounts to approximately €40,080. This calculation is based on "Value of the Guilder/Euro," International Institute of Social History, (http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate.php) reflects the purchasing power of euros in 2018. Accessed January 6, 2020.

household and the entire Habsburg state "in a single sacral community" of mourning; rituals united courtiers and commoners alike.[35]

General mourning for the monarch was always divided into smaller stages that were characterized by the gradual loosening of restrictions over time. The first stage was known as the 'deepest mourning'. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this lasted for at least nine months.[36] This stage was classified as Great Chamber Mourning (*Grossen Kammerklage*) when all members of the imperial household, *Hofstaat*, the government, the Austrian estates, military, and aristocracy were required to dress in black mourning attire; drape their homes, carriages, and liveried servants in black; and to publicly look appropriately sullen, dejected, and grief-stricken over the emperor's death. This stage was then followed by 'half mourning', which lasted for the remainder of the mourning period, during which restrictions on clothing for the *Hofstaat* began to ease. Empress Maria Theresa initiated two major reforms of mourning at the *Hofstaat*, for the purpose of reducing the court's mourning obligations and as a way of reaffirming the class hierarchy within the state. The impact that these two edicts had on the hierarchy will be discussed in the next section, but both documents led to significant changes in the structure and timetable of Habsburg mourning. In 1746, Maria Theresa directed her *Obersthofbeämter* to develop the first mourning reform, the Court Regulation for the Viennese Court (*Hofklagsordnung für den Wiener Hof*). The regulation did away with deepest and half mourning while maintaining the lengthy mourning period for the monarch and a specific schedule of when the regulations were loosened after a specific number of months and weeks. This only applied to the men of the household; similar mourning regulations for women were not passed until 1760.[37] By 1767, Maria Theresa

[35] Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 608.
[36] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 529-30.
[37] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; Diverse Zeremonialangelegenheiten. (1740-1741.12.11), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-16, ff. 35r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 349r.-350v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *WD* no. 91 (12 Nov. 1740), 1022; Kat.Nr. VII/1: Patent zur Eisntellung der Musik anlässich des Ablebens Karls VI." in Seitschek, "Was blieb von Karl VI.?," 242;Hawlik-

considered the Court Mourning Regulation outdated and once again ordered her *Obersthofbeämter* to revise the mourning regulations, again focusing on reducing the court's obligation for lengthy mourning periods.[38] The household and court were now required to wear mourning for six months, which was then divided into four stages; the first two lasted seven weeks and the other two lasted for six.[39]

At the same time as the household and court were in deepest mourning, the entire Habsburg monarchy was observing *Landestrauer*, the state-wide mourning period. During this six-week period, the entire state effectively shut down to grieve the loss of the monarch. The population was expected to show proper sadness and all social activities, from musical and theatrical performances to fencing schools, dances, dining, or any other celebration were cancelled on pain of punishment.[40] Naturally, these mandated rulers were often unwelcomed by those subjected to them. According to an account published in 1729, very few subjects wanted to mourn, but knew they had to in order to avoid some kind of undisclosed

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van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 132, 135, 147-8; Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 529-30, 557-60. These stages varied depending on who was being mourned, with deepest mourning sometimes being as short as three months and half mourning being only six weeks. *Hofklagsordnung* literally translates to "court lawsuit," but Kneidinger and Dittinger's discussion makes it clear this is a reduction of earlier, burdensome mourning regulations. As such, the *Hofklagsordnung* is most likely a declaration of the edict that fit into the pre-existing legal framework of the *Hofstaat* that was maintained by the different councils that governed the court as outlined in chapter one.

[38] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 372v.; *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, f.1; Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 530-1.

[39] *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, 3-4; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 18; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 272v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 102-10.

[40] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 22r.-23v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 14r.-15v.; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; *WD* no. 91 (12 Nov. 1740), 1022; Kat.Nr. VII/1: Patent zur Eisntellung der Musik anlässich des Ablebens Karls VI." in Seitschek, "Was blieb von Karl VI.?," 242; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 135, 147; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241. The nature of such punishment given to those who refused to participate, or who was responsible for ordering this participation, remains unclear. The mourning for Francis I led to a noticeable shift in Austrian court culture after 1765 since Joseph II was given more authority now that he was emperor and Maria Theresa had largely retired from public life. The Spanish court attire that had dominated in Vienna for a century was dropped, the number of court galas and Fleece Days was drastically reduced, and the imperial family made fewer public visits to religious sites associated with the dynasty (Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 610-1).

punishment. Activities that were canceled by mourning regulations, like music and dancing, were conducted "secretly" and the general population was "very eager for the end of their mourning."[41] Even though *Landestrauer* only lasted for six weeks, the ban on public festivities and social life continued until the conclusion of this sacral time period one year after the date of death.[42] Proclamations outlining all these instructions were published in Vienna through the *Wiennerisches Diarium* (the *Wiener Zeitung* after 1780) and were distributed throughout the state by couriers, where the proclamations were then announced by local heralds and parish priests. The population, particularly the aristocracy, seems to have been expected to do this as quickly as possible.[43]

Class, Hierarchy, and Mourning Attire

Mourning was an important mechanism of legitimacy and authority for the monarchy because it required observance and participation from all members of the state structured around the

[41] Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren, Die in vier besondern Theilen Die meistern* Ceremoniel-*Handlungen, so die Europäischen Puissancen überhaupt, und die Teutschen Landes-Fürsten insonderheit, sowohl in ihren Häusern, in Ansehung ihrer selbst, ihrer* Familie *und Bedienten, als auch gegen ihre Mit-Regenten, und gegen ihre Unterthanen bey Krieges und Friends-Zeiten zu beobachten pflegen, Nebst den mancherley Arten der* Divertissemens *vorträgt, sie so viel als möglich in allgemeine Regeln und Lehr-Sätzte einschlüßt, und hin und wieder mit einigen historischen Anmerckungen aus dem alten und neuen Geschichten erläutert* [Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1729], 338.

[42] Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 317.

[43] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 372v.-373r., 389r./v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 18; *WZ* no. 97 (2 Dec. 1780); Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 132.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 16-7. Since the Habsburgs were also Holy Roman emperors, couriers had to be dispatched to the courts of the imperial electors and princes to instruct them on how the Austrian court would be observing its mourning, though it could sometimes take days or even a week for other cities and courts to be notified. Sending mourning instructions to other courts within the Holy Roman Empire and regional rulers within the Habsburg state was therefore also an opportunity to remind aristocrats and local rulers of their responsibilities toward the Crown. In 1705, the *Hofkonferenz* included a reminder to the electors of the oaths they had taken to the Habsburgs and the new emperor, Joseph I, following his election as king of the Romans in 1690 (*WD* no. 190 [May 27-29 1705], *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *Mercure historique et politique contenant l'État present de l'Europe, ce qui se passe dans toutes les Cours, l'interêt des Princes, leurs brigues, et generalement* [...], vol. 109: July-December 1740 [The Hague: Henri van Bulderen], 255; *WD* no. 89 [5. Nov. 1740], 998; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 52).

regulations handed down by the court, some of which dated from as far back as the medieval period. As such, a person's participation in mourning for the monarch was a way of showing loyalty to the state and the Crown and enabled the monarchy to require its subjects to show a proper level of grief that they may not have felt. Clothing was and still is a method of communication; the state's ability to regulate who wore what and when was itself a powerful statement of the Crown's ability to control this form of visual and material communication through the wearing on the body of the individual itself. An examination of how mourning regulations functioned as rituals sheds light on how they shaped the experiences of the living, who adopted appropriate grieving clothes and withdrew from social activities that separated them from the community of the living. Early modern mourning regulations were often designed to target the aristocrats within the state, since they represented both regional sources of authority and could represent a potential threat to the stability of the state when it was vulnerable, such as when the emperor died. One of the most effective tools that the monarch's household had at their disposal to prevent disruption to the social hierarchy and keep the aristocrats within their proper ranks were sumptuary laws on clothing that influenced the development of class-based mourning attire.

Even though earlier scholars have dismissed the eighteenth-century monarchical household as an institution of declining political power, a close examination of these sumptuary laws and the evolution of mourning attire regulations within the Habsburg state reveals that the household was still able to exert authority over the social hierarchy of the state. This authority was maintained by the restriction and monitoring of the material appearance of the aristocracy and officials who appeared at court and participated in monarchical rituals, thereby enabling the Crown as an institution to assert its role as the preserver of the idealized model of a hierarchical society. Restrictions on material appearance during mourning were unique among sumptuary laws because they transcended individual rulers and were applied to the transitional period after the monarch died and was succeeded by their heir. It was the

imperial household that stepped into the role of guarantor of the social hierarchy during the funeralization period and enabled its senior members to expand their influence over the aristocracy through the passage and reform of mourning regulations on clothing in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The regulations of clothing as a mechanism for visually displaying the class hierarchy among aristocrats, where minor distinctions of rank were treated with the utmost seriousness, was at least partly rooted in (more general) sumptuary laws, which sought to prevent unscrupulous persons from trying to climb the social ladder.[44] It is therefore necessary to briefly examine the relevant history of sumptuary laws and their influence on mourning culture for the purpose of understanding how they led to clothing restrictions by those closest to the monarch as a mechanism for social control. From ancient Greece to China to Italy, sumptuary laws have been used as a way to prevent untoward extravagance in how people dressed, oftentimes targeting women.[45] In medieval Europe, they were intended to reduce extravagance at celebrations and/or commemorations of important life events like weddings and funerals by restricting the kinds of clothing and accessories that could be worn on these occasions.[46] The premise behind European sumptuary laws was to reduce displays of extravagance, which were regarded as sinful and un-Christian.[47] Extravagance was seen as sinful by both Catholics and Protestants. For the former, extravagance or luxury, known as *superbia*, was especially dangerous to one's moral and spiritual well being because it was an extension of pride, one of the seven deadly sins.[48] These regulations were also connected with European

[44] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 529.
[45] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 1-2, 17-19.
[45] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 70-3.
[46] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 28, 118; Ulinka Rublack, "The Right to Dress: Sartorial Politics in Germany, c. 1300-1750," in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200-1800*, Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 42, 44; Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 70-3.
[47] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 1-3.
[48] Rublack, "Right to Dress," 44.

conceptions of how the late medieval and early modern state was structured into a society of orders with a recognizable class hierarchy.[49] Scholars from a variety of disciplines like Hunt or Rublack and Riello have explored the relationship between sumptuary laws and social class in detail, though studies on the intersectionality with mourning are less common. Those works that focus specifically on royal mourning, like Fritz and Taylor, focus on the relationship between mourning attire and the visible representation of class hierarchy but without addressing the role of the monarch's household and funeral planning committees in shaping that relationship.[50]

In the Habsburgs' Austrian lands, the first *Kleiderordnung* (clothing or sumptuary law) was not passed until 1542 by Ferdinand I. All imperial subjects were required to dress according to their rank and based on their economic status so as "to clearly signal different ranks." But these had little effect on changing clothing habits among those subjects living outside the major urban areas. Within fifty years, these laws were considered "hopelessly outdated," and the government did not bother to make any revisions until 1659. In 1687, sumptuary laws for Austrian commoners were done away with altogether. All other Austrian sumptuary legislation, such as the ordinance of 1548, specifically focused on regulating the clothing of anyone who held the rank of a knight or above. A second sumptuary law was passed in 1577 but was largely unenforced and remained unchanged for 230 years until the reorganization of the Habsburgs' empire in 1806. The overlap between the Habsburg *Erblande* and their position as Holy Roman emperors meant that the sumptuary laws passed in the latter influenced those of the former. In the Holy Roman Empire, sumptuary laws were

[49] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 10, 22, 24, 28; Ulinka Rublack and Giorgio Riello, eds., *The Right to Dress*, 3, 7, 8-9, 12-3 et al; Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 277.
[50] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-7; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 7 et al. Fritz clearly establishes the importance of the Lord Chamberlain and Earl Marshal in determining mourning regulations but does not address how those shaped conceptions of hierarchy and the society of orders. Woodward's *Theatre of Death*, which compares French and English Renaissance royal funerals, does address some of the physical dimensions and measurements of mourning attire at the Court of St James during the Renaissance but does not go beyond discussing how people of various ranks received different levels of attire (18-24, 54).

used to formalize status among the levels of imperial elites, from sovereign counts all the way up to the emperor and his court so as to prevent rivalries among the various rulers. Six sumptuary ordinances were passed between 1495 and 1521 that applied to the entire empire. The Austrian *Kleiderordnung* of 1542 was modeled on the *Carolina*, the sumptuary law of 1530 promulgated by Emperor Charles V and was the empire's first clothing legislation that could be enforced by police. The *Carolina* was largely unsuccessful, according to Rublack, and "simply fossilised" until the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806.[51]

This conception of hierarchy is critical for understanding how early modern Europeans saw their place within the body politic and the state. The foundation for this understanding of hierarchy was the medieval worldview that all of creation into a strict vertical hierarchy, from the minerals in the ground at the bottom to animals to man, celestial beings, and eventually, God, at the top. Each of those categories was then further broken down. Man was divided into what would now be classified as class divisions: royalty, aristocrats, and commoners.[52] The concept that a person's status and rank could be both communicated to others and reinforced by the clothing they were allowed to wear was common in the early modern period. A person's right to gain access to various antechambers, passages, and rooms that brought them increasingly closer to the monarch was frequently determined by the attire they were wearing, which was itself determined by their status within the social hierarchy. Appearing in public, or at least in front of the rest of the court, in the clothes commensurate with one's rank was frequently a way of demonstrating status and privilege (such as who was able to wear which fabrics and accoutrements during mourning).[53]

[51] Rublack, "Right to Dress," 48, 53-4.
[52] T. C. W. Blanning, *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 55-6; James and Joanna Bogle, *A Heart For Europe: The Lives of Emperor Charles and Empress Zita of Austria-Hungary* (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1999), xii.
[53] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 96-7; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168.

Although sumptuary laws in the Habsburg lands had largely fallen into disuse by the turn of the eighteenth century, the concept that controlling clothing as a way of reinforcing social hierarchy when the monarch died began to emerge during the Renaissance.[54] The earliest styles of mourning clothes were based on medieval monastic attire favoured for its simplicity, and used a basic colour scheme of black, white, and grey to represent virtues like piety and humility. Mourning styles for men were originally modeled on Benedictine robes, while women's gowns were based on the traditional nun's habit.[55] By the 1300s, black was recognized as the common colour for mourning in western Europe, especially among widows, because it symbolized "their grief and their rejection of joy."[56] The simple, unadorned monastic style, with its lack of jewelry and other accessories also helped prevent people from being distractions in favour of an internal, contemplative mourning focused on the deceased.[57]

Although black may have been the colour most associated with death and mourning, it was also considered a sign of the highest level of fashionable society. Black, accented by gold or red, had been the predominant colour of formal attire at the Spanish Habsburgs' court, which their Austrian counterparts followed as closely as possible in the first half of the eighteenth century.[58] When Joseph II died in 1790, his body was displayed in a field marshal's uniform, and his courtiers' mourning attire was in a similar German style. Hengerer notes that Joseph's

[54] Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 72-3.
[55] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 37, 40, 42; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*,18-9; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 109. The reason why widows were expected to dress in black clothing, in many cases for the rest of their lives, was a result of the early medieval connection between widows and the creation of nunneries. In the same way the nuns dressed in long robes and veils of dark and muted colours to reflect their commitment to God above all else, eschewing worldly life, so too did widows adopt similar clothing as a form of declaration that the world no longer held any allure for them after their husbands' deaths (Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 37).
[56] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 38.
[57] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 71, 79-80, 124, 165; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 86, 89; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 109. The prohibition against shiny accoutrements like jewelry, buttons, or even ceremonial sabres during the deepest mourning phase was based on beliefs stretching back to ancient Greece that any kind of reflective surface could threaten the safety of the decedent's immortal soul (Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 90).
[58] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 145; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 42; Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 175.

being "dressed in the uniform of a field marshal may be attributed to the abolition of Spanish court dress, but it also reflects the monarch's [changing] perceived role as a statesman."[59] Although black was and is the most widely recognized colour for mourning, it was not the only colour used. Red was sometimes used in Vienna when the household was transitioning from deepest to half mourning.[60] It was traditional in early modern funerary culture for a decedent's family to provide mourning attire for members of their family and household. When the decedent was a monarch, this meant that the Crown had to provide mourning for members of the imperial household. Failure to do so was considered disrespectful to both the normative social hierarchy and to the decedent.[61] The ability to direct or dominate styles of fashion or the accepted clothes for death and mourning has traditionally been held by those at the top of the social pyramid.[62] The Court Chamber, as the body that managed cameral funds, was responsible for portioning out funds for mourning to the various court departments. Since the Court Chamber was a department within the imperial household, this meant that the cost of the monarch's funeral was carried largely by the imperial family itself, but the lack of

[59] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 380-1.

[60] Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 19. Red was used as a mourning colour in various states. During Renaissance French royal funerals, the pallbearers (each of whom were presidents of the *Parlement* of Paris) wore red, while all other funeral participants wore black (Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 417). In Venice, senators adopted red when mourning for the doge. Other colours were also permitted for mourning. One imperial *Kleiderordnung* from 1688 permitted the wives and daughters of university graduates in Nuremberg to use white as a mourning colour, ostensibly to reflect their status above the rank-and-file subjects living in the city, since elite women were allowed to have white mourning veils (Rublack, "The Right to Dress," 67). White was also used as a mourning colour by certain groups in England. In the early seventeenth century, young, unmarried women were required to wear white if they were participating in the funeral of another young, unmarried woman (Clare Gittings, "Sacred and secular: 1558-1660," in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, Peter Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds. [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999], 157-8). Red was also sometimes used among European settlers in North America as early as 1641 but doing so was considered to be unfashionable among commoners since the fabrics used were only of a quality they could afford, compared to silks or linens used by the wealthy (Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 64). Red also had religious connotations as well and was considered representative of Christ's blood shed on the Cross (Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 89). According to Giesey, red was seen as representing immortality by the Renaissance (Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 68).

[61] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 26, 73-5.

[62] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 42, 49, 220; Rublack, "Right to Dress," 38.

standardized protocols meant that how funds were allotted for mourning was often at the personal discretion of the monarch.[63]

In 1705, for example, the Court Chamber paid out 5,496.30 fl. (€66,995.97) for the *Obersthofbeämter*.[64] An additional allowance of 1,496.30 fl. paid by the Court Chamber to household members for their mourning attire to help offset some of the lavish, extravagant costs of mourning, but it is unclear who specifically received this allowance.[65] The *Hofstaat* was plagued by an inefficient financial system marked by inconsistent payments to the highest ranking officials; the cash payments that were made were often insufficient for covering the expenses of living and serving at court.[66] The *Hofzahlamtsbücher* (the record for paying court offices) is unclear at best in listing the payments made to officials, since some of these may have been the Crown repaying loans to the aristocrats (which happened often), gifts from the emperor, or money owed for services rendered.[67] The records from 1740, however, are less

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[63] Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 15; Kneidinger and Dillinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 541-2; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 52. In 1740, the *Obersthofmarschall* and *Oberststallmeister* asked Maria Theresa to receive the same mourning allowance as the *Obersthofmeister*. She simply replied that they needed to go back and do a more thorough check to see how this was handled by the household for previous funerals (541-2). Demmerle and Beutler note that the Austrian estates also contributed some funds to the imperial funeral, but they do not specify to what extent.

[64] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5. This calculation is based https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/hpw/calculate.php, accessed April 26, 2021. The primary source is a bit unclear, but it seems to indicate that at least some of the costs for court mourning had been paid for by His late Majesty's generosity. Presumably, Leopold had set some funds aside for mourning for his own funeral, which is not a huge surprise given Leopold's piety. It would make sense that the deeply devout would make these kinds of funeral preparations for themselves. Mourning was also ordered the for the military units in the city; the record specifically mentions the knights and the envoys ("*Cavalliere und* [*sic*] *Envojes*") (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 337v.-338r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, ff. 2.r./v.).

[65] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 450. When Duke Louis Rudolph of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Charles VI's father-in-law, died in 1737, the court women billed the Court Chamber 5,411 fl. for mourning clothes (Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 138).

[66] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 124.

[67] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <16>; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 85. Duindam also provides an incredibly useful chart of the sums paid to senior officials, courtiers, and presidents of the different governing councils of state (https://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/3/Duindam/Viennaincome.pdf, accessed January 24, 2022). As this extensive table makes clear, as many as ten different estimates of varying fees paid to these officials were provided by court records in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. It

specific and only describe lump sums of a thousand talers each being to Charles VI's *Obersthofmeister* as a mourning allowance and was presumably a subsidy for what individuals were already expected to spend out of pocket.[68] Unlike the British Royal Household, which documented every person who received mourning attire and the costs associated (see below), no such information for the *Hofstaat* appears to have been documented during the first half of the eighteenth century. Spielman describes the *Hofstaat* as a cash-deficient court that more often than not failed to sufficiently pay its members or owed several years' worth of wages. "In a money-short economy that had not yet learned to live on instruments of credit," he writes, "privilege was the monarchy's largest potential resource."[69] Courtiers, clergymen, and merchants, to name a few, were likely granted some type of court privilege, an elevation in title or status, tax exemption, or long-term pension that did not need to be settled in the immediate future—and in many cases, were never granted in full as promised.[70]

During Maria Theresa's reign, however, the first codified regulations for mourning attire were passed (see above). The Court Mourning Regulation of 1746 was divided into nine classes for the monarch, their family, extended relatives, regional rulers, and imperial princes. The Court Mourning Regulation laid out details on how the imperial household was supposed to dress in mourning depending on the decedent's ranking: how an official was required to

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should be noted that none of these records indicate extraordinary fees or expenses for events like the monarch's funeral.

[68] AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 22r.-23v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, ff. 14r.-15v.; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Kneidinger and Dillinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 541-2. The *Obersthofmarschall* and *Oberststallmeister* asked Maria Theresa to receive the same mourning allowance as the *Obersthofmeister*, she simply replied that they needed to go back and do a more thorough check to see how this was handled by the household for previous funerals (541-2).

[69] Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 61-3, 70.

[70] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168; Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 444. As one example, Charles VI opted to give one of his senior officials a bejeweled portrait worth 15,000 fl. instead of simply giving him a stable, yearly income of 2,000 fl. This gift was worth nearly seven times more than the potential salary and was a way for the emperor to treat it "as a one-off favour, an expression of regal munificence and personal friendship, rather than as payment to which the recipient had a regular claim or legal entitlement" (Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa*, 85).

dress was based on the status of the person who died, and their relationship to that person. This reduced the court's financial and ritual obligations to go into full mourning for every extended relative, foreign prince, or aristocrat. In 1767, the Ordinance for Court Mourning Clothes (*Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*) was issued, which revised the hierarchy from nine down to seven classes, again aimed to reduce the amount of time the household had to spend in mourning while also providing an even more comprehensive schematic of how each rank within the household was required to mourn. Like the sumptuary laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ordinance made no provisions for anyone below the rank of a knight and only seems to have focused on the aristocratic members of the household, rather than all staff down to the commoners.[71] The Ordinance specifically targeted the aristocracy of the Habsburg state and was ostensibly designed to reduce the length of mourning obligations. However, its detailed structure was also a way to concretize the boundaries within the aristocratic social hierarchy to prevent anyone from using the pomp and display of mourning to present themselves as being above their social standing.[72] This was political theatre at its finest and was common in central Europe for maintaining class divisions. In 1526 in neighbouring Bavaria, a sumptuary law was passed that organized all subjects into eight separate ranks and was, at least partly, an attempt to prevent people from falling into financial ruin through lavish spending on clothing and accessories. Later ordnances from 1578 and 1626 reorganized Bavarians into seven social classes similar to what was instituted in Austria in 1767. Rublack also notes that there is distinction between sumptuary laws that were passed from those that were printed and distributed to the population. The former may suggest an attempt to regulate those at court or elites who would be aware of any such laws through their proximity to the ruler or courtly positions.[73] These ordinances reflect the fact that mourning

[71] Kneidinger and Dillinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 530, 557-60.
[72] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 372v.; *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, f.1.
[73] Rublack, "Right to Dress," 57-8.

regulations were a way of making the monarchy's power over its subjects visible to everyone, including those in other states.

According to the Ordinance, officials of the imperial household, members of the governing councils, Austrian ambassadors to foreign courts, and the knights of the Golden Fleece were provided with black livery that they were required to wear for the entire mourning period. Only the *Obersthofbeämter* and the Austrian ambassadors to foreign courts had the necessary status to drape their carriages in black livery, and only for the first seven weeks of mourning. This limitation of carriage drapery to the highest echelons is one example of the status symbol for visually communicating the senior household officials and those closest to the Crown. It demarcated their personal and professional power that they wielded through their relationship with the monarchy, and communicated that status through their specific material requirements. The sumptuary regulations for mourning attire applied not only to courtiers, ministers, and officials, but also to the chivalric orders that were active at the Austrian court like the knights of the Golden Fleece. With each subsequent ranking of the aristocrats in the imperial household, the mourning requirements became less stringent and decreased on a gradient scale: the second class was required to observe mourning for three months, the third and fourth classes for six weeks, the fifth for sixteen days, the sixth for twelve days, and the seventh for eight days.[74] The text does not specify what separates aristocrats into these different groups, although it was presumably based on hereditary status, titles and land ownership, or the right to appear at court.

As was mentioned earlier, the Ordinance shortened the mourning period for six months and laid out some of the strictest mourning regulations that Habsburg aristocrats had seen. For the first seven weeks, all members of the household and *Hofstaat* were required to

[74] *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, 5-10; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, ff. 12r./v., 19; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 374r./v., 391 r./v., 394r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, ff. 137, 138, 140, 141; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 102-10, ff. 6r./v.

wear only black beaded fabrics with minimal buttons, cuffs, or any kind of studded accessory.[75] Shoes, stockings, hats, and capes had to be unadorned, and special black mourning capes (*Pleureusen*) were to be worn over their regular black attire. Ceremonial sabres and swords were permitted but were required to be sheathed in black. The court women were required to wear woolen fabrics with black veils made of Italian gauze; black jewelry, gloves, and trains were permitted. Once this stage ended and mourning went into the second, seven-week period, the only change permitted was that men did not have to cover their swords in black and could remove their additional black mourning capes. Once mourning moved into the first six-week stage after the first three months, both men and women could begin wearing more luxurious fabrics, including silk, buttons, cuffs, and could use white accessories. In the final stage for the last six weeks, both genders could begin to wear white lace, regular jewelry, and even buckles and rapiers with the colour red.[76] Although the members of the first class were able to wear expensive clothes, even in the earliest weeks, the Ordinance required that all luxury items used in mourning like beaded black fabrics, silk, Italian gauze, gold or silver buttons had to be domestically manufactured within the Habsburg state (not necessarily Austria proper). If the six-month mourning period occurred in winter—as was the case for Maria Theresa in 1780—members of the household and anyone who appeared at court could only obtain these items from the textile factories in Klagenfurt, three-hundred kilometers southwest of Vienna in Carinthia. If the mourning period fell in the summer, Linz replaced Klagenfurt as the necessary source for all fabrics and accoutrements. These two cities were the only options for members of the household and court to purchase their attire for mourning; a decision specifically made by the empress to help support the Austrian textile industry.[77]

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[75] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 135.

[76] *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, 3-5; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 18, 272v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 272v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 102-10.

[77] *Hofklag-Tragungs-Verordnung*, 10; Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 530-1. For an analysis of the development of the early modern European textile industry, particularly with an emphasis on the influence of Indian, Chinese, and eastern cultures on European design and production, see Beverly Lemire and Giorgio

Although Maria Theresa's primary goal was to streamline the household's mourning obligations, the passage and reform of the first codified mourning regulations for the *Hofstaat* would have still served to reinforce the class distinction among those who surrounded the Crown. Enforcing stricter hierarchy was also not something that was inconsistent with the empress's approach to governance. In 1754, she had already reinstituted a strict sumptuary edict in the Austrian Netherlands from 1616 that limited mourning accoutrements like sabres or scarves only to the aristocracy or face punishment.[78] The desire to streamline mourning and to enforce rank hierarchy were therefore not incompatible goals. She accepted the stratification of aristocratic classes between titled and landed aristocracy and general aristocrats, particularly in Hungary and Bohemia. Even though the empress frequently sought to reduce grand, Baroque extravagances at court in favour of more subdued, almost "contemporary bourgeois ideals rather than aristocratic traditions," she profoundly believed that society was meant to be structured around rank, hierarchy, and status. This fact was reinforced in 1780, when the household used the Ordinance's first class protocols for the first time: to mourn Maria Theresa.[79]

BRITAIN

Stages of Official Mourning

Like the *Hofkonferenz* for the Habsburg monarchs, mourning protocols were one of the first elements planned by the Privy Council's special committee within twenty-four hours of the king or queen's death; the broad plans of when it would start were often settled the same day they died. Even though the Earl Marshal's influence over the funeral planning process was waning by the mid-eighteenth century, he still remained personally responsible for issuing

Riello, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," in *Journal of Social History*, vol. 41, no. 4 (Summer, 2008), 887-916.

[78] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 88.

[79] Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 286; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 171; Kneidinger and Dillinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 550.

mourning directives in his capacity as the architect of national ceremonies.[80] During these earliest planning sessions, the Privy Council directed the Earl Marshal to issue "Publick notice" that the nation was going into general public mourning and "that tis Expected that all Persons…put themselves into the deepest mourning that is possible." The decrees were posted around London, often at St James's's Palace, Charing Cross, Temple Bar, and the Royal Exchange where the monarch's death and the accession of their successor was proclaimed. Beginning with the death of Queen Caroline 1737, these orders were formally published and distributed among the population.[81] Throughout the eighteenth century, these proclamations remained surprisingly unchanged, suggesting that mourning regulations were one of the most static, consistent elements of royal funeralizations. These were short, general proclamations that were meant to inform the public when the mourning period would begin.

Prior to 1760, the proclamations also included a statement that the Privy Council and Royal Household were required to "cover their Coaches, Chariots, Chaires, and Cloath their Livery Servants with black cloath."[82] This was, at the very least, a public declaration of expectations for those two groups, most of whom comprised the untitled gentry and higher, to go into mourning as quickly as possible. It may also have been a way of communicating that the rest of the population should follow the lead of those at the very top of the social hierarchy and display mourning. Mourning regulations for the entire kingdom generally went into effect within a week to ten days from the date of public proclamation; members of the Royal Household, government, and aristocracy were expected to have acquired their mourning

[80] Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, 7, 35, 173; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 11, 21, 58.
[81] *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Miscell: Collections*, 69-70, 76; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG*, no. 5247 (July 31-August 3, 1714); Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-6, 308.
[82] *LG*, no. 5248 (August 3-7, 1714); *I.4*, 123; "Lord Marshal's Order for a General Mourning for His late Majesty King GEORGE the Second," *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760). This line was dropped in the mourning proclamation issued by the Deputy Earl Marshal in 1760 for George II. The section mentioning the household and council was replaced by the simple declaration that "His MAJESTY is pleased to permit the Officers of the Army to appear before Him in Red, faced with Black, and the Officers of the Fleet in Blue, faced with Black" ("Lord Marshal's Order for a General Mourning for His late Majesty King GEORGE the Second," *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*).

wardrobe for themselves and their servants, and draped their homes, carriages, and horses within approximately two weeks.[83]

By the end of the seventeenth century, mourning in England was divided into three stages. Unlike in the Habsburg state, these stages were not structured around sacred time—a concept that was largely abandoned in England following the Reformation. Instead, the three stages functioned as a way of allowing the household to both control the duration of mourning and enforce the status hierarchy by restricting clothing and material culture. 'First mourning' was the initial period after death with the strictest restrictions on clothing, building décor, and social activities. During first mourning, only black attire made from cloth or crape could be worn, and no jewels or accoutrements were allowed. In stage two, 'second mourning', some of the restrictions eased; ermine and other luxury fabrics were allowed, as were accessories like swords and shiny belts for men and simple jewelry for women. These first two stages could last up to several months and were followed by a third and final 'half mourning' period, when a muted colour like mauve (being a shade of purple), and even some patterned fabrics, could be worn. Although these stages were recognized across English society as normal aspects of mourning, they were not standardized and the length of each one varied depending on the status and rank of the decedent and their family, with the Lord Chamberlain's Office having the final say as to whether the monarchy would observe official mourning.[84] For the royal family, no prince or princess younger than fourteen received an official, three-stage mourning period.[85]

After the death of George I in 1727, official mourning was restructured. The three different stages were formalized as precedents for subsequent royal funerals and the first stage, sometimes referred to as "deepest" mourning, became reserved for the monarch alone. The

[83] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 165-6; *LG*, no. 5248 (August 3-7, 1714); *I.4*, 123; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760).
[84] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 75; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 90; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-6.
[85] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305n37. Of course, the royal family still observed its own personal mourning for their children.

mourning for King George II in 1760 adhered more strictly to the schedule of the three stages than had been observed for Queen Anne. First mourning for the king lasted for two months, three weeks, and two days, from November 2, 1760, to January 25, 1761; second mourning was reduced to one month, one week, and four days, from January 25 to March 8; and the third and final mourning lasted one month and one day, from March 8 to April 9.[86] This adherence was in keeping with the more standardized schedule for official mourning that was adopted at the time of Queen Caroline's death in 1737, whose own funeral had been used as the major precedent for her husband's in 1760.[87]

Even though there was an acceptance that respectable mourning was divided into stages, there was no standardized protocol for how long each stage lasted, and it often depended on the funeral plans for the individual monarch—similarly to Austrian court mourning during the same period. Before the eighteenth century, official mourning for the sovereign generally lasted for a year, but two years were ordered for Mary II in 1694.[88] The general mourning regulations issued by the Earl Marshal following Queen Anne's death in 1714 were similar, with virtually no modifications made to the wording aside from the dates. First mourning lasted for six months, but no official order was issued to formally end the mourning period for Queen Anne; a recommendation was made by the Privy Council that there be a "gradual decrease in mourning during the last six months," as had been done for Prince George.[89] This time, the Privy Council consulted records on how mourning was handled for state funerals over the previous century: Anne of Denmark, queen consort to

[86] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 306.
[87] WAM 61783, 1.
[88] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 307, 310, see also 307 n42; Alex Garganigo, "William without Mary: Mourning Sensibly in the Public Sphere," in *The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Mar., 2008), 105.
[89] *Miscell: Collections*, 70; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 246; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 313. This statement by Fritz that the prince's mourning period gradually tapered off seems at odds with Bucholz's later comment that it came to an end on Christmas Day (Bucholz, "'Nothing but Ceremony'," 300). The most likely explanation is that both scholars are correct: no formal order was likely issued to end George's mourning period, however the celebrations for Christmas in 1710 would likely have provided a natural point at which British society could end its mourning observances without offending the queen.

James I, who died in 1619; James himself in 1625; and the military leader and statesman George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, in 1670. The population had two weeks to go into mourning for Anne.[90]

In Queen Mary's case, part of the reason for this extension was the pedagogical emphasis placed on her death and funeral by Parliament for extolling the virtues of the Glorious Revolution and the triumph of liberal Protestantism over Catholic tyranny. Sermons preached in the weeks after Mary died emphasized her purity, virtue, and piety, and contrasted those against the sinful lifestyles of her subjects. There was a deliberate effort by the court to commission these sermons as a way of presenting itself as having been an institution that embraced the moral and spiritual purity of Protestantism by supporting William and Mary against "both James II's Catholic absolutist tendencies and the libertinism" of Charles II. Funerary sermons that appeared within days and weeks of Mary's death were crafted to send the explicit message that the court and its members had followed her example of piety and virtue.[91] Numerous preachers compared Mary II to Moses, leading her people out of the bondage of Catholicism and into the Promised Land of Protestant freedom. In these metaphors, William III was often portrayed as Joshua, Moses's second-in-command to whom he delegated authority when he died.[92] Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, preached a sermon at Mary's funeral stating that it was not smallpox that had killed the queen, but rather it "was the Immorality, the Sin of the Nation which hastened it as a Judgement."[93] Tenison implied that the English population never showed sincere thankfulness "for their recent delivery from popish tyranny. They had continued to lead immoral lives, to drink and fight

[90] WAM 6468.
[91] Garganigo, "William without Mary," 111.
[92] Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II," 743; Phillips, "Creating Queen Mary," 71; Price, "An Incomparable Lady," 308.
[93] Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral* [...], 11. This sentiment was echoed by the chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle, who later wrote "We have just cause to fear our sins hastened her death" (Speck, "Mary II," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 22, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246, accessed July 30, 2019).

and swear, despite the Queen's constant urgings to reform and show more devotion to God." As a result of their unrepentant sins, claimed Tenison, "they had lost a good and pious Queen through their failure to heed her advice or follow her example."[94] Two years was considered necessary for the nation "to mourn solemnly and deeply…; To speak Good of her [Mary], to observe and extol the mighty Power of her Piety, which conquer'd so many hearts."[95]

The Privy Council cancelled all theatrical performances, carnivals, and sporting events in London for six weeks.[96] Although the cancellation of social events during official mourning periods was standard procedure in European states, in England between 1689 and 1714, extravagance or "conspicuous consumption was an expression of vice; a display of opulence during widely accepted periods of social restraint like a mourning period was viewed as marking a person as living an immoral, dissolute life and would ultimately lead to broken marriages, laziness, gambling addiction, and "pompous housekeeping."[97] A connection was seen between these sorts of frivolities of "fashionable society" and the moral decline of the nation, particularly among women. It became fairly standard practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to view activities like going to the theatre or attending parties as distracting to otherwise "morally serious mothers" who should be leading other women by their example or propriety; all of which was closely connected with mourning Mary II as the paragon of a Protestant woman.[98]

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[94] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 338.
[95] Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral* […], 16.
[96] Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of Their Courts, now first published from official records and other authentic documents, private as well as public*, vol. 11 (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), 338.
[97] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 81, 93, 100; Orr, "Introduction," 39.
[98] Orr, "Introduction," 39. Upon returning to England from the Dutch Republic in 1689, Mary had been stunned by the level of vice, depravity, and crudeness she witnessed among her subjects. In response, the queen sought to be a moral compass for the country and was an early modern proponent of the idea that the Crown and the aristocracy should "lead by moral example and play an active philanthropic role." Sonnelitter provides a helpful analysis of how contemporary efforts to reform societal morality intersected with the Williamite and Augustan reigns (Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 286; Karen Sonnelitter, "The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696-1714," in *The Historian*, vol. 72, no. 3 [Fall, 2010], 525).

These longer mourning periods, sometimes lasting up to two years for members of the Royal Household and the senior aristocrats, could often be a source of economic hardship for the population, in several ways. Many of the black clothing items used in mourning were manufactured abroad, costing consumers more for purchasing high volumes of imported fabric and accessories and reducing demand for domestic products. Lengthy mourning periods also impacted the population's ability to earn a livable wage. By order of the Privy Council, performing arts venues, entertainments, and "public amusements" were all closed down during official mourning periods, cutting off those workers from essential income. These orders were not always followed, however. One avenue of resistance in the winter of 1694/5 was London's puppet theatres, which continued their performances until additional restrictions were handed out by the court. London entertainers and performers who were put out of work by mourning protocols would temporarily relocate to rural areas where enforcement was more difficult.[99] The stability of the body politic was sometimes maintained at great cost to those further down the social ladder. Queen Anne ordered mourning for William III, lasting only from his death on March 8 until her coronation on April 23; an interval so short that Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, bemoaned it as "scarce [*sic*] decent."[100] But when her husband, Prince George, died on October 28, 1708, she ordered more than two years of national mourning that lasted November 7, 1708, until December 25, 1710. Two years of mourning restrictions resulted in a crisis in the textiles industry that led to nine parliamentary reports.[101]

The market for mourning fabrics was time-sensitive, since respectable subjects were expected to purchase or otherwise acquire their black clothes fairly quickly. Retailers also struggled with sudden announcements of official mourning periods. When Queen Anne went

[99] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 304-5. One cannot help but draw parallels in their response to the government shuttering their businesses for the duration of mourning with the resistance to government closures of non-essential workplaces during the COVID-19 pandemic.
[100] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 363, 366.
[101] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 312-3; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 220-1; Bucholz, "'Nothing but Ceremony'," 300-1.

into mourning for the queen of Prussia in February 1705, it was "to the great mortification of the shopkeepers by reason it will spoil their spring trade."[102] Since monarchs were all considered part of one big ruling family, rulers and their courts were required to go into mourning when their counterparts in other states died, thus making mourning a regular aspect of life at any royal court.[103] The Court of St James's went into mourning nineteen times between 1702 and 1714, with only two of those periods being for members of the royal family for William III in 1702 and Prince George in 1708.[104] Not only did sudden periods of mourning mean that merchants' stock of clothing and apparel had to be replaced by often more expensive mourning attire, but those customers making regular purchases were instead spending on mourning.[105] In 1727 and 1737 the cost of mourning fabrics like cambric linen and bombazine rose by approximately 40%.[106] Following the announcement of George II's death in 1760, shopkeepers rushed to decorate their buildings in appropriate mourning.[107] One contemporary observer noted that "instantly the streets were in a buzz, the black cloth carrying about, and in half an hour every shop was hung with the appendages of mourning."[108]

These drastic price increases provide further context for the number of ordinary servants and workers for whom the Crown provided mourning clothes; workers who otherwise would probably have not been able to afford a suitable amount of black attire in what were essentially ephemeral sellers markets. The corollary of this was the inevitable drop-

[102] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 241.
[103] As an example of this larger sense of familial connection among Europe's rulers, one need only examine the correspondence between monarchs in the eighteenth century. Maria Theresa regularly addressed her letters to the Electress of Saxony as "*Madame ma cher cousine*" (Maria Theresa to Maria Antonia, Electress of Saxony, No. 4, October 1747, in *Kaiserin Maria Theresa und Kurfürstin Maria Antonia von Sachsen 1747-1772*, Woldemar Lippert, ed. (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1908), 3.
[104] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 240, table 7.6. The court spent approximately four years, or one-third of Queen Anne's reign, in mourning for various royals.
[105] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 166.
[106] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 309.
[107] Thompson, *George II*, 291.
[108] Diary entry of October 25, 1760, in *Passages of the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, A.D. 1756-1808*, Emily Climenson, ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), 58.

off in consumer purchasing when mourning periods lasted more than a year, which left retailers with warehouses full of stock they had little hope to unload.[109] For the owner of a funeral warehouse to be able to earn a livable wage during this period, the average stock he would need to maintain would include at least five dozen palls, shrouds, clothing, and material for the corpses of adults and children; at least five hundred yards of fabric for room hangings; two dozen candlesticks; over one hundred coffins of various sizes; four dozen sets of black feathers and other mourning decorations; and several carriages.[110] During the two-year mourning period for Queen Anne's husband, clothiers made a formal petition to Parliament to end "the frequent and tedious public mourning" that was proving so deleterious to manufacturers, tailors, and other related fields. When a series of royal deaths in Britain, France, Denmark, and Spain launched the country into a sudden, extended period of mourning in 1765, a large group of silk weavers waving black flags marched to St James's's Palace to protest these mourning periods. King George III did eventually order a reduction in the length of court mourning, but not until 1768, though the move resulted in 500 workers sending the king an address of gratitude.[111]

The inconsistent approach to planning the length of the official mourning period suggests that the Privy Council and the High Officers of the Household did not necessarily consider the schedule to be their top priority. There are no references in the records kept by the College of Arms or National Archives that suggest that earlier funerals were even consulted on how to structure the official mourning period, at least not in 1694/5. This lack of evidence suggests that the Privy Council may not have felt it was necessary to have a precedent for mourning; that mourning culture was familiar to all subjects. Walker notes that the official

[109] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 310-1; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 241.
[110] Litten, "The Funeral Trade," 55. Litten also provides a useful breakdown of how much profit an average undertaker would be able to earn for providing the materials and services for the equivalent of a middle-class family (55-6). See also Glennys Howath, "Professionalising the Funeral Industry in England 1700-1900," in *The Changing Face of Death*, Jupp and Howarth, eds., 122.
[111] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 310-1; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 165.

mourning period was structured around a general recognition within British society of "the rules governing mourning."[112] This is something of a catch-22, however. On the one hand, everyone was expected to observe and comply with national mourning regulations, yet mourners were beholden to the rules set down by the Earl Marshal; rules that sometimes reflected the individuality of the dead monarch and yet were supposed to be recognized and understood by everyone in British society. Wearing black and abiding by court-directed mourning regulations was one of the most widely accepted and practiced "codes of etiquette" because it represented an individual's general understanding of their place within a society structured around class and rank.[113]

Sumptuary Laws and Mourning Attire

In the same way that the Great Chain of Being formed the basis of the society of orders in the Habsburg state, so too did it serve as the foundation for the social hierarchy of early modern Britain. By the eighteenth century, it was an accepted fact that society was arranged in this top-down structure, with each group being separated from those above and below. It is important to note that there were variations in the British cosmological view of society that split along partisan lines. Tories, naturally, supported a strict, immutable hierarchy, while the Whigs started to promote the idea of a more open, flexible social order. In both cases, however, hierarchy was still accepted as a reality of the life of the state. It was accepted that "the aristocracy governed and dictated the social norms because they regarded it as their birthright," while the middle class accepted the status quo.[114] The theologian and bishop George Pretyman Tomline explained in a sermon in 1794 that "God himself makes one man to differ from another…the distinctions of high and low, rich and poor, are the appointments of Divine

[112] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 92-3; Walker, "The 'Pompous Melancholy Sight'," 241.
[113] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 62.
[114] Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 38-46, 79-90; Becket, *Aristocracy in England,* 5, 9-11. See also Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 131-63.

Providence."[115] The monarchy and royal family occupied the highest position within the state, followed by the aristocracy and their families, who were ranked according to dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons. The vast majority of mourning regulations promulgated by the Privy Council targeted the aristocracy. Following the death of a royal, the right to wear formal mourning attire outside the Royal Household was reserved for only those members of society who ranked among the aristocracy; commoners or anyone who had to work to earn income, instead of having it generated by estates, were barred from wearing formal mourning.[116] By the mid-eighteenth-century, however, social groups that would now be considered 'middle class' were adopting similar mourning attire as the elites, and were even able to afford some lower quality luxury fabrics like silk, all as part of the expansion of the undertaker and mourning industries in Britain at the time (as discussed in chapter one).[117]

The Tudor monarchs were particularly concerned about their subjects attempting to move up the social ladder by adopting attire that was reserved for those higher up in the class hierarchy.[118] Sumptuary laws became popular as a way to make class distinctions visible while combating attempted subversions of the normative social hierarchy and legally forbidding individuals from climbing the social ladder by appropriating the luxurious attire of those ranking above them.[119] In 1510, Parliament passed the Act Against Wearing Costly Apparel that set out clear restrictions on which ranks in society could wear which fabrics and colours: cloth of gold and purple silk, for example, could only be used by the royal family. The aristocracy could wear satin or cloth embroidered with gold and silver thread, and commoners, depending on the wealth they possessed or any land they might own were forbidden from wearing any kind of damasked fabrics, furs, gowns or coats. Infractions were penalized by a

[115] Clark, *English Society*, 166, 168.
[116] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 82.
[117] Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 90-1.
[118] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 76.
[119] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 7; Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 27, 77.

system of fees based on the scale of the transgression.[120] Anyone below the rank of a duke caught wearing cloth of gold was required "to forfeit 20 mark", while anyone lower than a lord or a member of the Order of the Garter using woolen clothing imported from outside Britain or Calais was fined £10. A common servant or labourer who had less than £10 of equity or possessions was forbidden from using or wearing "any cloth whereof the broad yard passeth in price two shillings…nor wear any hose above the price of 10 d. the yard upon pain of imprisonment in the stocks by three days." A similar act was issued in 1533 that reaffirmed the sumptuary rights of knights, barons, their heirs, and people who earned different pay levels each year, ranging from £100 to 40 shillings.[121]

During the Elizabethan period, sumptuary laws were ubiquitous. A sumptuary regulation of some form was passed, on average, every two and a half years. However, by the time Elizabeth I died in 1603, the popularity of English sumptuary laws had reached a nadir. The last confirmed sumptuary law was passed in 1597. Throughout the seventeenth century, at least seven additional bills were presented to Parliament, but none were formally passed into law. Edicts and statutes regulating handling the dead, however, continued throughout the early modern period that were still based on the premise that textiles and related materials needed to be regulated to ensure social harmony related to funerary culture. In 1666, Parliament passed an act that required the dead to be wrapped in only woolen shrouds; coffins could not be lined with any luxury items like silk, flax, or gold and silver threads; and mourning clothes could not be based on French fashion. This act, however, did not rise to the level of an enforced law.[122]

While mourning as an element of royal funerary rites had strong similarities in Britain and Austria, British sumptuary and mourning laws developed in distinctive ways even before

[120] 1° Hen. VIII, c. XIV: "An Act agaynst wearing of costly Apparell," in *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, 8-9.
[121] 24° Hen. VIII, c. XIII "An Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle," in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, 430-1
[122] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 92, 313-4, 319, 322-3. The final Elizabethan sumptuary law of 1597 was a bill attempting to deal with the "excess of apparel" but ultimately was not passed due to a lack of agreement in Parliament (319).

the impact of the English Reformation was widespread in that kingdom. Since the origins of British mourning regulations on material appearance predated the Reformation, this suggests they had a uniquely British character that was not directly the result of the kingdom's confessional identity. Instead, these mourning regulations developed as part of the back-and-forth relationship between the Crown and Parliament for governing authority. It was the group that formed the bridge between these two institutions, the Royal Household, that ultimately acquired the ability to communicate their conception of the idealized, hierarchical early modern British state. One of the ways they were able to do so was through control and surveillance of clothing. The use of specific royal mourning colours also reinforced the authority and physical presence of the Crown, and in so doing, reinforced the constitutional monarchical system in Britain and legitimized the historic rights of the aristocrats within the Royal Household and Parliament who were the principal participants during the funeralization process.

Although scholars have dismissed the eighteenth-century Royal Household as a declining institution in terms of its political importance, its ability to shape mourning restrictions on attire, and enforcing them through the College of Arms, reveals that the household was still a potent force with authority to regulate the social hierarchy of early modern Britain. In doing so, the officials were able to ensure a degree of order was maintained within the body politic when the king or queen regnant died. This continuing household authority is shown by the fact that while the Earl Marshal may have been responsible for drafting national mourning protocols, any specific ordinances on clothing had to be made in cooperation with the Lord Chamberlain. As head of the Royal Household, it was his responsibility to confirm the specific regulations on clothing during the public mourning, to determine who would be provided with mourning attire by the Crown, and how those clothes visually communicated to observers the rank of the wearer and their place within the social

hierarchy.[123] The Lord Chamberlain was therefore responsible for ensuring proper distribution of mourning to members of the household.[124]

Proper distribution also meant it was necessary to monitor mourners to ensure they were wearing the funeral attire assigned to their rank in society. One of the organizations that helped the Crown enforce these ranks between 1530 and 1700 were the Officers of Arms, who "supervised ceremonies, particularly funerals, and, like snobbery police, stopped social climbers from outranking themselves with too much undeserved display."[125] The College of Arms was responsible for overseeing compliance with sumptuary laws among the aristocrats and gentry according to the wearer's rank and social position as well as his function in the funeral proceedings."[126] Anyone who failed to properly abide by mourning sumptuary regulations could possibly be expelled from any court appointments with the concomitant loss of income and status. In the early modern court system structured around titles, rank, and proximity to the monarch, such losses could be devastating. Unlike aristocrats on the continent, English peers enjoyed few legal privileges that protected them from punishment.[127] At the local level, enforcement seems to have rested with parish priests and local clergy. The penalty for violation,

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[123] *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Miscell: Collections*, 69, 70, 76; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG*, no. 5247 (July 31-August 3, 1714); Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-6, 308; *LG*, no. 5248 (August 3-7, 1714); *I.4*, 123; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760). In some instances, responsibilities had to be delegated to deputy officers. In 1760, Edward Howard, 9th Duke of Norfolk, was the incumbent Earl Marshal and was initially tasked with giving the general orders for public mourning (PC 1/6/89, 89/3). But a dispute arose between him and Zachary Pearce, Dean of Westminster Abbey. Prior to Queen Anne's funeral, the previous deans had given keys to the abbey to the previous earls so that the latter could make final preparations, but this stopped with Queen Caroline's funeral in 1737. Howard and Pearce reached an impasse and seemingly refused cooperate, prompting the Privy Council to grant special authority to the Deputy Earl Marshal, Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Effingham, to act in Norfolk's stead and issue the general orders for public mourning and work with the special committee on the king's funeral (*Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, ff. 91r./v.)

[124] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 150, 175; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 17; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 73, 75; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 12.

[125] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 50, 59.

[126] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 16; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 61, 63; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 19.

[127] Beckett, *English Aristocracy*, 25-6; Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 289-90. The only two notable legal privileges were that titled aristocrats could not be arrested for incurring debts and could not be tried for a felony by a common jury. All other ranks for the landed elite and gentry had no legal protection whatsoever.

£5 (£850), had to be donated towards the poor who were under the care of the individual parish. As Hunt notes, this kind of "tangible local benefit provided a stimulus to local clerics and churchwardens to devote energy to its enforcement." By the time Mary II died, there had not been a formal sumptuary law on the books for nearly a century. There was, therefore, little judicial recourse that the College of Arms or local officials could take against someone who did not abide by the mourning requirements, and primary sources on enforcement are few and far between.[128]

During the Renaissance, sumptuary laws started being recognized as an effective means of controlling material culture and reinforcing the social hierarchy following the death of a monarch.[129] Aside from the funeral procession itself, clothing was one of the most effective mechanisms for publicly communicating the rank of each participant and how the social orders were differentiated according to the household. The more extravagant and lavish a mourning ensemble meant the wearer was higher up the ladder and occupied a role closer to the monarch than those below their station. The colours of mourning were an important marker of status because an observer could more readily recognize a hue or shade better than a fabric type and therefore could more easily identify where the person fell in the class system. Although black is the colour most commonly associated with death and mourning, purple has been recognized as the colour of "royal majesty and accepted as a sign of imperial power" since ancient Rome for its vibrancy over other colours.[130] Purple as a colour for clothing and accoutrements had been reserved for the ruler since at least the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I in 382 AD, although senators were allowed to have it as a trim on their robes.[131] Purple's value as a high-end luxury commodity came from the tremendous amount of labour

[128] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 324-6; Rublack and Riello, "Introduction," 15, 16-9; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 61.
[129] Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 72-3.
[130] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 219; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 19.
[131] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 127.

needed to produce the dye necessary to change the colour of a garment. In ancient Tyre on the Mediterranean coast, it reportedly required a quarter of a million shellfish to extract enough ink to manufacture a single ounce of purple dye.[132] In England, the colour had been reserved solely for the use of the royal family since 1533 and was one of the main colours used during the funeral of James I in 1625; it was not until 1695 that purple became the exclusive mourning colour for British monarchs.[133] It was "deemed inappropriate for a reigning monarch to don the colour of mourning and death," so purple provided an alternative that visually separated the sovereign even from their highest-ranking subjects.[134] Violet was also an alternative when the new monarch needed to make a public display of respectable mourning but did not necessarily grieve the loss of their predecessor. When James II died at Saint-Germaine-en-Laye in 1701, William III adopted violet as an alternative to purple as an act of partial mourning for his exiled father-in-law. James had, after all, been a crowned British monarch, albeit briefly. When William himself died the following year, Queen Anne continued wearing black for her father, but only permitted a violet trim for her brother-in-law.[135]

These colours were also used by the household to transform buildings associated with the Crown into mourning spaces to signify that those locations were linked with the person at the very top of the social hierarchy and the heart of the state. While all palaces, chapels, public buildings, and even the processional route for the funeral were draped in black mourning fabrics, only the spaces where the monarch's corpse would be displayed or kept at any point throughout the funeralization process were covered in copious amount of purple—sometimes in combination with black—suggesting an early modern conception of transformational space

[132] Charlene Elliott, "Purple Pasts: Color Codification in the Ancient World," in *Law & Social Inquiry*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter, 2008), 177.
[133] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65, 67; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 19.
[134] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 19.
[135] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 363, 366.

any time the physical person of the monarch, alive or dead, was present. In the winter of 1694/5, Kensington Palace, St. James's Palace, Hampton Court Palace, Westminster Abbey, Parliament, and all of the chapels royal were draped in black and purple silk, velvet, and taffeta, costing a total of £21,311.15s.8d.[136] For Queen Mary's lying-in-state at the Palace of Whitehall, over four hundred yards of cloth of silver, satin, silk, taffeta, and buckram were needed just for draping four rooms.[137] The corpse was laid out on a bed of state covered in rich purple satin trimmed with crimson velvet beneath a purple canopy with gold fringe and black velvet.[138] For the funeral at Westminster Abbey, over three thousand yards of velvet, satin, taffeta, and buckram in black, white, purple, crimson, white fustian, gold, and cloth of silver were needed to drape the entire circuit of the procession from its entry point into Henry VII's Lady Chapel, where the Stuart and Hanoverian monarchs were laid to rest.[139] Even the beams used to lower

[136] E 351/3150; LC 2/11/1, 88, 111-2; LC 2/11/2, nos. 15-22; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6. Velvet may also have been considered a slightly less expensive fabric option at the time, since records from seventeenth-century England and Flanders indicate that approximately 40% of people living in one-room dwellings had at least some velvet in their homes (Rublack and Riello, "Introduction," 19-20).

[137] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 146; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6. There may have also been an element of personal taste in the amount and variety of mourning colours used in 1694/5. They may have been, at least in part, a reflection of Mary's own love of luxurious and "brightly coloured silks and satins, black velvet, gold and silver lace" (Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 323).

[138] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 15; LC 2/11/1, 50; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 434, 442; Mary Sandars, *Princess and Queen of England: Life of Mary II* (London: Stanley Paul, 1913), 370; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 392.

[139] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 142-3, 44; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6. "Expenditure on such a scale represented a very considerable surge in demand, particularly in the luxury trades," according to Oxford historian Ian Archer (Archer, "City and Court Connected," 168). That demand for luxury trades meant that the services of highly trained professionals were required for Mary II's funeral. John Pink, the royal arms painter, is recorded as providing most of the luxury fabrics, with a smaller quantity supplied by a Mr. King. The total of both their contributions amounted to nearly £2,000. (*Funerals, CA*, no. 6; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 152, 157-9). The majority of the material was provided by John Pink (also spelled as Pinke), who charged £1,584.32s. Mr. King is recorded as having given two quotes: his middle rate was £243 and his lower rate was £232.2s. The record does not give any indication of whether the privy council accepted the former or the latter. The painting of the arms and banners for funerals had previously been the responsibility of the officers of arms, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the City of London's Company of Painter Stainers had developed as a prominent company for livery production, and the painting was contracted out to members of this guild rather than the officers (Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 76-7).

Mary's coffin into the crypt beneath the floor were covered in silk threaded with purple and black.[140]

For Queen Anne in 1714, over five thousand yards of black and purple fabric was needed for draping all the royal residences, Westminster, and Parliament in mourning for Queen Anne.[141] Everything from her Great Bedchamber at Kensington Palace to the canopy held above her coffin during the transfer to the Palace of Westminster for her lying-in-state were covered in voluminous amounts of purple fabric.[142] Purple remained the exclusive colour for mourning the person of the monarch into the eighteenth century. Purple could only be associated with the monarch and sites associated with the Crown; even the highest-ranking aristocrats were required to wear only black during the deepest mourning phase. At Anne and George II's lyings-in-state in 1714 and 1760, respectively, their coffins were placed on trestles covered in a purple pall or baize, chandeliers in the chamber were hung with purple velvet (despite the potential fire hazard), and the entire room from floor to ceiling was covered in purple fabric.[143] Both funerals were increasingly privatized and only those invited to participate in the funeral on account of their membership in the Royal Household or the government had access to the state chamber or the abbey to see the extravagant mourning fabrics of purple, violet, crimson, or silver.

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[140] LC 2/11/2, no. 10; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109.

[141] "William Barnsley," LC 2/18; "To W^{m} Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192.

[142] "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5^{o} Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; LC 2/18, no. 2: "The late Queens appartm:^{n} at Kensington [...]; PC 2/85, 50, 55; SP 35/1/18, ff. 41v., 70v.; Draft of a document detailing the arrangements for Queen Anne's funeral procession from the Prince's Chamber to Westminster Abbey, 1714 Aug 24, SP 35/1/24, f. 75r.; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 568; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 598. There was also a bill from the Lord Chamberlain's office for "4. very large pieces of purple in grain Silk Lyon" supplied by the lace maker William Weeks for £25.10s. to lower her coffin into the crypt (LC 2/18, no. 29; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 599). There is some uncertainty over whether these ropes were actually used or if the queen's coffin was carried into the Stuart Vault. This will be discussed in chapter four.

[143] SP 35/1/18, f. 70 v.; "To W^{m} Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192; LC 2/18, no. 18: "The Princes Cham:^{r} at Westm:^{r}"; PC 2/85, 50, 55; LC 2/27, 88, 98; *I.4*, 116-7; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 598.

The black mourning attire that the Crown was required to provide to funeral participants was the most visible embodiment of mourning culture that clearly communicated the social hierarchy to spectators who gathered to watch the event. Since a decedent's family was expected to provide mourning clothes for their households, the Crown had to provide this attire to hundreds, if not thousands, of people.[144] This is one area where the difference between the British and Habsburg monarchies stands out, since the Austrian records are unclear about how many people received mourning, aside from the allowances and lump sums paid out to the *Obersthofbeämter* (see above). For British royal funerals, the offices of the Lord Chamberlain and the Privy Council maintained comprehensive records detailing all the costs borne by the Crown for providing mourning.[145] These material costs of mourning represented the most significant portion of spending on monarchical funerals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; between 1603 and 1760, spending on mourning textiles accounted, on average, for 62% of total funeral costs (Appendix: Fig. 6).[146] These numbers reveal the importance that the monarchy and the political establishment placed on the visual representation of grief and mourning when the monarch died.

This spending was handled by the Great Wardrobe, the department that handled the household's clothing and material needs.[147] The materials themselves came from manufacturers throughout England because the early modern discourse around sumptuary laws was increasingly framed by economic protectionism and mercantile considerations, hence the requirement that material was only to come from domestic manufacturers.[148] There was a degree of domestic economic consideration for all the textiles and objects ordered for the

[144] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 12; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 310-1.
[145] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 39, 255.
[146] Archer, "City and Court Connected," 161, table 1.
[147] E 351/3150; AO 3/1192; LC 2/27; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 39, 55. As noted by Bucholz, the department was theoretically directed by written warrants from the Lord Chamberlain, but in practice it operated with almost complete independence because it was financed directly by the Office of the Exchequer rather than household officials
[148] E 351/3150; Rublack, "Right to Dress," 40.

official mourning period that dated from 1666 and was driven by an "explicitly protectionist" agenda to promote English products and limit the use of imported French materials.[149] A Privy Council order dated January 3, 1695, allowed the use of alamode and lutestring fabric in mourning scarves and headbands so as to support English manufacturing companies that produced them while providing employment and substantial poor relief for a significant number of people.[150] Silk came from the Huguenot markets in Spitalfields north of the Tower of London, other fabrics were brought in from outside London. Black crape—the primary fabric used for mourning attire—often came from the East Anglian city of Norwich, while coloured ribbons came from Coventry in Warwickshire.[151]

Members of the household and funeral participants received specific amounts of black material for clothing based on their status within society, ranging from the highest-ranking dukes and duchesses to ushers, waiters, and even larders and kitchen servants. In 1695, the Great Wardrobe provided over fifteen thousand yards of black mourning attire to more than 2,140 funeral participants and household members, costing the hefty sum of £16,674.2s.2d (approx. £2.5 million today), all based on the individual's position within the household.[152] Following Queen Anne's Death, 2,986 yards of fabric was purchased £6,458.8s.6d (£940,000) for personal mourning just to cloth members of her household.[153] Even as changes English

[149] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 323.
[150] PC 1/13/50, f.50/1.
[151] E 351/3150; LC 2/11/1, 93; LC 2/11/2, no. 28; R20, f. 97; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 309; Litten, "The Funeral Trade," 54. For a discussion of royal mourning and the clothing industry for Prince Albert's funeral in 1861, see Rappaport, *A Magnificent Obsession*, 147-51.
[152] LC 2/11/1, 37-45, 89, 93, 97, 113-24; LC 2/11/2, nos. 1-10, 12, 19-20, 23, 28, 40-1, 46; E 351/3150; R20, f. 97; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 150; Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169. This sum includes the fees paid to the sewers, seamstresses, hatters, clothmakers, and beltmakers. This calculation is based upon https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1695&amount=16674.108333333334&year_result=2020. In 1714, the Privy Council paid £120.4s.8d. for mourning clothes just for the clergy and staff at Westminster Abbey alone—even those who did not participate in her funeral (Fees due to the fabric and officers of Westminster Abbey for the interment of Qu. Anne in the Chapel of Henry VII, dat. 13 Aug. 1714, WAM 6473).
[153] LC 2/18, nos. 12, 14-23, 29, 31; AO 3/1192. This calculation is based upon https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1714&amount=6458.4249

royal funerals became more private and the guest list more restricted (see chapter four), it was still a visible way of expressing royal power that there was always set groups who received mourning from the Great Wardrobe for their participation in a monarch's funeral: almspeople, members of the household, peers who escorted the coffin, the chief mourner, and his or her assistants.[154] For George II's funeral, there are only records of the Lord Chamberlain's office providing mourning to 150 people: the High Officers, the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber who were responsible for carrying the canopy over the body at the funeral, the fourteen pallbearers, and around one hundred soldiers from the Regiment of Foot Guards who provided an escort.[155]

Although an individual's position within the Royal Household was often granted based on their place within the peerage, it was the office they held that determined the elaborateness of the mourning attire given to them by the Great Wardrobe for the funeral. The largest quantities and highest quality fabrics were reserved for the chief mourner. Traditionally, neither the monarch's spouse nor the new monarch attended the funeral, so the highest-ranking person in England served as the chief mourner who represented the Crown during the procession and service (which will be discussed in chapter four).[156] They also had to be the same gender, owing to a sixteenth-century decree requiring that "a man being deade hee to have only men [principal] mourners at his Buriall. And at a woman's buriall to have only

99999999&year_result=2020, accessed May 18, 2021. A sum of £2.11s.9d. was even paid to Samuel Stubbs, the court rat catcher, to cover the costs of his mourning livery ("To W[m] Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 568).

[154] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 17.

[155] LC 2/27, 102-8, 123. Many of the bills and fees for the funeral were not settled by the Great Wardrobe until March 1761 (LC 2/27, 119).

[156] Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 393; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 425. These protocols that forbid the new monarch from attending their predecessor's funeral, and that the chief mourner had to be the same gender as the decedent meant that the same person sometimes had to be the chief mourner at multiple royal funerals if the royal family was not particularly large, as was the case in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Prince George, Anne's husband, served as the chief mourner to his wife's uncle King Charles II in 1685 (since the next closest relative was Charles's brother, the new king James II) and for his brother-in-law, William III, in 1702 (Schaich 425).

women mourners."[157] Due to the shrinking size of the royal family and in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the chief mourners for Queen Mary and Queen Anne were both the wives of senior peers.[158] Not until the death of George II in 1760 would the chief mourner once again be a member of the royal family.[159]

In each case, the elaborateness of the chief mourner's funeral ensemble reflected both their positions as some of the highest-ranking people in the kingdom and the most senior participants at the funerals. In 1695 and 1714, the chief mourners received gowns of fifteen yards of black cloth and thirty yards of "the best Super fine" Norwich crape for trains.[160] This amount of cloth was reduced slightly to 13.5 yards in 1760.[161] Mourning gowns with long trains and veils became the popular mourning fashion for women after the end of Cromwell's Commonwealth, during which time any kind of lavish or costly attire was condemned.[162] The higher rank an individual held, the longer their train, thus the chief mourner received the longest train and was the highest-ranking individual at the funeral.[163] The chief mourner was accompanied by an entourage of two supporters, two train bearers, and anywhere from sixteen to eighteen assistants, which was limited to the senior Peers of the Realm. As a reflection of their status just below the chief mourner, their funeral attire was made of slightly less material; in 1695 they received twelve yards of cloth and twenty-six yards of crape.[164] Over the course of the century, minimal changes were made to the mourning attire for this group. At George II's

[157] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 17.
[158] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 432; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 393.
[159] *I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92.
[160] LC 2/11/1, 93; LC 2/11/2, no. 28; R20, f. 97; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 150; E 351/3150; To W^m^ Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 253-4; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 42. The text in R20 is listed as folio 97 in the text, but there are no page numbers or other identification marks on the pages. The section contains the heading "At funeral of Queen ~~Mary~~ Anne," but this was clearly a later mistake since the text describes the mourning gowns of "*The Duthcess of* SOMERSET, *Chief Mourner*" and "*The Dutchess of* St. Albans, *Assistant to the Chief Mourner*," who attended Mary's funeral; Anne's chief mourner was the Duchess of Ormond.
[161] LC 2/27, 116.
[162] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 68.
[163] Llewellyn, *Art of Death*, 85-6.
[164] LC 2/11/1, 93.

funeral, his chief mourner was his son the Duke of Cumberland, who still had a long train made of crape carried by the two most senior dukes in Britain.[165] These material displays through clothing were demonstrations of prestige while also enforcing the social hierarchy more generally because the privilege of a mourning train that covered the head was reserved only for the highest-ranking members of society; at a royal funeral, this was the chief mourner and their party. As a way of visually enforcing this social hierarchy, other funeral participants received mourning attire with hoods that had to be draped across the shoulders and hung down to the waist; a status distinction that had been practiced at funerals since the Renaissance.[166]

The Royal Household was meant to be a model for how the rest of early modern English society was meant to be structured according to rank and hierarchy. In the same way that the body politic was comprised of the society of orders, so too was the monarch's establishment structured around a household of orders that was on display at the funeral. The mourning attire provided to these different domestic orders by the Great Wardrobe was an easy way to visually communicate how the household was structured and how it was a mirror for society. The High Officers (including the Master of the Great Wardrobe himself), the

[165] *I.4*, 115, 123; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760); Thompson, *George II*, 290. One of the only modifications made to Georgian mourning permitted army and naval officers to wear red and blue trims, respectively, on their black attire ("Lord Marshal's Order for a General Mourning for His late Majesty King GEORGE the Second," *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*). The War Office issued orders from George that his army and militia officers (except the King's Own Horse and Foot Guards), are only required to wear black crape scarf armbands, black crape sword knots, and their uniforms for appearance at court (*LG* no. 10048 (Oct. 28-Nov. 1, 1760).

[166] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 21. In 1695, there was one exception to the train/veil rule, and this applied to Queen Mary's Maids of Honour, often the daughters of prominent members of the gentry. These women were granted the same twenty-six yards of crape for mourning veils as the chief mourner's entourage. There is no indication that any other groups within royal funerals were given similar status exceptions, and this example is more indicative of the closeness the Maids of Honour had to the late queen as women who attended her in her private apartments (Funerals, *College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell: Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG* no. 3059, 5 March 1695; LC 2/11/1, 93). For further discussion of the status of this group of women, see Frances Harris, "'The Honourable Sisterhood': Queen Anne's Maids of Honour," in *The British Library Journal*, vol. 19, no. 2 (autumn, 1993), 181-98.

coffin bearers, the dukes who escorted the coffin, pages, grooms, and ladies who worked Above Stairs and in the Privy Chambers received the second largest clothing provisions: anywhere between twelve and twenty-four yards of fabric depending on the instructions of the individual monarch and their Lord Chamberlain.[167] Only these senior household officials and staff who had direct personal interaction with the monarch were granted more than ten yards of fabric. This distinguished their status as below the chief mourner, entourage, and the senior peers, but above all other members of the household. It seems to also have been a marker of status that only those members who served in the Privy Chambers were given "Super fine black Cloth," a kind of tightly woven, wool-based broadcloth used for mourning among aristocrats and the upper classes since the sixteenth century.[168]

All other members of the Royal Household, including those who did not participate in the funeral, received nine yards or less of fine black cloth for their mourning attire, and that volume decreased based on the recipient's position within the household hierarchy. The Officers of Arms, who were themselves responsible for maintaining the class separations, each received "Nine Yards of fine black Cloth."[169] By comparison, Queen Anne's Pages of the Presence Chamber each received six yards of fine black cloth; her ratcatcher received "Two Yards one half of fine blk Cloth for three Yards of blak Serge for Lineing for a Mourning Livery"; and her personal herb stewer was granted "two Yards of fine black Cloth."[170] Each person within the Royal Household was therefore given mourning attire according to their social and occupational status. The directives recorded by the Lord Chamberlain's Office for

[167] LC 2/11/1, 93; To W^m^ Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 253-4. Household staff Above Stairs who waited on the monarch personally received the equivalent of a clothing allowance, or at least were reimbursed, by the Great Wardrobe (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 39, 255).
[168] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 247; Elizabeth Lewandowski, *The Complete Costume Dictionary* (Toronto: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 39, 282.
[169] LC 2/11/2, no. 139, "Heralds and pursuivants of arms." This allowance became a moot point once the College of Arms started to be excluded from royal funerals after 1714.
[170] To W^m^ Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192. Unsurprisingly, neither the ratcatcher nor the herb stewer participated in the queen's funeral.

the funerals in 1695, 1714, and 1760 were at the very least implied expectations that each person would abide by their allotted amount of clothing and therefore maintain their position within the social hierarchy, one that would be publicly displayed at the funeral.

Mourning was also provided to certain groups outside the Royal Household whose participation in the funeral was meant to personify the body politic of the entire kingdom, not just those who attended the monarch's day-to-day living. In 1695, three hundred poor women were selected to march at the front of the queen's funeral procession to represent the common people of English society.[171] These women also had a specific connection with the post-Glorious Revolution monarchy. Special consideration was given to "the Widows or Relations of such whose Husbands & Relations have Suffered in His Majesty's [William III] Service by Sea or Land." The women received black shoes, petticoats, gowns of simple black cloth. and twenty shillings "for their paines." They were also allowed to keep the mourning clothes—a prospect that would have been an added incentive for commoners to agree to participate in royal funerals.[172] According to Narcissus Luttrell, each woman was also granted "a weekly maintenance" of 5 *livres* until the funeral itself.[173] This group represented the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Providing them with mourning attire and a small amount of income was a

[171] E 351/3150; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 1694⁄5), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Ralph Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe and the Funeral of the People's Queen," in *Print Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Jun., 1998), 150, 170; Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II," 742.

[172] LC 2/11/2, no. 150, "At the Councill Chamb: in Whitehall the 4:th day of March 1694[5]"; LC 2/11/2, memo dated January 8, 1694[5]; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 6; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 24. Twelve almsmen supported by Westminster Abbey also received black crape hatbands, staves, shoes, and the twenty-shilling compensation (LC 2/11/2, no. 140, "12 poor alms men of S:t. Peters Westm:r"). The total cost of providing mourning for these women and men to be used during the mourning period and funeral was £364.4s (E 351/3150). As a point of comparison, one black suit for a courtier around the mid-seventeenth century could cost roughly £150 (Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 101). This appears to have been the last time that almspeople were included in a British monarch's funeral, but it was still expected that the decedent would leave funds for poor relief in their will. Queen Anne left instructions in her will that £2,000 should be distributed to the poor by the Lord Almoner as needed. Although King George I did honour Anne's wishes for the £2,000 to be distributed among the poor, this was not a legal requirement for some reason (PC 2/85, 26; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 457; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 566).

[173] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 423.

way for the Royal Household to demonstrate expected Christian virtues of piety, mercy, and generosity by including them in the funeral procession dressed according to their status by the Great Wardrobe. [174]

Even at the end of the eighteenth century, the household continued to bear the responsibility, as a bare minimum, "to provide Mourning…for such of His Majesty's Servants…who are unable to find it themselves."[175] The responsibility to provide mourning for the household went to the very heart of early modern conceptions of respect for the dead and the need to care for those who remained. But for the monarch's household, this was neither a small nor an inexpensive feat, as each person had to be attired properly based on their rank and the position they held within the household, whether they worked Above or Below Stairs, had any personal contact with the monarch, or their place within the aristocracy. In early 1695, the Great Wardrobe ordered mourning be provided for the 1,600 people who participated in Mary's funeral, as well as nearly five hundred members of both William and Mary's households who did not attend, such as seamstresses, starchers, laundresses, chambermaids, fire makers, clerks, and equerries.[176] This responsibility in providing for those in the monarch's household continued well into the eighteenth century and reflected the economic and class-based realities of mourning for the sovereign. If it were not for the household providing funeral attire for those outside the aristocracy, few people could have afforded to pay for their own mourning.

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[174] E 351/3150; George Noone, *A Sermon Upon the Death of Queen Anne: Of Blessed Memory, &c.* (London: Printed for Samuel Keble, 1714), 12-3; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 48; Garganigo, "William without Mary," 117-8. Selecting which commoners would be allowed to participate in the funeral, and thus receiving mourning, was traditionally the right of the Master of the Great Wardrobe (LC 2/11/2, memo dated January 8, 1694[5], no. 150). In January 1695, the Lord Chamberlain's office had submitted a list of twenty potential women to the Privy Council for consideration. Special attention was given to widows and women whose husbands had been injured or killed while serving in the military since William and Mary's accession in 1689 (LC 2/11/1, 35).

[175] LC 2/27, 89.

[176] LC 2/11/1, 37-45, 89, 93, 97, 113-24; LC 2/11/2, nos. 1-10, 12, 19-20, 23, 28, 40-1, 46; E 351/3150; R20, f. 97.

Conclusion

There was a need among early modern Christians to face, accept, and define the process of death, and mourning provided structure through ritualized regulations that were familiar and understandable to people up and down the social hierarchy. Mourning regulations helped frame death in terms that everyone could understand through standardized rules about dress, behaviour, and displays of piety.[177] The development of regulations on mourning was a key component to helping the body politic come to terms with this ever-present reality of death. Unlike other funerary elements that are tied to the religious identity of the state and the dynasty, mourning transcended confessional and political boundaries; an eighteenth-century Londoner would have been able to identify the different elements of a Catholic funeralization in Vienna through the coded iconography of mourning. Mourning rituals therefore shaped the experiences of the living and provided a roadmap for when it was considered appropriate for grievers to re-enter the daily life of the community or state.[178]

The *Obersthofbeämter* and the Privy Counsellors moved away from *ad hoc* mourning periods for their respective states in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In both states, these were generally unstructured periods that tended to be influenced by the personal inclinations of individual officials or the new monarch. The monarch's entire household, court, and orders of the state participated in this ritualization of grief through the restriction of activities, clothing, and participation in various memorials and vigils dedicated to the late ruler. These elements expressed a coming together of the idealized, hierarchical state to commemorate the decedent and fulfilling the early modern belief that the living had a

[177] Becker, *Death and the Early Modern English Woman*, 23, 141. See also Lovell, "Death at the beginning of life," 32.
[178] Brady, *English Funeral Elegy*, 1-2..

responsibility to the dead through choreographed "rituals of dress and decoration."[179] Mourning functioned as a mechanism for reinforcing this idealized ordering of society by focusing on the role of the monarch's household in maintaining the social hierarchy, specifically among the aristocracy, through their use of mourning schedules and conceptions of sacred time, sumptuary laws, and providing attire to funeral participants and household members, often with very little oversight from legislative bodies like Parliament. In both the British and the Habsburg contexts, the longer that these mourning periods lasted meant the households were able to rule the social and cultural life of the state by decree.

For the Habsburg monarchs, sacred time and the use of exequies to facilitate the soul's entry into Heaven provided structure for the mourning period and brought the body politic together to ensure the decedent received their eternal reward. In Austria, Maria Theresa sought to reduce the household and court's mourning obligations, leading to reforms in 1746, 1750, and 1767. The length of mourning required when the monarch died was not actually shortened until the Ordinance of 1767, and all three edicts emphasized strict class distinctions. The Theresian mourning reforms of 1746-67 led to a stricter conception of hierarchy among Austrian aristocrats, requiring them to dress in mourning that was commensurate with their rank and place within the social order. Maria Theresa's reintroduction of seventeenth-century, class-based mourning laws in the Austrian Netherlands demonstrated that edicts issued at her instructions by her *Obersthofbeämter* viewed a hierarchical structure of the state's titled aristocracy and governing elites to be a necessary requirement for order within the body politic. Hierarchy and social order therefore went hand-in-hand for the Habsburg monarchy.

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[179] *Funerals, College of Arms*; *Miscell: Collections*, 70; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *LG*, no. 5247 (July 31-August 3, 1714); "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; *I.4*, 123; *LG* no. 10047 (Oct. 26-28, 1760); *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 22r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 16r.-17v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35 ff. 372v.-373r., 389r./v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 131; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 15-6 Fritz, "Trade in Death," 305-6, 308; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 241.

In Britain, the Privy Council used Mary II's funeral to establish a two-year official mourning period to reflect their belief that the nation needed to show proper grief for the queen's passing. This precedent would remain in effect well into the eighteenth century. For the Royal Household, controlling the provision of mourning fabrics and attire to those involved in the funeralization process based on their rank allowed them to carry out several important functions. First, it allowed the High Officers to play a role in legitimizing the Crown's virtue by complying with the social convention of supplying clothes to mourners, demonstrating their continued role in the functioning of the monarchy. Second, it enabled the household officials to exert their will over the rest of the aristocracy by acting as the institution that determined how individual rank was expressed publicly. This included what mourning attire an individual was permitted to wear and where in the funeral procession they were allowed to stand, thus making a public statement on their rank and relationship to the Crown. The decision-making authority made a public statement about each mourner's rank and reflected how the household wanted the social hierarchy to be structured. It was imperative that the system that kept them in office remained undisrupted when the monarch died. Spectators watching the procession to Westminster Abbey would have been reminded, through the coded use of mourning attire for various ranks, that the harmonious society of orders was represented in the household, which in turn was responsible for ensuring the proper functioning of the Crown during the transitional period from one monarch to the next. The message was clear. As states mourned the passing of one monarch and the accession of the next, it was the aristocracy who kept the fabric of society together.

Chapter 3: *Habeas corpus*

Royal Bodies and Post-Mortem Rites in Eighteenth-Century Households

On Thursday, October 20, 1740, the post-mortem was conducted on Emperor Charles VI at the Favorita Palace. The autopsy and embalming were performed by his household medical staff under the supervision of the *Obersthofmeister* and the chief surgeon.[1] Once the cause of death had been determined, the vital organs were removed from the body, embalmed, and placed in ornate receptacles.[2] A procession of householders then transferred the body to the Hofburg, where it was laid in state in the Knight's Hall for four days. Around the corpse, four altars were set up so that requiem Masses could be held every morning, and the Office of the Dead recited every evening at vespers. Each altar was attended by chaplains, monks, valets, and Life Guards as householders and mourners alike offered prayers for his soul. Once the lying-in-state had ended, the emperor's chamberlains, valets, and household clergy held mini funerals for the two organ receptacles. The urn containing the heart was deposited in the Augustinian Church attached to the Hofburg, while the intestine vessel was placed in a crypt beneath St. Stephen's Cathedral.[3]

As far back as the sixteenth century, scholars have explored the concept that monarchs had two bodies: their natural, mortal body that represented their personhood, and the intangible, immortal body that personified the state.[4] This metaphor of the monarch as the

[1] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 233r./v.; Beschreibung von Krankheit und Tod Kaiser Karls VI. (1740.10.13-1740.10.21), AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-15 "1740, 10-21 Octob:"; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 19r., 54v-55r.

[2] *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966.

[3] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 241v., 242r.-245v., 249v.-250r., 253r./v., 255v.; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 19r.-20r., 54v.-55r.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 228; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 2v.-4v.; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215

[4] Edmund Plowden, *The Commentaries, or Reports of Edward Plowden, of the Middle-Temple, Esq. An Apprentice of the Common Law: Containing Divers Cases Upon Matters of Law, Argued and Adjudged in the several reigns of*

embodiment of the state was closely linked with the belief that rulers, upon ascending the throne, became imbued with sempiternal, sacred qualities of kingship; qualities that were an immutable element of monarchy as an institution. When the sovereign died, these qualities then passed from the corpse to the new ruler.[5] Historians have examined this two-body conception of royal corpses in considerable detail, the most influential of which has been Ernst Kantorowicz (1957), who focused on medieval conceptions of kingship and sovereignty. Drawing heavily on the Elizabeth lawyer and scholar Edmund Plowden, Kantorowicz argues that the monarch's physical body personified what he called "the immortal part of kingship" (i.e., the body politic) that lived on after the body died. He also asserted that death was the only force that could separate the two royal bodies: "the Body politic is conveyed over from the Body natural, now dead or removed from the Dignity royal, to another Body natural."[6]

Subsequent scholars have built on Kantorowicz's work, focusing on English and French royal funerals in the late medieval and Renaissance periods. This focus may be partly explained by the fact that ritualistic embalming and lying-in-state became standardized elements of the royal funeralization process during the High Middle Ages.[7] The popularity of Renaissance funerary studies can also be attributed to the corpse becoming "a fashionable subject among historians" for understanding its utility "as a cultural construction."[8] These studies have focused particularly on the use of funeral effigies as representations of the state. Scholars like Giesey, Woodward, and Harvey and Mortimer have shown interest in funerary effigies because they are three dimensional, life-sized portraits.[9] Effigies fell into disuse by the

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King Edward VI. Queen Mary, King and Queen Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, part 1 (London: S. Brooke, 1816 [1571]), 212-3.

[5] Monod, *Power of Kings*, 34-5.

[6] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 13, 17, 20-1, 40, 83, 336, 371.

[7] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 4.

[8] Monod, *Power of Kings*, 36.

[9] See Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 314-80, 420-1, 426-31, 505; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 80-91, 105-23, 145-76; Woodward, "Funeral rituals in the French Renaissance," 385-94; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 1-2, 66, 82-7, 103-11, 129-31, 162-5, 170-80, 194-205; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 1-2.

early eighteenth century, however, and few scholars have considered how conceptions of the royal body evolved over the rest of the century without a physical representation. The eighteenth-century Habsburg state did not even use effigies and displayed the corpse for all to see.

There are no English studies, however, that examine the Habsburg use of the body in post-mortem rites. This is due to several factors. First, historians continue to avoid Habsburg microhistories due to the complexities of *Hofstaat*, the language barriers created by early modern Austrian German, and the lack of standardized recordkeeping prior to the eighteenth century. Second, there continues to be the ongoing misinterpretation that the household was synonymous with the court. As a result, the former has received less scholarly inquiry than other contemporary institutions related to monarchical governance, including their role in funerals.[10] The third reason that helps explain why funeral studies have focused on medieval and Renaissance effigies rather than the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the popularity of the secularization thesis. This conception has led scholars to overlook the role of the corpse in eighteenth-century funerals because they have associated that period with desacralization and the declining importance of religion in European life.[11] This is presumably because the corpse was held by an institution that has long been misperceived as being of little significance in the eighteenth century. When this thesis is applied to eighteenth-century royal funerals, the implication is that corpse rituals were devoid of spiritual and religious significance and were performed purely for the benefit of those in power. While there was certainly a significant element of royal funerals that privileged the status of aristocrats and elites, the post-mortem rites of the British and Habsburg households were still suffused with religious meaning that was important to the legitimacy of both their regimes, Protestant and Catholic.

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[10] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 17; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 96, 105.
[11] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 74-75; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 18-9, 121-2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367; Eric Santner, *The Royal Remains: The People' Two Bodies and the Endgames of Sovereignty* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), ix-xii, 245.

This chapter seeks to rectify these historiographical oversights and misconceptions by exploring how the British and Habsburg households used the post-mortem rituals to demonstrate key values of both regimes; values that were crucial for the symbolic stability of the Stuart, Hanoverian, and Habsburg dynasties. The following analyses will examine both the values that these household elites shared, and ones that were specific to their own institutions. Both sets of officials presented the corpse as the metaphorical embodiment of the state; used the post-mortem rites to demonstrate their control of the corpse, and therefore how mourners and the public interpreted the royal remains; and sought to reinforce social hierarchies through ritualized access to the corpse. The *Obersthofbeämter* used post-mortem rituals to present the imperial corpse as the embodiment of an unbroken, eternal line of succession; displayed the corpse as a symbol of Habsburg stability and continuity; and the legitimization of their conceptions of monarchical sacrality. These will be explored in this chapter by examining how preserving the emperor or empress's corpse and removing certain organs was part of a broader conception of monarchical sacrality. By preserving the vital organs and giving them their own mini funerals, the household played an essential role in promoting loyalty to the Crown and the state by perpetuating the belief that these organs were holy relics. The analysis will also explore how the household's officials and clergy utilized the corpse to convey their conception of the idealized Christian state; one that was formed by participatory rituals that brought all the orders of society together to mourn the monarch's passing.

These values will be compared and contrasted with the Royal Household, who used similar ceremonials to legitimize the later Stuarts and the Hanoverian Succession; adapt pre-Reformation rites to reflect the Protestant understanding of the body and death; and communicate to the population that the senior aristocracy that served as gatekeepers of the Crown's image and continuity during the funeralization process. These adapted rites enabled the Royal Household to use these rites as a way of reinforcing the reformed, constitutional nature of eighteenth-century British monarchy. The second half of the chapter will examine

the household's role in shaping how mourners understood the concept of the monarch as the embodiment of the sempiternal body politic displaying the corpse at the lying-in-state. This section will also consider how the eighteenth-century British household functioned as the Crown's gatekeepers via ritual and material culture during the transition from public to private lyings-in-state. Lastly, the chapter will analyze the use of prayer and religious rites performed over the corpse. The goal here is to demonstrate how the household became indispensable to maintaining the belief in the timelessness of their monarchies and the aristocracy's role as protectors of social stability and harmony during the funeralization period.

EMBALMING

Austria

The two previous chapters have established that the Habsburg *Hofkonferenz* met within hours of the monarch's death to arrange some of the most time-sensitive funeralization elements, such as which precedents to consult and instructions on state-wide mourning. These initial meetings also included arranging the autopsy and embalming of the corpse. The corpse needed to be prepared for the lying-in-state and funeral, so it fell to the household's medical officers to conduct the post-mortem. The first step was to do an autopsy within twenty-four hours of the monarch's death, but the embalming was the most ritually and ideologically significant component of the post-mortem.[12] Before it is possible to consider how the household used the embalming process as a way of communicating Habsburg sacrality, it is necessary to first analyze why monarchical bodies held special significance, then to examine how embalming techniques have historically been used to reaffirm this significance.

[12] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *LG* no. 4123 (May 14-17 1705); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 233r.-234v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-15 ff. 18r./v , "1740, 10-21 Octob:"; *WZ* no. 97 (2 Dec. 1780); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 372v.; *Staats- und Standes-Calender*, 362, 373; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376.

Monarchical corpses have been regarded as objects of special significance by Europeans for centuries. This belief was rooted in medieval Christology, which asserted that Jesus had two bodies: His physical body (the Incarnation), and His spiritual body that represented the corporate group of believers that formed the global Church (i.e., the Body of Christ).[13] This bodily duality was preached throughout the New Testament, with the apostle Paul writing: "The human body has many parts, but the many parts make up one whole body. So it is with the body of Christ."[14] Monarchs were God's representatives on Earth, and were meant to emulate the life of Christ (known as Christomemesis), so it was believed that they also had two bodies.[15] The first was their natural body that was born, lived, and died. The second body was a metaphorical representation of the entire state (i.e., the body politic) because the monarch was the head of state. This idea of bodily representation was closely connected with the early modern conception of the idealized state. In both Britain and Austria, the idealized state was seen as an homogenous Christian polity where the orders of society functioned harmoniously in a social hierarchy united by loyalty and service to the Crown. The further up an individual was in that hierarchy, the greater role they played in the body politic. This metaphor even included the idea that the body politic had appendages like the natural body. The king's household, government, and senior aristocrats functioned as the "limbs" of the body politic.[16]

Since the monarch was both a person and the personification of the realm, the household's embalming of their corpse took on added symbolism. The monarch as a person died but the monarchy as a representation lived on in their successor. This created the fiction of an unbroken, sempiternal royal line governing the state, one that in early modern political theory was conceptualized as mirroring God's kingdom.[17] In a way, the limbs were preserving

[13] Monod, *Power of Kings*, 38-9.
[14] 1 Cor. 12:12.
[15] Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories," 286
[16] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 382.
[17] Plowden, *Commentaries*, 212-3.

the rest of the body. Officials were not only preserving the body, but they were also metaphorically preserving the state during the transitional period from one reign to the next. This was by no means a new concept in the eighteenth century, however. The belief that embalming a royal corpse was a symbolic act of preservation has existed for millennia. Since 2500 BC, Egyptian pharaohs were mummified to prepare them for their journey into the afterlife.[18] Similar customs can be found in the Bible as well. In the Old Testament, Jewish bodies were washed, anointed with oil, and scented with perfumes prior to burial. By the sixth century AD, these practices had become part of the medieval Church's funerary rites.[19] Embalming and preservation became popular among medieval European rulers to accommodate the fact that medieval court culture was itinerant. Concerns about the preservation of order within their kingdoms as well as the tantalizing allure of war abroad were two concerns that kept medieval monarchs on the move. It also meant that it was not uncommon for kings to die while traveling. Preserving the body for the return journey became a necessity to stave off the effects of organ decay and putrefaction.[20] By the end of the Middle Ages, embalming the corpse had become a common feature of monarchical funeralizations. The body needed to be preserved so that it could be publicly displayed to the aristocrats and officials at what became known as the lying-in-state; all of which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.[21]

Now that it has been established why the monarch's dead body was so significant, the embalmings by their households take on new layers of meaning. In the Habsburg state,

[18] John Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 46-7, 64-5. Taylor claims that the innate human understanding that the dead body was its own significant element within death rituals may date as far back as 55,000 BC (46).
[19] Margaret Cox, "Eschatology, burial practice and continuity: a retrospection from Christ Church, Spitalfields," in *Grave Concerns: Death & Burial in England 1700—1850* (Walmgate, York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 113-4.
[20] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 19-20; Harvey and Moritmer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 4; Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France," 430.
[21] Harvey and Moritmer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 4.

household officials participated in elaborate rituals just for bringing the corpse into the medical chamber. These rites reinforced the household's control of the corpse during the funeralization process. In 1705, Leopold I's body was escorted by three household chaplains, three chapel attendants, and a detachment of archers and footmen from the Imperial Life Guards.[22] There is a symbolism here of household guardianship of the corpse, both naturally and spiritually. The Life Guards were both a security escort and a personification of the monarch's sovereign authority.[23] At the same time, the chaplains and attendants were each carrying candles, symbolizing Christ's triumph over sin. By escorting the body with candles, the clergy were helping to usher Leopold's soul from the physical realm into Christ's eternal kingdom.[24] A similar ritual involving the *Obersthofmeister*, *Oberstkämmerer* and valets was used to escort Charles VI's body for his embalming.[25] These processions also represented a transference of custody from one branch of the household to another. The clergy had been saying Masses over the body from the time of death, but responsibility for it was now being given over to the household medical branch. There is no mention of a similar ritual being observed in 1780 but this does not necessarily mean that they treated the empress's body with less ritual than her predecessors. It simply reflects what the court secretaries chose to include as pertinent information. At a court where every aspect of the monarch's life and death was steeped in rituals, it may have been a foregone conclusion to the secretaries that one would be familiar with household death rites.

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[22] OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 333v.-334r. HWA SR2 Ord. 120 states that three chaplains were employed by the household in 1705. The same ordinance book also specifies that there were 113 archers and 100 footmen (Hofkontrolleramt Ordnanzbuch [1705-1706], AT-OeStA/HHStA HA HWA SR 2 Ord. 122v.-125v.). It seems unlikely that the entirety of both corps would have joined the procession. Even if less than half did, however, it would have been an impressive sight to witness.

[23] Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 59.

[24] *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 580-1; *WD* no. 189 (May 23-26 1705); Rest, *Our Christian Symbols*, 46-7; Patricia Wilson-Kastner, *Sacred Drama: A Spirituality of Christian Liturgy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 31, 38.

[25] AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 19r., 54v-55r.

Only senior members of the imperial household were allowed to be present at the embalming. The monarch's personal physicians, the household doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries were all classified as senior householders reporting directly to the *Oberstkämmerer*. The medical branch was therefore part of the same household division that included the chamberlains, valets, and personal confessors—all officials who attended the monarch in their private apartments (Appendix: Fig. 2). When Leopold I was embalmed, the procedure was conducted by his six doctors and three surgeons but was supervised by the *Oberstkämmerer*, Count Mansfeld, and several of the most senior chamberlains.[26] In 1740, Charles VI was embalmed by an even larger medical team that combined households. His seven doctors, three surgeons, and two personal physicians were assisted by several doctors from Francis Stephen's household, the emperor's son-in-law. Francis Stephen insisted that his own doctors assist the imperial physicians because there was still some doubt as to the cause of death. This is noteworthy because it reveals not only the strict separation between households for members of the imperial family, but also that the monarch's own household had a monopoly over the funeralization process. This monopoly meant that even though Francis Stephen was now the queen's husband, and his household was one of the largest at court, Charles's embalming was still supervised by his own *Obersthofmeister* and the chief imperial surgeon.[27] By 1780, the medical establishment appeared to have been streamlined. Maria Theresa's corpse was embalmed by only three surgeons and her apothecary, supervised by her personal physician and the doctor responsible for the entire household.[28] It is also interesting to note that at a time when the private mortuary industry was beginning to develop and royal

[26] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *LG* no. 4123 (May 14-17 1705).
[27] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 233r./v.; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-15 "1740, 10-21 Octob:".
[28] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 372v. The one piece of information that is included from 1780 is that the procedure took approximately three hours. Changes to the administrative structure of the household and combining hers with her son's may also explain why none of the *Obersthofbeämter* are listed as being present for the procedure.

death procedures were starting to be outsourced (as discussed in chapter one), these details show that handling the monarchical corpse was a right and privilege that was still closely guarded by the imperial household. By keeping control of the corpse and its post-mortem within the household's hands, its members were ensuring that they remained essential to the funerary process.

Since the Habsburg monarch was seen as the embodiment of the state, it was important that the embalming process preserved the corpse long enough that it appeared lifelike and untouched by decay at the lying-in-state. How exactly that embalming process looked for the Habsburgs is unclear, because the archival records provide little information beyond which householders escorted the body in for the post-mortem, and which doctors participated. A surviving account of the embalming of Marie Anne of Bavaria, wife of Louis the Grand Dauphin and daughter-in-law of Louis XIV, may shed some light on this process, since the Habsburgs and the Bourbons had similar views on the sacrality of monarchy and the physical body.[29] The dauphine's body was treated with an "aromatic powder" comprised of fifty-nine ingredients including calamus, sage, thyme, myrrh, orange flowers, lavender, rosemary, oranges, nutmeg, cedar, and aloes. The only ingredients that appear to have actually been preserving or antibacterial agents were ginger, benzoin, wine, salt, and turpentine. Once the body had been treated with this mixture, it was washed in a fortified, scented wine and covered in a heated solution of turpentine, styrax, and copaiba. In total, 75 lbs of ingredients were needed to properly embalm the dauphine's corpse.[30]

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[29] For a comparison of early modern Bourbon and Habsburg conceptions of the monarch's body, see Monod, *Power of Kings*, 33-80.

[30] Jean-Nicolas Gannal, *History of Embalming, and of Preparations in Anatomy, Pathology, and Natural History; including an account of a new process for embalming*, trans. by R. Harlan (Philadelphia: Judah Dobson, 1840), 114-6. Harlan did not mince words in his opinion that the embalming of Marie Anne left her corpse "mutilated, slashed and stuffed" and having "more the resemblance of prepared meat than an embalmed body;...[which] ought to create a deep horror for the mutilation of a body which it was desirable to possess in all its integrity; that, in fine, *the operation of embalming thus practised is more cruel for the feelings, than the natural destruction and dissolution of the parts* [emphasis added]" (Grannal, 116-7).

There may have even been a religious significance to the amount of supplies used, since "seventy-five pounds of perfumed ointment made from myrrh and aloes" were used to prepare Christ's body after the Crucifixion.[31] This similarity may have been coincidental, or it may have been another example of Christomemesis. Carlos Eire's examination of the sixteenth-century post-mortem of St. Teresa of Ávila includes reports noting a "marvelous fragrance" emanating from her corpse and from the relics that were created from her body parts. This "odor of sanctity was immensely pleasing" and lingered for days after her relics had been somewhere; Eire describes it as being almost like a perfume. It may be difficult to say definitively that embalming ingredients used for early modern monarchs were a direct attempt to mimic this "miraculous preservation and otherworldly fragrance." It is certainly possible, however, that the use of specific scents and fragrances by eighteenth-century Habsburg embalmers was an attempt to emulate a saint-like preservation, one that communicated to mourners that the monarch's body was sacred and preserved by God in a unique way.[32]

As part of this embalming process, the vital organs were removed for the purpose of preserving and having a burial for them that mirrored the monarch's funeral. The purpose of having such elaborate rituals for dead organs was to help perpetuate the idea of monarchical sacrality. If the monarch's body was a sacred object, then the organs themselves could be individually removed and treated as relics. Removing organs in this fashion originated as part of the embalming process in ancient Egypt. The embalmers removed the brain, intestines, lungs, and liver. These were then mummified and placed in canopic jars and deposited in the tomb so that they could continue to be used by the deceased in the afterlife.[33] This is obviously quite different from the European practice of using organs as relics but is one example among many to show that the custom of separating the organs from the body was a common feature

[31] John 19:39.
[32] Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 450-1.
[33] Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 54-7, 64-5. The term canopic jar was not used until after the fourth century AD. Prior to this, the storage receptacles were essentially mini sarcophagi.

of ancient funerary rites. Its utility as a statement of power and authority has evolved since the Roman period and been adapted for necessity over the centuries. According to Giesey, it began as a way of dealing with some of the more practical aspects of death in the Middle Ages.[34] In Europe, this kind of organ preservation has been used since at least 877, when Charlemagne's grandson Charles the Bald died trying to cross the Alps. A contemporary account describes how they "took out the viscera [intestines], put them into an infusion of wine perfumed with the herbs they could find, and sealed it; and they started out toward the monastery of St. Diogène, where they intended to bury it."[35] If a monarch died while traveling, removing vital organs was a way of helping preserve the corpse for the return trip. Even though it met a practical need of medieval death, organ removal did not become a regular feature of royal funerals more broadly until it was adopted by the French after 1314.[36]

By the seventeenth century, organ removal shifted away from being a practical concern since kings were traveling less and dying abroad became less common. By that time, removing the organs was considered part of a proper funeral for the upper classes.[37] Even when transporting bodies over great distances became less of a problem, it was unusual to bury a person of important status with the vital organs still in the body.[38] For royalty, organ removal was more than just a demonstration of status. It was a way for the household to transform body parts into relics.[39] Organs would be removed from the body and embalmed, placed in receptacles, and deposited in churches or at pilgrimage sites. The preservation of royal organs allowed for the broad dissemination of royal bodies, a practice that was useful for fostering

[34] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 21-22; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19.
[35] Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 31.
[36] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 19-22; Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France, 430.
[37] Gittings, "Sacred and secular," 156-7.
[38] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 375; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 429-30.
[39] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 31-4; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 47.

loyalty in diverse locations. The locations where their organs were deposited became local pilgrimage sites that were associated with the dynasty where faithful subjects could offer prayers for the decedent's soul. It was even a way for the monarchy to show favour towards specific churches or religious orders, adding a "ceremonial value" to these locations that reinforced their privileged status in relation to a dynasty or monarchy.[40] The Habsburgs deposited their hearts in the Hofburg's Augustinian Church, making a public statement of the close connection between the dynasty and that order (see below).[41] This organ dispersal enabled household officials to create a kind of sacrality network between sites that housed royal remains. While the practice may have originated as a means to ensure transportation of the corpse back to its homeland for burial, it was also "a spatial distribution of the aristocrats parts of a sacred body."[42]

The choice of which organs were preserved was also important to this spatial distribution and the belief in bodily sacrality. It was customary by the eighteenth century for the Habsburgs to have their intestines, heart, tongue, brain, and eyes removed. The reason for removing the last three is not entirely clear, and the decision to do so was technically left to each individual monarch.[43] The intestines and the heart, however, were the most symbolically important organs in the early modern conception of the body and represented the late ruler giving their life's blood for their people.[44] Intestine removal has been practiced since the ancient period and might very well be the organ with the longest history of preservation.[45] The

[40] Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 70.
[41] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 79.
[42] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 31-4; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 47.
[43] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 334v., 336v., 345r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot-Konzepte 4-3, f. 9r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, f. 1r.; *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 578; *LG* no. 4123 (May 14-17 1705); *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 79; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 378; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 42; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 47.
[44] Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France," 430; Rest, *Our Christian Symbols*, 68-69; Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 32-4.
[45] Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 54.

intestines were the most likely to decay first, so their removal helped slow decomposition. By the Renaissance, intestines were considered worth preserving because they were seen as the origin point of human passion and emotion.[46] The heart was even more important than the intestines. Closely linked with Christian teachings, the heart is mentioned at least eighty-five times in the Bible. It was frequently described as the location in the body where the eternal soul resides and represented devotion, holiness, and eternal life. It was the embodiment of mankind's relationship with God. The heart was so important to western European Christians that religious cults sprang up in the Middle Ages venerating the Immaculate Heart of the Virgin Mary, or the Sacred Heart of Christ.[47] The heart was seen as the holiest and most sacred part of the body. It symbolized the monarch's piety and self-sacrifice on behalf of the body politic and became a point of pride to have one's heart deposited in a specially chosen religious site.[48]

The *Protocollum Aulicum* only describes part of the process of how the Habsburg household doctors removed and preserved the organs, but the account of Dauphine Marie Anne can once again be used as a general reference point. The fluids were flushed out of her organs, which were then dried and placed in glass jars filled with "spirits of wine" as a preserving solution. They were then treated "with a balm made of canella, cloves, myrrh, styrax, and benzoin."[49] The Austrian records pick up again at this point in the process. The organs were then grouped together based on their importance in contemporary bodily conceptions. The heart and tongue were normally paired together placed in a gilded silver

[46] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 180; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 8; Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 279; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 82; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 120.
[47] Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France," 430; Rest, *Our Christian Symbols*, 68-9..
[48] Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 279; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 244r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, f. 1r.; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 82; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 120.
[49] Gannal, *History of Embalming*, 115-6.

vessel. The monarch's intestines were placed in their own separate gilded copper urns.[50] The use of these urns contributed to the perception of these organs as sacred relics because it was familiar imagery to early modern Catholics; saintly relics were preserved and kept in similar receptacles. They were displayed next to the corpse for the entire duration of the lying-in-state. The evening after the monarch was buried, their household gave these urns their own mini funerals. This was both a reenactment and a ritual unto itself. It was a reenactment because it mirrored the full-scale funeral that had just been conducted for the monarch, but it was also its own rite because of the belief that preserved organs possessed sacrality almost like a holy relic. The urns were deposited at churches that had a long relationship with the dynasty, not unlike the way saints' relics were claimed by specific churches and mendicant orders.

There were two locations used for these mini funerals. The silver heart vessels were placed in the Augustinian Church. The *Oberstkämmerer* (or one of the monarch's close advisors), at least six of the senior chamberlains, two quartermaster chamberlains, and four Imperial Life Guards escorted the urn into the church.[51] When they entered the church, they

[50] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 334v., 336v., 345r.; Hofprotokoll in Zeremonialsachen, Auszüge (1705.01.04-1705.12.20), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot-Konzepte 4-3, f. 9r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, f. 1r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 244r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, f. 1r.; *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 578; *LG* no. 4123 (May 14-17, 1705); *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 279; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 79; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 378. The use of specific metals for the organ vessels seems to have been practical, since silver is antibacterial, and copper is non-reactive with blood due to alkalinity (Julia Clement and Penelope Jarrett, "Antibacterial Silver," in *Metal-Based Drugs*, vol. 1, no. 5-6 [Feb., 1994], 467; W. Denis and Martha Aldrich, "Note on the Preservation of Specimens of Blood Intended for Blood Sugar Determinations," in *Journal of Biological Chemistry*, vol. 44, no. 1 [Oct. 1, 1920], 204). The materials for both urns were likely mined within the Habsburg Empire. Silver came from the mineral-rich mountains of central Bohemia, while Upper Hungary's Carpathian mines produced copper. Both materials were then manufactured into luxury goods in any of the empire's dozen or so factories, which had been promoted by the early eighteenth-century emperors to encourage a dependence on domestic products (Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 11, 14, 25; Mitchell, *Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire*, 56-7).

[51] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 249v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 36,; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 388. Charles VI was an unusual exception to this format. His heart was escorted only by two chamberlains (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 249v). In Maria Theresa's case in 1780, her heart had to be brought by carriage the day before her funeral, since her lying-in-state was held at Schönbrunn, five kilometers east of the

were received by the entire corps of monks. The Augustinian Church had been the Habsburgs' family parish and the Hofburg's court church since the early seventeenth century. The family had identified with their order for its austere lifestyle and commitment to evangelism. The monks were responsible for the spiritual welfare of the imperial family and were a branch of the *Obersthofmeister*'s household division.[52] The Augustinians frequently facilitated religious rituals for the court associated with death and eternity like Vigils for All Saints' Day on November 1 and All Souls' Day on November 2. The monks also played a role in the funeral itself by preparing the coffin and the corpse for the procession to the crypt. This was a great honour and a public declaration of the Habsburgs' confidence in the Augustinian order among Vienna's religious houses. After the Augustinian prior consecrated the heart urn, it was taken into the Loreto Chapel and deposited in the Heart Crypt (*Herzgruft*).[53] The Loreto Chapel had great significance for the Habsburgs and was considered to be one of the dynasty's most sacred sites. Empress Eleonora Magdalena had ordered the chapel's construction because she wanted to create a sacred space close to the palace that would serve as the dynasty's personal shrine to the Virgin Mary.[54] In her will, Eleonora Magdalena bequeathed 8,000 fl. in her will for the chapel's upkeep, and it became a site of devotion and piety for the Habsburg women following the completion of the Women's Altar (*Frauenaltar*) dedicated to the Virgin.[55]

Hofburg (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 378r., 395r./v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 278v., 291r.-292; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.772-422.773-B).

[52] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, f. 1r. These plans are in AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6 f. 225v. and beginning at 336r. "folgt daß Referat de 6.ta Maÿ 1705," and the entirety of AT-OeStA/HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 12, file 2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 375; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 180.

[53] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 249v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 378r., 395r./v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 278v., 291r.-292; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.772-422.773-B; Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 36,; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 388.

[54] Kuss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 388; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 71. This Eleonora Magdalena (1630-86) was the wife of Ferdinand III. There was another Empress Eleonora Magdalena (1655-1720) who was the third wife of Leopold I. Hengerer states that the sacrality of the Loreto Chapel ended when Joseph II moved the vault to a different location in the 1780s.

[55] Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 71; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 86. For an examination of the different court celebrations devoted to the Virgin Mary, see Ines Lang, "Die Marienfeste und Die Pfingstfeiern

The second location used for organ burial was St. Stephen's Cathedral, where the intestines were deposited after the ceremony in the Loreto Chapel was complete. The burial at St. Stephen's was one of those unusual examples where the ritual elements actually expanded over the course of the century rather than being scaled back. At the start of the eighteenth century, this was a relatively small ceremony compared to the heart burial. Between 1705 and 1740, the urn was taken in a carriage by two chamberlains and several valets.[56] By 1780, however, the escort had expanded significantly. Maria Theresa's urn was taken to the cathedral in a three-carriage procession of her two senior chamberlains, the privy chamber treasurer, four valets, two quartermasters, and an escort of Imperial Life Guards.[57] This increase in the number of officials who participated in the organ funerals may well speak to the household's efforts to demonstrate their ongoing relevance to dynastic authority, even if only symbolically. Upon reaching the cathedral, the household deposited the intestines in the Ducal Crypt (*Herzogsgruft*) beneath the chancel (Appendix: Fig. 7.1). The crypt dated from the 1300s but underwent a major renovation in the eighteenth century. As a result of these changes, the Ducal Crypt where Leopold I and Charles VI's intestines were deposited looked significantly more disorganized and rundown than the redesigned crypt in 1780 (Appendix: Fig. 7.2). Upon reaching St. Stephen's, the urn would be consecrated by the provost and members of the cathedral chapter. The vessel was then taken down into the crypt when it was consecrated yet again, prayers were offered, and it was deposited alongside the other remnants of "the most serene archducal House."[58]

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am Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie*, Hochedlinger, Mat'a, and Winkelbauer, eds., 463-91.

[56] *WD* no. 185 (May 7-10, 1705); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 350r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 249v.-250r., 253r./v., 255v.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 228;

[57] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 378r., 380r., 395 r./v., 397r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 280-281.

[58] *WD* no. 185 (May 7-10, 1705); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 350r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 249v.-250r., 253r./v., 255v.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 228; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215;

The household's role in facilitating the dissemination of these royal relics has largely been ignored by historians. However, it is not possible to understand the significance of these rites without examining the participation of various householders. The embalming had been completed by the medical officials, but the burial was facilitated by the valets and chamberlains who served the monarch in their personal chambers, making a statement that the participants enjoyed a close relationship with the monarch. They were also tasked with the responsibility of ensuring the proper burial of the royal organs. The householders were therefore not merely participants, but they were perpetuators of conceptions of monarchical sacrality. This conception, in turn, legitimized the household as a necessity for dynastic authority and legitimacy because only they could be the ones who performed these funerals of sacred organs. By fostering the belief in monarchical sacrality, the household was also ensuring its own continued relevance within the societal order of the Habsburg state.

Britain

The post-mortems of the eighteenth-century British monarchs followed the same format as their Habsburg counterparts. Handling the corpse was one of the first things organized by the Privy Council special committees when they met to begin planning the funeral.[59] Like in Austria, the Royal Household's medical establishment was part of the Lord Chamberlain's staff and responsible for this process. There was, however, one significant difference between British and Habsburg preservation rites. While the Habsburgs were embalmed so that their bodies would be displayed at the lying-in-state, the bodies of English monarchs were immediately encoffined after being preserved. Placing the body into the coffin right away had been standard operation procedure in the Royal Household since the latter half of the

AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 378r., 380r., 395 r./v., 397r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 280-1; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), 422.773-B; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 47, 59-60.

[59] "At the Court at S:t James's the first of August 1714," LC 2/18; LC 2/27, 85, 96; PC 2/85, 16-7; LC 5/3, 22; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69.

sixteenth century.[60] The doctrine of "physical holiness" and the sacrality of the royal body were rejected during the Reformation.[61] It became unnecessary to make the corpse appear lifelike to mourners. English monarchs continued to be embalmed using pre-Reformation ceremonials because their bodies were still understood to be metaphors of the state, and the Protestant conception of death required that the deceased be given an "honourable funeral." The continuing need to have a "proper" funeral helps to explain why the household would still retain many funerary rites that bore similarities to Catholic traditions. They relied on traditional rituals rather than attempting to develop entirely new ceremonies that would lack the same weight and historical tradition. Embalming the corpse with appropriate ceremony was considered an aspect of a proper Protestant funeral and was a way for the household to show their piety and respect for the dead.[62] These post-mortem rituals were also a way for the household to show respect for the monarchy, since English Protestants accepted the Biblical command that they were required to honour their rulers: "Everyone must submit to governing authorities. For all authority comes from God, and those in positions of authority have been placed there by God."[63]

There was also a practical reason why English monarchs were encoffined rather than being left on display. The interval between death and burial could be weeks or months. Even the best embalming techniques could not preserve the corpse for that long. Placing the body in the coffin right away meant the household did not have to be around a corpse that was beginning to decompose.[64] In some cases, a quick turnaround on embalming and sealing the body in the coffin was necessary if the monarch had died from a contagious disease. When

[60] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 27.
[61] Monod, *Power of Kings*, 47-8.
[62] Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 36, 93-4, 116.
[63] Rom. 13:1.
[64] *Funerals, College of Arms*; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69; Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 29, 44, 96; Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169.

Queen Mary II died from smallpox in 1694, she was embalmed that same day as "a necessary precaution in view of the putrescent effects of smallpox."[65] The queen's Dutch physician and apothecary, Dr. Christian Harel, performed the procedure.[66] He washed her body with Indian balsam and distilled alcohol mixed with gum resin, spices, and an alkaline salt solution; the interior was embalmed with "Rich Gummes and Spices." The body was then wrapped in scented cerecloth sheets and placed upon a layer of "dryinge powders" inside a lead coffin that had been scented with damask roses. This was then placed inside a wood coffin, with the same layer of "dryinge powders" used for the embalming.[67] These were techniques that had, in some ways, remained largely unchanged since the Middle Ages. An account of the embalming of Edward III in 1377 describes similar use of "balsam and spices" to wash and clean the body, which was later wrapped "in a cerecloth so that only the face and beard remained visible."[68]

In the absence of contagion, post-mortems were done more slowly in London than in Vienna. The procedure, however, remained largely unchanged in the eighteenth century and the household continued to have the sole privilege of handling the royal remains. In 1714,

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[65] Speck, "Mary II," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246, accessed July 30, 2019. According to the contemporary diarist John Evelyn, Mary claimed in a document found after she died that "she had desired her body might not be opned" (Diary entry of March 8, 1695, in *Diary*, Beer, ed., 205). Beer observes in his annotations that Evelyn's account seems to be the only contemporary source that discusses this important document that seemed to have disappeared into the ether as suddenly as it was discovered (n5).

[66] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69; Leslie Matthews, Leslie. "London's Immigrant Apothecaries, 1600-1800," in *Medical History*, vol. 18 (1974), 265. The embalming was done by Dr. Harel, but the autopsy was performed by a Dr. Nobbs (Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 393). Nobbs was not a member of the king or queen's households. The only mention of him in official records is from "Entry book: May 1695, 16-25," in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, *Volume 10, 1693-1696*, William A. Shaw, ed. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1935), 1073-1087. *British History Online,* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol10/pp1073-1087, accessed June 10, 2021). This entry lists a pay to "Doctor Nobbs for opening the body of her late Majesty: [£]100." Who Nobbs was and why he was brought in from outside the household remains a mystery.

[67] "A collection of original Royal warrants and other documents. The Bill for the *Embalment* of Her Majesty, by Dr. Harel, Her Majesty's Apothecary," add. MS. 5751A, ff. 49-51; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 11, 333. According to the Add. MS, Harel's bill for the procedure was £200.

[68] Chris Given-Wilson, "The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England," in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 124, no. 507 (Apr., 2009), 265.

Queen Anne's Groom of the Stole transferred the body into the custody of the Lord Chamberlain, who escorted it into the examining room.[69] This ceremonial act mirrored those processions that were used to transfer the Habsburg corpses over to the household doctors for the post-mortem, albeit on a much smaller scale. The fact that these two different household institutions, Protestant and Catholic, still had such similar protocols simply for moving the monarch's body from one room of the palace to another, speaks to the recognized function that households played in European monarchies.

Anne, unlike her sister Mary, was not embalmed until August 3, two days after she died. This was partly a supply issue. The fabrics and textiles used to wrap the body were not delivered to the Lord Chamberlain until August 2.[70] The queen's personal physician conducted the procedure but, in keeping with her wishes, only did "what was absolutely necessary for Embalming the body."[71] The corpse was then placed in a lead coffin, which was then placed inside a wooden one covered in purple velvet and draped with a purple velvet pall. The coffin was then taken by the Lord Chamberlain into the queen's Privy Chamber. Eventually, the coffin was moved into the Great Bedchamber, once it was properly decorated in mourning.[72] By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the post-mortem process appears to have become so standardized that minimal information was recorded beyond the essentials; not unlike what occurred when Maria Theresa died. King George II's post-mortem in 1760 spanned several days. His autopsy was performed on October 26, the day after he died. But the corpse was left open until the following day when it was embalmed by his household surgeons in the presence of his two personal physicians. The surgeons then left the body open for

[69] PC 2/85, 24-5; *Funerals, College of Arms*; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 72; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 118

[70] LC 2/18, nos. 17 and 20; "To John Johnson and Comp:ª Mercers," and "Item To Anne Colthorpe Seamstress," AO 3/1192.

[71] PC 2/85, 24-5; *Funerals, College of Arms*; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 72; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 118

[72] "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5º Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; "To David Bosanquett," AO 3/1192; PC 2/85, 31, 37; SP 35/1/18, f. 41r.

another day, presumably to allow it and organs to dry out more thoroughly before it was finally sealed on October 28.[73]

Like their Habsburg doctors, the royal physicians removed the internal organs, embalmed them, and performed their own mini funerals. These rites had been performed on English kings for at least six centuries. The earliest documented case of ritualized organ removal for an English monarch was in 1135. Henry I died in Normandy and his organs had to be removed at Rouen to prepare the corpse for transport back to England.[74] Although the practice continued throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the Reformation put a moratorium on organ embalming, at least temporarily. Queen Mary I was given a Catholic funeral in 1558, and that was the last time a monarch's organs were removed for over sixty years.[75] Mary's Counter-Reformation had left England ideologically divided, financially bankrupt, and militarily defeated. Mary was blamed for these crises. She was viewed as the embodiment of all the evils of Catholicism, and the people believed God was punishing England for Mary's bringing back Catholic tyranny. Few wanted to be associated with her life and legacy in any way, and that even extended to abandoning some of her funeralization rites. Royal organ embalming was seemingly abandoned; it was not mentioned again in archival sources until the death of Queen Anne, James I's wife, in 1619. The embalming of the Jacobean queen was a low-key affair, which was likely "in response to a post-Reformation discomfort with a ritual that suggested popish notions of purgatory and praying for the souls of the dead."[76]

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[73] LC 2/27, 91.
[74] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 173.
[75] Thomas Hearne, ed., *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, vol. 5 (London: William Impensis and Joseph Richardson, 1770), 307-11; Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 3; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 173; Anne Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen* (New York: Random House, 2009), Kobo edition, ch. 66, para. 9.
[76] Meyer, *The Tudors*, 430-1; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 173-4.

By the end of the seventeenth century, organ removal was once again a significant component of the preservation rites. A seventeenth-century collection of documents kept at the College of Arms entitled simply *Funerall Ceremony* includes a description of how to prepare the royal heart and intestines for preservation.[77] While this did not have the ritual significance attached to the Habsburg embalming and its conceptions of the sacred corpse, the British organs were still treated with reverence as pieces of a former sovereign. This ceremonial reverence was demonstrated in the way that the organs were prepared. In 1695, Mary II's heart and intestines were placed in a single urn decorated with purple velvet and filled with the same gum and spice solution that had been used for her corpse.[78] For Queen Anne, neither the Privy Council nor the Lord Chamberlain's Office have detailed records on how her organs were treated beyond simply acknowledging that "The Bowells of her late Majesty" were removed.[79] A slightly more detailed account was made in 1760. George II's intestines were removed, washed, and placed in a lead box, which was then placed inside an urn made of walnut tree wood. This box, described at the time as a kind of small coffin, was "rather long, covered with purple velvet and gold nails, to which were fixed four golden handles"; it was essentially an identical miniature to the dual layer coffin used for the body. It was then sealed using a soldering technique and remained in the king's private apartments at Kensington Palace for nearly two weeks.[80]

One of the aspects that makes the examination of British organ rituals so interesting is the fact that even though the receptacles and their contents were not ascribed any sacred or

[77] R20, f. 97. In the late fourteenth century, other organs like the eyes and brain were sometimes removed, but this appears to have been cut down to just the heart and intestines by the early modern period (Given-Wilson, "Exequies of Edward III," 264).
[78] Add. MS. 5751A, ff. 49-51; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 11, 333; Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *The Royal Doctors, 1485-1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 205.
[79] E[arl]. of Shrewsbury Sr to open y^{e}. Vault to bury the Queen 1714, WAM 6246; PC 2/85, 23, 24. This lack of detail was presumably due to her expressed wish that only the bare minimum be done on her body to preserve it.
[80] LC 2/27, 86, 129, 133; Anonymous, *The Royal Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Companion*, vol. 3 (Nov., 1760), 269.

divine qualities, the Royal Household still conducted funerary rites to deposit the organs on a scale that is quite similar to the Habsburgs. Even in the eighteenth century, the household continued to follow the pre-Reformation custom of organ burial; one that mirrored the full-scale funeral and remained compatible with a Protestant worldview. Unlike at the Habsburg court, the royal organs were not regarded as relics in any way, but their mini funerals were still a way for the household to honour their former master and demonstrate proper Protestant respect for the dead; an example the rest of the population was expected to emulate. Between 1685 and 1760, the burials took place at Westminster Abbey, normally the same day that the embalming was performed. Mary and Anne's organs were transported to the abbey at night by their Lords Chamberlain, escorted by detachments of the household Horse Guards.[81] The organs—and corpses too—of the later Stuart monarchs were taken into Henry VII's Lady Chapel and deposited in the Stuart Vault underneath (Appendix: Fig. 8), which had been built by the architect Sir Christopher Wren after Charles II died in 1685.[82] After Queen Anne's funeral in 1714 (see chapter four), there was no space left in the Stuart Vault. When George II's wife, Queen Caroline, died in 1737, the king ordered the construction of a new burial chamber beneath the Lady Chapel, appropriately named the Hanoverian Vault.[83] George had instructed that he wanted his corpse to be placed in an adjoining sarcophagus with his late wife's "so that their dust might mingle in death."[84] He was the only reigning monarch to have his organs buried in the vault that bore his family's name, since his father had been buried in Hanover and his grandson George III would be interred at Windsor Castle in 1820.

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[81] Letter of Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, to Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, August 3, 1714, in WAM 6246; PC 2/85, 23-4 [16r.-17r.]; Chapman, *Mary II*, 255 n3; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 388; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 179. Mary's organs were deposited with little to no ceremony (Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 418; Chapman, *Mary II*, 255 n3; Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 332; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 388). This was most likely an attempt to abide by her wishes that she be funeralized with as little ceremony and pageantry as possible (Diary entry of March 8, 1695, in *Diary*, Beer, ed., 205).
[82] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 13-4.
[83] Thomas Cocke, "'The Repository of our English Kings': The Henry VII Chapel as Royal Mausoleum," in *Architectural History*, vol. 44: Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman (2001), 217.
[84] Nash, *Royal Wills*, 58.

To a greater degree than any of his later Stuart predecessors, the funeral for George II's organs mirrored what would take place two weeks later for the body itself. At 8:00 p.m., the Lord Chamberlain transported the urn to the abbey. Details on the service itself are scant, but it is recorded that he was accompanied by two detachments of Horse Guards, Foot Guards, numerous (albeit unspecified) officials, eight Yeomen of the Guard, and household trumpeters and drummers.[85] This was very much a mini royal funeral that reinforced the monopoly on power that the household enjoyed by the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Lord Chamberlain, as the official closest to the king, served as custodian of the royal organs, ensuring they were properly laid to rest. As will be expanded upon in the next chapter, the Lord Chamberlain was the key participant in every stage of the funeralization process, including the organ removal and burial. It is not an understatement to say he had a monopoly on power over royal funerals. At the same time, the household guards provided a significant escort, symbolizing their protection of the royal remains. The household's responsibilities to their sovereign continued, even after death.

LYING-IN-STATE

Britain

The embalming of the corpse and the organ funerals were part of a broader early modern death conceptions about showing proper honour for the deceased while also demonstrating the household's piety and respect for the dead. Even after the organs were buried, the corpse remained essential to the funeralization process because it was the central element in the final stage preceding the funeral: the lying-in-state. It has already been clearly established that the monarch's body was understood as a metaphor of the state. The lying-in-state was the fullest expression of this conception. The body that represented the state surrounded by the physical objects and material culture associated with the kingdom. Lyings-in-state were multi-day

[85] *Royal Magazine*, 269; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 179.

events where the body was laid out in one of its official residences for the household to pay their respects.[86] Lyings-in-state became events that were staged by the household for the household, sending the clear message that they alone were the institution with privileged access to the Crown. Its officers commissioned lifelike effigies, which were displayed on top of the monarch's coffin. The Lord Chamberlain's department decorated the corpse chamber in mourning and manufactured banners and tapestries that reinforced the encoffined body as the personification of the realm. Another household division, the Jewel House, furnished the chamber with all the crown jewels and regalia of state. When royal funerals shifted from public to private ceremonials in the eighteenth century, many of these elements continued to be used by the household, but the public was no longer admitted. When the ceremonials were adapted after 1695 to privately display the coffin at the Palace of Westminster, household processions were tasked with transporting it to its final destination. Once the coffin was laid out at the palace, members of the monarch's bedchamber staff held vigils. Each of these household functions will be explored in greater detail, but it is first necessary to examine the purpose of lyings-in-state as part of royal funeralizations.

The ritualized display of a monarch's corpse has been part of English funerary customs since before the Norman Invasion of 1066.[87] In the Middle Ages, court factions vied for control of the corpse because that was seen as an expression of members' own political power. Whoever had custody would then show that they controlled the Crown by displaying the corpse, adorned with its crown jewels and regalia to rival courtiers, clergy, and officials. This

[86] Anonymous, *La Race & la Naissance, la Vie et la Mort de Marie Stuart. Reine de la Grande Bertagne, de France, d'Irlande, &c. Mêlées des principals affaires, tant d'Etat que de la Guerre, qui sont arrives depuis la Naissance de sa Majesté, justqu'à sa Mort, dans les plus considerable Parties de l'Europe. Avec un Traitté touchant la Maison de Stuart. Et une Figure curieuse representant les Funerailles de sa Majesté*, (Amsterdam: Nicholas ten Hoorn, 1695), 286-7; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 334 v.-335r.; *WD no.* 184 (May 4-6 1705); AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 20r., 55v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 242v.-244v.; AT-OeSTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 2v.-4v.; *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966; Chris Pond, "Lyings in state," Parliament and Constitution Centre, SN/PC/1735, 2.

[87] Nicole Marafioti, *The King's Body: Burial and Succession in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 4-5.

control was understood to also represent control of the kingdom because of royal personification. Displaying the corpse was also a stabilizing mechanism. During the tumultuous fifteenth century, when power at the English court was constantly changing hands, the lying-in-state was a way of establishing through public witness that the monarch had died of natural causes and prevent rival claimants or imposters from coming forward to lay a claim to the throne.[88] By staging a public lying-in-state, courtiers were making a statement that the decedent had been a legitimate king, who was receiving a proper Christian funeral according to the same rites as their predecessors. As one scholar notes: "The royal corpse offered contenders a concrete connection with the previous regime—a connection which could provide an ideological justification for their accession and authority." This "concrete connection" created an image of dynastic legitimacy. The decedent was part of a chain of legitimate kings, all with lawful claims to the throne. This legitimacy expressed through ritual display also validated the claims of the heir to the throne.[89]

The idea that political legitimacy was enhanced by presenting the corpse at the lying-in-state continued even after it became standard procedure by the sixteenth century to encoffin it following the post-mortem. At first glance, this may seem like a contradiction. How could a body establish legitimacy if it was hidden inside a coffin? This was reconciled through the use of funeral effigies. These life-sized reproductions of the decedent were commissioned by the Lord Chamberlain's office and placed on top of the coffin during the lying-in-state and funeral procession. The torso and limbs were usually made of a wooden frame, while the head was often made from a wax impression from the corpse. A wig made of human hair was attached to

[88] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 22-3. This concern about guarding against pretenders was not paranoia. In the 1490s, a Flemish merchant named Perkin Warbeck was passed off as Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York. Shrewsbury and his brother, King Edward V, 'disappeared' as children when they were imprisoned in the Tower of London by their uncle, the infamous Richard III. Warbeck's supporters had—unsuccessfully—hoped to use the teenage imposter to topple the new Tudor dynasty from the English throne (Meyer, *The Tudors*, 20-1).

[89] Marafioti, *The King's Body*, 4-5.

the head and the body was dressed in all the jewels and royal regalia provided by the Great Wardrobe.[90] Effigies were standard for the monarch's lying-in-state and funeral by the time of Elizabeth I's death in 1603.[91] Displaying an effigy could also be more effective than the embalmed corpse at communicating the belief that the monarch's body politic continued to live on even after they died. They were exercises in artistry, craftsmanship, and textile manufacturing, while also attracting popular interest; people clamoured to see the effigy resting on top of the coffin as an act of mourning as much as for the spectacle of it. For scholars, effigies encapsulated the artistic, social, material, and ritual histories of the time periods in which they were created.[92] The effigy was a reproduction of the deceased at the height of their worldly grandeur, untouched by the decay of death. Mourners could visit a tomb six months later and see an effigy that looked unchanged since the lying-in-state.[93] Household officials were also able to use effigies to maintain the perception of a monarchical regime unbroken by the death of the individual. While the decedent was encoffined awaiting the funeral and their successor was sequestered in mourning, the display of an effigy allowed for a physical representation of the Crown to be present throughout the funeralization process. Since the corpse embodied the state, and the effigy was commissioned to represent the monarch's sempiternity, the household became essential in maintaining the illusion that royal authority transcended death itself.

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[90] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 4-9, 13, 15, 31; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 88; Given-Wilson, "Exequies of Edward III," 264-5.

[91] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 27.

[92] See Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 314-80, 420-1, 426-31, 505; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 80-91, 105-23, 145-76; Woodward, "Funeral rituals in the French Renaissance," 385-94; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 1-2, 66, 82-7, 103-11, 129-31, 162-5, 170-80, 194-205; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 1-2.

[93] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 420-1; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 63, 90; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 4; Santner, *The Royal Remains*, 42; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 104. The opposite was also true. Deposed kings (who often died under questionable circumstances) were encoffined but received no effigy. Such was the case with Edward II in 1327, Richard II in 1399, Henry VI in 1471, Edward V in 1483, and Richard III in 1485 (Harvey and Mortimer, 4-6).

Although historians have thoroughly documented the utility of effigies as representations of monarchical power during late medieval and Renaissance royal funerals, the reasons why they fell into disuse by the turn of the eighteenth century, however, have not been explored as thoroughly.[94] The Austrian Habsburgs were perhaps the only major western European dynasty that did not use painted wax effigies as separate components from the coffin or the corpse in the same way as was done in England. Instead, the Austrian equivalent seems to have been lavish effigies on their sarcophagi, which were completed in the imperial crypt after the funeral. These sarcophagal effigies included depictions of the monarch and important events from their life and reign, along with dynastic imagery. It is possible that the use of these post-funeral sarcophagal effigies was meant to serve as a physical representation that monarch had received their ultimate triumph in death and been welcomed into God's eternal kingdom. Further support of this premise may be found in the lack of colour in the sarcophagal effigies. As the previous chapter has shown, the use of certain colours in Habsburg funeralizations had specific meanings attached to them. Black, red, and even white represented mourning, the individual's personal piety and the state of their soul prior to facing God and entering Heaven. The sarcophagi in the imperial crypt were coloured only by the ironwork and some gold-leaf overlay, without any hues, shades, or even jewels attached, in contrast to the vibrant colours used in other royal effigies.[95] This lack of colour, despite being grand, Baroque works of art, may have been visual reminders that the Habsburgs saw death as a ritualized process that

[94] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 314-80, 420-1, 426-31, 505; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 80-91, 105-23, 145-76; Llewelyn, *Art of Death*, 55, 101, 108, 115; Woodward, "Funeral rituals in the French Renaissance," 385-94; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 1-2, 66, 82-7, 103-11, 129-31, 162-5, 170-80, 194-205; Given-Wilson, "The Exequies of Edward III," 258-9, 265-7; Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 47-54; Burkhard Schnepel, *The King's Three Bodies. Essays on Kingship and Ritual* (London: Routledge, 2021), 15-114; Marafioti, *The King's Body*, 81-229.

[95] Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 134. For a detailed analysis on the use of sarcophagi as memorial monuments and representations of the continuity of the body politic of the state, see Llewelyn, *Art of Death*, 101-8.

advanced toward the interment and the eventual divine judgement that could be affected by the intercessions of the living through masses, vigils, and exequies.

However, the Reformation brought significant changes to these views on deathly representations. As early as 1522, Protestant theologians asserted that the soul immediately left the body upon death, then faced judgement by God and was consigned to either Heaven or Hell; the doctrine of Purgatory, which still featured heavily in Catholic theology, was rejected. Theologians argued against the notion that the soul entered a state of limbo and could be influenced by the prayers and intercessions of the living that were directed toward the body.[96] Unlike at the Habsburg court which will be discussed in the final section, the physical body was no longer an object towards which prayers and intercessions needed to be directed. The rejection of physical holiness mentioned earlier also meant that the corpse was not viewed as possessing any kind of sacrality nor was it a sacred object or relic of any kind, so it no longer needed to be a funerary element unto itself. Since the body was therefore no longer a receptacle for intercessory prayers for the soul, effigies ceased to be expressions of belief in the monarch as the eternal embodiment of the state and became artistic creations.[97]

The declining popularity of funeral effigies did not mean they were immediately abandoned by the Reformation-era English court; it took decades for these ideas to circulate and become popularized. Effigies were still central to royal funerals in the early seventeenth century. Elizabeth I's effigy was famously so lifelike that when mourners saw it, "there was such a general sighing and groaning and weeping as the like hath not been seen or known in the memory of man."[98] In 1625, two effigies were constructed for James I, though the reasons behind this decision are unclear. Harvey and Mortimer posit that two effigies were made to accommodate last minute changes to the king's funeral. It is possible that one was made with

[96] Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 32.
[97] Monod, *Power of Kings*, 47-8; Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 32.
[98] Bland, *Royal Way of Deaht*, 32.

the intention of only being used during the funeral, while the other was intended to be kept permanently by Westminster Abbey. Paul Fritz asserted that this was the last time an effigy was used for a monarchical funeral.[99] No effigy was made when Oliver Cromwell and the Rump Parliament executed Charles I in 1649. The king's physical body could hardly be presented as the timeless, untainted embodiment of the state when the state had just put him to death.[100] Even when Parliament restored the Stuarts to the throne in 1660, there could be no denying the reality that the symbology of the sovereign's body was significantly weakened. One scholar even went so far as to claim that in "the new climate created by the Puritan Revolution, the divinity of kingship had now definitely dissolved."[101]

The conception that the royal body represented the state was more durable than early modernists have considered and was not entirely wiped out by the Puritans. This conception had existed for centuries and could still be adapted by Parliament to support its own political legitimacy following the Glorious Revolution. A close examination of both primary and secondary sources reveals that an effigy for Queen Mary II's lying-in-state was commissioned by the Royal Household, many of whom were members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. According to Fritz, the plans for Mary's lying-in-state made by the Officers of Arms in December 1694 and presented to the Privy Council rejected the idea of an effigy:

> Immediately following their presentation they were ordered to withdraw and, after extensive debate in Council, they were recalled and ordered to draw up a second scheme for the lying-in-state that would add two additional mourning rooms, but would leave out the elaborate hearse and the effigy. As had been done for Charles II it was decided that no life-like effigy would be used for the ceremonial.[102]

[99] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66, 74-5; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 3, 19, 69-70, 117; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 296-7; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 91, 104-5
[100] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 424-5.
[101] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 264.
[102] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66.

Fritz's basis for this claim was a passage from collections kept by the College of Arms, stating that "the Officers of Arms were ordered to withdraw, and after the Lords of the Council had debated the matter, they were again call'd in and the Lord Keeper ordered them to draw up another Ceremonial with expedition and to add 2 more Mourning Rooms but without Herse or Effigies."[103] Fritz's use of this excerpt has been taken as fact ever since. Harvey and Mortimer's collection on royal effigies directly cites Fritz, stating that "the crucial decision was taken to omit the hearse and effigy: the precedent of Charles II's funeral—where no effigy was deployed—was crucial. Nevertheless, in the end an elaborate hearse designed by Sir Christopher Wren was included, though the effigy was omitted."[104] Michael Schaich, however, has challenged this long-standing assertion by claiming that there was "a lifelike wax effigy of the Queen that rested on the bed of state."[105]

While there is no explicit passage in the archival records stating that an effigy was used, contemporary accounts and witness descriptions strongly suggest that one was created. The French text *La Race & la Naissance, la Vie et la Mort de Marie Stuart* describes a "body" at the lying-in-state that had "*les yeux bien fermez & les mains jointes*..."[106] Appendix: Fig. 9 shows an engraving made by John Overton sometime in 1695 that clearly depicts an effigy, complete with regalia, crown jewels, and—perhaps most importantly—a visible bodily form. The long-standing practice of encoffining the monarch's corpse, which was used for Charles II in 1685 and William III in 1702, strongly implies that this was an effigy. This assertion is further supported by the fact that Overton's depiction bears strong similarities with the lying-in-state plans made by the Privy Council that are currently kept in the College of Arms.[107] Overton's

[103] *Funerals, CA,* no. 6, 15; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 3; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 140, 147.
[104] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 117.
[105] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 424.
[106] *La Race*, 286-7.
[107] *Funerals, CA,* no. 6, 15. The British musicologist William Barclay Squire claimed more than a century ago that many of the surviving images depicting Queen Mary's funeralization should not be given "much value as evidence of the exact arrangements," since many of them were most likely created using second-hand or anecdotal reports of the various events and checked against information printed for public distribution in the *London Gazette* (W.

engraving is also consistent with Luttrell's description: "the ladies of honour also attend, 4 of whom stand about the corpse, and are reliev'd by others every half hour; upon her head lyes the crown, and over it a fine canopy; at her feet lyes the sword of state, the helmet and her arms upon a cushion, the banners and scutcheons hanging round." If an effigy was in fact constructed in 1695, it would suggest that the political establishment still had at least some belief in the monarch embodying the state. It has already been established that Parliament had mandated the Privy Council and household to plan Mary II's funeral as an event that would express the triumph of Protestant parliamentary governance. This suggests that the conception of the monarch representing the nation had survived the upheavals of the seventeenth century, both among the governing class and commoners. The household's creation of an effigy indicates there was a continued understanding among the orders of the state that the use of crown jewels, regalia, and royal iconography on the effigy inherently symbolized the state being fused to the conception of the monarch's personhood. Luttrell's account, for example, describes the effigy being adorned with all the materiality associated with the state: the crown, the canopy of state, the monarch's heraldic regalia and coat of arms.[108]

Displaying an effigy would have enabled the household to play a key role in the monarchical life cycle. The household's effigy established the authenticity of the queen's death while also helping to secure the continuation of royal authority. William III continued right to rule on his own after Mary died, and an effigy created by the household would have validated William's reign. The effigy was a symbol that Mary had been a legitimate monarch who had

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Barclay Squire, "Purcell's Music for the Funeral of Mary II," in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vol. 4, no. 2 [Feb., 1903], 226). Harvey and Mortimer describe Overton's print as an allegorical representation of Mary's body lying in state, but in the context of this evidence, it is possibly a depiction of the effigy itself (Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 117). Walker confirms that "no accurate visual depictions" of Mary's lying-in-state have survived (Walker, "William and Mary to William III," 150).

[108] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 442. Records kept in the National Archives reveal that the Lord Chamberlain's department issued hundreds of warrants for the fabrication of fabrics, heraldry, and objects used during the lying-in-state, though they do not explicitly state how items were used during the event. See LC 2/11/1 and 2/11/2.

replaced her father according to the laws of Parliament. By the same token, if the effigy signalled to mourners that the queen's reign had been lawful, it would also have sent the message that William had a legitimate right to the throne after Mary's death. The importance of establishing credibility through public witness would have been incredibly important to Parliament and the Privy Council, since only seven years earlier in 1688, there had been doubt that the son born to King James II and his second wife was legitimate; the famous story being that a changeling was smuggled into the queen's bed to replace the dead infant she delivered—or that her entire pregnancy had been false.[109] Using an effigy may have helped draw crowds to the lying-in-state, which then served as a rallying cause for the English people around the institution of the monarchy and, by default, William's authority as king. This rallying, in turn, may well have legitimized William's authority, but it did not necessarily restore conceptions of the Crown as they existed prior to the Civil War and Interregnum. That ship had already sailed.

At the time of William III's death in 1702, effigies had been abandoned altogether as part of the lying-in-state or funeral procession. It is interesting to note that even though effigies were no longer used in funeralizations, several were still created in the eighteenth century. These were ordered at the behest of Westminster Abbey rather than the Royal Household. The reason for their creation was because the general public had developed a curiosity to see life-like recreations of their kings and queens, creating a kind of funerary tourist attraction. In 1714, Westminster Abbey's Chantry Chapel commissioned a Mrs. Goldsmith "for the head and hands of Queen Anne." The effigy was not placed on display at the abbey until it was finished in 1740. According to Harvey and Mortimer, this final Stuart effigy represented a permanent break with the late medieval and Renaissance conceptions of the corpse personifying the state by reducing the monarch's likeness to a spectacle for public curiosity. Although the realism of the queen's effigy did "undermine the propagandistic functioning of the painted portraiture,"

[109] *La Race*, 117; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies,* 266-8.

it was still reminiscent of earlier royal effigies that showed the sovereign at the height of their power, untouched by sickness and death. Queen Anne's is notable for the fact that it depicts her without any hint of the health issues that plagued her and affected her appearance.[110] The sums spent on the queen's effigy were quite impressive. The bill for the head and hands was £13.14s.3d, while purchasing the robes to attire the effigy and set it up in 1714 cost an additional £67.5s. Queen Anne's was the last effigy of a dead monarch purchased by Westminster Abbey for public display, and the popularity of effigies as commercial or tourist creations waned.[111] By the time King George II died in 1760, lifelike representations of the sovereign had disappeared entirely from the funeralization process.

Even though effigies were no longer being used as representations of monarchical power, the Royal Household in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were still able to use space and material culture to communicate that the unseen corpse inside the coffin was still the embodiment of the state. The location chosen for the event was vital for sending this message because buildings could also be iconic representations of the monarchy. In 1695, Queen Mary's coffin and effigy were laid out in the Banqueting House at Whitehall; a decision that had multiple implications for the monarch's relationship with Parliament.[112] Charles I was

[110] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 18-9, 121-2; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 74-5; Fritz, "Trade in Death," 296-7; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 104-5.
[111] Fritz, "Trade in Death," 298; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 18.
[112] "Queen Mary," Westminster Abbey, https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/mary-ii, accessed February 7, 2019; Chapman, *Mary II*, 255; Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 333; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 331 and *Sovereign Ladies,* 288. While it is confirmed that Mary was laid out at Whitehall, there is some potential disagreement as to whether or not her coffin was actually placed in the Banqueting House. Chapman has a rather lengthy paragraph that discusses the lying-in-state and cites *La Race*, 6-20. Those pages from *La Race* contain information on Mary's father and family, not her lying-in-state and funeral. It is possible that Chapman has incorrectly labeled this entry in her bibliography (267) as *La Vie et la Mort de Marie Stuart* (1695). She may have actually been using another anonymous French text, also printed in 1695, entitled *Relation de la maladie, de la mort, et des funérailles de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Anglerre*. Hamilton (334) and Waller (*Ungrateful Daughters*, 336) also assert that, as mourners entered the Banqueting House, they passed the vacant throne that was flanked on either side by twelve gentlemen of arms. *La Race* describes one of the rooms in Whitehall as being laid out in this way but notes that one had to pass through this chamber to reach the corpse chamber (*La Race*, 286). *Funerals, CA*, no. 6 and LC 2/11/1, 92 contradict the Banqueting House claim, and instead state she was laid out in the Great Bedchamber. It is entirely possible that the coffin was placed in the

executed outside the Banqueting House in 1649, making it the place where the monarchy died, in a sense, at the hands of Cromwellian Puritans. Forty years later, the monarchy was reborn when the Convention Parliament declared that Charles's son James II had forfeited the throne by fleeing into exile. The members then offered the throne to James's daughter and son-in-law, Mary and William.[113] The moment when Parliament offered the throne to the couple was a ceremonial act of restoration in which a new monarchy was born, one that would acknowledge parliamentary sovereignty, respect the historic rights of Englishmen, and remain obedient to the Church of England. Displaying one final effigy of the Stuart queen in the Banqueting House in 1695 was a symbolic act that once again acknowledged the monarch as the embodiment of this constitutional, Protestant kingdom. No surviving prints or engravings of the lying-in-state seem to have survived, so modern photographs must be used to provide a visual reference. Appendix: Fig. 10, provided by Historic Royal Palaces, helps emphasize the scale of the chamber and its suitability for the lying-in-state.

The interior of the Banqueting House had been furnished by the Lord Chamberlain and a staff of sewers, pages, waiters, clerks, painters, and tradesmen with mourning fabric, tapestries, and heraldry that were recognizable symbols of monarchy. They draped the massive hall in black velvet from floor to ceiling and filled it with all of the tapestries and banners that symbolized the state and the monarchy.[114] Hanging on the walls were tapestries and tableaux depicting Mary's ascension into Heaven alongside St. George, the patron saint of England. The queen was shown to be receiving a "shining & eternal Crown of Stars" as she dispenses justice

bedchamber first, then moved into the Banqueting House for the public lying-in-state. Van der Zee (392), Hyde (156-7), Harvey and Mortimer (117), and Range (92) only mention that the lying-in-state was held at Whitehall. Inquiries have been made to both the staff of Westminster Abbey and the curators of Historic Royal Palaces asking for clarification as to whether or not Mary II was laid out in the Banqueting House, however as of July 2023, no reply has been received.

[113] 1° Gul. & Mar. Session 2, c. II, in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 6, 42; Archer, "City and Court, 166; Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, 308; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 272.

[114] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 15; LC 2/11/1, 50; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 434, 442; Sandars, *Princess and Queen*, 370; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 392.

to her people by upholding the triumph of "the true Religion [Protestantism]," and the historic privileges of English knights and cities.[115] The Great Banner and the Banner of Union were displayed in the room, surrounded by the banners of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.[116] In medieval Europe, insignia, banners, and crests representing the monarch were integrated into royal ritual culture as a way of demonstrating the ruler's authority over the people in a way that was "timeless and inevitable."[117] Twelve bannerolls were also set up around the coffin.[118] While banners represented the Crown, bannerolls were a declaration of having legitimate royal bloodline.[119] In 1695, these bannerolls displayed the heraldic crests of queen's Stuart, Tudor, Plantagenet and Orange ancestors going back to Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth century.[120] It was a visual display of Mary's credentials and legitimacy as queen.[121]

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[115] *La Race*, 288-92; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 424, 437.
[116] LC 2/11/2, no. 4; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 15; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 3; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 140; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66.
[117] Keay, *The Crown Jewels*, 11.
[118] Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169.
[119] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 23. There is no indication that similar bannerolls of lineage were made in 1714 or 1760.
[120] LC 2/11/2, no. 4; *La Race*, 287; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, "Other Trophies for the Lying in State at Whitehall"; *I.4*, f. 85r.; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66. In addition to Henry II and Queen Eleanor, the bannerolls displayed the crests of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile; Edward II and Isabella of France; Edward III and Philippa of Hainault; Henry VII and Elizabeth of York; James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor; James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise; Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley; James I and Anne of Denmark; Charles I and Henrietta Maria of France; William III's parents, William II of Orange and Mary of England; and the crest of William and Mary themselves. James II was, of course, excluded from this family roll call since Parliament had declared his right forfeit when he fled into exile in 1688, thereby rendering him an unlawful pretender to the throne. These bannerolls were later carried on either side of the queen's coffin during her funeral by baronets (*I.4*, f. 85r.). The listing of which bannerolls were placed on which side of the bed is not listed in *Funerals*, *CA*, no. 6, but this is how they were carried next to the corpse during the funeral procession. It is reasonable to assume that the same or a similar format would have been used for the lying-in-state (*Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 145-6, 148-50; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66; Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 109).
[121] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 19; Mark Walker, "From William and Mary to William III: Transitioning the Monarchy at the Funeral Rituals of Mary II, 1695," in *Royal Studies Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2021), 149-50, 154-5.

When Prince George, Queen Anne's husband, died in 1708, lyings-in-state moved locations as part of the trend towards private ceremonials. Instead of having any kind of public display at Whitehall or Kensington Palace, George's body was taken the night before his funeral to the Prince's Chamber at the Palace of Westminster; the funeral then proceeded from there across the road to the abbey the next day.[122] In 1714, the Privy Council and Lords Justices decided that it would be "more proper (according to the Will left by her Ma:[tie]) that she [Queen Anne] should be buried from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster, as the late Prince George of Denmark was."[123] This model subsequently became the standard protocol for the rest of the century.[124] Even though the setting had moved, the Lord Chamberlain and his staff continued to be responsible for furnishing the Prince's Chamber with material culture that created a visual link between the state, the monarchy, and the decedent. Fewer heraldic items were manufactured after 1695 because the household no longer had to prove the monarchy's legitimacy, but there was a growing acceptance once again that the monarch did embody the parliamentary, constitutional state.

Since royal legitimacy was now bestowed by Parliament, this meant the Privy Council no longer had to plan ceremonials that focused primarily on engaging public sentiment to legitimize the monarchy. This freedom gave the household the authority to plan lyings-in-state as private events limited to their own members.[125] This privacy also made it easier to adapt precedents from one funeral to the next and the private lyings-in-state of Queen Anne in 1714 and George II in 1760 looked largely the same. Their households draped the chamber walls in

[122] SP 35/1/18, ff. 41r./v.
[123] PC 2/85, 31, 49; SP 35/1/18, f. 41v. The Prince's Chamber was also used to display the body of Queen Anne's only child to survive infancy, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, before his funeral in 1700 (Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 353).
[124] LC 2/18, no. 2: "The late Queens appartm:[n] at Kensington [...]; PC 2/85, 50, 55; *I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92.
[125] *La Race*, 117.

purple cloth and covered the floors in purple baize and black fabric.[126] According to archival records, in 1760 the Lord Chamberlain's department spent £1,754 (over $455,000) just to furnish the Prince's Chamber with materiality that communicated the sovereignty of the decedent.[127] The coffin was placed on a bed of state in the center of the chamber and draped in a purple pall. The householders then attached black satin squinches to the front and sides of the coffin that depicted the Royal Arms. These arms were heraldic representations of the Crown's power and legitimacy. They were shields drawn into quarters bearing the emblems of England, France, Ireland and Scotland. Mary's arms were framed by the escutcheon of the House of Nassau, her husband William's family.[128]

The household also erected a lavish purple canopy above the coffin. Canopies were one of the older elements of royal funerals. Their placement above the corpse symbolized the Biblical Tabernacle where the presence of God descended on the Israelites during their forty years in the desert. God's presence among His chosen people was believed to consecrate the physical space and everyone within it. Prior to the Reformation, canopies were considered to be a sacralizing mechanism. They sanctified the monarch in the same way that canopies sanctified the Eucharist during the Feast of Corpus Christi.[129] Even though the doctrine of

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[126] "To W^{m} Barnsly Packer," AO 3/1192; LC 2/18, no. 18: "The Princes Cham:^{r} at Westm:^{r}"; PC 2/85, 50, 55; SP 35/1/18, f. 70v.; LC 2/27, 88; *I.4*, 117-8. Mary's arms were also framed by the escutcheon of the House of Nassau, her husband William's family.

[127] LC 2/27, 99. This figure is based upon two calculations. The first converted historical British pounds into current values. This calculation is based upon https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1760&amount=1754&year_result=2020, accessed June 2, 2021. The second calculation converted British pounds to Canadian dollars: https://www.google.com/search?q=gbp+to+cad&oq=gbp+to+cad&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEEUYOTIHCAEQABiABDIHCAIQABiABDIHCAMQABiABDIHCAQQABiABDIHCAUQABiABDIHCAYQABiABDIHCAcQABiABDIHCAgQABiABDIHCAkQABiABNIBDzEyMTQ4Nzg1MTdqMGoxNagCALACAA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8, accessed July 8, 2023.

[128] SP 35/1/18, f. 71r.; LC 2/27, 98; *I.4*, 116; Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 190.

[129] Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 29; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 103-4; Ex. 40:1-15, 34. Purple canopies also represented imperial authority, which Henry VIII appropriated for his own use in 1532, stating that "onely the Kinge, the Queene, the Kinges Moder [*sic*], the Kinges Children, the Kinges Brethern, and Systers and the Kinges Uncles and Auntes" would be permitted to use "the Collour of Purpure [purple]" (An Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle: 24^{o} Hen. VIII, c. XIII," in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, 430.

physical holiness had largely been expunged from Anglican theology by the end of the seventeenth century, the canopy's symbolism as a marker of royal sovereignty and the state remained and was used by the household during lyings-in-state. At Whitehall in 1695, a purple canopy embroidered with Mary's crest hung above her coffin and effigy.[130] In 1714, the Privy Council records describe the canopy over Queen Anne as "a Canopy of State of purple Cloath for the Body to lye under."[131]

This wording suggests that there was a belief in the canopies, and the more common chairs of estate which sat beneath them, were imbued with the sovereignty of the monarch. The canopy and chair were the objectification of the sovereign's presence whether they were physically there or not, and whether they were alive or dead. Even when the monarch was absent, householders and courtiers still had to bow to the chair, almost as a proxy for the king or queen. Evidence supporting this interpretation can be seen in the laws that charge anyone standing beneath the canopy with the crime of *lèse-majesté*.[132] Similar vocabulary was used in 1760: "The Coffin was immediately placed on Tressels, upon A Platform raised about eight Inches above the Floor, *under the State* [emphasis added] and covered with a Sheet, and Purple Velvet Pall by the Officers of the Wardrobe."[133] Since purple was the mourning colour reserved exclusively for royalty by the turn of the eighteenth century, a purple canopy set above the corpse was a symbol of divine royal authority reserved for the sovereign. This may very well have been the origin of the term 'lying-in-state' and reinforces the premise that it was the material culture that first and foremost made the displaying of the corpse a true lying-in-state.

The most significant set of objects that represented royal authority and the personification of the kingdom were the crown jewels that were displayed under the canopy

[130] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 15; LC 2/11/1, 50; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 434, 442; Sandars, *Princess and Queen*, 370; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 392.
[131] PC 2/85, 50.
[132] Robert Bucholz, "Going to Court in 1700: A Visitor's Guide," in *The Court Historian*, vol. 5, no. 3 (2000), 199-200.
[133] LC 2/27, 98; *I.4*, 116.

next to (or sometimes on top of) the coffin. Crowns, sceptres, and orbs have been critical icons of rulership since the ancient period. The Roman emperor Constantine was perhaps the first European monarch to wear a crown on a regular basis as a symbol of his authority.[134] Preparing the orb and sceptre, transporting them from the Tower of London to the lying-in-state, and ensuring their safety was managed by a branch of the household called the Jewel House. The Master of the Jewel House, the yeomen, and clerks ensured that any required regalia was ready for the monarch's use.[135] Responsibility for the regalia seems to have been divided among several officers, and there are some conflicting accounts as to which specific pieces were kept at the Jewel House at any one time. When the Jewel House was set up at the Tower of London after the Westminster fire of 1512, most of the royal regalia was moved there, though the coronation items were kept at Westminster Abbey. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, the coronation regalia seems to have been placed back into the custody of the Master of the Jewel House. This can be confirmed because of Thomas Blood's unsuccessful attempt to steal the state crown, the orb, and sceptre from the Jewel House in 1671.[136] The orb and sceptre were placed in the sovereign's hands at their coronation and were both symbolic representations of the monarch governing the kingdom on God's behalf. The Sword of State was also displayed, symbolizing the monarch's ability to defend their people as well as protect Christendom at large. The sword also represented a duty to carry out justice and the mantle of leadership, which can be traced back to the mythology of northern and western Europe.[137]

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[134] Keay, *The Crown Jewels*, 11.

[135] "Independent Sub-departments: Jewel Office 1660-1782," in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp141-146, accessed May 22, 2023; Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 27-9.

[136] Keay, 27-9, 96-7; "Attempt to steal the Crown Jewels," transcribed by Mr Kirke, 9 May 1671, SP 29/289/187, The National Archives, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/significant-events/attempt-to-steal-the-crown-jewels/#:~:text=In%201671%20Thomas%20Blood%20was,known%20as%20the%20Jewel%20House, accessed May 24, 2023.

[137] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 12, 14, 46, 48, 94. Three other swords were used as part of the English regalia separate from the Sword of State. Normally carried before the monarch during the coronation, these were the Swords of

The most iconic object in the crown jewels that was displayed alongside the coffin was the crown itself. Rather than use the real crown, the Lord Chamberlain commissioned painters and craftsmen to construct a reproduction based on St. Edward's coronation crown. This was presumably for security reasons since the crown jewels were almost stolen in 1671 by Thomas Blood. From that time onward, the jewels were kept under much tighter security and what amounted to costume jewelry was used for some occasions instead.[138] A new imitation crown was created for every monarch's funeral and the process for creating them changed very little between 1695 and 1760. A cap of crimson velvet lined with ermine was set within a tin gilt frame. Records from 1760 provide further detail on the lengths to which the household went to create convincing reproductions. The Lord Chamberlain commissioned Robert Morris to construct the crown "in the usual manner" mentioned above. Morris, likely under the supervision of the Keeper of Jewel House, also fitted the frame "with false Stones & Pearls" costing £6.16s.6d.[139] Keay mentions that it was often "the Keeper of the Jewel House [who] arranged for objects that had been set with hired stones to be re-set with imitation gems."[140] No prints or even drafting plans of these ephemeral crowns have been preserved, but the regalia for Charles II's coronation in 1661 (Appendix: Fig. 11) were used as partial inspiration and can provide a general visual reference for these reproductions.[141]

Spiritual Justice, Temporal Justice, and Mercy. Since these three were traditional components of the coronation, they were not used during the monarch's funeral (Keay 25-6).

[138] "Attempt to steal the Crown Jewels," SP 29/289/187, The National Archives, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/significant-events/attempt-to-steal-the-crown-jewels/#:~:text=In%201671%20Thomas%20Blood%20was,known%20as%20the%20Jewel%20House, accessed May 24, 2023; Keay, *The Crown Jewels*, 95-7.

[139] LC 2/18, no. 18: "The Princes Cham:^{r} at Westm:^{r}"; PC 2/85, 50; LC 2/27, 88, 100, 138. There is an emphasis in the archival material on the crowns being "Imperial" in nature. In late seventeenth-century England, "an Imperial Crown" simply referred to any crown that had gold arches intersecting above the cap, thus "representing the supreme, or 'imperial', nature of English royal authority." This crossed arch design began with the House of Lancaster in the fourteenth century but did not come to symbolize the concept of the imperial sovereignty of English monarchs until the early to mid-sixteenth century during the Tudor era (Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 27, 39).

[140] Keay, *The Crown Jewels*, 95.

[141] Inquiries were made to the Historical Royal Palaces and the Jewel House, but replies indicated there was no knowledge of any surviving prints or images.

This fabrication process reveals that the household placed greater importance on the symbolism and imagery of the crown rather than any innate special qualities that the original object possessed. Officials considered it more important that mourners see the crown and recognize its symbolism when placed on or near the dead monarch that embodied the kingdom. It also reveals how many branches of the household were involved in the material culture of lyings-in-state. The Jewel House's primary function was to safeguard the jewels and objects that represented the sovereign, while the Lord Chamberlain actually commissioned the manufacturing of crowns to represent the deceased's royal authority. Whether it was the hanging tapestries depicting royal power, constructing banners that legitimized the sovereign's bloodlines, or displaying the crown jewels, the household had virtually total control over the material culture of the lying-in-state chamber.

The household's function at lyings-in-state between 1695 and 1760 was not limited to commissioning material culture and curating objects. Lyings-in-state were elaborate, multi-day events that included numerous ceremonial elements, and householders were the main participants. At Queen Mary's public lying-in-state, thousands of mourners poured into Whitehall for thirteen days. They queued as early as 6:00 a.m. in the freezing cold for a chance to view the coffin, see the crown jewels, and pay their respects.[142] The crowds were so large that "several people were injured or even killed, and many others lost their wigs and hats as the waiting crowds pushed their way into the palace." But the public were only secondary participants; their involvement was limited to moving from room to room and observing. The householders were the ones who were active participants. For the entire lying-in-state, they held mourning vigils in the different chambers in which they had worked during Mary's life.

[142] *La Race*, 284-5; Chapman, *Mary II*, 255; Sandars, *Princess and Queen*, 369-70; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 335; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 288; "Whitehall Palace: Buildings, The Great Court," Cox and Norman, eds., https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol13/pt2/pp41-115#anchorfn145, accessed March 23, 2021; "A reduced copy of Fisher's ground plan of the Royal Palace of Whitehall, taken in the Reign of Charles 2d, 1680," Crace Collection of Maps of London, Online Exhibitions, British Library, https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/a/zoomify88144.html, accessed March 23, 2021.

The public could walk through and see the staff as a sort of *tableaux vivant à mort*.[143] In the Banqueting House, one of the queen's ladies were seated at a corner of the bed of state and held their vigil for thirty-minute shifts and then were relieved by another member of her household.[144]

These household ceremonial roles expanded in the eighteenth century when British royal funerals became private. The public was no longer given access to see the coffin, and the location was moved to the Palace of Westminster to allow for greater privacy. The next chapter will discuss in greater detail how the shift from public to private expanded household authority over funerary rites as a whole, but for the purpose of this discussion, it is only necessary to focus on how their role evolved with private lyings-in-state. Both Anne and George II died at Kensington Palace, and after their coffins had remained there for several weeks, needed to be transferred to Westminster. The coffins were taken at night, most likely to deter crowds from making a spectacle. Multiple householders were involved in this process. In 1714, the queen's coffin was escorted by her High Officers, senior members of the Household Above Stairs, and a hundred Yeomen of the Guard.[145] Upon reaching the palace, her coffin was taken into the Prince's Chamber by ten men who served under the Master Carpenter of the Household.[146] Once the coffin was placed on the bed of state, the Ladies of the Bedchamber and the Life Guards held a constant vigil until the funeral the next night.[147] The Georgian household followed a nearly identical plan in 1760. The coffin was transferred to Westminster on

[143] LC 2/11/1, 91-2; LC 2/11/2, no. 4; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 424. Such was the level of disorder caused by the number of people that one of the tradesmen who had been hired to redecorate Whitehall had to submit an additional bill to the Lord Chamberlain for "repairing and putting up new Bays as often as it was Stolen and torne away by the people during her Matie lying in State" (LC 2/11/2, no. 46; Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 151). The household was also allowed to keep any of the material objects, including furnishings, from the rooms in which they served and held vigil during the lying-in-state (*Funerals, College of Arms*).
[144] *La Race*, 287.
[145] LC 2/18, no. 2: "The late Queens appartm:[n] at Kensington [...]; PC 2/85, 50, 55; SP 35/1/18, ff. 41v., 70v.; SP 35/1/24, f. 75r.; At the Council Chamber at St James's 5[o] Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms.*
[146] LC 2/18, no. 34: "Black Coats & Caps for 14. Carpenters that are to bear her Maties Body"; PC 2/85, 50.
[147] SP 35/1/18, f. 71r.; PC 2/85, 51.

November 10 by the High Officers of the Household, liveried servants, detachments of the Grenadier Horse and Life Guards, and trumpeters and drummers "sounding a dead march."[148] It took nearly an hour for the procession to wind its way from Kensington Palace through Green Park, Hyde Park, and Horse Guards before reaching Westminster around 10:00 p.m.[149] The Lord Chamberlain's records do not specify who carried the coffin into the Prince's Chamber, simply stating that "the Royal Body was conveyed from Kensington to the Princes Chamber…[and] was immediately placed on Tressels, upon A Platform raised about eight Inches above the Floor." As in 1714, a constant vigil was maintained over the coffin by the Lords of the Bedchamber "and other proper officers in waiting."[150]

These household vigils, processions, and rituals provided a kind of ceremonial protection over the coffin, which at all times was watched over by household officials. By escorting the coffin or holding a constant vigil over it, officials were functioning in their privileged role as guardians of the Crown. There was a symbiotic relationship at work between the Crown and the Royal Household. The Crown, in the person of the sovereign, was recognized as the embodiment of the state. That role is what gave the household its entire *raison d'être*. The household existed to attend and advise the monarch on a daily basis. The monarchy justified the need for the household to exist. The household, in turn, legitimized the monarchy through its participation in death and funerary rites, among others, that had been royal traditions for centuries. This protective, symbiotic relationship continued after the monarch died. The Royal Household furnished the state chamber and exercised control over the crown jewels (both real and ersatz). This control shows that throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, householders were essential in maintaining the belief that the monarchy continued to function uninterrupted when the sovereign died. This

[148] *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92; LC 2/27, 87; *I.4*, 115-6; *Annual Register*, 178; *Royal Magazine*, 269.
[149] LC 2/27, 91; *Annual Register*, 178; *Royal Magazine*, 269.
[150] *I.4*, 116-7.

continuity was maintained during the funeralization process by perpetuating the belief that a body hidden inside a coffin could still represent the state.

Austria

Unlike in Britain, eighteenth-century Habsburg lyings-in-state were public events with the body on full display for all to see. The presentation of the embalmed corpse was an expression of Catholic conceptions of the ideal state, monarchical authority, and the role of the aristocracy (in this case, the imperial household) in ensuring social order and stability. In turn, the imperial household were able to shape how mourners understood the body as the personification of the Habsburg state through their control of the corpse. The householders were able to do so through three methods, some of which bear striking similarities to their British counterparts. First, chamberlains and valets dressed the corpse in ways that mourners recognized as symbolizing power and piety. Second, officials from the treasury chamber furnished the lying-in-state with the imperial and royal crown jewels, representing the Habsburgs' role as both as elected emperors of the asymmetrical polity that was the Holy Roman Empire while also being hereditary sovereigns of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria. The last method that the household used to shape the public's perception of death and the monarchy was to arrange a strict schedule of intercessory prayers that were led by the imperial chaplains throughout the lying-in-state; prayers in which spectators were expected to participate as loyal Catholic subjects. These three elements gave the household considerable control over how conceptions of the decedent's monarchical authority were understood by mourners attending the lyings-in-state.

It is necessary to consider how the public nature of Habsburg lyings-in-state were critical to this process before one can analyze the three ways that the imperial household utilized its control of the corpse to shape mourner experiences. Public rituals were a normal part of Austrian court culture. It was not uncommon for the local populations to see the

emperor and the *Hofstaat* holding a procession on a feast day or for a special service.[151] This kind of visibility was a vital component to Habsburg legitimacy. As Golubeva notes, these ritual "events were more or less aimed at the legitimisation [of the monarchy to its subjects] by the presence of certain politically defined groups."[152] Lyings-in-state fit into this conception of a publicly visible household and court, and the vocabulary surrounding the event reflected that visibility. For example, the *Protocollum Aulicum* and court records never actually use the term lying-in-state; it is always referred to as a "*Publica expositio*"—a public exhibition, or simply a "*publice*"—that was open to the public "*ad videndum*."[153] Eighteenth-century monarchs like Leopold I and Maria Theresa accepted the necessity, if not outright espoused, the importance of a "public relations" role for the Crown. The monarchy provided grand processions, festivities, and rituals to which the inhabitants of Vienna were expected to participate as part of an interactive ritual culture.[154] Under Maria Theresa's reign, public involvement in funerary rites became more commonly accepted. This was partly a result of the number of funerals for the empress's numerous children and extended relatives. Public involvement was also more accepted because the concept of dynastic legitimacy had evolved during the empress's reign to include more "public representation of dynasty and government."[155]

The lyings-in-state for the Habsburg monarchs were held in the Hofburg's Knight's Hall (*Ritterstube*) as an expression of this public component to the *Hofstaat*'s court culture. The Knight's Hall was one of the outermost rooms of the private imperial apartments.[156] It was used for formal public dining at least four times per year: during the Feast of St. Andrew on November 30 (usually in the company of the knights of the Golden Fleece), on Christmas,

[151] Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 173, 174-5.
[152] Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 70. See also Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 371.
[153] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 421v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄR 12-2 f. 421v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41 f. 1v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 18v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 f. 245r.
[154] Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 103.
[155] Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," 109.
[156] Schneider, ed., *Norm und Zeremoniell*, 52, 178; Duindam "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 176.

Easter, and at the Feast of Pentecost. These were considered 'public' because the emperor dined in full view of the court attended by the *Obersthofbeämter*, householders, and guards.[157] The Knight's Hall was used for the monarch's lying-in-state because of its accessibility in the centre of Vienna and its floor plan within the imperial apartments served as a symbolic representation of personal access to the monarch. Even when Emperor Francis I died at Innsbruck in 1765 and an "improvised" lying-in-state was held at the imperial palace there (also confusingly called the Hofburg), a second, concurrent lying-in-state was held in the Knight's Hall in Vienna with an empty coffin in the centre to represent the absent corpse.[158]

After the 1750s, protocol changes to Habsburg funeralizations led to lyings-in-state being moved out of the Knight's Hall. Even though Theresian court culture had come to accept more public involvement in rituals, the empress had also advocated a greater separation of the monarch's public and private life, partly as an attempt to reconcile her multiple roles as sovereign, wife, and mother.[159] One of the ways this separation was expressed was through the empress moving the lyings-in-state for her children into their private apartments or one of the smaller palace chapels. The Habsburgs sought to reduce the number of people who had access to the imperial family during their mourning for the archdukes and archduchesses. Lyings-in-state for members of the monarch's children and extended relatives was moved to the Hofburg court chapel after 1761, when Archduke Charles, the empress's second son. When Maria Theresa died at Schönbrunn in 1780, her lying-in-state was held in the palace chapel. This decision was part of the larger trend towards using chapels for lyings-in-state, while also

[157] Duindam "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 173, 176; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 172-3, and "Ceremonial staffs and paperwork," 378-9; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 57.
[158] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 379-80. Francis I was the only case of an eighteenth-century emperor dying away from Vienna, with the funeralization having to accommodate many of the rituals being done in Innsbruck then transporting the corpse back for the funeral. Francis was Holy Roman emperor, but as Maria Theresa's husband he was not the Habsburg monarch. As such, his funeral was given the requisite protocols for a reigning emperor, but also included some dynastic elements that were granted to the monarch's consort (see also Hengerer 369-70, 378, 379-80, 388, 390).
[159] Carolyn Harris, *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette* [London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016], 37.

addressing the practical reality of the situation. The household did not have to arrange to transport the body to the Hofburg until the funeral several days later. When Joseph II died in 1790, his body was similarly laid out in the court chapel —a somewhat ironic location considering how opposed the emperor had been to the Church and its teachings.[160]

Although the location for the lying-in-state shifted, the household continued to be responsible for displaying the corpse in a way that communicated the enduring power of the Catholic Habsburg state. Unlike the Royal Household, which encoffined the corpse as soon as it was embalmed, Habsburg officials moved the corpse into the Knight's Hall (or later, the chapel) almost immediately to begin preparing it for the public viewing. The corpse's condition was central to the household's attempt to perpetuate the belief that the monarch was not undergoing decomposition because they had been preserved by God. The manner in which the corpse was dressed also factored into this equation. The choice of how the corpse was dressed could be used to make powerful statements about the decedent, from their personal piety to their position on culture and even foreign affairs. Since only the household, and in particular the chamberlains, were responsible for dressing the corpse, they held significant authority in shaping how the public understood the decedent as the personification of the state. This household control through the iconography of death attire was present in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1657, Ferdinand III's household dressed his body in a black silk suit with a wide hat and a sword at his side. [161] This became known as the "Spanish style" and at

[160] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 380. Moving the lyings-in-state to the chapels required the permission of the cardinal-archbishop of Vienna, since all palace chapels fell under his jurisdiction.
[161] Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 532. The lying-in-state for Ferdinand III was the first time that the court records specifically mentioned dressing the corpse in black silk with the hat and rapier. The records for Ferdinand IV in 1654, only three years earlier, simply describe the corpse being clothed in black attire (Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 92). It is possible that the sabre represented the *Gladius Caroli Magni*, the imperial sword that was part of Charlemagne's insignia, one of which Leopold wore at his coronation as emperor. It was important that a sense of consistency be maintained in the ways that the emperors were dressed and presented to the public. There had been little change between 1705 and 1740, except perhaps that Spanish dress and rules surrounding court etiquette became stricter (Stefan Seitschek, "Hof, Hofgesellschaft, Zeremoniell," in *300 Jahre Karl VI.*, Seitschek, Hutterer, and Theimer, eds., 61; S. Wollenberg, "Vienna under Joseph I and

lyings-in-state broadcast a sense of heightened grandeur to and a declaration of Habsburg authority against their French Bourbon rivals. It was a uniquely Austrian adaptation of Spanish style that rejected the popular French style and linked the Habsburgs with the piety, grandeur, and status of the early modern Spanish monarchy.[162] Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI were all laid out in the Knight's Hall in the Spanish style, with the black court suit, the wide-brimmed hat, a dress coat of heavy fabric, a cloak, and lace-lined gloves studded with dark jewels.[163] The chamberlains also customarily placed a crucifix and a rosary in their hands as a visible statement of the decedent's piety and their hope for eternal life.[164]

While the chamberlains laid out the emperors in the Spanish court style, their wives were dressed in monastic habits by the ladies of their household. The medieval papacy had encouraged Christians to be buried in religious habits; popes Clement IV and Nicholas IV both offered indulgences for exiting one of the stages of Purgatory more quickly to anyone willing to be buried in a habit.[165] By the late sixteenth century, the Spanish Habsburg women

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Charles VI," in *The Late Baroque Era: Man and Music*, G. J. Buelow, ed. [London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993], 329).

[162] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 210; Gelardi, *In Triumph's Wake*, 136. For a discussion of the uses of Spanish style court attire as a statement of hierarchy and authority against the French court, see Laura Olivávan Santaliestra, "Isabel of Borbón's Sartorial Politics: From French Princess to Habsburg Regent," in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, Anne Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, eds. (London: Routledge, 2016), 227-30.

[163] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 334 v.-335r.; *Mércure historique et politique*, vol. 109, 579; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 20r., 55v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 242v.-244v.; OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 2v.-4v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 92; Kneidinger and Dittinger, "Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof," 532. The transmission of the Spanish style to Vienna may have resulted from the marriage of Leopold I and Margarita Teresa of Spain in 1666 (Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 80). Vehse includes a reproduction of the letter from the *Mercure historique et politiques* in his account of Leopold's death and funeral in *Geshichte der deutschen Höfe*. Vehse's version of the letter, which has been considerably revised from the original, contains a section that describes Leopold being laid out in Spanish court dress "with a hat on his head, a coat over his shoulders, and a sword at his side" (Vehse, *Geschichte der deustchen Höfe*, vol. 12, 27-8). This addition is repeated in Franz Demmler's 1856 translation of Vehse: "*Aux pieds du corps, qui étoit vêtu à l'Espagnole*... (87)." No such description of the emperor's clothing is present in the original letter, aside from describing the body being dressed in "des habit Imperiaux" (*Mércure historique et politique*, vol. 109, 579).

[164] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 207.

[165] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 93, 95. Although the majority of Habsburg empresses chose to be laid out in a habit, there were some exceptions. Empress Maria Leopoldina, the second wife of Ferdinand III, opted to

favoured Franciscan habits for their final years and funerals; a practice that was picked up by the Austrian Habsburgs a century later. Cordula van Wyhe argues that the use of monastic habits in the funeralization process "usually testated as a personal wish of the deceased, [and] was an expression of this ideal spiritual state in which the deceased should face his [or her] creator in the moment of transition from one world to the next." Even though a nun's habit was less opulent than the attire chosen for the emperors, the custom of women being buried in religious habits was seen as having a sacralizing effect on the wearer, while also demonstrating their patronage of or close relationship to particular mendicant orders. This was rooted in late medieval beliefs that religious habits had the ability to sanctify the physical body of the wearer similarly as if they were holding a relic. This relic-like quality allowed the household to create a multi-faceted perception of Habsburg corpses as sacred. The embalming was meant to suggest that the corpse had been preserved by God; the organs were treated as relics by being preserved and buried; and the corpse was clothed in attire that reinforced this entire conception of physical holiness on every level. Even into the early modern period, the sacrality of habits was regarded as efficacious in procuring a "divine benefaction and protection" for the wearer that would aid the deceased as they faced eternal judgement. This benefaction and protection were gendered. The design of women's habits represented the wearer's being wedded to Christ; the veil, shape of the scapular, even the colour of the fabric—black represented repentance as well as mourning—was all meant to symbolize the ideal of feminine purity and total commitment to Christ. Wearing a habit was a way to make a public profession of one's commitment to the values of "the monastic state…of poverty, chastity, and obedience."[166] Monastic attire also

wear gold and saffron at her lying-in-state in 1649. For some Habsburg women, silver brocade religious habits were used until the mid-eighteenth century. When Empress Eleonora Magdalena died in 1720, she was dressed in a white habit with a sky-blue scapular around the shoulders (98).

[166] Cordula van Wyhe, "The Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit at the Spanish Habsburg Courts," in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, Anne Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, eds. (London: Routledge, 2016), 243-4, 267-8.

made a statement that the wearer had died in a state of repentance for their sins.[167] Even Maria Theresa was dressed in a habit the same as the other women in her family even though she was both a reigning monarch and a dowager empress. She had decided as early as 1770 to be laid out in a habit because it was a personal expression of her religiosity.[168] The black habit was intended to create a sharp contrast, thrusting the purity and piety of the monarch into stark relief when set against the background of other opulent objects like the crown jewels surrounding her body. This contrast called attention to the belief that Maria Theresa had both a natural and an intangible body. She demonstrated humility and penitence in death as a mortal sinner (through her natural body) while at the same time communicating her authority as empress and queen (in her body politic) shown by the crown jewels.[169]

These jewels, like in Britain, were brought into the lying-in-state and displayed next to the corpse by the officials working in Hofburg's Treasure Chamber (*Schatzkammer*), which housed the imperial family's dazzling array of jewels, relics, and artifacts.[170] Appendix: Fig. 12 provides a detailed depiction of the way Charles VI's corpse was dressed and laid out in 1740. He is shown in the traditional Spanish style clothing, surrounded by the crowns of the various kingdoms over which he claimed rulership, along with a rosary in his right hand and a large crucifix to show both his piety and his facing eternal life. Habsburg crown jewels represented a different kind of monarchical authority than those of the British sovereigns. As emperors, kings, and archdukes, the Habsburgs personified a plurality of states, which was most clearly represented by the different regalia put on display by their officials. When these objects came into physical contact with the monarch's natural body, either at their coronation or their

[167] Bepler, "Funerals," 248.
[168] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 393r.; *WZ* no. 97 (2 Dec. 1780); Wolfsgrüber, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 254. The empress had even decided upon which shoes she would wear for her lying-in-state as early as 1765.
[169] Wyhe, "Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit," 268.
[170] Herbert Haupt, "Die habsburgischen Kunstsammlungen," in *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hochedlinger, Mat'a, and Winkelbauer, eds., 1.4, 210-11; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 182.

funeral, it transformed them into the embodiment of the state. The material culture imbued the natural body with eternal quality of monarchy that transcended the corpse itself. It connected them with the previous emperors in a transcultural framework that spread across much of central Europe.

For the sake of space, it is not possible to examine how each of the imperial, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Austrian regalia imbued the Habsburgs with a sempiternal quality that was representative of each of those states. Instead, only some key points will be highlighted to show, more broadly, how the use of these crowns by the household created a collective personification of the entire Habsburg that was represented by the monarchs themselves. The "most obvious and enduring symbol" of Habsburg authority and rulership was the crown of the Holy Roman empire (Appendix: Fig. 13). According to tradition, this was the very same crown used by Charlemagne in the ninth century, however the one that was used by the early modern emperors and remains on display at the Hofburg was most likely created at the end of the tenth century. Charlemagne saw the physical crown as "denoting divine reward for true faith."[171] It became the precedent that his successors wore this crown and inherited their spiritual reward for having been true sons of the Church. The crown's design was meant to further communicate its spiritual significance. It was octagonally shaped, with the eight individual facets depicting images of Christ and Old Testament kingship, arranged in a way that was meant to represent the structure of Jerusalem; it most likely symbolized the eight gates leading into the Old City. Unlike many other royal crowns, this one had a closed top with a hooped arch that ran from front to back, holding up the cross in the middle. The closed arch design was a symbol of imperial authority that dated to the eleventh century. Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II had added closed, jewelled arches to his medieval crown. By the time that the first Habsburg, Frederick III, was elected emperor in 1452, the closed arch design had

[171] Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire*, 267.

become synonymous with imperial authority.[172] This design was subsequently adopted by other monarchies, including Britain, as they competed for primacy in Europe.[173]

The household also displayed the Bohemian Crown of St. Wenceslas and the Holy Crown of Hungary of St. Stephen on the opposite side of the corpse.[174] These two crowns were particularly important to the belief that the Habsburgs personified royal and divine authority. Saints Wenceslaus and Stephen were both incorporated into the framework of the *pietas Austriaca*. Printed materials retroactively praised the saints' virtues and were used to promote the idea that their piety and religiosity was transferred to the Habsburgs when they became kings of Bohemia and Hungary.[175] Wenceslas, the duke and patron saint of Bohemia, was regarded as the personification of a single, unified Bohemian kingdom. The crown that bore his name was created for Emperor Charles IV in 1346 as the embodiment of the entire kingdom and made its wearer "the rightful owner and inheritor of the nation."[176] The king of Hungary ruled as the apostolic king, a title that had been passed down from one monarch to the next since Pope Sylvester II bestowed it on St. Stephen in 1000 AD. The apostolic title was meant to show the sacred connection between the Twelve Apostles' evangelism and St. Stephen's success in converting his pagan Magyar subjects to Christianity. As a way of further legitimizing their claim to both the Hungarian throne and to being the worldly heirs of

[172] Philip Grierson, "The Origins of the English Sovereign and the Symbolism of the Closed Crown," in *British Numismatic Society* (Jan. 28, 1964), 128.
[173] Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire*, 267-8; Webber, *Church Symbolism*, 63. For two recent studies that expand on the eschatological role of the Holy Roman emperor, see Golubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 191-211, and Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire*, 77-81, 295-311 et al.
[174] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 335r.; *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 579; *WD* no. 184 (May 4-6 1705).
[175] Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories," 281-2, 286; Jean Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," in *Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century*, William Callahan and David Higgs, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 104. For Ducreux's discussions of the virtues and legitimizing features associated with Sts. Stephen and Ladislaus, see 290-3, and for St. Wenceslaus, see 293-301.
[176] Arno Borst, *Medieval Worlds: Barbarians, Heretics and Artists in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 131; Jiří Hrbek, *České barokní korunovace* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010), 53-5. There is very little information outside Czech and Slovak sources on the Bohemian crown. Most English sources include a brief reference to it when discussing other topics.

Christ's kingship, the Habsburgs began using the apostolic title when they acquired Hungary after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. This use of a title with Biblical connections was yet another example of the Habsburgs exercising institutional Christomemesis.[177]

This arrangement of the imperial and royal regalia around the monarch's natural body was a physical manifestation of the multi-faceted nature of Habsburg sovereignty. As emperors, they functioned as "elected imperial suzerain[s]"; as kings of Hungary and Bohemia, they served as apostolic kings (but were technically elected in the early modern period); and as archdukes of Austria, they exercised hereditary dynastic rule. This plurality meant that each office held by the Habsburg monarch had to be executed with a different set of traditions, duties, and responsibilities.[178] By using the imperial, royal, and dynastic regalia that was passed from one emperor to the next for centuries, the imperial household was able to use this material culture to reinforce the belief that the embalmed corpse laid out in state was still the embodiment of sempiternal Habsburg authority, both corporately and for each individual kingdom and territory. These multiple sovereignties can be interpreted as multiple bodies politic, suggesting that the Habsburg monarchs did not merely have two bodies, but rather

[177] Béla Király, "The Hungarian Church," in *Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century*, William Callahan and David Higgs, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 116-8 et al; James Payton, "The Development of States in Eastern Europe: 10th-12th Centuries" (Ancaster: Redeemer University College, 2006), 10-1; Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories," 286; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 193. In the Hungarian coronation, the archbishop of Esztergom gave the king a "crown of glory" and charged him to "always care for the people of God (Justin Vovk, *Four Royal Women and the Fall of the Age of Empires*, 2nd ed. [Bloomington: Penguin/iUniverse LLC, 2014], 316). According to R.J.W. Evans, the apostolic title had fallen into disuse among the early modern Habsburgs and was only revived by Maria Theresa in 1758 as a way of implying "the monarch's enhanced authority in spiritual matters" (R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683-1867* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], 24). Evans' assertion only seems to apply to the Habsburgs' personal use of the title, even though it likely remained a key element of the royal title within Hungary itself.

[178] Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 166. The Habsburg monarch had different household administrations attached to the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns. Aristocrats from both countries functioned separately from one another or the central Habsburg court in Vienna; Prague, as the capital of Bohemia, had its own functioning court and most likely held its own funeral rites for Leopold in his capacity as king. For further discussion, see Evans, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 34 et al (although Evans' discussion is largely focused on the early to mid-seventeenth century rather than the Leopoldine period).

several; the physical body displayed at the lying-in-state, and their personification of the imperial, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Austrian states.

Displaying these two crowns that were so central to Habsburg claims to rulership (even into the twentieth century) enabled the household to function as facilitators of the religious and royal iconography at lyings-in-state. Treasury officials were responsible for creating a public arrangement of these different crowns and regalia that made the unequivocable statement that it was in the Habsburg monarch that these different empires, kingdoms, and territories were embodied. The household's use of these material objects and the associations people made with the crowns and the ruler's corpse continued a traditional funerary rite that evoked an unbroken Habsburg monarchical lineage. The symbolic power of these objects to represent entire kingdoms was of greater value than the crowns themselves. Evidence of this is found in the fact that, like in Britain, virtually all of the regalia on display were reproductions commissioned by the imperial household.[179] While the security of the crown jewels was the main concern in Britain, distance was the issue for the Habsburgs state. The emperor's lying-in-state and funeral typically happened within a week of his death. The imperial crown jewels were stored in Nuremberg, nearly 500 kilometers away. It simply would not have been possible for them to reach Vienna in time for the lying-in-state.[180] The Hungarian and Bohemian aristocrats were also unlikely to approve their crowns being sent to Vienna when both kingdoms operated with their own separate courtly institutions.[181]

The fake crowns still served their purposes, because public turnout at the lyings-in-state was high. According to an account published in the *Wiennerisches Diarium* at the end of May 1705, the Knight's Hall was so crowded with mourners that it had to remain open late

[179] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 128: "*Nachbildungen der historischen Kronen und übrigen Insignien ohne eigentlichen materiellen Wert*"; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"* 52.
[180] Evans, "Communicating Empire," 125.
[181] Evans, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 34 et al; Duindam "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 166.

into the night. The report also claimed that innumerable numbers of people came from many miles away to pay their respects and pray for the emperor's soul.[182] In 1740, the *Wiennerisches Diarium* described a similar scene at the lying-in-state of Charles VI, claiming that it was "impossible to describe the influx of both the nobility and the common people to see the former most gracious emperor."[183] This influx of mourners coming to see the deceased monarch and pray for their soul was essential to the third major way that the household was able to shape the public's perception of death and the monarchy. This was to arrange a strict schedule of intercessory prayers that were led by the imperial chaplains throughout the lying-in-state; prayers in which spectators were expected to participate as loyal Catholic subjects.

At all times during the lying-in-state, groups of householders maintained vigils over the corpse praying for the monarch's soul. Hourly shifts of priests, Augustinians, chaplains, chamberlains, valets, and commoners from the local neighbourhood recited prayers, surrounded by an honour guard. Habsburg lyings-in-state lasted three days, so the rotation of shifts was set up so that every member of the household groups was on duty at least once during the lying-in-state. At the same time, four altars were set up around the chamber so that the household clergy could lead multiple Masses every day. Anyone who came to pay their respects, regardless of rank or position, could participate in the liturgies. These altars were staffed by household groups that mirrored those holding the round-the-clock prayer vigils. Each altar was attended by two chaplains, two Augustinians, two valets, and two Life Guards. From 6:00 a.m. until the early afternoon, the household priests, chaplains, and monks at these altars continuously recited the Office of the Dead, with the full Mass being conducted at least twice daily.[184] During Maria Theresa's lying-in-state, five altars were set up to accommodate

[182] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...].
[183] *WD* no. 86 (26 Oct. 1740), 966: "Der gewesene Zulauf sowohl von dem Adel, als denen Gemeinen, um den Weiland Allergnädigsten Kaiser...".
[184] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 335v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot-Konzepte 4-3 ff. 9v.-10r.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...];AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 240v.-241r., 245r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 20v.;AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA

the daily Masses. In addition to the clergy and chaplains, her entire household, the *Hofsaat*, and even the Austrian estates were expected to attend and offer prayers for the empress.[185] These changes suggest that religiosity was still a strong part of Habsburg court culture in the late eighteenth century, and that these funerary liturgies continued to be a shared ritual culture between the monarchy and its subjects.

This shared religious ritual culture of liturgies and intercessions were powerful tools that brought the household and mourners together to intercede for the monarch's soul while also demonstrating their own piety and respect for the dead. Early modern Catholics believed that by coming together, they were increasing the efficacy of their prayers. This efficacy was increased both by the number of people praying, but also through the belief that as members of the community prayed for one another, those prayers reached God faster. Tingle provides

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ÄZA 20-41 f. 1v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 379v.-384v., 393r.-395r.; AT- AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9; f. 4v.; OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 281, 289r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.772. Leopold I's lying-in-state is the only time that commoners are mentioned as being included in the prayer vigil over the body. They are not mentioned in the accounts of 1740 and 1780. Charles VI's lying-in-state was an exception because it lasted four days. This change was made to accommodate the fact that if the standard three-day rule been followed, the funeral would have fallen on a Sunday, which was not permitted by protocol. The extra day would also allow more mourners to visit the Knight's Hall and pay their respects (Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 214-5). The use of altars had been a feature of French royal funerals since at least 1537, when King Francis I's body was laid out at Rambouillet in a nearly identical ritual; two altars were set up in the same chamber as the coffin, and requiem masses were said daily (Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 3). In some cases, the Office of the Dead ended at noon, while in others ended at 1:00 p.m. There does not seem to be a specific reason for this change aside from personal preference. In 1740,

[185] OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 379v.-384v., 388r., 393r., 395r.; OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 289r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.772. Each evening, the empress's court almoner (*Hofceremoniarius*), Franz Stadler, recited a benediction over the corpse called the *benedicionem tumuli secundum Rituale vienense*. This was done daily to bless and consecrate the body prior to the funeral. This is the first time that this benediction was recorded in the lyings-in-state of the eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchs (OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 393v.; OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 289r./v.). Even though the term *Hofceremoniarius* translates as court almoner, that title was largely symbolic by 1780. During the reign of Joseph I (1705-11), the office of court almoner was dissolved and incorporated into the court chaplaincy. As Hofceremoniarius, Stadler was one of the senior officials within the chaplaincy, which gave him the right to perform benedictions over the monarch's corpse (Pangerl, "1.1.2.7 Hofkapelle," 156-7; Carmelo Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576-1612)* [New York: Routledge, 2016], 13; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 193-4).

one of the best recent analyses of the role of masses in the broader Catholic European culture surrounding death after the Reformation:

> The principal cause of increased bequests for short-term intercession was a growing belief in particular judgement at the time of death, the expectation of immediate sentencing of the soul. It was widely believed that the gaining of a favourable judgement from God would be greatly aided by prayers and masses said for the departed. For this reason, intercession was concentrated in the period immediately following death.[186]

These daily masses were popular forms of intercession for the deceased that occurred multiple times a day to reinforce or enhance their efficaciousness in aiding the soul to receive a favourable judgement from God. This kind of participatory intercession created a kind of liturgical social contract that gave the Habsburgs' subjects the ability to be involved in expediting the emperor's departure from purgatory. Having altars set up around the corpse was a way of multiplying the efficacy of the Office of the Dead and the Mass.[187] It is highly unlikely that anyone believed the Habsburg monarchs would face negative judgement from God or his wrath. Instead, multiplying prayer efficacy was more so to aid them in exiting Purgatory and entering Heaven to receive their eternal rewards as quickly as possible.

This coming together of the orders of Habsburg society to intercede for the monarch's soul was one of the best examples of the early modern conception of the idealized state: the different ranks and groups came together through their shared Catholic faith and loyalty to the Crown, all managed and facilitated by the household. This expectation that mourners would come to the lying-in-state and participate in these rites was part of a broader early modern conception of the idealized Christian state, one in which all the orders of society came together

[186] Tingle, *Piety and Purgatory in Brittany*, 92.
[187] Ibid, 88-90. Interestingly, Tingle notes that in parts of early modern France, intercessory masses were also a legal requirement for settling the estate of the deceased, though there is no clear evidence that a similar practice was employed in Austria—at least, not for the monarch.

harmoniously. This harmony was maintained by the imperial household's enforcing of class and hierarchy, all under the protective mantle of Habsburg rulership. The monarch represented the very apex of the social order, and those below them understood they owed obligations of service to the Crown.

The idealized conception of the state had different facets to it, some of which will be explored in detail in the final chapter. In the context of lyings-in-state, the household's ability to bring together the orders of society to pray over the corpse was an expression of religious uniformity; one of the key elements in this idealized state ideology. For early modern Catholics, there could be no greater statement of the stability and harmony brought about by Habsburg rule than to have all their subjects come alongside the high officials, aristocrats, and clergy to use their collective prayers to help the monarch's soul exit Purgatory and enter Heaven as quickly as possible.[188] Householders and commoners directed their intercessions toward the corpse as both the physical receptacle of their intercessions and the personification of the state.[189] There could be no greater statement of divine favour on Austria's ruling dynasty than by its monarchs entering God's kingdom for their eternal reward. This was an act of service to the decedent and an expression of the early modern Catholic belief that death was a process, and the living had a responsibility to ensure that the dead entered Heaven. Members of the Habsburg state were thus discharging their obligations to the monarch's natural body and their corpse as a representation of their political state.

[188] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 14-5; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 173-4; Tingle, *Piety and Purgatory in Brittany*, 260.
[189] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 335v., 343r./v.; *WD no.* 184 (May 4-6, 1705); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 379v.-384v., 395r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 289r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.772.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the different rituals, ceremonials, and practices observed during the post-mortems for the eighteenth-century British and Habsburg monarchs. The first section of this chapter discussed how the Lord Chamberlain and *Oberstkämmerer* had custody of the corpse, which immediately gave the household a degree of authority over the funeralization process. Only members of the household medical teams were allowed to perform the autopsies and embalmings. the post-mortem procedures performed on monarchical corpses by their physicians. Both the British and Habsburg households employed similar preservation procedures, but with differences in their conceptions of the corpse. The *Obersthofbeämter* treated the imperial body as a kind of semi-sacred relic; a belief that permeated the entire post-mortem process. Chaplains and guards formed large processions just to escort the body into the examination room. The corpse was then embalmed in such a way as to suggest to common mourners that it had been preserved by God, implying a level of physical holiness similar to the saints. The organs were then removed, preserved in ornate receptacles, and buried by the household as if they were relics in elaborate rituals that mirrored the funerals of the monarchs themselves. The organs were interred at important religious sites in central Vienna that reinforced the Church's connection with the dynasty. When it came time to bury the organ vessels, only those householders who served the monarch in their private chambers could participate.

The same was true for the lying-in-state. Multiple branches of the imperial household came together to display the corpse. Officials dressed the bodies in ways that broadcast the power and piety of the deceased. Emperors were laid out in the most extravagant attire initially inspired by the Spanish court, while Maria Theresa and other empresses were dressed in the habits of religious orders. The corpse was surrounded by replicas of the crown jewels that were tangible symbols of Habsburg sovereignty. The Habsburg lyings-in-state also included important participatory rituals. Aristocrats and commoners came together to offer intercessory

prayers over the corpse so the soul would exit Purgatory quickly. These rites expressed the household's values surrounding rulership, piety, and participation and reinforced the belief that they were guardians of a unified Catholic society of orders held together by the Habsburg dynasty.

The British Royal Household similarly embalmed its monarchs, removed their organs, and conducted mini funerals. The influence of the Reformation on British religious and ritual culture meant that officials did not regard the royal remains as being holy or sacred. Instead, they continued to utilize pre-Reformation preservation rites that also recognized the evolving Protestant conception of both rulership and death. This conception enabled the household to justify using these traditional rituals on the basis of showing honour for God's anointed sovereign and proper Protestant respect for the dead.

One of the most significant differences between the Habsburg and British lyings-in-state was that, in the case of the latter, the sovereign's corpse was encoffined by the Royal Household before being displayed. The Protestant rejection of the doctrine of bodily sacrality meant there was no special need to preserve the corpse or display it to evoke ideas of holiness or sanctity. Instead, the High Officers focused on furnishing the state chamber with physical objects that legitimized the decedent. The use of banners and bannerolls were a visual representation of the hereditary right to the throne and played a crucial role in promoting the public acceptance of William III's legitimacy after Mary died. Like the *Obersthofbeämter*, the officers displayed replicas of the crown jewels that represented the kingdom. But unlike the Habsburg rite, eighteenth-century British lyings-in-state did not remain open to the public. There was an important transition from grand, public lyings-in-state in 1695, to more private ones in 1714 and 1760. Whereas the public viewing for Mary II was a deliberate attempt to stir up popular support for the monarchy and legitimize the post-revolution settlement, those for Queen Anne and King George II were able to be adapted to reflect the personal wishes of those monarchs. Private lyings-in-state thus became opportunities for the titled aristocracy to

demonstrate their status as the only group with the privilege of funeralizing the monarch and caretaking their remains. As other groups, even members of the gentry, were excluded from the lying-in-state, the Royal Household's control of royal funerals expanded. This will be explored further in the next chapter on the British funeral service.

The death of European monarchs was a process, from the planning committees until the burial. Each stage was necessary for the one that came after it. This chapter has examined how the British and Habsburg monarchical households ensured their continued relevance to their respective regimes by controlling the ruler's corpse and shaping how mourners interpreted its condition. The senior aristocrats in both institutions acted as the guardians of perceptions of monarchical and dynastic stability during the interval between death and the funeral. In so doing, household officials ensured that they remained not only relevant but essential to the functioning of their respective monarchies as one reign passed to the next.

Chapter 4: "Upon So Solemn an Occasion"

The Funerals of the British Monarchs

At 8:30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 11, 1760, a procession of nearly nine hundred household staff, officials, and aristocrats departed from the Palace of Westminster.[1] They escorted King George II's coffin from the palace, where the body had been lying-in-state since the previous night, to Westminster Abbey for the funeral. It would be the last time that a British monarch was buried at the abbey.[2] Entering through the North Door, the procession turned down the north aisle before looping around the Quire and proceeding up the south aisle past the Shrine of Edward the Confessor and into Henry VII's Lady Chapel for the service.[3] The parliamentarian and antiquarian Horace Walpole left a vivid account of that night, describing how the abbey was lit up by so many candles and torches "that one saw it to greater advantage than by day; the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiara scuro*."[4] The Royal Household had gone to great lengths to ensure this was a private ceremony. In the week leading up to the funeral, the *London Gazette* repeatedly published copies of the order of the procession and the plan for the funeral service entitled *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment Of his late Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Second*.[5] The title alone made clear the Privy Council's decision that "the annexed Ceremonial

[1] *I.4*, 118-22; "A Ceremonial of the Interrment of His Late Most Excellent Majesty King George" (*LG* no. 10049, Tues. Nov. 11, 1760).
[2] "Royal Tombs," Westminster Abbey, https://www.westminster-abbey.org/about-the-abbey/history/royal-tombs, accessed June 5, 2023; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 72-3. Even though George II was the last monarch to be buried in the abbey, royal funerals have continued to be held there. Although Henry VIII was buried at Windsor Castle, the royal necropolis did not permanently shift from Westminster Abbey until the death of George III in 1820, when the king was buried in the vault below St. George's Chapel. The remains of George's sons who predeceased him were later exhumed from the abbey and transferred to the chapel vault according to the king's wishes (Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 15-6; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 213-4).
[3] *I.4*, 116-7; LC 2/27, 89, 98; WAM 61783, 2; *Annual Register*, 181.
[4] Letter of Horace Walpole to George Montagu, November 13, 1760, in Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, 48.
[5] *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 1; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 179. See also *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760).

of the Procession [be] a Private Interment of his said late Majesty."[6] To make doubly sure that the public did not intrude, a tight security perimeter was established around the abbey. Spectators were kept at a distance by over two thousand guards lining the short distance from the palace to the abbey.[7]

The Privy Council special committee and the household's decision to declare this a private, nocturnal funeral was part of a larger trend towards the privatization of royal ceremonials in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Queen Mary II's daytime public funeral in 1695 was the last of its kind until the twentieth century. Those that followed became increasingly private by holding them at night to discourage unwanted spectators, restricting who was allowed to walk in the procession and had an active role in the ceremony, and reducing the role of the aristocracy. Historians have attributed this shift from public to private funerals to a number of factors. There were economic considerations, like the high costs of paying for public funerals, with their heraldic regalia managed by the Earl Marshal and College of Arms. The rise of an independent undertaker industry in Britain also created more cost-effective funerary competition for the college (see chapter one).[8] Some have argued that the shift was influenced by the continental Pietism that was influencing popular Anglican theology, leading to a more reserved, introspective religious culture at court. There was also the desire to make funerals more meaningful to those who had been closest to the decedent during their life: the household. Schaich argues that the shift was an attempt by the court to remain relevant to the general population by embracing to the more subdued, less performative strain of Protestantism that was becoming popular in eighteenth-century Britain. The problem with this approach is that he emphasizes the funeral ceremonials being increasingly restricted to the

[6] *I.4*, 115.
[7] *Annual Register*, 179.
[8] Litten, "The Funeral Trade," 53; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 61-2, 65, 68, 76-8; Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 11-2, 323-7; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 11-5.

household but does not offer an examination of the religiosity of its officers and members; there is a narrative tension within that argument that is never resolved for the reader.[9]

These elements all had a direct impact on how different elements of royal funerals became privatized. But it was the Lord Chamberlain, the highest-ranking officer at court and head of the household, that was the driving force behind this overall shift between 1695 and 1760.[10] Despite the Lord Chamberlain's prominence, scholars have yet to consider the ways in which private funerals enabled the Household to expand its authority over the royal ceremonials in which the Crown interacted with pre-selected segments of the population outside the court. The role of various Lords Chamberlain in transitioning royal funerals to private ceremonials in the eighteenth century is fairly well established in the literature. The archival materials from the College of Arms, the Privy Council, and the work of scholars like Fritz and Bucholz identify the Lord Chamberlain as the real power in the Royal Household. Furthermore, there is clear evidence from these scholars that the Lord Chamberlain was central to the "steady erosion" of power over royal funerals wielded by the Earl Marshal and Officers of Arms.[11]

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[9] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 423, 434, 440-2, 450. See also Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 14.

[10] *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 83; PC 1/6/89, f. 5; PC 1/6/90, f. 1; PC 2/85, 50; LC 2/27, 89; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73-5; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 38, figure 2.1, 171, 255; Bucholz, ed., "Chamber Administration: Lord Chamberlain, 1660-1837," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp1-8, accessed March 24, 2022; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 11; Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Britain*, 30; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429-30, 435; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 19-20.

[11] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 77-8. Fritz more broadly argues that the change from public to private ceremonials diminished the role of the Officers of Arms, resulting in royal funeral rites being shaped by a variety of factors beyond established precedent, but places responsibility with the Lord Chamberlain. He says that these factors resulted in the decline of public heraldic funerals, the rise of the private funeral ceremony, and the Lord Chamberlain's total control over royal funerals by 1760. Walker addresses similar changes to ritual culture in the funerals of the later Stuarts. He builds on Fritz by arguing that royal ceremonials can only be understood in relation to the political events shaping Britain at the time, and since those events were often turbulent and changeable, ritual culture was more varied and fluid than has previously been considered. ("The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'" 11-2, 323-7). Schaich argues that Fritz "overstates the dominance" of the Lord Chamberlain's role in the funeral planning process. Unfortunately, he does not expand on this point any further other than

To that end, this chapter will demonstrate that the transition from public ceremonials in 1695 to private ones in 1714 and 1760 led to an expansion of the household's authority over eighteenth-century royal funerals, led by the Lord Chamberlain. This expansion of influence established the household as the primary institution that shaped the Crown's interactions with its subjects via ceremonials well into the nineteenth century. This chapter will also demonstrate that the shift to private funerals did not lead to a significant decline in the number of mourners in attendance, nor did it cause the ceremonial elements to be scaled back. An analysis of the funerals between 1695 and 1760 will reveal that, in some cases, attendance at private funerals actually increased. Additional ceremonial elements were also added to the order of service that privileged the household's rights and responsibilities over other groups like the aristocracy. This was driven by a desire among the High Officers to populate the funeral with householders, especially peers, who had been closest to the monarch during their lives. At the same time, this made a visual statement about the necessity of the household for ensuring the day-to-day functioning of the Crown.

To prove these points, this chapter will examine the two major elements of early modern British royal funerals: the procession to and the funeral service at Westminster Abbey. The analysis of the procession will focus on the ordering of participants and how some groups were gradually excluded to accommodate a greater number of householders. The struggle for prominence between the aristocracy and the household is particularly prominent when considering changes to the procession. The household only allowed officials and aristocrats who were paid members of the household or government to participate in funeral processions by 1760. Their involvement remained essential since the household accepted the reality that the aristocracy played an historic and ceremonial role in the British monarchy's ritual culture. The second section will examine the funeral service at Westminster Abbey. This analysis will

noting that ceremonial negotiations were conducted between multiple departments (Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 430 n28, 434).

focus on how changes to the service enabled household officials to control who was allowed to participate in the funeral. One prominent method of controlling numbers was by conducting the service in Henry VII's Lady Chapel so the coffin could be buried right away. The burial rites conducted by the household at the end of the service will also be examined. It becomes clear by analyzing these elements that the householders were the active participants of royal funerals, making them necessary in the execution of royal ritual culture. This necessary role played by the Royal Household ensured its enduring relevance to monarchical authority at a time when court institutions were losing influence over political institutions.

The Procession

The first of the two major elements of British royal funerals was the procession to Westminster Abbey. Between 1695 and 1760, these processions underwent a transition from being massive public events, with mourners lining the streets to catch a glimpse of the spectacle, to being restricted and cloistered away from the gaze of the public. The Royal Household went to great lengths to prevent these solemn processions from becoming undignified public spectacles. To properly understand how and why these changes were made, one must first consider the function that processions served in the ritual culture of the British court, and the role played by members of the household. Royal processions had been a feature of English court culture for centuries. When the royal family attended Sunday services in the Chapel Royal, they were escorted from their apartments to the chapel in a public procession led by the Officers at Arms.[12] During larger processions, such as the Garter Day for the knights of that order, the householders and knights wore their formal vestments. All of the participants were arranged based on their social status, going from the lowest at the front to the highest at the back—a

[12] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 79; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Court," 102. The Officers at Arms were part of the ceremonial guard that protected the royal family, led by the Sergeant at Arms. They were different from the similarly if confusingly named Officers *of* Arms.

format seen at multiple courts, including Vienna.[13] This use of structure to divide the participants based on rank was still a way for the household to reinforce the hierarchical nature of British society with the monarch at the top. In these processions the sovereign was literally separated from the lowest orders by everyone in between. Andrew Barclay wrote a chapter analyzing the Williamite court at the end of the seventeenth century and described its use of hierarchical processions as being more of an attempt to protect "royal privacy than as a means of display. Grand progresses and entries [into cities] had always been exceptional events and they had never been the main reason why earlier kings and queens had been respected. English monarchs were supposed to be remote."[14]

It was also common for processions to include a civic component that was an important part of the court's relationship with the City of London. These were meant to publicly reaffirm London's identity as a city with a special relationship to the Crown by including local merchants and gentry alongside the court and household. On days designated for national thanksgiving, such as during the War of the Spanish Succession, a large procession of the High Officers of the Household, the Great Officers of State, peers, Members of Parliament, government ministers, the royal family and their households would make its way from St. James's Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral. These processions would stop at Temple Bar, the main entrance from Westminster, where the court was based, into the City of London (the civic heart of the nation). In a medieval style ceremony, the lord mayor of London would then ceremonially surrender the city's heraldic sword, deliver a brief welcome, and invite the sovereign to enter the city. Such pageantry inspired "civic expressions of loyalty to the monarch."[15] These processions played a vital role in making the monarch more visible to their subjects, serving as a mechanism for them to connect with the local population. During these

[13] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 102.
[14] Barclay, "William's Court as King," 259-60.
[15] Bucholz, "'Nothing but Ceremony'," 295; Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 207; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 316; Archer, "City and Court Connected," 158.

kinds of processions in the early eighteenth century, the people identified with Queen Anne as the nation's "nursing mother."[16]

Processions played a prominent role in the court's ritual culture, but they had been part of monarchical funerals since ancient times. In the Old Testament, King David marched in the funeral procession for Abner, the cousin and military commander of his predecessor and former rival, King Saul.[17] David demonstrated humility and proper respect for the deceased through his participation, an example that later monarchs sought to emulate. It was vital to the legitimacy of European dynasties that they were able to tangibly link themselves with important Biblical figures through participation in similar rituals.[18] There was a distinction in the kinds of processions used during funeralizations. Like their continental counterparts, the Royal Household employed processions for more than just the funeral itself. As the funeralization process became more privatized after 1702, the body needed to be transported from where they died to their lying-in-state. As discussed in the previous chapter, the eighteenth-century kings and queens died at Kensington Palace, and beginning in 1714, were laid in state in the Prince's Chamber at the Palace of Westminster the night before their funeral. Even though these were officially private processions, they were still fairly sizable because they included many members of the household: numerous servants, over a hundred Yeomen of the Guard, Life Guards, the Lord Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, Groom of the Stole, Gentlemen and Ladies of the Bedchamber, Grooms and Maids of Honour, and Men and Women of the Bedchamber.[19] To ensure that the public would not disrupt the procession and that privacy was preserved "upon So Solemn an Occasion," the household established a tight

[16] Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 207, 210; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 315-6; Bepler, "Funerals," 249.
[17] 2 Sam. 3:31.
[18] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 12.
[19] At the Council Chamber at St James's 5^{o} Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms;* LC 2/18, no. 2: "The late Queens appartm:^{n} at Kensington [...]; PC 2/85, 50-1, 55; SP 35/1/18, ff. 41v., 70v.; SP 35/1/24, f. 75r.; LC 2/27, 87; *I.4*, 116; *Annual Register*, 178; *Royal Magazine*, 269.

security perimeter for the entire route.[20] Plans drawn up in 1714 ordered a detachment of Horse Guards to line the two-kilometer route from Hyde Park past Buckingham House (site of the future palace) all the way to the Gate of St James's Park and the Westminster complex.[21]

Of all the processions that were part of the monarch's funeralization process, the largest and most significant was the one to Westminster Abbey for the funeral itself. Grand processions were seen as the "only acceptable manner" for escorting a royal corpse to the gravesite for burial.[22] The structure of the procession reflected the social hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being and contemporary beliefs about how the ideal Christian state should be organized. Processions for royal funerals dated as far back as the thirteenth century, when kings who died on Crusade had to be returned to Europe for burial. At that time, they were exclusively religious; only clergy could participate. By the sixteenth century, members of the late monarch's household and court insisted on participating as well.[23] Eventually, all the different orders of the state were included: civic officials, members of the government, untitled gentry and knights, equerries, younger and older sons of the aristocracy based on family rank (barons, earls, viscounts, marquesses, and dukes), and the household.[24] They therefore became a microcosmic coming together of the society of orders as it was largely understood at the time: the social and political elites. These gatherings reaffirmed the position of each group's place within the early modern conception of the idealized state. Even after the Reformation and the shedding of previous rituals associated with Catholicism, processions remained a central aspect of Protestant funerals.[25] They were arranged in a strict hierarchy with the least important participants at the front followed by those of increasing status. The highest-ranking

[20] PC 2/85, 50.
[21] At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*.
[22] Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 3.
[23] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 65; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 371-2, 381; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 239.
[24] PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, fols. 66r.-67r.; SP 35/1/24, fols. 75r.-79r.; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714).
[25] Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 107-8.

participants walked closest to the coffin.[26] They brought together all the orders of the state publicly, representing both an ideal, unified Christian polity, and the monarch's authority over the entire state, and rallied the people around burying one monarch and acknowledging the accession of the next in a demonstration of loyalty to the Crown. At the same time, it made an unmistakable public statement "to any potential usurper or pretender" that the Crown was supported by the full weight of state and religious institutions—an important point between 1689 and 1714.[27] Throughout the eighteenth century, everyone on the social ladder, from commoners to monarchs, were expected to have some kind of funeral procession "ordered by estate, age and gender, [and served as] the community's ideal representation of itself."[28]

This structure made the funeral procession a phalanx against attempts to block the natural succession of power and destabilize the throne.[29] This structure was particularly important at Queen Mary II's funeral in 1695, since it was the first one for a British monarch following the exile of the Catholic Stuarts and the establishment of the new constitutional settlement. The queen's procession took place on the morning of Tuesday, March 5. A daytime procession created the best possible "public viewing of the event" and allowed for a full display of pomp and pageantry.[30] It also reinforced the public statement that Parliament, the aristocracy, and the Church of England supported William and Mary's legitimacy as monarchs. According to contemporary accounts, the plan worked. There was reportedly an

[26] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 3-4; Bepler, "Funerals," 249.
[27] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 14; Harvey and Mortimer, ed., *Funeral Effigies*, 3-4; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 17; Bepler, "Funerals," 249.
[28] Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 123; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 292, 296, 300; Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 88; Bepler, "Funerals," 252.
[29] Harvey and Mortimer, ed., *Funeral Effigies*, 3-4; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 17.
[30] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 67; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 14-5, 111; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2023), 203. Thomas Sprat, Dean of Westminster, was concerned that a nocturnal funeral presented a significant fire risk due to the amount of hanging fabrics in the abbey and the many candles that would be needed to illuminate the abbey after dark (Dean and Chapter of Westminster to Lord of Council, 1694/5, WAM 6431). The irony, however, is that the amount of candles and torches needed for a nocturnal funeral would potentially have provided a great deal more warmth against the bitter cold that England was experiencing that winter.

"innumerable Concourse of People" who took to rooftops and hung out of windows all along the route to catch a glimpse of the procession.[31] One contemporary Dutch print described the procession as being "extremely magnificent…[and] watched by many thousands of people, continuously weeping, lamenting the loss of such a virtuous and incomparable queen, the likes of which the world has possibly never seen before nor will in times to come."[32] The procession began at Whitehall, where the queen's body had been lying in state. The almswomen selected to walk at the front of the procession were required to assemble at 5:00 a.m. to be outfitted with their mourning attire. They were dressed by court officials at St. Martin's in the Fields and led for 8:00 a.m.to Scotland Yard, which was part of Whitehall where the procession began.[33] Over the next several hours, participants assembled in the various palace chambers before coming together as one procession leaving from the Banqueting House.[34] A seating gallery was set up around the Banqueting House so that spectators could watch the start of the procession. These seats cost anywhere "from two guineas to ten shillings apiece," so only those who had some kind of disposable income could purchase a spot.[35] For the common people living in London at that time, two guineas was expensive, which means that it was mostly "the rich, the great, the learned, and the powerful" who could afford to be spectators.[36] Anyone who had paid for a ticket had to be in their seats by 8:00 a.m., waiting for at least two or three hours in the blowing snow and freezing cold for the procession to begin.[37] The procession was

[31] Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 425-6.
[32] Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 172.
[33] Memo dated June 8, 1695[5], no. 150, LC 2/11/2.
[34] *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* […].
[35] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 154; Chapman, *Mary II*, 258. There is evidence that Earl Marshal's officers, along with the Westminster Abbey dean's office, sold tickets to people living in areas under their authority as a way to earn extra profit from the funeral (Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 439). Ten shillings were roughly five days' wages for a skilled tradesman.
[36] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 439.
[37] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 154; Chapman, *Mary II*, 258.

scheduled to start at 10:00 a.m. but contemporary records suggest it did not get underway until around 11:00.[38]

This was the last daytime funeral until the nineteenth century. The long-standing precedent had been to conduct monarchical funerals at night. As such, the choice to have Mary's during the day was a onetime, *ad hoc* ceremonial alteration to adapt to the immediate political circumstance. In the early seventeenth century, James I was one of the first monarchs to encourage nighttime burials in England, which itself may have been a custom that was popularized by the Scottish aristocrats who accompanied the king to London.[39] They became more popular among the English aristocrats who were starting to forgo expensive public funerals in favour of smaller, private services that were "more fulfilling both spiritually and emotionally" for those grieving.[40] Records detailing seventeenth-century aristocratic funerals further demonstrate the parallels with their royal counterparts.[41] One source from 1698 made the observation that nocturnal funerals was also a tool for creating a degree of social equality in death, since "persons of ordinary rank may, for the value of fifty pounds, make as great a figure, as the aristocracy or gentry did formerly with the expense of more than five hundred pounds."[42]

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[38] *La Race*, 294; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 67 n21. The *Form of the Proceeding* [...] published in the *London Gazette* claimed the procession began at 12:00 p.m. (*LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]), while Chapman claims it was 11:00 a.m. (Chapman, *Mary II*, 258; see also Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 334). It is possible that Fritz's comments about the uncertainty of the start time may have been in reference to what time the procession reached the abbey, and the service began. Walker claims it began at noon but does not cite a source for this. He only includes a reference to Woodward's *Theatre of Death* at the end of this paragraph because it discusses earlier funeral processions. There is no reference to Mary's funeral (Walker, "William and Mary to William III," 152; see Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 149).

[39] Gittings, "Sacred and secular," 161-2.

[40] Litten, "The Funeral Trade," 50; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 428; Gittings, "Sacred and secular," 162.

[41] MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 14r.-21r., 30, 58r.-65.

[42] Litten, "The Funeral Trade," 50. For a detailed and insightful analysis of the concomitant rise in popularity of nocturnal funerals in Germany as relates to the evolution of Protestant doctrine, see Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 133-52

The nocturnal funeral symbolically represented the personal loss sustained by those who knew the decedent, which was becoming more fashionable compared to "any public display of strength" from a daylight funeral.[43] Nocturnal funerals also allowed the family to have more control and personalize the ceremony than if it had been held during the daytime with the full court and Officers of Arms in attendance.[44] Holding the ceremony at night was one of the most significant elements in making a funeral private, as it helped foster a more subdued, introspective mourning and "ensured a degree of contemplation and decorum."[45] At the same time, it also discouraged curious onlookers from turning a solemn funeral into an undignified spectacle and disrupting the mourners. Nocturnal funerals eventually became synonymous with privacy. By the middle of the century, there were concerns that nocturnal, torchlit funerals were too closely associated with Catholicism and popery. Although Charles I did outlaw nighttime funerals in 1635, they returned to popularity after the Stuart Restoration of 1660. When Charles II died in 1685, a precedent was established that monarchical funerals should be nocturnal and largely private, without a large funeral procession to draw public attention and limiting the number of people allowed into the church for the service. Nocturnal funerals also provided a kind of natural barrier against attracting unwanted spectators. Prior to the invention of electric lighting and the development of streetlamps in the nineteenth century, venturing through urban streets at night was both dangerous and considered inappropriate behaviour for respectable citizens.[46] Fritz asserts that James II's decision for a private funeral for his brother in 1685 may have come from the king's desire to avoid the awkwardness a full

[43] Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 197; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 13.
[44] Gittings, "Sacred and secular," 162.
[45] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 2-3; Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France," 431; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 435-6; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 443.
[46] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 12, 14-5, 111. See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 81-97. Charles I's ordinance had ostensibly been ignored (Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 146).

public funeral may generate as a result of Charles II's Catholic conversion before he died.[47] Nocturnal funerals were part of a larger shift in eighteenth-century European ritual culture in which important life milestones like weddings, and funerals were held at night.[48]

The fact that royal funerals across western Europe were often held at night was juxtaposed by a widespread belief among Protestants that nocturnal burials were seen as dishonorable or necessary for people who took their own lives and thus were not entitled to 'proper' Christian funerary elements like a procession, the singing of hymns, or a sermon. In Germany as in England, nocturnal funerals became popular after the mid-seventeenth century, initially only by the writ of the monarch and limited to aristocrats, military officers, or civil servants who might today be considered upper-middle class, but also allowed those further up the social hierarchy to display their rank through the ability to arrange funerals that commoners could not. As Koslofsky notes, the seventeenth-century scholar Christian Korthold was already pondering the question of nocturnal funerals that became their most appealing trait to British monarchs: "should one seek to transform the public burial of a departed Christian into a private interment?" But as in eighteenth-century Britain, nocturnal funerals allowed individuals to cut down the amounts they were expected to spend on their own funerals.[49]

The next royal funeral after Mary's was her husband William's in 1702. The king had wished to be "interr'd by his Queen without any pomp," and the funeral was held at 11:00

[47] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 69-70; Harvey and Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 13. James may also have been motivated to dial back the grandeur of the funeral to compensate for Charles's "feckless spending, which, as James saw it, always made him dependent on Parliament" (Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 130).

[48] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 2-3; Régnier, "The Heart of the Kings of France," 431; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 435-6; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 443; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 381 n48. The weddings for Mary II and Anne were held late at night, and this custom continued under the Hanoverians (Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 59; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 70, 96; Thompson, *George II*, 116). Weddings for members of the British royal family were held at night until Queen Victoria married Prince Albert in 1840 (Wilson, *Victoria*, 101).

[49] Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 134-9, 141, 152.

p.m.[50] It was *de facto* private, but not officially private the way subsequent ones would be. Chapter one has already established how this model was used for Prince George in 1708, which in turn was used for Queen Anne in 1714, making hers the first intentionally private funeral for a British monarch.[51] Whereas the Privy Council had taken great steps to include the public in Mary's funeral by allowing them to buy spectator seating around Whitehall and line the processional route to Westminster Abbey, the Lords Justices in 1714 discouraged the public from coming out and watching even from a distance. For the entire day prior to Anne's funeral, no carriages were allowed through Hyde Park or St. James's Park, except those of the Lords Justices or "Such Mourning Coaches as are to Attend the Solemnity." The lords had also ordered the Horse Guards to set up a secure area around the abbey "to hinder Coaches and Passengers from Going into Westm.[er]."[52] The perimeter stretched for several kilometers from Hyde Park past Buckingham House to the Gate of St James's Park and over to Westminster. Three regiments of Foot Guards were also deployed to line the route from the Old Gatehouse to the abbey, all the passages and access points within, and all the way into Henry VII's Lady Chapel. The large West Door was guarded by the Gentlemen Pensioners, and the Horse Guards formed a perimeter around the abbey itself.[53]

The desire to keep the public at a distance may also have been driven by traumatic memories of the funeralization of Queen Anne's only child to survive infancy, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester. The day before the prince's funeral in 1700, his body was publicly displayed in the Prince's Chamber where the throngs of people clamouring to catch a glimpse of the twelve-year old's corpse that the Lord Chamberlain issued orders stating that only those

[50] PC 2/85, 31; WAM 61777; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 71.
[51] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 253.
[52] PC 2/85, 33. This may also have been in response to practical security concerns. By cutting off public access to the processional route or the abbey, the Lords Justices were able to reduce the risk of any potential Jacobite or anti-Hanoverian interruptions.
[53] "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; PC 2/85, 33, 51. The distance from Hyde Park to the abbey in a straight line is approximately two kilometers.

individuals who were dressed in appropriate mourning attire would be admitted into the chamber; thereby limiting entry to the wealthy upper classes.[54] By the time of George II's death in 1760, grand heraldic public funerals policed by the Officers of Arms had been replaced by nocturnal, private ones.[55] The committee that planned the king's funeral, which was made up almost entirely of senior household and government officials, went to extreme lengths to transform the spaces occupied during the funeral into private ones reserved for the household, officials, and peers participating in the ceremony.[56] Much like 1714, the household set up a tight security perimeter. At 5:00 p.m. on the day of the funeral, the roads in and around Westminster were closed to all coach traffic.[57] One account published in 1773 claimed that 2,250 guards were deployed to line the route from the Palace of Westminster to the abbey to keep the crowds at bay.[58] An elaborate passageway was even constructed between Westminster Hall, where the procession began, all the way to the North Door where it entered the abbey. An awning was constructed to cover the top and the sides were enclosed up to the height of a man's chest. Soldiers lined both sides of the passage "as thick as they could stand."[59] When the procession began shortly after 8:00 p.m., there were reportedly "so many thousands of spectators, that great numbers could not get near enough to see the procession, and only saw, at a distance, the great light given by the flambeaux and lamps." The household not only wanted to keep the public from participating; they did not want people to even *see* the funeral.[60]

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[54] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 353.
[55] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73.
[56] PC 1/6/89, f. 5.
[57] *I.4*, 116; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 93.
[58] *Annual Register*, 179.
[59] *I.4*, 116-7; LC 2/27, 89, 98; WAM 61783, 2; *Annual Register*, 181.
[60] *Annual Register*, 179. There is a certain irony to this, since Londoners could hardly escape the fact that a monarchical funeral was being held. From the moment the procession began until almost midnight, London echoed with the tolling of church bells every minute. At the same time, cannons at the Tower of London and in Hyde Park fired shots into the sky to signal the monarch's funeral (WAM 6464; PC 2/85, 33; "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714); *I.4*, 123; *The*

Even though historians recognize the fact that royal funerals transitioned from public to private events, an analysis of how the presence of some groups in processions changed between 1695 and 1760 reveals that the household actually developed greater authority in deciding who had access to the Crown during major participatory rituals. First and foremost, it should be noted that the overall size of these processions did not fluctuate as much as one might expect with privatization. In 1695, Queen Mary II's procession had over 1,600 participants.[61] This has led both Fritz and Speck to claim that this was "the largest funeral procession ever held in England for a sovereign."[62] This claim is problematic for several reasons. First, Elizabeth I's procession had at least 1,600 people as well, and James I's had somewhere between five and nine thousand.[63] Second, Mary's procession included over seven hundred Members of Parliament and the House of Lords who were only present due to a constitutional anomaly (which will be discussed below).[64] Under normal circumstances, these

Ceremonial for the Private Interment [...], 1; WAM 61783, 1; *Annual Register*, 179). These sounds of mourning were ways "to demonstrate public grief" (Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 168). The firing of cannons as an expression of mourning was a normal part of royal funerals. The day of Queen Mary's funeral, London boomed with cannon volleys from the Tower of London to the Thames Estuary. After the service ended, sixty cannons were fired from St. James's Park and sixty more from the Tower of London fired off another volley. After that initial volley, the Tower cannons fired every minute for the next three hours, amounting to 180 shots. Eighteen Men of War at anchor in the Nore in the Thames also fired off salutes from their ship guns from 2:00 p.m. until sunset. A deafening day in London, indeed (*Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 178; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 446, *La Race*, 303).

[61] MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 71r.-75; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell: Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 167-71; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109.

[62] Fritz "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 67; Speck, "Mary II," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 22, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246, accessed July 30, 2019.

[63] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 18, 197; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 426; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 88. This discrepancy may be explained by the wording used by the seventeenth-century parliamentarian John Chamberlain that mourning clothing was provided to "above 9000 persons." Chamberlain does not make it clear if all nine thousand participated in the procession, but both Archer and Range seem to draw that conclusion. Even by liberal estimates, Mary II's funeral attendance comes in a far second to her great-grandfather's (Fritz "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 67; Archer, "City and Court Connected," 169; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 60-1).

[64] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 168. The number of peers in the House of Lords is based on the list given in *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 160-4; "House of Commons Journal Volume 11: 4 March 1695," in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol11/p256, accessed February 7, 2021.

parliamentarians would not have participated in a monarch's funeral procession. When they are removed from the aggregate total, the queen's procession had around nine hundred participants, the majority of whom were the household.[65] By comparison, the private processions for Queen Anne and King George II had seven hundred and nine hundred participants, respectively.[66] There is some evidence that this change in numbers may be the result of previous participants being moved out of the procession and into the mourning boxes set up in the abbey. An account of Queen Anne's funeral kept in the Library and Muniment Room at Westminster Abbey specifically mentions "Peeresses and others" who were not included in the procession.[67] A similar document from 1760 also mentions "Foreign Ministers & peeresses &c." being seated in spectator boxes set up outside of the Lady Chapel where the service was held (see below).[68] Peeresses and foreign representatives are not included in any of the lists of procession participants, meaning these were invited guests who arrived at the abbey separately. Range's analysis seems to support this interpretation. He writes that the funeral for George II, along with his late wife Caroline's in 1737, "had a much greater direct audience than any other funerals, with considerable numbers of spectators allowed in the Abbey." As a music historian, he devotes considerable space to discussing the sizes of the choirs that sang in 1737 and 1760, with estimates around two hundred in addition to the funeral participants.[69] Mary II's funeral had established a precedent for including groups like peeresses and choir members

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The number of peers in the House of Lords is based on the list given in *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 160-4. There were 132 barons, eight viscounts, 68 earls, three marquesses, and eighteen dukes, minus at least twenty who held official positions and walked elsewhere in the funeral procession.

[65] *Funerals*, *College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell*: *Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals*, *Coll*: *Arms H*; *LG* no. 3059 (5 March 1695).

[66] PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, fols. 66r.-67r.; SP 35/1/24, fols. 75r.-79r.; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714); *I.4*, 118-22; "A Ceremonial of the Interrment of His Late Most Excellent Majesty King George" (*LG* no. 10049, Tues. Nov. 11, 1760).

[67] Order from (Howard, Earl of) Suffolk, Earl Marshall to (Francis Atterbury, Bishop of) Rochester as Dean of Westminster to allow no unauthorized persons to be in the Abbey during the interment of Qu. Anne: 23 Aug. 1714, Signed, paper, 2 leaves, no seal, WAM 6465.

[68] WAM 61783, 7.

[69] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 188-90, 192.

in the procession. Admittedly, the peeresses largely formed the assistants to the chief mourner, while the choir did not join the procession until it reached the abbey. These groups, along with other invited guests may have added over three hundred additional people to the total tally. This suggests that the shift to private funerals had little to no impact on the baseline number of active participants, contrary to Schaich's assertion that there "was an unmistakable decrease in the…number of participants."[70] Instead, the decedent's senior household officials expanded their own authority by being able to decide who could and could not participate, thereby allowing the High Officers to function as the Crown's gatekeepers.

To further demonstrate the point that participation in royal funerals remained relatively consistent between 1695 and 1760, it is necessary to consider which groups were involved and how changes by the household impacted their participation. Appendix: Figs. 14.1-3 provide an original recreation of Queen Mary's procession, providing a detailed overview of the social, political, and household officials who participated as a basis for comparison and to help visualize the structure of royal funeral processions.[71] Since processions were organized as front-to-back representations of the social hierarchy, the household's push to limit public participation was naturally going to have a greater impact on those groups that traditionally walked closer to the front. Royal funeral processions were always led by the Knight Marshal and his provosts.[72] The Knight Marshal was part of the Household Below Stairs and was responsible for keeping order at court events.[73] At funerals, he and his men were specifically tasked with ensuring "that no beggars, vagabonds, prostitutes or malefactors came

[70] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 422-3.
[71] For archival sources on the Marian procession and the number of participants, see MS. Rawl. B. 138, ff. 71r.-75; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell: Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 167-71; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* […]; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109.
[72] *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; *Miscell: Collections*, 71-2; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 167-71; PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, fols. 66r.-67r.; *I.4*, 118-22; "A Ceremonial of the Interrment […]"
[73] Bucholz, ed., "The household below stairs: Knight Marshal 1660-1837," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp518-521, accessed May 30, 2023.

within or near the Court" during the procession.[74] This reinforced the understanding that the monarchy, even in a public venue, was still separate and removed from the general population, with the household functioning as that barrier.

Until the eighteenth century, the Knight Marshal was followed by almspeople representing the common people.[75] In pre-Reformation processions, the poor functioned as beadsfolk. They held rosaries and prayed to shorten the decedent's time in Purgatory in exchange for alms and charity from the Crown.[76] After the Reformation and England's rejection of Catholic doctrines like Purgatory, poor people continued to be included in funeral processions as a form of "social benefaction" but without a participatory spiritual role.[77] Their inclusion was still a statement on the piety and virtue of the household, since it was the household that paid for their mourning attire. In 1695, they also received a small weekly allowance while they waited for the funeral plans to be finalized.[78] The almspeople were always a gendered group. Men walked in the funeral processions of kings, while women did so for queens. For Mary II, three hundred women were chosen by the Privy Council on the recommendation of the Lord Chamberlain's Office and the Great Wardrobe. They were chosen on the basis of either being a widow or a woman whose husband had been injured or killed while serving in the military since William and Mary's accession in 1689.[79] These were the only commoners allowed to participate in the procession who were not employed by the

[74] Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 161. The Knight Marshal at the time of Mary's death was Edward Villiers, 1st earl of Jersey, who also served as the queen's Master of the Horse (Barclay, "William's Court as King," 244).
[75] *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 150, 170; Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II," 742.
[76] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 31.
[77] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 44.
[78] E 351/3150; LC 2/11/2, no. 150, "At the Councill Chamb: in Whitehall the 4:th day of March 1694[5]"; Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 6; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 24; Walker, "William and Mary to William III," 152-3.
[79] LC 2/11/1, 35; memo dated January 8, 1694[5], no. 150. This was one of the largest groups of almspeople to walk in a royal funeral procession. Elizabeth I only had around 250 almswomen at her funeral in 1603. Woodward claims there were 240 women, while Bland claims it was 266 and a group of poor men as well (Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 210; Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 31).

household or the government in some way. This was the last time that almspeople were included as a distinct group in the procession to the abbey.[80] They stopped being included in English Calvinist funerals because their presence was viewed as being an attempt to publicly flaunt Christian charity; a practice that Calvinists opposed in theory.[81] In Britain, the absence of "poor men and women who represented the nations' commoners" may also have been a reflection of changing contemporary views of monarchical legitimacy as part of the larger shift towards privatization.[82] By the eighteenth century, British monarchs no longer needed to make public statements about their piety, or to have commoners represented at their funerals. This may suggest that the Hanoverians not only did not believe that monarchical legitimacy rested on public support in the same way that the Stuarts did after the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, but also saw a decline in the belief of the Great Chain of Being.

Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the rest of the procession was arranged using the same general structure. First came the lower ranking members of the Household Above Stairs, which was the minimum requirement to be allowed to participate in a royal funeral; the Household Below Stairs did not generally appear on the list of participants. The representatives of the Household Above Stairs included waiters, pages, grooms, officers of the Jewel House, table servants, cupbearers, secretaries and officers of the Presence and Privy Chambers who served in the monarch's personal chambers and were part of the daily routine. They were often led by the Master of the Great Wardrobe.[83] Among this group were

[80] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 438. Twelve almsmen did participate in George II's funeral. They awaited the arrival of the procession at Westminster Abbey and, along with the dean, prebendaries, and choir, helped escort the coffin inside for the service (WAM 61783, 3). Westminster Abbey seemed to have had a core group of twelve men that it supported with alms, managed by the beadle. Twelve almsmen supported by the abbey also received mourning attire and a small financial compensation in 1695 as well compensation (LC 2/22/2, no. 140, "12 poor alms men of S^{t}. Peters Westm:^{r}"). See chapter two.

[81] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 108.

[82] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 438.

[83] *I.4*, ff. 85v.-86r.; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...];; *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 27, 95. The Lord Mayor of London and the city aldermen often walked in this group of householders. After 1695, the Household Above Stairs came after the household clergy in the order of procession.

gentlemen ushers who carried the purple canopy. Once the procession entered the abbey, this canopy was carried above the coffin at all times, as had been done throughout the lying-in-state (see chapter three for a discussion of the significance of canopies as material expressions of monarchical authority).

It was also customary at various European courts to have the religious orders included near the front of the procession (see chapter five for a discussion of the role of Viennese clerical orders in Habsburg processions). These were the gentlemen of Whitehall's chapel and vestry, which formed part of the ecclesiastical branch of the household. In 1695, they were accompanied—for the last time—by the Children of the Chapels Royal "singing all the way."[84] This household choir had been an active part of facilitating the monarch's religiosity and piety since it accompanied Henry V and sang the Mass at Agincourt in 1415. In the centuries that followed, the choir accompanied the monarch on progresses throughout the realm or to major royal events like the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 to serve as the sovereign's personal (and mobile) chapel. After the Reformation, the role of the Children of the Chapels shifted to singing hymns and choral compositions that were acceptable to the later Tudors and Stuarts.[85] Beginning 1714, only the monarch's chaplains represented the household clergy, though still amounted to forty-eight clergymen.[86] Interestingly, the clergy from Westminster Abbey did not walk in the procession but awaited it at the abbey doors. Once the procession arrived and prepared to enter the abbey, the clergy then took place further back with the High Officers of the Household.[87]

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[84] *Funerals, College of Arms*, 5; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; E 351/3150; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 17, 92; Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 162. This is actually the only mention in British or Habsburg records of anyone in a funeral procession singing or making any other audible sounds.
[85] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 110.
[86] Bucholz, ed., "The Chapel Royal: Chaplains, 1660-1837," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp518-521, accessed May 30, 2023.
[87] *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]. This will be discussed in the next section.

It does need to be acknowledged that, in 1695, a group marched in the queen's procession that had never done so before: the Members of Parliament. As noted earlier, their presence was a result of the unusual circumstances of William and Mary's joint rule. Parliament was normally dissolved upon the monarch's death, but since William continued to rule on his own this did not happen, creating the unique situation in which there was a sitting Parliament at the time of a monarchical funeral.[88] Due to the intersections between Parliament and the household, some parliamentarians held positions that gave them the right to walk further back in the procession, closer to the coffin. Even without including those men who held household offices, over five hundred Members of the House of Commons participated, arranged according to their constituencies.[89] Walking behind the Commons as a statement of their higher status were over two hundred barons, viscounts, earls, marquesses, and dukes from the House of Lords, all dressed in their formal robes.[90] Parliament as a body did not walk in any subsequent processions, but the House of Lords was still represented in a similar manner, since all the peers had seats in the house. The peers who did not hold offices were arranged based on their rank. The aristocrats' younger sons came first, followed by their older sons and the peers themselves, all based on the hierarchy of the peerage from Irish barons all the way to English (and after 1707, British) dukes. This was the first time in years that the population of aristocrats' sons were able to attend a royal funeral and be placed in their own category within the procession.[91] The change in the number of aristocrats in funeral processions shed some light on the household's efforts to expand its authority over royal ceremonials. It is difficult to ascertain with any certainty precisely how many aristocrats who did not hold any office or position participated in William III's funeral in 1702. This is due to a lack of detailed sources

[88] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 91; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 336-7; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 289.
[89] "House of Commons Journal Volume 11: 4 March 1695," in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol11/p256, accessed February 7, 2021.
[90] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 168.
[91] *I.4*, 119-20; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 4; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 93.

compared to what was recorded for Mary II or Anne. Even the *London Gazette*, which normally published the details of monarchical funeral processions, only includes a single paragraph describing the event. Although the sources disagree on how many carriages were used, there is a consensus that "a very large Train of Coaches of the Servants of the Royal Family, the Judges, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the great Officers" was used. [92] By 1714, the number of peers and their sons walking in the processions amounted to one-third of the participants.[93]

In the Hanoverian period after 1714, a kind of back-and-forth struggle developed between the household and the aristocracy over who should have the largest group at royal funerals. This was one factor that led to a decline in the number of peers who attended. After the funeral in 1751 of George II's son Frederick, Prince of Wales, the Lords Chamberlain actively tried (unsuccessfully) to exclude the peers from royal funerals altogether. Like his father before him, George II had an acrimonious relationship with his son. Their relationship was so vitriolic that it led to a split at court and in Parliament as Members of the Commons and peers chose to either align themselves with the prince or the king. When George died in 1760, the Lord Chamberlain was concerned that peers who had been loyal to Frederick would

[92] *LG*, no. 3800 (April 9-13, 1702); Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 113-4. According to Oldmixon's account from1735, there were "Eighty-six Mourning Coaches with two Horses each, attended by Pages and Flambeaux" (Oldmixon, *History of England*, 260). According to Schaich, there were more than 130 coaches, which makes it nearly impossible to accurately measure changes in participation (Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 434). William's funeral also represents a departure from convention by allowing carriages to be used instead of having the mourners walk on foot. Once it was established that the monarch's body would be moved to the Palace of Westminster, the precedent became that the transfer would be a carriage cortège, and the procession from the palace to the abbey would be on foot.

[93] PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, fols. 66r.-67r.; SP 35/1/24, fols. 75r.-79r.; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714). Only the eldest, title-inheriting sons of peers are included in this calculation. The archival records do not specify if the younger sons, who are listed as their own group within the procession, were only those who would inherit a title or all sons in total. If they were included in this data, aristocratic participation would jump to 43%. Only the peers and their elder and younger sons are specifically listed in the ceremonial registry. No reference is made to their wives, though in 1714 many of the senior peeresses did serve as assistants to the chief mourner or were already members of the queen's household. There is also no indication of how old the peers' sons were, though it is unlikely that they would have been children. In calculating these numbers, the assumption has been made that there was a minimum age of twelve, though this is entirely speculation.

create tensions to avenge the memory of the late prince.[94] To prevent too many peers from attending and creating any untoward demonstrations, the Lord Chamberlain went so far as to withhold the formal invitations until the day of the funeral. This succeeded in making the household the largest group at George II's funeral, but it also cut the other way as it discouraged the aristocracy from having any interest in royal funerals after the 1750s.

As funerals became private and the household became the monarchy's gatekeepers, peers began to excuse themselves from attending funerals by being away from London or declaring they were in poor health. When it came time to assemble the Georgian procession, the Privy Council and Lord Chamberlain had difficulty finding enough peers to serve in the chief mourner's entourage, as there were "not so many Peers' Sons, or Peers of Great of Great Britain & Ireland as was expected…[and] no Marquisses [*sic*] nor Dukes but what attended particular Offices." According to Schaich, however, there were at least enough children of aristocrats "to be mentioned separately in the printed ceremonial." There may also conceivably be a link between the aristocracy's hostility toward the household, and the latter's control of rank and status through mourning regulations as discussed in chapter two. Attending an eighteenth-century royal funeral would have required peers to essentially place themselves under the authority of the household, a reality that some of the older aristocratic families would likely have resented.[95] In 1760, even the Lord President of the Privy Council and the Archbishop of York were absent.[96] By that time, there were an estimated 263 English and Scottish peers, but only 54% actually attended George's funeral.[97] In the back-and-forth

[94] Thompson, *George II*, 51-5, 207-9; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 435. See also Black, "George II and All That Stuff," 603.
[95] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 434-5. It is, of course, worth mentioning that the peers frequently found excuses to absent themselves from general court functions throughout the year.
[96] *I.4*, 120.
[97] Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, 28, 486-8.

competition between the aristocracy and the household, the Lord Chamberlain had won, but at the cost of alienating the aristocracy well into the next century.[98]

It was the section that came after the peers that underwent the most significant change over the course of the eighteenth century. In 1695, the section behind Parliament was occupied by the Officers of Arms carrying all the heraldic banners and regalia that were considered formal elements of a public funeral.[99] This was part of their primary function at royal funerals, along with ensuring order among the different ranks in the procession. They first played that role during the funeral of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, in 1462, when they marshalled all the procession participants. By the mid-sixteenth century, they had taken on that responsibility for royal funerals as well. This was the last time that these elements would be used for an early modern British royal funeral.[100] The heraldic banners of Chester, Wales, and Cornwall, were followed by the Great Branner of Britain, and the banners of England and of France, all carried by aristocrats.[101]

The officers and the Earl Marshal became casualties in the household's efforts to secure its own pre-eminence over eighteenth-century funerals. The goal here seems to have been to ensure that royal funerals were exclusively reserved for the Household Above of Stairs or were under the direct authority of the High Officers. The participants who did not fall into this category were tolerated in private royal funerals if they fulfilled a necessary ceremonial function

[98] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 434-5.
[99] *Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 23; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 429; Bepler, "Funerals," 245-6.
[100] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 65, 68, 75. Since the funeral of Henry VIII in 1547, the members of the College of Arms each received £40 as compensation from the Crown—handled by the Great Wardrobe—for their participation in monarchical funerals (E 351/3150; "Item to S:r Henry S:t George," AO 3/1192; LC 2/27, 139; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 75). The officers' material compensations, in addition to their fee, meant it was profitable for them to have lavish public royal funerals (Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 75-76).
[101] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 153, 168-9. Heraldic flags played a much smaller role in Austrian Habsburg funerals. During the Renaissance and Reformation eras, flags bearing the personal crest of the deceased and of the provincial estates were carried in the funeral processions. The provincial flags fell into disuse in the Austrian lands by the mid-seventeenth century, and by the turn of the eighteenth century, Habsburg funeral processions in Vienna only displayed the black taffeta *Haupttrauerfahne* (high mourning flag) of the imperial house, carried by an army colonel (Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 127).

related to monarchical or parliamentary governance, such as the Great Officers of State or the Westminster Abbey clergy. Even the Pursuivants, Heralds, and Kings of Arms that were under the Earl Marshal were still included in processions because they were responsible for leading the peers and carrying the crown jewels.[102] The Earl Marshal and the Officers of Arms, however, could more easily be excluded from private royal funerals on the basis that they had failed in their ceremonial duties. Queen Caroline's funeral in 1737 was used to force them out, with evidence suggesting that the officers were blamed for botching the ceremony.[103] One of the prebends at Westminster Abbey at the time also noted that her funeral "was not managed with the Decency one would have wished. [There was a] great deal of confusion in marshalling the procession."[104] Since neither the officers nor the Earl Marshal were members of the household in a day-to-day capacity, declaring the funerals to be private removed any plausible need for their participation. They could still attend, but only as spectators. The Lord Chamberlain's plan clearly succeeded, because the Order of Ceremonial from 1760 lists neither the Officers of Arms nor the Earl Marshal himself as walking in the procession. Instead, Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Effingham, marched behind the other earls "exercising the Office of [deputy] Earl Marshal of England."[105]

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[102] WAM, 6464; WAM 6475*; Musgrave to Atterbury, August 13, 1714, WAM 6476 A & B; "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; PC 2/85, 53-4; SP 35/1/18, ff. 66r./v.; *I.4*, 119-20; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Annual Register*, 181

[103] *I.4*, 114; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 78-9. The heralds were also later accused by the Westminster clergy of improperly ordering George II's procession into the abbey for the service. A description of the funeral kept in the abbey's Library and Muniment Room includes a note on the side saying: "NB*: by a mistake of y^e^ Heralds* [emphasis added], & contrary to the Ceremonial above mentioned [the abbey clergy] fell into the Procession just before Norrey King at Arms" (WAM 61783, 3).

[104] Thompson, *George II*, 125.

[105] *I.4*, 120. According to Schaich, the heralds replaced the officers for keeping the procession in order (Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 432). The officers' absence became problematic during the funeral service once they reached the abbey, since one of their primary roles at funerals was to ensure order among all the participants. George II's funeral has since become famous for the level of disordered and improper conduct during the service, quite possibly due to the lack of the Officers of Arms that had at least helped maintain order in 1714 (Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 102-3; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 421; *Range*, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 181-2). The Officers of Arms continued to be guests at royal funerals into the early nineteenth

The final group that always came before the coffin in funeral processions represented the political and spiritual governors of the realm: the High Officers of the Household, the Great Officers of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Kings of Arms carrying the crown jewels. Once the funeral became private after 1702, the place of prominence directly in front of the coffin was always reserved for the Lord Chamberlain. This was a statement that, of all the hundreds of aristocrats, officials, and clergy gathered together for the sovereign's funeral, the Lord Chamberlain wielded the greatest amount of authority at court. This authority was often multiplied because the incumbent could hold more than one household office. In 1714, Queen Anne's Lord Chamberlain, Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, also served as her Lord Treasurer. Similar appointments occurred under the Hanoverians as well. William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire, simultaneously served as George II's Lord Chamberlain, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire. By 1760, the Lord Chamberlain had almost unfettered control over funeral ceremonials and shaped how the monarchy interacted with its subjects; or, in the case of private funerals, did not.[106] In the words of Stephen Leake, the Garter King of Arms in 1760, "The Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain, directed the whole ceremony, by authority of the council, which more properly belonged to the Earl Marshal."[107]

This expansion of household control led by the Lord Chamberlain was not without its limits. There were still instances during the processions when household officials did not take precedence over other groups; specifically, the aristocracy. Its members served as pallbearers escorting the coffin, chief mourners, train bearers, and mourning assistants. As the next chapter will show, this is quite different from Habsburg funerals, in which it was the

century, but they had no ceremonial function. The last funeral they attended corporately was in 1827 for Prince Frederick, Duke of York, the second son of George III (Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 79).

[106] PC 2/85, 50, 53; LC 2/27, 89; SP 35/1/18, f. 66v.; *I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92, 97; *Annual Register*, 180.

[107] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 73.

household officers who had the right to act as pallbearers. In 1695, Mary's coffin was borne on violet and purple-covered chariot, since the abbey was over a kilometer away from Whitehall (Appendix: Fig. 15).[108] Even though there was no belief in the sacrality of the royal corpse after the Reformation, it was still surrounded by an escort that reflected the decedent's status as a former monarch. The pallbearers' primary responsibility in the procession was to hold a purple velvet pall lined with silk and emblazoned with the Royal Arms in satin over the coffin. This harkens back to the lying-in-state, when a similar purple canopy was held above the coffin at all times, creating a kind of canopy of state.[109] The condition of the aristocracy in 1695 meant that Mary's pallbearers included three dukes, two earls, and a marquess. In subsequent funerals, this would be limited to six dukes as the highest-ranking peers in the kingdom, who often served as lords lieutenant or in other governmental posts that gave them the right, combined with their rank, to serve as pallbearers. Their presence reinforced the conception of the aristocracy being central to the monarchy's role in governance, but not without the household's cooperation. This was demonstrated by the escort that accompanied the pallbearers on either side, made up of Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.[110] In 1760, Gentlemen Pensioners were added to the escort. The pensioners were an elite corps of aristocratic household spearmen and lancers who were "trained and fit for battle, well drilled and disciplined." By the late seventeenth century, their duties had become largely ceremonial—such as standing nearest to the monarch at state

[108] Kantorowicz described the use of funeral chariots as triumphal expressions of royal power in an otherwise "lugubrious" ceremony (Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 423-4) As with many elements of the Marian funeral, this was the last time that the coffin would be transported on a chariot in the early modern period. Once it became standard practice for the coffin to be laid out at the Palace of Westminster, pallbearers would carry it across the Old Palace Yard to the abbey.

[109] PC 2/85, 50; LC 2/27, 98; *I.4*, 116; Adamson, ed., *Princely Courts of Europe*, 29; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts," 103-4.

[110] PC 2/85, 53; SP 35/1/18, f. 67r.; SP 35/1/24, ff. 78r., 80r.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 253; *I.4*, f. 85r., 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92, 97; *Annual Register*, 180. All of these gentlemen were either knights or held the rank of esquire.

events—while the actual military functions of their position shifted to the Life Guards.[111] The presence of both groups alongside the pallbearers once again served as the embodiment of the household controlling access to the Crown.

The coffin and its escort represented the peak of the procession, but the space behind it was considered the most ceremonially significant and was reserved for the highest-ranking members of the state. Since the medieval period, the space behind the sovereign's coffin was reserved for the chief mourner, their supporters and numerous assistants. Originally, it was customary for the chief mourner to be the decedent's heir who was now monarch.[112] The practice of English kings serving as the chief mourners for their predecessors seems to have ended with the death of Henry VIII in 1547. His chief mourner was Henry Grey, 3rd Marquess of Dorset. Although Dorset was a prominent courtier, he was neither a member of the Royal Household, or a direct descendant of the royal family; his wife, Frances, was Henry VIII's niece. It is likely that Dorset was chosen as chief mourner because Henry's son and heir, Edward VI, was only nine years old at the time.[113] The custom of having a senior peer or peeress serve as chief mourner continued with the Tudors and Stuarts. Margaret Douglas,

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[111] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 108. The Pensioners' name derived from the fact that their room and board (i.e., their pension) was provided by the Crown. In the early nineteenth century, King William IV restructured the Pensioners into a unit for retired officers who had distinguished themselves and were eventually granted pensions from the government for their service (108, 224), thus giving rise to the modern understanding of the word.

[112] Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 4-5. The supporters were two male peers who were there to support the chief mourner if they were overcome with grief. This was the one role within the chief mourner's entourage that was always held by men, even if it was a queen's funeral and all the attendants and assistants were women. In 1695, the Duchess of Somerset's supporters were the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal, and the 1st Duke of Leads, Lord President of the Privy Council (*Funerals, CA*, no. 6, 17). In 1714, Queen Anne's chief mourner, the Duchess of Ormonde, was supported by the 1st Duke of Richmond and the 6th Duke of Somerset (PC 2/85, 54; SP 35/1/18, f. 67r.; *LG*, no. 5254 [August 24-28, 1714]). In 1760, the two supporters to Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, were the 3rd Duke of Richmond and the 8th Duke of Somerset (*I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92).

[113] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 62; Waller, *Sovereign Ladies*, 43-4. Dorset was later created 1st Duke of Suffolk in 1551 and was the father of the ill-fated Nine-Day Queen, Jane Grey. Woodward posits that minority was also the reason why Edward V did not participate in his father's funeral in 1483.

Countess of Lennox, was Mary I's chief mourner in 1558.[114] Ideally, the chief mourner was the decedent's closest blood relative of the same gender. In the absence of a member of the royal family, the highest-ranking peer or peeress was selected for the role.[115] In some cases, the chief mourners were not even members of the Royal Household at all. In 1695, protocol dictated that Mary's sister Anne serve as chief mourner, but the princess was "in a dubious state of health, for dropsical maladies impaired her constitution" making her unable to fulfill the role.[116] The next closest female relative was a distant cousin but not a member of the household, the Countess of Ailesbury, whom the Privy Council deemed "too indisposed to play the part."[117] Only once the two highest ranking women were out of the running was a member of Mary II's household even considered for the role. Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Derby and Groom of the Stole, insisted it was her right to be the chief mourner since she had been the queen's "most Darling Favourite." This was rejected by the Privy Council on the

[114] Hearne, ed., *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 310.

[115] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 421; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 102; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 425. By the nineteenth century, the same-gender protocol had fallen out of fashion. The chief mourner in 1817 for Princess Charlotte, the only daughter of the future King George IV, was her widower husband, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. By the latter half of the century, social convention had swung in the opposite direction: women as an entire gender "were declared too delicate and fragile" to participate in funeral ceremonies (Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 6). If the deceased monarch had living family members of the opposite gender, they could still participate in the funeral if there was a formal ceremonial role. When James I's wife, Queen Anne, died in 1619, their son the Prince of Wales (the future Charles I) participated in an heraldic role. As heir to the throne, he was ceremonially given his mother's banners that had been made for the funeral. Charles broke with tradition six years later when he became king by acting as chief mourner (Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 183, 186).

[116] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 11, 308; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 335. There is an interesting symmetry that becomes apparent in funeral processions up to 1695. Both the lowest-ranking participants (the almspeople) and the highest ranking (the chief mourner and their entourage) had to be the same gender as the deceased.

[117] Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 336. The English Reformation, the Civil War, and the Glorious Revolution had led to whole branches of the royal family tree being disinherited or exiled since the 1530s. This meant that the Privy Council in 1695 had to go back seven generations to find the next senior ranking woman of royal blood. Elizabeth Bruce, Countess of Ailesbury, was Mary and Anne's sixth cousin once removed. She was descended from Mary Tudor, the younger sister of Henry VIII who briefly married Louis XII of France and later the Duke of Suffolk. Ailesbury was only around forty at the time of the funeral but had been in poor health. She died shortly thereafter, in 1697. Her husband, Thomas Bruce, had been a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to both Charles II and James II, but does not appear to have continued as a member of the Williamite establishment.

grounds that there was still a woman of higher standing: Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Somerset, who was ultimately given the role.[118] The position as chief mourner was therefore first and foremost predicated on rank; membership within the household was a secondary consideration. By 1714, Somerset was Queen Anne's Mistress of the Robes and chosen to reprise her role as chief mourner, thus uniting the household and the aristocracy in the position. Somerset was taken ill shortly before the funeral and the position instead went to Mary Butler, Duchess of Ormonde, one of Anne's Ladies of the Bedchamber.[119] At George II's funeral, his chief mourner was his son Prince William, Duke of Cumberland. This was the first time in a century that the chief mourner was a member of the royal family, and by default, did not hold a position within the household.[120]

Even the chief mourner's sizable entourage of supporters, trainbearers, and assistants were peers and rarely members of the household.[121] As senior peers, they were often former

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[118] Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 432; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 393. It is possible, as Hyde notes, that the duchess's role may have partly been to act as a proxy for Princess Anne rather than serve as chief mourner in her own capacity (Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 167). Quarrels over who should serve as chief mourner were nothing new. When the Privy Council was planning Queen Anne's funeral in 1619, the countesses of Arundel and Nottingham fought over whose husband had a higher standing at court, which in turn would decide who would be the chief mourner. In any process of selecting a chief mourner, the Privy Council's decision was ultimately a public declaration of whomever they recognized as having the highest rank among the peers. In 1619, they chose the Countess of Arundel (Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 168).

[119] SP 35/1/18, ff. 67r., 70r.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 253; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 599. It is also worth noting that at this point in the monarchy's history, the royal family was on the verge of extinction and there were no immediate relatives available in 1695 or 1714.

[120] *I.4*, 115; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*, 92; Thompson, *George II*, 290. There seems to be a pattern of chief mourners at monarchical funerals being ill or indisposed. The two first choices for Mary's chief mourners were too ill to fulfill the role, as was the Duchess of Somerset in 1714. Even though Prince William was able to serve in the role for his father, he had suffered a stroke three months earlier. He died only five years later at the age of forty-four.

[121] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 170; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, fols. 66r.-67r.; SP 35/1/24, fols. 75r.-79r.; *I.4*, 115; *Annual Register*, 180. In some cases, the peers assisting the chief mourner were former household officials, but they were typically out of office for many years. One such example is Daniel Finch, 8th Earl of Winchilsea, who served as one of the assistants to the Duke of Cumberland in 1760. Before inheriting his title, Finch had served as the Comptroller of the Royal Household from 1725 until 1730 (Bucholz, ed., *Office-holders*, "Index of Officers: F", https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp976-1013, accessed June 4, 2023.

Great Officers of State. The number of chief mourner's assistants may have been derived from a sixteenth-century decree that laid out how many mourners could be associated with the deceased based on their rank; at that time, a king was entitled to thirteen.[122] This created a kind of tension within the funeral procession because, despite the household's efforts to make royal funerals limited to their own ranks, tradition and protocol required that the position of highest status always go to peers. This may also help to explain the competitiveness between the peers and the household to have the largest contingent in the procession. The presence of the chief mourner and their attendants seems to have remained beyond the powers of the Lord Chamberlain to modify or alter. In 1714, the Council of Lords Justices appointed the chief mourner and her attendants, and they were notified by the Earl Marshal.[123] Records from the College of Arms suggest that it was the planning committees as whole that determined who would be chief mourner, without indicating if anyone in particular had a majority vote. Those same records also state clearly that by 1760, even before any mourners were chosen, it was accepted that the assistants and entourage were members of the peerage:

> That the two eldest Dukes in or near the town be Supporters to the chief Mourner. That the six next eldest Dukes in or near the town be the Supporters of the Pall. That the train of the Chief Mourner be supported by two Dukes assisted by M^{r} Vice Chamberlain. That two Dukes next in Rank to those who bear the train, and fourteen other Peers being Marquisses and Earls according to their Seniority, in their Rank in or near the town not being [Gentlemen] of the Bedchamber, be the Assistants to the Chief Mourner.[124]

It has already been established that the household made sure that private funerals could not be seen by the general public even at a distance. This cut down on the number of opportunities spectators had to see the aristocracy functioning in such a significant ceremonial

[122] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 76.
[123] "The Lord Marshals Memorial," no. 4, *Funerals, College of Arms*.
[124] *I.4*, 115-6.

role with the monarchy. Since the Lord Chamberlain could not alter the chief mourner's role, he could instead exclude the Earl Marshal (as one of the senior peers) and the Officers of Arms. Their lack of a ceremonial role effectively made any royal funeral a private one, diminishing the role of the aristocracy and limiting participation only to the household and those considered constitutionally necessary for monarchical authority.

Even though the Lord Chamberlain had to endure the presence of the peerage immediately behind the coffin, the final section of the procession was occupied by the household. Between 1695 and 1760, this space was reserved for the staff and officials who directly attended and served the sovereign in their private chambers. In many cases, these were the men and women who actually had the closest personal relationships with the deceased.[125] These included the Grooms of the Stole, Ushers, Grooms, Ladies, and Gentlemen of the Privy and Bedchambers. There was still some intersectionality with the aristocracy in this final section, because the Lords and Ladies of the Bedchamber (for kings or queens, respectively) were members of the aristocracy.[126] Whereas the chief mourner's position within the procession was purely based on his or her rank, the Lords and Ladies of the Bedchamber took precedence as members of the Royal Household. They were escorted by the remaining Pensioners and nearly a hundred Yeomen of the Guard. The Yeomen were established as the monarch's personal bodyguard by Henry VII, as he felt they would provide the constant security he needed after his accession in 1485. Their close relationship with the Crown continued during the Interregnum, when a group of Yeomen served as Charles II's personal security during his exile on the continent.[127] The Yeomen were the military corps that originally acted as the royal bodyguards and are currently "the oldest military body in the

[125] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 434.
[126] *I.4*, f. 85v., 122; PC 2/85, 54; "A Scheme of a Proceeding to the Funeral of her late Most Excellent Ma^{tie} Queen Anne from Kensington to the Abby Church of Westminster," *Royal Funerals, Coll Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 254; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 6; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Annual Register*, 181.
[127] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 107.

world."[128] When the procession reached Westminster Abbey, it was the Yeomen, Pensioners, and Life Guards who formed the honour guard all the way into Henry VII's Lady Chapel as their sovereign and supreme military commander was laid to rest.[129]

Funeral and Burial

Since the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066, thirty English kings and queens have been buried at Westminster Abbey as well as other members of the royal family.[130] This connection between the abbey and the monarchy originated in the thirteenth century when Henry III rebuilt the abbey around the Shrine of Edward the Confessor.[131] Westminster became the recognized resting place for the kings of England when Henry's son, Edward I, decided to bury his wife, Queen Eleanor, and himself at the abbey.[132] While the processions had become largely ceremonial by the eighteenth century, the funeral consisted of religious and political rituals that were enshrined in Britain's constitutional settlement. The Lord Chamberlain and the Royal Household could not modify those rites for their own purposes in the same way they could control how the procession was arranged. This is an example of the point made in chapter one that ritual elements were kept consistent from previous funerals unless political or dynastic circumstances necessitated a modification. The relative stability of Parliament and the Church of England after 1689 meant that the overall ritual foundation of subsequent funerals did not need significant alterations; a reality that gave the household space to modify smaller funereal elements that ultimately gave them a more privileged, active role in ceremonies.

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[128] *I.4*, f. 85v.; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Bucholz, *Office-Holders*, vol. 11, 324, 347; Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 94.

[129] *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; PC 2/85, 54; "A Scheme of a Proceeding to the Funeral of her late Most Excellent Ma^{tie} Queen Anne from Kensington to the Abby Church of Westminster," *Royal Funerals, Coll Arms H*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 254; *I.4*, 122; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 7; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...].

[130] "Royal Tombs," https://www.westminster-abbey.org/about-the-abbey/history/royal-tombs, accessed June 5, 2023.

[131] Bruce et al, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, 51.

[132] Cocke, "'The Repository of our English Kings'," 212.

Over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ceremonial entry into the abbey underwent some changes necessitated by the shift to private funerals. In 1695, the majority of the procession ahead of the coffin was escorted to their seats (more on that below). From there, a smaller procession was formed to escort the coffin inside. The procession was led by the Lord Chamberlain. This was quite possibly a statement of that office's status alongside the highest ecclesiastical and aristocratic officials who were understood as being essential components to the functioning of the monarchy. He was followed by one of the Kings of Arms carrying the crown jewel replicas on a purple velvet cushion. The coffin was carried in by the peers who had served as pallbearers, while the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber carried the purple canopy above it (see chapter three). Behind the coffin came the chief mourner, their train bearers, supporters, and assistants.[133] One group that joined the procession at the abbey door was the Westminster clergy: the Dean of Westminster, prebendaries, and choir.[134] This suggests a division of ecclesiastical responsibilities for the monarch's corpse. The Chapel Royal was responsible for the monarch's daily spiritual wellbeing and escorting the coffin to the gravesite, while the clergy of Westminster Abbey took custody of the coffin for interment in the crypt. The next chapter will discuss a similar division of ecclesiastical responsibilities for the monarch's corpse in Vienna, where the Augustinian monks occupied the same role as the Chapel Royal and marched in the funeral procession, while the Capuchins were responsible for their eternal repose.

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[133] *I.4*, f. 86r.; *Funerals, CA*, no. 6; *Miscell: Collections*, 73; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 156; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 171-2; LC 2/11/1, 82; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; PC 2/85, 54; *I.4*, 122; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 7; *Annual Register*, 181.

[134] *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H.*; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 151, 155, 171; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 109; "At the Council Chamber at St James's 5° Aug. 1714," *Funerals, College of Arms*; PC 2/85, 54; WAM 61783, 3; *Annual Register*, 181. This custom of the church dean receiving the corpse at the threshold has continued into the twenty-first century, and was recently witnessed at the funeral of Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, in April 2021, when the coffin was received at the West Door of St. George's Chapel by the Dean of Windsor and the Archbishop of Canterbury ("The Funeral of the Duke of Edinburgh," *The Royal Family*, https://www.royal.uk/funeral-duke-edinburgh-0, accessed April 23, 2021).

It was customary to have the entire funeral service, including the sermon, lesson, and hymns and anthems, in the chapel where the coffin would be lowered into the vault below. Queen Mary's heraldic public funeral in 1695 was the one exception to this practice and some comments on how it differed from later ceremonies is necessary. The procession entered through the West Door, proceeded up the Nave to the Quire, and the funeral service was held in the main area between the North and South Transepts just before the High Altar (Appendix: Fig. 16). Once the service was completed, the mourners moved into Henry VII's Lady Chapel for the burial service. This spatial division of the Marian funeral "has so far been widely neglected" in both contemporary accounts and current scholarship that such a major change was made to one of the biggest funerals in British history.[135] The main abbey provided more space to accommodate the nearly two thousand mourners.

That space also gave Parliament the ability to plan larger heraldic and ceremonial elements that otherwise could not have fit within the chapel. Most notably was the "magnificent Mausoleum" into which the queen's coffin was placed for the duration of the service (Appendix: Fig. 17).[136] Referred to in some archival material as a hearse or catafalque, this structure was almost like a small pavilion or archway under which the body is placed for the duration of the funeral.[137] This custom of placing the monarch's coffin within a kind of hearse or mourning structure near the Quire was in use since at least 1509, when Henry VII's body was placed beneath "a stately hearse of wax" at St. Paul's Cathedral for a "solemn mass and sermon."[138] The mausoleum served a demonstrative ceremonial function as an early

[135] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 97.
[136] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 158, 177; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]. Designed by Christopher Wren and built by John Pink—who was responsible for supplying many of the material items used in the funeral—the mausoleum cost an impressive £1,600. Range notes that sources indicate this first stage of the funeral "may have been of considerable length" (Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 98).
[137] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 426; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 97-8. See chapter five for a comparison of the use of the *castrum doloris* in Habsburg funerals.
[138] Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 62.

modern billboard "used to display the crests, coronets, arms, supporters, badges, and mottoes of the deceased."[139]

The mausoleum also communicated rank and hierarchy among the funeral guests because the space directly beneath and around it was sectioned off by a series of rails for mourners and senior members of the household.[140] This enclosed area was divided into three sections that included seating for those individuals who were closest to the late queen. Not surprisingly, the chief mourner and her two supporters were seated in the first section at the head of the coffin, while the Lord Chamberlain sat directly opposite them at the foot of the coffin. In the second section on either side were seated the Ladies of the Bedchamber, and the peeresses serving as the chief mourner's assistants. In the third and final section, forming a ring around the peeresses and householders, sat the Officers of Arms and the aristocrats carrying the banners and heraldic regalia that were placed on the mausoleum.[141]

The mausoleum functioned as a three-dimensional representation of monarchical legitimacy and history. It was covered with images of Mary's heraldry, royal iconography, and proverbial depictions that "invoked the unity between ruler and subjects, [with] prudence [being] one of the main virtues of a queen or king, and God's assistance to the monarch."[142] It was also decorated by a number of significant images by the sculptor Grinling Gibbons. Three-foot sculptures of children represented innocence and purity. Lions and unicorns were also displayed to represent the Stuart dynasty; both animals have been featured on the royal coat of arms ever since.[143] The chief mourner, her entourage, and the head of the household were literally partitioned within this structure, separated from the other orders of British society. This seating arrangement around the mausoleum was a visual representation of the institutions

[139] Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 178.
[140] LC 2/11/2, no. 6; WAM 61777.
[141] *I.4*, f. 86r.; *Miscell: Collections*, 73 *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 144; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; LC 2/11/2, no. 13, ditto.
[142] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 426.
[143] Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 334; Keay, *Crown Jewels*, 80; Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 172.

that were considered essential to the functioning of monarchical authority: the peerage, represented by the chief mourner and her assistants; the household, represented by the Lord Chamberlain; and the legitimacy of historical traditions, represented by the Officers of Arms. This was the last time a mausoleum was used at a royal funeral, since they were primarily heraldic in nature and private royal funerals eschewed such displays.[144]

The entry processions for Queen Anne and George II took longer than in 1695 because they entered the abbey and circled down around the Quire, up the north aisle, past the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor and into Henry VII's Lady Chapel. Queen Anne's procession entered through a south-east door next to the Chapel House. It is not clear the exact route that the procession took from the door to the chapel, but it most likely followed the plans used for her son, Duke of Gloucester, in 1700 and William III in 1702. In both cases, the smaller processions entered through the same south-east door, circled down around the Quire up the north side of the abbey past St. Edward's Chapel and into the Lady Chapel.[145] In 1760, the Georgian procession used the North Door instead, possibly to accommodate the larger procession (Appendix: Fig. 18).[146]

Henry VII's Lady Chapel (Appendix: Fig. 19), where nearly all other funerals were held from 1685 to 1760, was too small to accommodate any kind of structure or mourning frame. One of the mausoleum's key functions was to emphasize the privileged relationship between the Crown, the peers, and the household. This could still be carried out in the chapel in a slightly less ostentatious way that also remained consistent with the more intimate approach to private funerals. Conducting the entire service in the Lady Chapel meant that only those individuals who were considered necessary to the functioning of royal authority were allowed inside. Both in 1714 and 1760, the chief mourner and their attendants were seated

[144] Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 178; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 431.
[145] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 120, illustration 3.1, 192.
[146] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 254; *I.4*, 116-7, 122; LC 2/27, 89, 98; WAM 61783, 2; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 7; *Annual Register*, 181.

next to the coffin, which had been placed before the altar in the centre. The High Officers of the Household, Privy Counsellors, and senior peers were seated in the stalls lining the sides.[147] The enclosed space of the Lady Chapel served the same function as the railed off sections of the mausoleum in 1695: the household and peers were enclosed with the coffin, literally separated from the other mourners for the duration of the service.

Everyone who was not seated around the mausoleum in 1695 or allowed into the chapel in 1714 or 1760 was seated in spectator boxes that were specially constructed in the main abbey's Quire near the Transepts.[148] Only those who had been granted tickets were allowed into these seats for the funeral. These tickets were one of the ways that control of the event moved away from the aristocrats and Great Officers of State to the Royal Household. In 1695, the tickets were issued by the Duke of Norfolk in his capacity as Earl Marshal.[149] The almswomen lined the Nave leading up to the Quire as the Officers of Arms conducted the MPs, peers, Maids of Honour, and the Bedchamber Women to their assigned seating in the North and South Transepts.[150] There is no mention of a ticketing system being used in 1714 to control access to the abbey, but one document does state that "all other out Doors of the Said Abbey Church be Kept lockd until the Ceremony of the Royal Interment be Ended and the Lords, the Peeresses and others depart."[151] By 1760, these tickets were "being deld [*sic*] out by the L^{d}. Chamberlain" and it was entirely at his discretion to determine who would be given the

[147] Musgrave to Atterbury, August 13, 1714, WAM 6476 A & B; PC 2/85, 54; "A Scheme of a Proceeding to the Funeral of her late Most Excellent Ma^{tie} Queen Anne from Kensington to the Abby Church of Westminster," *Royal Funerals, Coll Arms H*; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714); WAM 61783, 6-7.
[148] *I.4*, f. 85v.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 151, 171; WAM 61777; Musgrave to Atterbury, August 13, 1714, WAM 6476 A & B; PC 2/85, 54; WAM 61783, 6-7.
[149] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 152.
[150] *I.4*, f. 85v.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 151, 171; WAM 61777; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 66-7; Hyde, "Romeyn de Hooghe," 150. These boxes had been designed and constructed by Sir Christopher Wren, the Surveyor of the Works, specifically to accommodate the presence of both houses for the first time at a royal funeral.
[151] WAM 6465.

right to sit in these seating boxes.[152] It would appear that the household's triumph over its rivals came at a cost to the dignity and solemnity of royal ceremonies that they claimed was one of their main goals. Horace Walpole wrote that "no order was observed" during the seating process, "people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin."[153]

Once everyone was seated and the coffin was in position, the service could begin. The overall liturgical structure was largely set by the eighteenth century; this was one element that had little to no bearing on the household's influence over the Crown or its struggle with the aristocrats. Only a few comments are therefore necessary for understanding how the service moved toward its climax: the burial. The funeral service for almost every British monarch since 1603 has been conducted according to the Church of England's liturgy; James II was the one exception, receiving a Catholic funeral in France in 1701. The liturgical basis was the Anglican Prayer Book, originally printed in 1549 by the fiercely Protestant child king Edward VI. It underwent multiple revisions and reissues, and the version used for Mary's funeral had been printed in 1662. It provided the primary liturgical text that was recited at the beginning of the service, upon arriving at the gravesite, and upon completion of the interment.[154] The liturgy was conducted by the Dean of Westminster, followed by a sermon from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and an anthem sung by the choirs.[155]

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[152] WAM 61783, 6.

[153] Letter of Horace Walpole to George Montagu, November 13, 1760, in Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, 49. Range cautions against reading too much into Walpole's comments, as the antiquarian was "ever [the] stickler for protocol" and may have been recording his upset over precise courtly protocols not being followed to the letter (Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 182).

[154] Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 444-5; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 17, 23-4. For a discussion of how Edward VI's theological policies shaped revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, see Meyer, *The Tudors*, 328-9, 354-5, 363. A second Edwardian edition was issued in 1552, an Elizabethan edition was printed in 1559, and a Latin translation was produced in 1560 (see Range, 25).

[155] *I.4*, f. 86r.; WAM 6475*; PC 2/85, 54; LC 2/27, 98; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Annual Register*, 181; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 448; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 444-6; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 17, 23-8, 104, 119, 128-9, 161. There are indications that at least some changes were made to the order of the liturgy in 1714 (though not the liturgy itself).

Sermons as popular features of Protestant funerals developed in the mid-sixteenth century, became a formal part of the service by the end of the century, and remained one of the most important elements until the early eighteenth century; Martin Luther considered funeral sermons as an "act of worship…[so] that we now preach God's Word, in which God is praised and the people are uplifted." Sermons themselves were considered the nexus of worship for Lutherans, thus it is only natural that it became equally central within Protestant funeral services, both as an act of worship and as a way of showing proper respect for the decedent.[156]

The Lord's Prayer and responsory was moved up before the dean read the Lesson instead of after the interment, and only a single Psalm was recited prior to the Lesson, compared to the three Funeral Sentences from the Prayer Book that were used in 1695 (WAM 6475*; PC 2/85, 54). The purpose for these changes is not clear but may have been in an effort to trim down the length of the funeral service. See also Range, 119, for a discussion of the order of the Funeral Sentences and the liturgy; "A Scheme of a Proceeding to the Funeral of her late Most Excellent Ma[tie] Queen Anne from Kensington to the Abby Church of Westminster," *Royal Funerals, Coll Arms H*. There is a bit of irony about Anne's funeral, since she "had particularly disliked" the Dean of Westminster, Francis Atterbury, for being a Jacobite (Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 568; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 599).

[156] Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 108, 110. For Koslofsky's overall analysis of the development of the sermon as an element of Lutheran funeral services between 1550 and 1725, along with their growing popularity within other Protestant denominations, see 107-114. Funeral sermons were used in an almost identical manner at the Habsburg court. Leopold I and Charles VI were both similarly compared to King David for their piety, devotion, virtues, and veneration for the Eucharist (Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 226; Ignatio Pittermann, *Leich- und Lob-Red Der Römisch-Kayserlich, und Königlich-Catholischen Majestät, Erz-Herzogen von Oesterreich, &c. &c. Carl des Sechsten, Da Sr. Kayserl. Majestät Leich-Besingnuß Den 16. 17. und 18.ten* Novembris *1740. In der Hof-Kirchen bey herzlichen Trauer-Gerüst gehalten worden. Vor denen Durchleuchtigsten Erz-Herzoginen von Oesterreich, Und Ihro Königlichen Hoheit Herrn Herzogen von Lothringen, und Groß-Herzogen von Toscana* [Vienna: Johann Janaz Heyinger, 1740], 25, AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16). Maria Theresa was the only one of the six monarchs not to be compared to Biblical figures in funerary sermons. During exequies for the empress in Linz in December 1780, the Abbot of Gleink preached a thirty-eight page sermon praising Maria Theresa for her living and active faith, marked by its virtues of patience and faith, were "beautiful lessons" to others facing injustice. The abbot encouraged those enduring hardship or persecution to follow in Maria Theresa's example by living a life of surrender to the Cross of Christ, being marked by the blood of the Saviour, and therefore as true Christians. He called the empress a model of true faith in worst hardships for all her people to follow, in particular her "apostolic zeal for religion" and her "humble submission to the Holy Church" (Wolfgang Holymayr, *Trauderrede auf Marie Theresie verwittweten römischen Kaiserinn, apostolischen Königinn zu Hungarn, Böheim, Dalmatien, Croatien, Slavonien, Galizien, Lodomerien &c. Erzherzoginn zu Oesterreich, &c. und zu Burgund, &c. Großfürstinn zu Siebenbürgen; Markgräfinn zu Mähren; Herzoginn zu Braband, &c. Gräfinn zu Habsburg, &c. verwittwete Herzoginn zu Lotharingen, und Baar, Großherzoginn zu Toscana &c. &c. Als Sr. Höchstseligen Majestät feyerliches Leichenbegängniß in Gegenwart des hohen Landesdikasteriums, und des löbl. Militaire, dann der löbl. Herren Landesstände, des Magistrats, und eines zahlreichen Volkes, in der Stadtpfarrkirche der Landesfürstlichen Hauptstadt Linz, den 18, 19, und 20 December*

Queen Anne was the last British monarch to receive a sermon at her funeral. Thomas Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented a sermon based on Ecclesiastes 7:14: "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him."[157]

As noted by Koslofsky and Schaich, funeral sermons largely disappeared from British royal funerals after the arrival of the Hanoverians. However, funerary sermons were still preached from pulpits across England in the eighteenth century. In 1714, George Noone, the rector of Wifdord in Essex, preached a sermon praising Queen Anne for following the example of the Old Testament king Josiah, "who turned to the LORD with all his heart and soul and strength, obeying all the laws of Moses."[158] Noone praised Anne for emulating Josiah's example of strictly adhering to "God's true Religion," living by "the strictest Rules of Piety," and seeking to make her subjects as pious and moral as she was.[159] George II was directly compared to King David because the latter represented "a just and noble Idea of a great and good King, which is fairly applicable to our deceased Sovereign King *George* the Second."[160] For George's funeral, however, the records are all in agreement that "service, according to the liturgy of the church of England, was read by the bishop of Rochester, dean of Westminster," which was followed by the Office of Burial from the Book of Common Prayer after the interment was complete.[161] It is unknown how long this portion of the service lasted; much depending on the length of the sermon. The funeral sermon for James I in 1625 lasted two

1780 gehalten wurde [Linz: 1780], Verhandlungsakten betreffend den Tod der Kaiserin Maria Theresia [1780.11.29-1780.12], AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, 17-8, 24-5, f. 189)

[157] *I.4*, f. 86r.; Eccl. 7:14 (KJV).

[158] 2 Kings 23:25.

[159] Noone, *A Sermon Upon the Death of Queen Anne*, 1-3.

[160] John Leland, *A Sermon Preached at Eustace-Street,* November *the 9th, 1760, On Occasion of the Death of His late Majesty King* George *II. Of Glorious Memory* [Dublin: Printed for Hulton Bradley, 1760], 3-4.

[161] *Annual Register*, 181; *I.4*, f. 123; *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...];

hours, and sources indicate that Queen Mary's funeral "may have been of considerable length."[162]

Once the funeral liturgy was complete, the coffin was prepared for burial. In 1695, this meant that the coffin was taken into the Lady Chapel; in the eighteenth century the coffin and select groups were already there. When one considers the household's role in the ceremonies, it is necessary to look at which groups were given permission to enter the Lady Chapel for this portion of the service. Naturally, this included the Westminster clergy, the Kings of Arms, and the chief mourner and their assistants. Household officials also played a more active role during the burial, and included more of the High Officers, Maids of Honour, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.[163] When one considers who was admitted to the chapel, including those listed above at the private funerals, one begins to get a sense of how the British establishment understood the Crown's relationship with the household and the aristocrats. The ceremonial elements associated with monarchical legitimization like the funeral liturgy emphasized the historic relationship with the aristocracy, shown by the peers and peeresses in the mourning entourage. The burial, however, was regarded as a more personal, intimate event as evidenced by the participation of more householders. This suggests that there was an understanding that the aristocracy played a ceremonial role in the pomp and pageantry of the British monarchy, but it was the household that was necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the Crown.

The burial service changed very little after the seventeenth century. Once everyone was in position, the dean read the section of the Prayer Book entitled "The Burial of the Dead."

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[162] Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 175; Schaich, "Funerals of the British Monarchy," 426; Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 97-8.

[163] *4*, ff. 86r./v.; *Miscell: Collections*, 73; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 155-6, 173; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]. There is no indication of how long Queen Anne's funeral lasted. It can be estimated that George II's was roughly forty-five minutes to an hour long before the burial service. This is based on the procession beginning at 8:30 p.m. and the burial in the Hanoverian Vault happening around 10:00 p.m. (*I.4*, 123; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 1; WAM 61783, 1, 4).

This included several liturgical elements framed around recitations that emphasized the fleeting nature of life. This was followed by Henry Purcell's choral piece *Thou knowest, Lord*, which functioned as a prayer for God's mercy when facing judgement and eternity. Additional anthems were introduced in the latter half of the eighteenth century, possibly as a replacement for the ceremonial heraldic elements that had been abandoned after 1695.[164]

At the end of the liturgy, the coffin was deposited into the vault beneath the floor of the Lady Chapel. This was a critical moment in the ceremony because there were a number of overlapping rituals that were considered essentially in the life cycle of the British monarchy as one reign ended and another began; rites that once again emphasized the role of the household at the heart of monarchical governance. In 1695, Mary's coffin was lowered down into the Stuart Vault next to Charles II's using a kind of pulley system.[165] Gregg's foundational study on Queen Anne claims that a similar method was used in 1714.[166] While this initially seems to have been the plan, both the Privy Council records and the State Papers kept in the National Archives state that Anne's coffin was instead carried down into the vault.[167] A similar situation

[164] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 177-8; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]. For a detailed examination of funeral anthems in 1695, 1714, and 1760, see Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 93-109, 123-32, and 183-93.

[165] *I.4*, ff. 86r./v.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 177-8; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 338.

[166] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 458.

[167] PC 2/85, 54; SP 35/1/24, f. 79r. The plan to lower the coffin had gone far enough that the Lord Chamberlain's Office kept a receipt for a bill for four fine silk ropes "To let down the coffin into the Vault." The ropes were "4. very large pieces of purple in grain Silk Lyon" supplied by the lace maker William Weeks for £25.10s (LC 2/18, no. 29). It is likely that the reason the lowering plan was abandoned was due to the coffin's size and weight. There was also limited room in the Stuart Vault because it already housed the remains of Mary II, William III, Charles II, and Prince George of Denmark. The remains of Queen Anne and Prince George's sixteen children that predeceased them were buried in a separate chamber below the south side of the Lady Chapel along with Mary Queen of Scots, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, and the deceased children of James II (Brewer, *The Death of Kings*, 10, 208). A rather unkind Whig story that circulated was that Anne's coffin was "as wide as it was long," but no evidence has been found to support this claim (Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen'," 253). This was part of a centuries' long tendency among historians, authors, and politicians to form highly gendered judgements of Anne. More negative comments have been made on her weight, skin complexion, and general health than any other British queen regnant. Perhaps the most gendered—and unkind—assessments of Anne can be seen in individual historians' "portrayal of the Queen's physical size and shape—from pleasantly round to grossly obese—

occurred in 1760. The original plan appears to have been to lower George II's coffin directly down into the Hanoverian Vault next to his wife, but documents from the College of Arms, the Lord Chamberlain's Office, and the *London Gazette* all specify that it was carried into the vault.[168] In 1714 and 1760, the High Officers of the Household led a small procession that accompanied the coffin down into the vault. In both cases, the privilege of accompanying the coffin to its final resting place was given to the Lord Chamberlain, the High Officers, and the senior peers in the mourning entourage.[169]

Once the coffin had been placed in the vault, the High Officers carried out their last official function as members of the late monarch's household. It was customary for them to break their white staves of office as the coffin was being lowered through the floor into the vault. The officers would then throw their broken staves into the grave, evoking images of tossing dirt on a grave. This ceremonial act represented the completion of their service to the sovereign.[170] This tradition was maintained until the end of the seventeenth century. Queen Mary's officials broke their staves and tossed them, along with their keys of office, down into the coffin as it entered the Stuart Vault.[171] The next chapter will discuss how a similar ritual was conducted by the *Obersthofbeämter* at Habsburg funerals, marking the dissolution of the imperial household and their terms of office. There is an important distinction that occurred at British royal funerals. While breaking the white staves over the grave did symbolically dissolve the decedent's household, it did not mean the High Officers' positions had ended. Senior

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[and] is usually a fair index of that author's view of her character and abilities" (109). For a focused analysis of perceptions and interpretations of Anne's physical appearance and health, see Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen'," 242-72.

[168] *I.4*, 123; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 7; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; LC 2/27, 91. A document kept in the Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room, parts of which have been burned or are otherwise missing, describes " the Body was letting down [burnt] a machine [missing]," suggesting that at one time, lower the coffin had been the plan (WAM 61783, 4).

[169] PC 2/85, 54; SP 35/1/24, f. 79r.; *Annual Register*, 181.

[170] Fritz "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 62-3; Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 32.

[171] *I.4*, ff. 86r./v.; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 177-8; LC 2/11/1, 101; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...]; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 388-9; Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, 338.

appointments to the household were sometimes hereditary or tied to the Crown as an institution and not the monarch personally, so the incumbent did not have to surrender their office when the monarch died.[172] This ritual was modified in the eighteenth century to serve as a metaphor for the household's ability to continue on after the monarch's death, helping to ensure a stable transition to the new reign. In 1714, the practice was stopped altogether, as noted in the Privy Council records: "The White Staff Officers being by Act of Parliam:t Continued in their places are not to break their Staves as was formerly practised."[173] This was a one-time ceremonial modification in response to a unique political circumstance. Parliament had passed the Succession to the Crown Act in 1707 that prevented the offices of state and household from being dissolved when Queen Anne died. This allowed the incumbents to retain their positions until George I arrived from Hanover to assume the throne.[174] Anne's Lord Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, Lord Steward, and Master of the Horse all stayed on after her death, some for months and others for several years. By the mid-eighteenth century, it had become standard practice for High Officers to stay on for years into the new reign.[175] With the expansion of household control over royal ceremonials, the decision was made to revive a version of the staff-breaking ritual for George II's funeral. When his coffin was placed into the Hanoverian Vault, the officers knelt down and placed the ends of their staves into the vault entrance (Appendix: Fig. 20) as a ceremonial act of transitioning from his reign to that of his grandson, King George III.[176]

With the coffin interred and the household having symbolically ended their service to the late ruler, the funeral was nearly at an end. Several ceremonial elements remained. Their

[172] For a discussion of this, see chapter one. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 306; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168
[173] PC 2/85, 57.
[174] 6° Annæ, c. XLI: "An Act for the Security of Her Majesties Person [...]," in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol., 9, 739. 742; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 72.
[175] The dates of all the different household officers between 1660 and 1837 can be found in Bucholz's *Office-holders in Modern Britain*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11, accessed June 8, 2023.
[176] *I.4*, 116, 123; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 7; WAM 61783, 5.

ordering sometimes shifted depending on the clergy performing them, but the funerals always concluded with the same core elements. The Dean of Westminster recited the last of the Graveside Sentences from the Prayer Book: "I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, From Henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours." This was followed by the Lord's Prayer.[177] The last element has continued to be one of the defining ritual components of British royal funerals into the twenty-first century, seen most recently at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II in 2022. Even though the Earl Marshal and Officers of Arms were excluded from actively participating in private funerals, the Garter King of Arms has continued to play a vital ceremonial role at the close of the service by announcing the full title and honours of the decedent and proclaiming a blessing over the new sovereign. The Garter King was, technically, a member of the Royal Household, and it was the members of that institution that presided over and participated in the most intimate and ceremonially significant moments of British royal funerals throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. The text of Queen Mary's proclamation has not survived, but these proclamations have changed very little since the seventeenth century. That may partly explain why so few copies are extant: if the change was minimal, it may not have been considered necessary to preserve the text for an individual monarch's funeral if there was already an existing copy on record with the Privy Council. After Queen Anne's coffin had been placed in the vault and an anthem sung, the Garter King Sir Henry St George read the following proclamation:

> Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this Transitory Life to his Divine Mercy, the late most high, most nighty and most Excellent Princess Anne by the Grace of God Queen of great Brittain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

[177] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 25, 119; Rev. 14:13.

> Let us beseech Almighty God to bless and preserve with long Life, Health and Honour and all Worldly Happyness the most high, most Mighty and most Excellent Monarch, our Sovereign Lord George now by the Grace of God King of great Brittain France and Ireland Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter and of St. Andrew.
>
> God save King George.[178]

Walker notes that a nearly identical text, adjusted for gender, was read aloud at George I's funeral in Hanover in 1727.[179] In 1760, Stephen Leake, the famous antiquarian and Garter King of Arms, issued a similar proclamation for George II once the final anthems had been sung. It is evident by the similar vocabulary that the text was based on Queen Anne's, but also how only a few necessary changes were made in the intervening forty-six years, reflecting the king's status as one of the Holy Roman Empire's sovereign princes:

> Thus it hath pleased Almighty GOD, to take out of this transitory Life unto His Divine Mercy, the late most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Monarch, GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of GOD, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh [*sic*], Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.
>
> Let us beseech Almighty GOD to bless and preserve with long Life, Health and Honour, and all worldly Happiness, the most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Monarch, Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, now by the Grace of GOD, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh [*sic*], Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.
>
> GOD Save King GEORGE the THIRD.[180]

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[178] PC 2/85, 54; SP 35/1/18, f. 68r.; *Royal Funerals, Coll: Arms H*; *Royal Funerals,* vol. 1, 240 insert 3 and 4; Musgrave to Atterbury, August 13, 1714, WAM 6476 A & B.

[179] Walker, "The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight'," 99-100.

[180] *I.4*, 123; *The Ceremonial for the Private Interment* [...], 8; *LG* no. 10049 (Nov. 1-4, 1760), *A Ceremonial For the Interrment* [...]; *Annual Register*, 181.

When these proclamations were made and the liturgy completed by the dean, the corpse was now in the custody of Westminster Abbey. The funeral was over. The mourners formed themselves into another procession that mirrored the one that brought the coffin to the abbey at the start of the ceremony. As bells tolled and cannons fired, they proceeded in formation back to their starting point: Whitehall in 1695, and the Palace of Westminster in 1714 and 1760.[181]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to correct misconceptions about the Royal Household's role in eighteenth-century British royal funerals as they transitioned from public to private events. By closely examining the funerals of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian monarchs between 1695 and 1780, it becomes clear that the household was not only able to retain influence over royal ceremonials, but even expand that influence as they became more privatized. This analysis has focused on the composition of and changes to the processions to Westminster Abbey, the funeral and burial services in order to show household officials expanded their roles by reducing the participation of other groups like the aristocracy and the College of Arms. In so doing, the High Officers fashioned a royal ritual culture that was largely under their own control, and in particular, the Lord Chamberlain's. Several conclusions can be drawn from these examinations.

First, the Royal Household remained the central institution around which eighteenth-century funerals functioned, even as they became increasingly private. The household represented a significant percentage of the participants at Queen Mary's public funeral in 1695, but as civic, aristocratic, and heraldic groups started to be excluded by 1714, this percentage increased. The household's competition with the aristocracy over who could have

[181] *I.4*, f. 86v., 123; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 155, 173.

the biggest delegation was ultimately won by the former, who were themselves titled aristocrats employed by the Crown. This was due to several factors. The aristocracy was already becoming resistant to the household's control of mourning regulations, as discussed in chapter two. The efforts of the Lords Chamberlain to actively discourage aristocratic participation by mailing invitations too late had succeeded in leading the peers that would normally attend a monarch's funeral to excuse themselves and stay away from London entirely. The most significant factor in securing the household's authority over royal funerals was the Lord Chamberlain's embargo on the Earl Marshal and the Officers of Arms from having active roles during the service. Since the Earl Marshal was one of the senior peers of the realm, his being shut out of his traditional role as the architect of monarchical events was a clear warning shot to the rest of the aristocracy not to meddle in what the household saw as its affairs. The Officers of Arms had traditionally been responsible for managing the heraldic elements of royal funerals, along with keeping order among participants. By banning their active involvement, the household was able to make royal funerals increasingly private, allowing them to have tighter control over the guest list. This control made the household the royal gatekeepers: anyone who wanted access to the Crown through a royal funeral needed the household's approval. This plan clearly worked, because the Earl Marshal in 1760, Edward Howard, 9th Duke of Norfolk, did not even attend George II's funeral; he sent a deputy in his place. At the same time, peers were still allowed to occupy the vaunted position of chief mourner, but the participatory roles in royal funerals were almost exclusively held by the household.

The second conclusion that can be drawn is that the number of participants in private royal funerals did not undergo as drastic a decline as some scholars have argued. Commoners were no longer represented at funerals by almspeople, and the public had been shut out from even being able to see the procession because of the extensive security perimeters established in 1714 and 1760. At the same time, more members of the household were allowed to participate in the procession and get seats inside Westminster Abbey for the funeral. This was fueled by

the household's intention of driving the aristocracy out of royal funerals. Officials were engaged in a form of ritual warfare against the aristocrats, jockeying for influence that was manifested in their central role as shapers of monarchical authority. Evidence has also been presented that a distinction was made after 1702 between those mourners who participated in the procession and the service and those who were invited guests seated in the spectator boxes. These included peers and peeresses, foreign dignitaries, and the Officers of Arms. Private royal funeral processions averaged approximately eight hundred mourners. When potentially hundreds of additional spectators seated in the abbey are added into these counts, the total size of private royal funerals was significantly higher than what has previously been estimated.[182] This is a seemingly small detail that reveals a significant reality of private royal funerals: active participation was reserved for the household and only those officials considered necessary for monarchical authority.

The third conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that the eighteenth-century shift from public to private royal funerals did not lead to a reduction in the scale of ceremonials involved in the monarchy's ritual culture, as one might expect from a 'private' event. Even though the pomp and pageantry of heraldic public funerals was abandoned after 1695, the household still relied upon traditional ceremonial elements to structure the event and legitimize their relationship with the Crown. In 1695, Mary II's procession entered Westminster Abbey through the West Door, giving it enough space to reach the Quire, the Transepts, and deliver the coffin to the mausoleum. Starting in 1714, the processions were shut away from public view and entered the abbey through doors closer to Henry VII's Lady Chapel. However, since more householders were added to the processions, which still numbered around eight hundred, it was necessary for the procession to complete a circuit around the abbey before entering the chapel. This resulted in what Range describes as "a

[182] WAM 61783, 6-7.

lengthy entrance procession…[that] gave these services a splendour rarely seen and heard before or, indeed, afterwards at any funeral."[183]

These seemingly grand ceremonials at private funerals were not only about the household's procession, but also included the burial service itself. Perhaps the most noteworthy element was the breaking of the officers' white staves as the coffin was lowered into the vault. Even though this practice was suspended in 1714, it was resurrected in modified form in 1760 when George II's officials knelt and placed their staves at the entrance to the Hanoverian Vault. This may seem like a simple act, but it was an expression of how much power the household had acquired by the latter half of the eighteenth century. This ritual symbolized the conclusion of their service to the decedent, but the Succession to the Crown Act had changed the long-term role of the household by keeping the incumbents in their offices even after the monarch died. In 1760, George III inherited many of the High Officers who had served his grandfather and been the chief participants at his funeral. This minimized potential interruptions to dynastic stability as the new king began his reign. The household had made itself indispensable to the monarchy's ritual culture, seen in the transition from Queen Mary's public funeral in 1695 all the way to George II's entirely private funeral in 1760. The household had become an institution that outlasted individual monarchs and linked one reign with the next. Its very existence was a symbol of stability, even if only on a figurative level. This is a testament to the reality that the household played a vital role, not only in the day-to-day needs of the sovereign, but in the rituals that legitimized monarchical governance. Ultimately, the Royal Household had succeeded in redefining private funerals according to their own interests, and in so doing, ensured their control of British royal ritual culture well into the next century.

[183] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 192.

Chapter 5: "A Poor and Miserable Sinner"
The Funerals of the Austrian Habsburgs

The death of Empress Maria Theresa on November 29, 1780, marked a significant turning point in the funerary traditions of the Habsburg court. Since the standardization of precedents in the 1650s, Habsburg funeral rituals remained relatively unchanged until the latter half of the eighteenth century.[1] Consistency was the watchword when the *Hofkonferenz* planned the funeral. This consistency of monarchical traditions helped facilitate the transition from one reign to the next by conveying a public message of an enduring, stable dynastic regime ruling over an enduring, stable Christian state. However, in 1780, significant alterations were made to the earlier precedents that were used for Maria Theresa's funeral. She had left instructions that her procession be simplified so as not be turned into some kind of overly extravagant parade.[2] Instead of a single, large procession with all the mourners escorting the coffin to the crypt, participants were divided into two groups. The almspeople, local clergy, and some of the household staff assembled outside the Augustinian Church at the Hofburg and were to escort the coffin to the crypt at the Capuchin Church. Simultaneously, the imperial family, *Obersthofbeämter*, court ladies, and members of government gathered at the Capuchin Church to await the procession.[3] During the procession, carriages were used for the first time for a Habsburg monarch. A *Trauerwagen* (literally 'mourning carriage' or hearse) was used to transport the coffin, rather than being escorted by pallbearers, and the empress's senior ladies followed behind in three carriages.[4]

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[1] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 69.
[2] Karl Roider, *Maria Theresa* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 141-2.
[3] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35, ff. ff. 385v.-386r., 390r./v., 392r.-393v., 397v., 400v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 285, 306r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.773-B/422.774-B.
[4] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, ff. 143r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35, f. 399v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241.

Given that the standard operating procedure for rituals within the imperial household was maintaining consistency based on past precedents, it is not surprising that Maria Theresa's funeral has been viewed by scholars as a significant break with the past. On the surface, these appear to be major changes to Habsburg funerary rites, representing significant shifts in beliefs about royal ceremonials, religiosity, and the place of the monarch within the body politic. Historians have attributed these shifts to the increasing secularization of the eighteenth-century Habsburg state, with religion becoming less significant to both the imperial dynasty and its subjects.[5] There is also a long-standing conception of the eighteenth century as a period of secularization, one that has pervaded discussions of early modern Habsburg dynastic and ritual history. An examination of Habsburg funerary rites reveals that religiosity and piety remained of great importance at key moments in the funeralization process, as shown by the actions of the court officials during the funeral. The reduction of Baroque ritual culture and piety towards a more subdued, introspective religiosity has been misinterpreted as an increase in secularism within the Habsburg state. Instead, the Habsburg courtiers, as the architects of imperial funerals who had been eschewing Baroque religiosity for some years, succeeded in reinterpreting funerary rites to express their own conceptions of piety within the monarchy.[6]

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was a growing complacency within the *Hofstaat* about the desacralization of royal rituals, with religious rites becoming less significant to both the imperial dynasty and its subjects.[7] This shift in religiosity had a direct

[5] Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 40-1; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 179; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 201-2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367-9.
[6] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 369-70. See also Hans Hollerweger, "Die gottesdienstlichen Reformen Josephs II. und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Frömmigkeit des Volkes," in *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte*, vol 94, no. 1/2 (1983), 60-3; and Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 40. Not everyone agrees with this eighteenth-century decline narrative. Monod makes a strong case that European states after 1690 were less interested in secularization than personalizing religious expression as a way of producing stronger, more disciplined, and productive members of society (Monod, *The Power of Kings*, 284).
[7] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 179; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 201-2; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 27; Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word," 112; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, 40-1; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367-9.

impact on beliefs in the sacrality of certain elements of royal funerals, such as the need for the pallbearers to be in physical contact with the coffin for the duration of the procession. Some of the most notable factors for this desacralization of rituals include the growing popularity of German Enlightenment values among Austrian aristocrats, including within the household, and the Habsburgs' Bohemian subjects as a major contributor; the declining interest in Jesuit education in favour of Protestant universities within the German states during the Carolinian period (1711-40); and growing support within the *Hofstaat* and the imperial household to reform Austrian Catholicism to make it free of papal influence.[8]

Although shifts in religiosity were a factor in some of the ceremonial changes made to these rites, a close examination of eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals reveals that these changes were also driven by a desire within the imperial household to gradually modify and adapt these rites according to these evolving beliefs. This chapter will reveal how the reinterpretation of specific funerary rituals ensured that the imperial household remained central to the symbolic legitimacy of the Habsburg dynasty. This trend towards modification and reinterpretation was aimed at ensuring the imperial household remained relevant to the functioning of the Crown through rituals even as governance and the court became increasingly separated during the Theresian period. At the same time, this functioned as an expression of the household's values that the idealized Habsburg state was maintained by a social hierarchy that remained intact amidst evolving conceptions of the body politic.[9]

The small body of literature that has been produced on Habsburg funerals has focused on the ritual elements rather than the role of the household in those rites. Those scholars that

[8] Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 27; Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word," 112. Maria Theresa's own desire for a more subdued, inward religiosity was influenced by Ludovico Antonio Muratori. A Modenese parish priest, Muratori launched a "frontal assault on baroque popular piety" in the form of his treatise *Die wahre Andacht des Christen* (*The Proper Devotion of the Christian*) that led to his developing "widespread influence in Austrian ecclesiastical circles" in the eighteenth century (Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word," 112-3).
[9] Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122-3; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 58; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 423-4.

have explored this topic have focused on close readings of the processions and burials to shed light on how these funerary rites have shaped conceptions of Habsburg legitimacy and their relationship with their subjects through ritual interaction. None of these recent studies have addressed the household's role in shaping the political culture and dynastic authority within the Habsburg state through its control of rituals, specifically the monarch's funeral. The *Obersthofbeämter* are non-existent in Bůžek, while Hengerer and Katzenbach only discuss them in narrative terms: where they walked in the funeral procession or which ones accompanied the coffin into the crypt.[10] In fairness to these scholars, their works are only articles and not exhaustive studies, so they undoubtedly had limitations on which elements of these complex rituals they could focus.

It is not surprising that these works have glossed over the role of the imperial household, considering the longstanding interpretation of the court and household as synonymous, declining institutions. Furthermore, the Theresian reforms after 1748 led to a gradual separation of the role of the *Obersthofbeämter* in governance (as mentioned in chapter one). Concomitant shifts in religiosity also led to changing public perceptions about the relevance of earlier court rituals held to sacerdotal, and Maria Theresa herself had limited the control that her *Obersthofbeämter* might have had over her funeral by planning many of the details herself.[11] As such, the *Obersthofbeämter* needed to find other ways to use funerary

[10] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 58-67, 108-15; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 367-73, 382; Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten," 260, 272; Katzenbach, "Die Inszenierung des Todes," 91-2, 101-2, et al.

[11] For a useful overview of Maria Theresa's political reforms, see Ingrao *Habsburg Monarchy*, 159-72; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 33-7; and Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 28-32, 47-50. Maria Theresa's reign also contributed to changes in Austrian views on religiosity and the place of the Church in the life of the state. Despite her deep personal faith, Maria Theresa was not a papist or a believer that the Church should exercise influence over matters of state. In this way, she followed the examples of her predecessors, who "were unwilling to become the puppets of either the curia or the bishops" (Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 89). As a matter of statesmanship and political science, the empress was a secularist who strove for an end to the Counter-Reformational convention in the Austrian lands that papacy and clergy should have a role in state policy (Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 165-7; Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 89, 98-9). Despite promoting significant advances in education and state administration, Maria Theresa remained a fundamental conservative at heart. The reason

rituals to demonstrate their continued role as facilitators of Habsburg monarchical stability. Throughout the century and these various changes, the imperial household remained critical to the efficacy of royal funerals as rituals of monarchical legitimacy and expressions of the idealized Habsburg state under specific rulers. These funerals were a public demonstration of the household's central role in the functioning of the monarchy via rituals, and their custodianship of the imperial remains. From preparing the coffin in the Augustinian Church to depositing it in the Capuchin crypt, numerous departments within the household played key roles in the funeralization process.

Consequently, this chapter seeks to remedy oversights in the literature by examining three elements of eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals. First, the chapter will examine the processions from the Hofburg to the imperial crypt at the Capuchin Church, focusing on the hierarchy of participants and the prominence of the household throughout the ritual, including its reduction in size in 1780. The second element that will be examined is the development of the *Anklopfzeremonie*. This was the knocking ritual unique to the Austrian Habsburgs that was conducted by the *Obersthofbeämter* as a display of dynastic and courtly piety before the coffin could be interred. Lastly, the chapter will explore the interment rituals conducted by the *Obersthofbeämter* and Capuchin clergy that culminated with the dissolution of the late monarch's household. It is necessary to conduct a close reading of these elements and their adaptation over the course of the century to understand the evolution of the household's conceptions of its place within the society of orders and the place (literally and

she had established the Censorship Commission in 1751 was to make sure that publications "disseminated the proper moral and religious values." A faculty of science had been established at Vienna University, but the empress would not allow any formal science academies to be established "because she feared [they] might promote heresy… Maria Theresa was, in fact, determined to use all available means to impose her rather rigid standards of Christian morality and religious orthodoxy." Such standards included attempts to reduce the number of people visiting prostitutes, penalties for officers who were found to have been to a bordello, and the eventual expulsion of the entire population of Bohemian Jews in an effort to achieve religious homogeneity. The empress was so committed to the mission of religious uniformity in her lands that conversion houses were established to re-Catholicize her subjects who showed Protestant leanings (Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 170).

visually) of the monarchy within the religiously homogeneous, pious state; one that saw significant major shifts over the course of the century in how members of the imperial household and court presented their interpretations of dynastic stability.

The Procession

The ritual centerpiece of Austrian Habsburg funerals was the procession from the Hofburg to the Capuchin Church, where the imperial crypt was located. Jeroen Duindam described processions "the most effective medium of Habsburg dynasticism" because they combined religious, governing, and dynastic iconography into a syncretized ritual that legitimized the monarch's relationship with the state.[12] Since the imperial household was the institutional embodiment of the Crown's day-to-day existence and function, processions were also, by extension, the "most effective medium" for publicly expressing the household's place at the heart of Habsburg rulership.

Processions were unique among court rituals in that they brought together different groups within society around the Crown and did so publicly, meaning the local population had a front row seat as spectators. Processions for any number of religious observances like Palm Sunday, Pentecost, or Advent were a common sight, with the emperor accompanied by his household, foreign diplomats, and religious officials. During Holy Week, there were frequent processions recreating the Stations of the Cross.[13] These ritual expressions of piety and hierarchy within Habsburg society became permanent features of the Habsburg court in the latter half of the seventeenth century under Emperor Leopold I. He insisted on holding processions that combined religious and dynastic iconography to commemorate God's favour on major events in his life, such as the Turkish defeat during the Battle of Vienna in 1683, or

[12] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 185.
[13] Ibid, 173; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 57, 64, 234.

the time he was "miraculously saved" from a lightning strike in 1691.[14] The purpose of all these processions was to ritualistically legitimize Leopold's reign, secure the loyalty of his people, and make a public statement that the piety of the Habsburgs and their subjects was second to none.[15]

Processions often had a sacralizing component as well. The Habsburgs and other ruling families incorporated relics into their processions as a way of connecting their dynasties with the spiritual world and communicating the piety of both the monarchy and the court.[16] By incorporating holy relics, the Habsburgs were sending the message that their piety, expressed through rituals, imbued them with a sacredness and divinity that placed them above other dynasties. When Leopold I was dying, the Holy Oil, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, and a nail from the True Cross were brought from the Treasure Chamber to his bedside by a procession of two court chaplains, two Augustinian monks, and the *Oberstkämmerer*—all of whom were members of the emperor's household.[17] In 1740, a mixed procession of Capuchin monks, *Obersthofbeämter*, ministers, senior clergy, and members of the imperial family brought the vessel containing the Eucharist from the Hofburg chapel to Charles VI's deathbed at the Favorita Palace so he could take communion in the presence of his household. Both processions were arranged based on social hierarchy, with those of the lowest rank at the front

[14] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 140-41. See anonymous, *An Historical Description of the Glorious Conquest of the City of Buda, the Capital City of the Kingdom of Hungary, by the Victorious Arms of the Thrice Illustrious and Invincible Emperor Leopold I. under the Conduct of his Most Serene Highness, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Elector of Bavaria* (London: n.p., 1686), frontispiece; anonymous, *Esatta relazione del dolorosissimo funerale delle felice memoria dell'augustssimo, potentissimo, et invittissimo imperatore de' Romani Leopoldo primo il grande* (Rome: Luigi Neri, Piazza Nauona, 1705), frontispiece.

[15] Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 162, 165; Monod, *Power of Kings*, 239.

[16] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 68, 69. See also Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 180, Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 177, and Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 103.

[17] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...].

and those with the highest at the back next to or holding the relics; a model that was replicated in funerals as well.[18]

Like the transporting of the British monarchs from Kensington to the Palace of Westminster to lie in state, so too did the imperial household participate in the ritual transfer of the emperor's remains for the next stage of the funeralization process. Death processions that took place after the monarch died but that occurred separately from the funeral still communicated the piety and hierarchy of the household. Two days after Charles VI died at the Favorita, his corpse was transferred to the Hofburg for the lying-in-state by a procession of more than four dozen members of his household: the senior officials were granted the right to use carriages or ride on horseback, while Imperial Life Guards accompanied on foot.[19] It was reminiscent of the processions for medieval French kings who died on progresses throughout their lands and needed to have their bodies preserved for the long journey back to their primary residence.[20] A carriage procession was used to transport Maria Theresa's encoffined body from Schönbrunn to the Hofburg for her funeral on December 3, 1780, composed of the empress's court ladies, chamberlains, and Life Guards. Upon reaching the Hofburg, the coffin was taken by another procession of Privy Counsellors, chamberlains, and standard-bearers (similar to the British Officers of Arms) into the court chapel, where it was placed until the funeral on a *Trauergerüste*, a mourning frame similar to a *castrum dolores* used during the exequies.[21] In every procession involving the deceased monarch's physical remains, members of the household were always the principal—and sometimes the only—participants.

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[18] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 231r.-232v.; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-15 "1740, 10-21 Octob:"; AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 f. 54v. ZA-Prot. 17, f. 232r. specifies that the Eucharist was kept in the "*Kays. Hoff Capellen*," and this term only refers to the Hofburg's primary chapel (Wollenberg, "Vienna under Joseph I and Charles VI", 331).

[19] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16 ff. 19v., 55r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 239r./v., 241v., 242r./v; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9 ff. 2v./3r.

[20] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 21-2.

[21] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 390v., 392v., 398r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 285, 291r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 231, 251.

The largest of all processions at the Austrian court were for the funerals of the Habsburg monarchs. Their processions were based on the format used by the late medieval dukes of Burgundy that emphasized "the glorification of Christian virtues and the earthly government of the late monarch."[22] Charles V's procession in 1558 was adapted from this Burgundian model used by his ancestors. It was a massive, two-day event attended by the royal guards, dozens of clergy and religious orders, 200 male paupers, 168 civic officials, nearly two hundred members of the imperial household, retainers, and chivalric orders, representatives of the various estates; and the chief mourner and his attendants. Although the order of the procession and the ritual elements from 1558 was used by the Austrian Habsburgs ever since, they underwent some later alterations that showed a pattern of modifying or adapting precedents to mirror and ritualistically communicate the life and reign of the deceased monarch.[23] Ferdinand II's obsequies in 1637 set the precedent that Habsburg funerals were nocturnal, since having a candlelit procession made a greater visual impact than a daytime one.[24] Nighttime also represented the intersection between this world and the next, with candlelight symbolizing Christ's triumph over sin. The mourners carrying the candles would

[22] Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was'," 69-71, 74-83, 86-7. One of the earliest cases of Burgundian ritual culture being used by the Habsburg dynasty was at the baptism of the future emperor Charles V in March 1500. The ceremony for the infant archduke of Austria and duke of Burgundy was "a ceremony remarkable for its spectacle, even by the opulent standards of Burgundian court display" (Rolf Strøm-Olsen, "Dynastic Ritual and Politics in Early Modern Burgundy: The Baptism of Charles V," in *Past & Present*, no. 175 [May, 2002], 34). What made the baptism in Ghent so significant and the first real display of Habsburg ritual culture was that it was a deliberately staged court event that appropriated the sacrality and imagery of this Christian ritual for the purpose of showing the infant Charles as the legitimate heir to the Habsburg lands in Burgundy (35-6). Although Strøm-Olsen's article provides an insightful, informative, and detailed understanding of ritual culture, its scope is limited to Burgundy and the Low Countries. For a study that is helpful in placing ritual culture within a broader French context of early modern political theory (prior to the Thirty Years War), see Lawrence Bryant, "Making History: Ceremonial Texts, Royal Space and Political Theory in the Sixteenth Century," in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, Michael Wolfe, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996): 46-77. One of the more helpful studies for understanding the centralization process of Habsburg authority, see Press, "The Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 23-45.

[23] Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 262; Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was'," 69-71, 74-83, 86-7.

[24] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 381 n48.

have been aware that they were helping to usher the decedent's soul from the physical realm into Christ's eternal kingdom.[25] By the eighteenth century, Habsburg funeral processions were microcosmic representations of the idealized state, one in which all the orders of society came together harmoniously under the protective mantle of Habsburg rulership. As discussed in chapter one, it was the household and government officials who sat on the *Hofkonferenz* that were responsible for planning who would participate in these processions and how the participants would be arranged.[26] The processions were therefore expressions of the imperial household's conception of social hierarchy in the Habsburg state as discussed in chapter two.

Between 1705 and 1780, those participating in the procession assembled at the Hofburg at 7:00 p.m.[27] The Office of the Dead was recited over the coffin in the Knight's Hall by either the bishop of Vienna (archbishop after 1716) with the prelates from St. Stephen's Cathedral or the household clergy; the Office of the Dead was the most common liturgical prayer used in Habsburg funerals to pray for the repose of the deceased. These consecrations by clergy connected to the monarch and the highest levels of the Church were important demonstrations of dynastic piety and affirmed the legitimacy of the Habsburg claim to rulership.[28] Once the coffin had been sacralized, it was carried from the Knight's Hall into the

[25] Schrader, "'Greater Than He Ever Was'," 71; Rest, *Our Christian Symbols*, 60; Wilson-Kastner, *Sacred Drama*, 31, 38.

[26] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 234r./v; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten. 67-16 ff. 18r./v; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-9, ff. 11r./v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 30r.; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 376-7; Bepler, "Funerals," 245.

[27] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 346r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 390v., 398r./v.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 251. The city infantry and cavalry garrisons began to clear the route to the Capuchin Church as early as 12:00 p.m., after which they assumed positions lining the streets from the Augustinian Church to the doors of the Capuchin Church. In 1780, a cavalry commando group also rode through the streets to ensure they were clear of any stragglers immediately before the procession began (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 397v.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.773-B; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 251).

[28] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 346r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 390v., 398r./v. At the start of Leopold I's funeral, the court singers performed the *De Profundis*, a choral composition set to the text of Psalm 130, which was a cry to God for comfort and strength. After this was finished, the bishop recited the Office of the Dead (OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 346r). This does not appear to have been standard procedure for Habsburg funerals at the time and was likely a nod to Leopold's personal love for and patronage of music

Augustinian Church by the chamberlains and valets—the chamberlains and valets who attended the monarch in their private apartments.[29] Even when Maria Theresa's coffin was laid out in the Hofburg's chapel in 1780, the privilege of carrying it was reserved for the chamberlains and valets.[30] Since almost every princely or aristocratic house sought to have their sons appointed to one of these positions—which were largely ceremonial by 1780—the household posts closest to the monarch were controlled by those at the very top of the social hierarchy; a reality that was publicly reinforced by the exclusive privileges of the chamberlains and valets to handle the coffin during the procession.[31]

Once the coffin was brought into the Augustinian Church, twelve other chamberlains prepared it for the procession to the Capuchin Church by draping it in cloth.[32] Only these men who had privileged access to the emperor were allowed to handle the imperial and dynastic regalia during the procession. In 1740, two gold pillows were placed atop Charles VI's coffin, on which sat the imperial and royal crown jewels, the collar of the Golden Fleece, and a large silver crucifix.[33] Once the coffin was prepared with the regalia and drapings, it was placed on a moveable catafalque and escorted by the twenty-four most senior chamberlains who served as pallbearers.[34] The exact time of when the funeral began varied depending on when the sun

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(Hawlik-van de Water, *Kapuzinergruft*, 132; Spielman, *City and the Crown*, 154-5, 201). At that time, the court singers—who were part of the imperial household—comprised five sopranos, seven contraltos, ten tenors, and one bass (AT-OESTA/HHStA HWA SR 2 Ord. 143).

[29] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 169. Charles VI's coffin was reportedly so heavy that the chamberlains needed to stop and rest every twenty steps.

[30] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 390v., 398r./v.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 231, 251.

[31] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 71-3; Pangerl, 1.3.1, "Die Aufgaben des Oberstkämmerers und der Kämmerer," 205-7.

[32] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6., ff. 346r.=348v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Jones, *Life of Leopold*, 382; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 132 and *Der schöne Tod*, 108; Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 16. Leopold I's coffin was draped in gold, while Charles VI's was draped in black.

[33] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 246r.-247v., 250v.-251v.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215.

[34] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 246r.-247v., 250v.-251v.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215.

actually set, but the tolling of church bells throughout Vienna signalled the start of the procession typically between 8:00 and 9:00 p.m.[35]

For the Habsburgs, their processions began at the Hofburg, their seat of imperial and dynastic authority. The physical space of the processional route was also important because it made a statement about the identity of the monarch being interred and the reign of their successor.[36] The palace was a massive complex made up of multiple wings spanning entire city blocks, but the point of origin for the procession was the religious heart of the palace: the Augustinian Church. This choice for where the procession began was making a statement that the ultimate source of Habsburg authority and dynastic identity was their Catholic piety, which the new monarch was expected to continue. The result was that the processional route from the Hofburg to the Capuchin Church became a type of liminal sacred space between the worlds of the living and the dead.[37]

These processions were structured as front-to-back representations of the early modern social hierarchy, displaying each group's position within the Great Chain of Being, similar to what was seen in British funerals. This representation of hierarchy reached its peak at the coffin, which was normally placed halfway to two-thirds of the way back in the procession. Those who walked at the very front, furthest away from the coffin, were the lowest members of the social order, notably the almspeople from the local hospitals and the local clergy. Those with the highest rank after the decedent were allowed to walk next to or around the coffin, such as the Privy Counsellors and Privy Conference members, prelates and religious officials

[35] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 246r.-247v., 250v.-251v.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215; Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 169; OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot.-35, ff. 385r., 390v., 398r./v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 285; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.773-B/422.774-B. When Leopold I's family gathered at 7:00 p.m. for his funeral in 1705, the sun would have likely still been up, since it was May 9, but the procession did not begin until 9:00 p.m., after nightfall (*WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]).
[36] Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was'," 72.
[37] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 182.

from across the state, the faculty from the University of Vienna, and a chief mourner and members of the imperial family. In between these two social extremes were the municipal officials, the Lower Austrian estates, the *Hofstaat* and knights of the Golden Fleece.[38]

Habsburg funerals during this period were, at least in part, expressions of the household's relationship with the Crown and their conceptions of their place atop the society of orders. The procession crafted a public image of a harmonious Catholic state by having the various social orders all participating together, with the household surrounding the coffin.[39] This was a singular image of statehood that helped to legitimize Habsburg rule and reinforced the dynasty's status as patrons of the Catholic Church within the Holy Roman Empire. This status allowed the Habsburgs to exercise hegemony over the mid-sized and smaller imperial states, while at the same time keeping the empire's larger Protestant powers—like Prussia—in check; at least, until 1740. As both Wilson and Printy note, the imperial church was still overwhelmingly dominated by aristocratic-borne individuals, which further reinforces this normative, hierarchical social order as a microcosmic example within the Church. The funeral procession for Ferdinand I in 1565, for example, was deliberately arranged to create this front-to-back representation of the social hierarchy that publicly communicated the virtue of Ferdinand's rule using religious iconography on and around the coffin while also demonstrating the uninterrupted continuity of Habsburg rulership, particularly during periods of crisis.[40] At a time when the rest of Europe was suffering the effects of confessional conflicts, this manifestation of a harmonious body politic was meant to communicate that the

[38] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 346r.-347v; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 236r.-237v., 247v.-248v., 259r.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 229; Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 262.

[39] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 235, 237, 257; Monod, *Power of Kings*, 230, 241; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167. (Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 133; Printy, *Enlightenment*, 84, 126).

[40] Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten," 261-2. Ferdinand's funeral was held in Vienna and was one of the first ones for a Habsburg monarch in that city, but his body was interred at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

early eighteenth-century Habsburg state was enjoying the benefits—at least, in theory—of a unified *res publica Christiana*.[41]

The organizational structure of these processions mirrored the hierarchy of the imperial household, and the levels of immediacy or access each group had to the monarch; a structure that was designed to mimic the contemporary belief in the perfected social hierarchy constructed under the Habsburgs. The religious, social and political orders represented in the procession had corresponding counterparts within the imperial household, such as the Augustinian clergy, the Privy Counsellors, or the secretaries and notaries within the court departments (Appendix: Fig. 2).[42] In the funeral processions, these household members were arranged in a way that publicized and disseminated to spectators a manufactured edifice of courtly harmony and perfection, rather than the reality of inequality and a contested hierarchy. Van Horn Melton described this artificial court structure as a form of "religious proselytization, dynastic glorification, and aristocratic self-representation."[43] In using this structure to represent the society of orders and mirroring the hierarchy of the imperial household, Habsburg funerals allowed members of the state to play a role in the life cycle of the monarchy, bringing the Crown and the people together in a procession that represented the entire social hierarchy with a clear emphasis on the importance of the household in maintaining social stability in the Habsburg state. During the lying-in-state, as discussed in chapter three, the people mourned the literal and figurative death of the monarch's reign. By walking in the funeral procession, they commemorated and immortalized it while at the same time participating in the birth (succession) of the new emperor's reign. This interactive, monarchical circle of life created a powerful bond between the monarchy and its subjects mediated by the household and helps to explain both the widespread popularity and longevity

[41] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 291; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 23.
[42] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 371; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 72; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168, 177.
[43] Van Horn Melton, "From Image to Word," 105.

of royal funerals as expressions of ritual culture and their efficacy in publicly communicating the place of the household at the heart of Habsburg governance. The rise of material culture, particularly printing, also became integral for expanding the "intended audiences" of court ceremonials and allowed more of the monarch's subjects to feel connected to the court and the life cycle of the monarchy and state. As Duindam notes, the use of material culture on the court's behalf more than made up for having a more stationary monarchy that no longer led an itinerant court.[44] By coming together in what Hengerer calls a "grand, ritualized interaction," the participants in Habsburg funeral processions were making a public declaration of their place within the *res publica Christiana Habsburgica*.[45]

Until 1780, imperial funeral processions were massive rituals that included close to two thousand participants.[46] Although a comprehensive analysis of how every group and the individuals therein was arranged for each procession is not possible, it is necessary to examine the major groups and their relationship to the monarchy and dynasty in order to understand how these groups fit into conceptions of the idealized state enforced by the senior officials within the household and government. Appendix: Figs. 21.1-2 provide a reconstruction of Leopold I's funeral in 1705, which then served as the ceremonial basis for subsequent eighteenth-century Habsburg processions.[47] As with the funerals for the British monarchs until the eighteenth century, the processions for the Habsburg monarchs were led by hundreds of almspeople. But unlike at the funeral of Mary II, where the commoners were widows and relatives of Williamite soldiers, the almspeople who participated in Habsburg funerals came

[44] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 218.
[45] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 371-72, 381.
[46] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 346 r.-348 v.; *WD* no. 184 (May 4-6, 1705); Jones, *Life of Leopold*, 382; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 132 and *Der schöne Tod*, 108.
[47] For archival sources for the Leopoldine procession, numbers, and participants, see AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 346r.-347v; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41 ff. 4r./v; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...].

from a broader demographic.[48] These almspeople were poor men, women, and children from the local hospitals, who were sometimes accompanied in the processions by the officers and troops from the city garrison.[49] In 1705, the two almshouses in Vienna that provided almspeople for Leopold's funeral were the *Bürgerspital* and the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus*, both of which had ties to the Crown and Church. While the *Bürgerspital* (est. 1280) was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Vienna, the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* was founded by Leopold I in 1693 as a soldiers' hospital.[50] Other court-sponsored hospitals were eventually added to the procession as a sign of the monarch's piety and beneficence (*Gutmütigkeit*). The *Billiotesches Stiftungshaus*, also known as the *Armeleuthaus*, was established by Leopold I's personal physician as a hospital and clinic that provided services to the poor for free.[51] In 1740 the St. Johann Nepomuk Hospital was added to the procession and was again linked to the Crown. Charles VI had dedicated the hospital to the Czech saint as a way of creating a stronger religious link between the monarchy and its Bohemian subjects.[52]

The almspeople walked at the front of the procession, demonstrating their place at the very bottom of the social hierarchy. It should also be noted that these were the only members

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[48] E 351/3150; LC 2/11/2, memo dated January 8, 1694[5], no. 150; *LG* no. 3059 (Mar. 5 [2], 169⅘), *Form of the Proceeding* [...].

[49] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]. As a matter of comparison, the funeral for Leopold's wife in 1720 had 1,200 almspeople from the local hospitals, but presumably much fewer officials (Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 108).

[50] Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 93-4. The *Bürgerspital* was incorporated into the city of Vienna in 1529. The *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* was limited to treating wounded soldiers and sick veterans. This was part of a larger trend in the eighteenth century whereby Church administrators began to distinguish almspeople into those who were sick and needed medical care from those who were poor and needed financial or material care. As part of this distinction, the archbishop of Vienna founded a workhouse as part of "a campaign against poverty and vagabondage" (93). The *Lazaret*, a house for those suffering from the plague, was converted into another military hospital in 1766.

[51] Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 93.

[52] Ducreux, "Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories," 303-4; Wollenberg, "Vienna under Joseph I and Charles VI," 328; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 5; Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, "Pietas Austriaca—Heiligenverehrung und Fronleichnamsprozession," in *300 Jahre Karl VI*, 185-6. Ducreux notes that Charles's selection of John Nepomuk as the patron of the Banat was explicitly political, since this dedication was made years before the latter was canonized in 1729.

of the general population that could participate in the procession and had been granted alms as compensation.[53] Their inclusion had been a traditional feature of Habsburg funerals since Charles V's in 1558 and was meant to symbolize the general reverence for death and God's mercy that was held by the common people.[54] Almspeople in the procession was also an inexpensive way to add into the procession several hundred people who subsisted on the charity of the monarch and for whose death they could ostensibly show proper grief. Even at the funeral in 1720 of Leopold I's widow, Dowager Empress Eleonora Magdalena, there were 1,200 almspeople just from the local hospitals. Including these poor, meek mourners also made a dramatic public statement about the piety and devotion of the Habsburgs and their court.[55] The almspeople were meant to serve as the embodiment the Scripture in which Jesus commends the poor:

> [3]Blessed are the poor in spirit,
> for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
> [4]Blessed are those who mourn,
> for they will be comforted.
> [5]Blessed are the meek,
> for they will inherit the earth.[56]

The almspeople were followed in the procession by the city's clerical orders. In 1705, more than 700 clergy from twenty orders marched according to their rank in the religious hierarchy.[57] The Augustinians, Capuchins, and Jesuits normally walked at the end of this

[53] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 185. The records from the HHStA do not specify if these alms were only in the form of currency or if they also included mourning attire the same as in England. Given that these men and women survived on the generosity of the monarch, it is unlikely they could afford their own black attire for the funeral and were supplied with material by the court.
[54] Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 263.
[55] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 108, 185.
[56] Matthew 5:3-5.
[57] *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 580-1; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 346r.-347v; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 247v.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 229; Duindam "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 168, 177. As

section to show their status as the most important orders connected to Habsburg rule. The Augustinians functioned as part of the emperor's household clergy, the Capuchins were among Leopold I's advisors and were responsible for caretaking the imperial remains in the crypt, and the Jesuits played a key role in promoting dynastic loyalty, though their role in the state shifted drastically during the eighteenth century (see below).[58] The order even maintained a written codex of their protocols and responsibilities for a monarch's funeral.[59] Leopold I had been educated largely by Jesuits, gave their order seniority at court, and had made them his personal confessors.[60]

The presence of so many clergy in the procession not only symbolized the decedent's journey from this world to the next, but also represented the religious orders of the state.[61] This connects back to the analysis of the lying-in-state and the active role played by the clergy in offering intercessory prayers next to the corpse. This was a key component of the idealized Habsburg state: the living had a responsibility to pray for the dead and ensure they exited Purgatory quickly. The clergy present at funerals were responsible for providing a spiritual escort for the corpse to its final resting place and constituted the single biggest corps of individuals actively praying for the monarch's soul and in leading masses in the local churches

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Golubeva has noted in her study on the material commemorations of Leopold, not every religious order contributed the same efforts as others to creating glorifying representations of the emperor. While the Jesuits produced a "massive and organised contribution" of commemorative material and the Augustinians were sometimes called upon—or took the liberty—to offer religious counsel to the monarch, the Dominicans "scarcely produced any works praising Leopold or the dynasty between 1657 and 1705" (*Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 56).

[58] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 42-3; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 59; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 207; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 154-5; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 375, 379.

[59] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 69. This codex was entitled "Kurtze Verfassung Wie man sich zuverhalten, wan ein verstorbene Herschaft aus den durchleichtigsten Haus von Österreich aus der Kaysl. Burg und residenz in Unser P.P. Capuciner kirchen auf den neüen marckt überbracht wirdt" ("A Short Constitution How to Behave When a Deceased Lord from the Most Serene House of Austria is Brought from the Imperial Palace and Residence into our Capuchin Church on the Neuer Markt").

[60] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 359r.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 383; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 59; Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 92..

[61] Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 263.

around Vienna where the population could participate in these intercessions. "The role of the lesser clergy in mediating between the living and the dead was vital," notes Tingle; "these men were the largest providers of prayers and masses for the souls."[62]

The procession's religious orders were followed by members of the city council, *burgermeisters*, municipal officials, and the members of the Lower Austrian estates representing the archducal heartland of hereditary Habsburg authority.[63] Behind the social and municipal orders was the single largest group at any Habsburg monarchical funeral: the members of the imperial household and the *Hofstaat*.[64] This group within the procession was typically comprised of low to mid-level household staff and administrators, along with courtiers who were part of the *Hofstaat* but were not paid for any daily service to the monarch; the *Obersthofbeämter* and senior members of the household had the rank to walk near the coffin and the imperial family. This group would have been at least a thousand people. E.G. Rinck's breakdown of the household at that time estimates at least 961 staff just for the departments of the *Obersthofmeister*, *Oberstkämmerer*, and *Oberststallmeister*. This number does not even include the *Obersthofmarschall*'s department, the household clergy who walked earlier in the procession, or the hundreds of Life Guards who walked further back closer to the coffin. Additionally, councillors and knights within the household would also have marched alongside their corresponding groups, thus also reducing the number of participants in the *Hofstaat* section.[65]

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[62] Bland, *Royal Way of Death*, 14-5; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 173-4; Tingle, *Piety and Purgatory in Brittany*, 260.

[63] The *Wiennerisches Diarium* does not specify how many Lower Austrian estate members participated, but for a frame of reference, there were 123 prelates, knights, and lords among them in 1740 (AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-13, no. 22; Godsey, *Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 20-1).

[64] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, ff. 4r./v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Liste der zum niederösterreichischen Landtag erschienen Mitglieder (1740.12.01), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 39-13, no. 22; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 303r; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 236r.-237v., 247v.; Godsey, *Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 20-1.

[65] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Duindam, "Courts of the Austrian Habsburg," 166, 168-70, 171, 177; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 73, 88 table 5a; Duindam "Vienna and Versailles," <8>;

For Maria Theresa's funeral, there was an effort to reduce the size of the procession by cutting down the number of unpaid courtiers and household staff who were allowed to participate. Both the empress and her husband had reduced the ostentatious Baroque rituals of previous reigns in favour of more subdued ceremonials that expressed "contemporary bourgeois ideals rather than aristocratic traditions."[66] To that end, only five hundred, mid-level household staff were permitted to walk in Maria Theresa's procession representing the various court departments; each person was given a "*Kais: Königl: Handbillet*" (an imperial and royal ticket of permission).[67] The requirement for the household staff to have special tickets that allowed them to participate was most likely an attempt limit the size of the procession, but it was also reminiscent of the way tickets were required for entry into Westminster Abbey for Queen Mary II's funeral in 1695, or were sold to spectators who wished to see George II's funeral procession in 1760.[68] At the start of the eighteenth century, the concept of dispensing participatory or seating tickets for a monarchical funeral would have been unthinkable and almost demeaning to its sacrality. The fact tickets were used by both the British and Austrian courts by the latter half of the century is indicative of the shift in ritual culture away from sacrality towards ceremonialization, which in this context can be defined as the shift in which some ritual elements were no longer strictly expression of religious or royal authority and became symbolic, like the funeral procession.[69] It is on this point that Hengerer makes his case

"The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs" 174. These numbers are also consistent with the figures Duindam provides, based on E.G. Rinck's earlier breakdown of the household ("The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168-9).

[66] Wangermann, "Maria Theresa," 286. Wangermann notes that the empress's moral and religious regulations created a climate at court in which church attendance was criticized and mocked by household and court officials and may have even been a contributing factor in the decline of religiosity at the eighteenth-century Austrian court.

[67] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 405v-407r. This group of 500 was composed of 113 employees from the *Obersthofmeister*'s office, 40 from the *Oberstkämmerer*'s office, and 249 from the *Obersthofmarschall*'s office.

[68] *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 152.

[69] Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 40.

for royal funerals shifting from an early modern ritual act to a modern ceremonial act. As the spread of Enlightenment ideals led to a decline in religious significance for western Europeans, he contends that it reduced royal funerals to a symbolic act. This is certainly worth considering for the Habsburg state by the 1790s, but, as this study shows, this was hardly the case at the start of the eighteenth century. Religious traditions and practices continued to be the foundation of Habsburg funerals.[70]

Those at the top of the social hierarchy comprised the last third of the funeral procession. The privilege to occupy the space just ahead of the coffin was reserved for the (arch)bishops of Vienna[71] or Esztergom, prelates from St. Stephan's, any high-ranking foreign dignitaries like the papal nuncio or the Venetian ambassador, and the senior members of the household: the court chaplains, the *Obersthofbeämter*, and captains of the Imperial Life Guards.[72] The ceremonial changes made in 1780 meant most of this group was absent from the procession, having gone on ahead to assemble on the Neuer Markt. Instead, four carriages transported the empress's treasurers of the Privy Chamber, quartermasters, the eight most senior valets, and her retired *Obersthofmeister*, Count Philipp Franz von Sternberg.[73] These were some of the lower ranking members of the household but they still represented the *Obersthofbeämter* in the procession.

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[70] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 65; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 371-72, 381; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 239.

[71] Vienna was elevated from a suffragan bishopric to a metropolitan archbishopric in 1716.

[72] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, ff. 4r./v; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 247v.-248r.; *Staats- und Standes-Calender*, 364; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 64. Fourteen prelates are listed in AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 347v.-348r., but the *Relation* specifies twelve. The cathedral prelates and religious officials were not included with the other religious orders of the procession, indicating their elevated status and overlapping role between religious and civil life.

[73] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 303r; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 377r./v., 379r./v., 392r., 397v.-398r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B. Sternberg was accompanied in his carriage by two senior chamberlains who held the rank of imperial princes ("*Kämmerer aus dem Fürstenstande*").

A group's position within the social hierarchy and within the *Hofstaat* was never etched in stone. As conceptions about the idealized state evolved, some groups that had once been considered essential for promoting the legitimacy of the dynasty found themselves *persona non grata*. One of the most prominent examples that was demonstrated in eighteenth-century Habsburg funeral processions was the Jesuits, who for a time enjoyed privileged status as the rectors and deans of the University of Vienna and were entitled to walk near the coffin. Founded in 1365 by Rudolf IV, the first Habsburg archduke, the university was the second oldest in the Holy Roman Empire and was an attempt by Rudolf to push back against the emperor's authority as a statement of Habsburg rulership over the Austrian lands.[74] As such, the university was closely connected with the dynasty's Austrian origins and the earliest incarnation of the future Habsburg state. To include Jesuit faculty in major court rituals like funerals made a public statement that the Habsburgs had a particularly close link to the medieval university and were linked together as the embodiment of Austria since before there was an Austrian state.

The Jesuits' role within Habsburg society, and their particularly close relationship to the dynasty, granted them the right to participate in monarchical funerals and earned them a place of prominence in the funeral procession that showed their elevated status within the social hierarchy. As early as 1641, the protocols for including university faculty in Habsburg funerals were laid out in the *Ordo procedendi dominorum doctorum ad actus et consessus academicos*.[75] In 1705, the university rector and faculty were granted the privilege of marching behind the coffin closer to the imperial family, emphasizing the particularly close relationship the Jesuits' enjoyed with the monarchy during Leopold's reign. But as changes in religiosity began to permeate the household, the court, and the imperial family itself, the Jesuits lost their

[74] Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 71, 429. This was a different Rudolf IV than the one who became king of Germany in the thirteenth century.
[75] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 381 n 49.

privileged position within Habsburg society. The anti-Jesuit branch of the Austrian Enlightenment began to earnestly oppose the order's "vast financial resources,...sometimes flexible moral cord, and...near-monopoly position in education," during the brief reign of Joseph I (1705-11).[76] Under Maria Theresa, her personal physician Gerhard van Swieten took over the Censorship Commission (*Zensurkommission*) from the Jesuits in 1751, transferring control of Austrian censorship to the imperial household. The Jesuits were also among the harshest critics of Jansenism, which had permeated the *Hofstaat* in the first half of the eighteenth century. This infiltration led to a rise in reforming, Enlightenment ideologies, resulting in a decline in Baroque religious rituals. In their battle against these new, secular beliefs, the Jesuits would ultimately lose their hold on Austrian religiosity.[77] This loss was symbolized in their exclusion from the funeral of Maria Theresa and subsequent monarchs after 1780, when the university rector and four faculty deans were part of the group that assembled ahead of time at the Capuchin Church but were state-appointed officials who had replaced the Jesuits following their expulsion from the *Erblände* by the archbishop of Vienna in 1759.[78] The Jesuits provide an interesting example of how the arrangement of the monarch's funeral procession could be used to communicate how some groups could at one time be considered vital to promoting loyalty to the dynasty but were eventually removed from their vaunted position within the social hierarchy of the Habsburg state.

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[76] Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 37.

[77] Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 92; Okey, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 28; Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 60; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 368, 369.

[78] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35 f. 386r; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 166; Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," 97, 99. Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Jesuits entirely in 1773 under pressure from Spain, France, and Portugal when the order sought to influence domestic policies (Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 189. The declining role of the university in Habsburg funerals also speaks to the shift in court rituals from sacrality towards symbolic, ceremonial functions: the university had played a prominent role in past funeralizations, and they continued to do so even after the loyal relationship between its Jesuit faculty and the monarchy had come to an end. This shift towards a ceremonial role for the university that served symbolic rather than sacralizing or legitimizing functions parallels other changes like the diminished importance of coming into physical contact with the coffin after its consecrations).

Although groups like the Jesuits and the university faculty were given visibly important positions within the processions of various monarchs, it was the participation of the senior members of the imperial household that ensured the funerals acted as mechanisms for visually communicating the idealized Habsburg social order. One of the most prominent ways that the household officers achieved this was through their physical proximity to and interaction with the centerpiece of the entire event: the monarch's coffin. Since at least the sixteenth century, the emperor's lavish coffin occupied the most sacred space within the procession. Until the mid-eighteenth century, there was a belief that those household members who had the privilege to carry or otherwise handle the consecrated coffin had physical contact with a sacred object.[79] Since the coffin had been consecrated at the start of the funeral, anyone who physically touched it was believed to have come into direct contact with that sacrality; a fact that reinforced the belief that service to the dynasty was one aspect of serving God. By publicly displaying and reinforcing the normative social hierarchy via the procession, the household was making a demonstration that it was upholding God's perfect ordering of creation as expressed in the Great Chain of Being.

The chamberlains and valets who served as pallbearers provide an effective example of how the household continued to function as the principal actors and facilitators of Habsburg funerals even as there was a growing acceptance of the desacralization of ritual culture in the second half of the century. The privilege of serving as pallbearers and carrying the coffin was originally given to twelve aristocrats at Ferdinand I's funeral in 1565. With the establishment of court institutions in Vienna during the seventeenth century, protocols specified that only chamberlains could be pallbearers, most of whom were also Privy Conference members. Between 1705 and 1740, the coffin was carried on bars or slings by the twenty-four senior chamberlains, who were flanked on either side by twelve valets and pages, the aristocratic pages who always accompanied the monarch during processions (Appendix: Fig. 22). Forty-eight

[79] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 381-2; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124.

pages escorted the pallbearers for Leopold I's coffin, but this number was reduced to twelve for Charles VI's funeral, presumably since the number of chamberlains was doubled from twelve to twenty-four.[80]

The use of the number twelve around the coffin, be it twelve pallbearers in total or twelve per side, was meant as a representation of God's perfected order on Earth and the sacrality of monarchy.[81] This arrangement of the chamberlains and valets around the coffin was a public representation of the *Oberstkämmer* department's ability to regulate access to the monarch and reinforced the household's power at the centre of monarchical authority through their participation in rituals associated with the lifecycle of the monarchy and publicly positioned them as having direct access to the Crown.[82] The chamberlains and valets surrounded the imperial corpse in a way that underscored the power of Habsburg funeral rituals as expressions of civic unity while also emphasizing the special authority of the imperial household within the state and body politic. By the time of Francis I's funeral in 1765, however, the notion of sacralization through physical contact with the coffin was largely discarded. The chamberlains still enjoyed the right to escort the coffin, but they only needed to ceremonially touch the emperor's coffin as an act of tradition rather than a sacralizing ritual.[83] But even in the midst of eighteenth-century changes in religiosity and conceptions of the state, the coffin and its regalia remained the centre of the funeral and continued to represent both the foundation and the apex of the society hierarchy.

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[80] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 246r.-248v., 250v.-251v.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 215; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168.
[81] Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 263.
[82] Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 71, 74-5; Pangerl, 1.3.1 "Die Aufgaben des Oberstkämmerers und der Kämmerer," 205-6. Duindam states that new emperors would often continue to employ their predecessor's chamberlains after the latter's death (74-5), but Pangerl asserts that the death of the monarch led to a decline in their status once the position became more ceremonial by the eighteenth century (206).
[83] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 381-2; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124.

At Maria Theresa's funeral, pallbearers were dispensed with entirely and the corpse was placed on a *Trauerwagen* drawn by six horses (Appendix: Fig. 23).[84] This was an ornate black carriage that had been repurposed from the reign of Leopold I adorned with Baroque engravings of crowns, regalia, laurels, and floral patterns, while the interior of it had been retrofitted by removing the seating to accommodate the placement of the coffin. The *Hofstaat* was one of the last European courts to adopt the use of the funeral hearse even though the shifts in eighteenth-century religiosity had made them a more common feature of royal funerals. Since processions were an embodiment of the Great Chain of Being, and mankind was at the top of that hierarchy above all other mortal beings, animals could not be used in the procession in positions that outranked humans. Nor were they allowed to proceed behind the crosses carried by religious officials. This protocol was abandoned by the 1760s when hearses started being used for the smaller, informal funerals for Maria Theresa's children; the *Trauerwagen* was not explicitly mentioned as part of the funeral ceremonials until the death of Isabella of Parma, the first wife of Joseph II, in 1763. Maria Theresa had instructed that a less elaborate version of the *Trauerwagen* be used at the funeral for her second son, Archduke Charles, in 1761.[85]

Along with issuing tickets to the household, the use of the *Trauerwagen* reduced the number of people required to participate in the procession, but this did not diminish the importance of the senior household as the funeral's principal actors and ritual facilitators. The loosening of the protocols for who had to walk from the Hofburg to the Capuchin Church allowed the *Obersthofbeämter* and religious officials to go on ahead to await the procession at the Neuer Markt.[86] The chamberlains were part of the group that gathered at the Capuchin

[84] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 390v., 398r./v.
[85] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124-6.
[86] AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 68-11, ff. 143r./v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 303r., 306r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 377r./v., 379r./v., 385r.-386r., 392r., 390r./v., 392r.-393v., 397v.-398r., 400v.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B; Hawlik-van de

Church, but the *Trauerwagen* was still accompanied on either side by members of the household with personal access to the monarch: twelve pages carrying torches. The *Trauerwagen* was instead surrounded by an extensive military escort of the Trabants, the Royal Hungarian *Gardes du Corps*, and a detachment of Hungarian cavalry brigade that formed the Imperial Life Guards and were part of the imperial household.[87] The visible presence of the military at Maria Theresa's funeral was not simply a display of the state's military power or the monarch's role as the supreme commander. Instead, their presence was a representation of the personal connection Maria Theresa had with her military forces through her commitment to their reform, proper training, and her propensity for constructing a sense of transnationalism during her reign through her creation of guard units from the diverse peoples over which she ruled beyond the traditional Austrian units.[88] The presence of the military also served to remind the population of the Crown's power should they prove rebellious or defend itself and its lands in times of need. Military historian Richard Bassett described the link between the Habsburg monarchs and the army as an "umbilical cord" that lasted until 1918, "a compact between Habsburg and soldier, indivisible and unbreakable through all the great storms of European history."[89]

The *Anklopfzeremonie*

The procession's route from the Hofburg was 116 meters south to the Bürgerspitalsplatz (today the Lobkowitzplatz just outside the Albertina Museum). From there, it turned east for 300 meters until reaching the Neuer Markt, site of the Capuchin Church that housed the

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Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 124; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241.

[87] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 387v., 391v.-392r., 399r.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 278v., 280-281; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 10.

[88] Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 114-5, 120-1; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 74; Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond," 427.

[89] Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 16; Bůžek, "Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne," 263.

imperial crypt.[90] With Vienna's layout today, a walk from the Hofburg to the Neuer Markt might take five minutes, but for the funerals of the Habsburg monarchs, it would have likely taken at least an hour; a book about Maria Theresa's early life and accession printed in 1743 claimed it took the Charles VI's procession two hours to reach the church.[91] Outside the doors of the Capuchin Church, the coffin was consecrated once again, either with a Mass and the Office of the Dead, or the *De Profundis*, a choral composition set to the text of Psalm 130 that was a cry to God for comfort and strength. According to the *Protocollum Aulicum*, a Mass was celebrated in 1780. The longer liturgy for Maria Theresa also served the practical purpose of giving the chamberlains waiting at the Neuer Markt time to remove the coffin from the hearse, cover it with a pall, and place a crucifix and the dynastic insignia on top.[92] Once these consecrations were complete, the mourners prepared for the interment of the corpse. This was a multi-stage process in which the *Obersthofbeämter* were the key actors directly participating in rituals that demonstrated the piety of the monarchy and court. This process involved several stages, all of which were framed by rituals, with the *Obersthofbeämter* as the primary participants.

Their central role throughout the century was a reminder of their role in the day-to-day functioning of the Crown as an institution and serving as the gatekeepers of the monarch's relationship with the court and subjects. When Maria Theresa died in 1780, her household continued to have a prominent rule during her burial process; in fact, even more officials escorted the empress's coffin into the church than had accompanied her father's. In 1740, only three members of the imperial family, the papal nuncio, the court ladies, the knights of the Golden Fleece, and the Privy Councillors were allowed into the church.[93] In 1780, Maria

[90] *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B.
[91] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 169; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 232.
[92] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 349r.-350v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 400r./v.; Ps. 130:1-8.
[93] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 252r./v.

Theresa's coffin was brought in by her *Obersthofbeämter* and dozens of members of her household: chamberlains, valets, pages, standard-bearers, Life Guards, Privy Counsellors, and dozens of court clergy.[94] The presence of so many household members in 1780 makes a strong statement about the role of that institution in managing the functioning of the monarchy and its lifecycle separated from that earlier belief that serving the dynasty was an act of service to God. The previous sections have established that some of the significant Enlightenment ideologies that weakened Baroque religiosity found their most receptive audiences in the imperial household and the *Hofstaat*, yet at Maria Theresa's funeral its members still occupied key roles that facilitated moving the ritual forward from procession to liturgy to eventual burial. This suggests that the household's relevance to Habsburg authority was anchored in a ritual culture that was no longer exclusively religious in nature. At the same time, the household and the ruling elites still obviously accepted certain religious rites as critical for both monarchical and governing legitimacy, since some of the liturgical elements that had been present in 1705 were still conducted in 1780.

The first stage of the interment process required the *Obersthofbeämter* to ask permission from the Capuchin friars to bring the coffin into the church. Permission was asked for and received through a ritual known as the *Anklopfzeremonie* (the knocking ceremony). This was a mechanism for reinforcing the imperial household's ability to mediate the Crown's

[94] AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, ff. 295-296, 305r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 401r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B/422.775-B. The coffin was also accompanied by the rector of the university, the four faculty deacons, four faculty members from the local high school, Emperor Joseph II, Archduke Maximilian, and their brother-in-law, the Duke of Saxe-Teschen. The trio carried wax candles and wore black mourning cloaks that were so long that the trains had to be carried by groups of pages. Maria Theresa had specifically told her children before she died that they were not to be in close proximity to her corpse or attend the funeral. Her daughters did abide by this, but protocol regarding the chief mourner and the presence of the new monarch overrode the late empress's wishes (Archduchess Maria Anna, "Relation de la dernière maladie et de la mort de Marie-Thérèse (29 novembre 1780) par sa fille Marie-Anne," in *Marie Antoinette: Correspondence secrete entre Marie-Thérèse et le comte de Mercy-Argenteau, avec les lettres de Marie-Thérèse et de Marie Antoinette*, Alfred von Arneth and Auguste Mathieu Geffroy, eds. vol. 3 [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874], 495).

relationship with its subjects; in this case, acting as public announcers or criers of Habsburg piety to spectators watching. It was the *Obersthofmeister*'s responsibility, as head of the imperial household, to publicly declare the decedent's humility before God as they entered eternity and ensure custodianship of the corpse was properly transferred to the Capuchin monks. This ritual, as it was practiced by the time of the nineteenth century, required the *Obersthofmeister* to knock loudly on the church's locked door. The Capuchin monk on the other side called out in Latin, asking who was seeking entry. The *Obersthofmeister* replied that it was His/Her Imperial Majesty the Emperor/Empress. The monk replied he did not know them. The *Obersthofmeister* then knocked again, this time more softly. When the monk again asked who was seeking entry, the *Obersthofmeister* replied with the words that opened the doors: "A poor and miserable sinner."[95] This simple and profound statement was meant to reinforce the dynasty's core belief of their religiosity and the *pietas Austriaca*, echoed in the *Miserere mei Deus*: in death, the Habsburgs were not emperors, kings, or archdukes, but mortal sinners before God. This demonstration of humility was also a way for the dynasty to present itself as embodying the penitential kingship of Christ.[96] Despite the declining belief in sacrality in the latter half of the eighteenth century, this event revealed the continuing centrality of liturgical elements to the rites for bringing the coffin into the Capuchin Church. This centrality suggests that religiosity had not weakened to the extent that some historians have claimed and was still considered the foundation of ritual culture, and an example of Habsburg religiosity. The *Anklopfzeremonie* has become the most iconic feature of Habsburg funerals into the late twentieth century and was still considered a unique display of their dynastic piety.[97]

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[95] Vehse, *Geschichte der deutschen Höfe*, vol. 12, 30; Bland, *The Royal Way of Death*, 14-5; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 181; Kindermann, *Die Habsburger ohne Reich*, "Dreimal an die Kirchentür geklopft"; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 242. Kindermann's ebook does not include page numbers, so the section heading is used.
[96] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 181; Bogle, *Heart for Europe*, 161; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 247.
[97] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 349r.-350v.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 400r./v.; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 76; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 35-6; Wheatcroft, *The*

Despite the poignancy of this ritual, there is no evidence in the *Protocollum Aulicum*, the *Familienakten*, or contemporary periodicals that it ever happened prior to the late eighteenth century.[98] Demmerle and Beutler claim this ceremony did not originate until the twentieth century.[99] But some kind of knocking on the church door may have been part of Joseph I's funeral in 1711; the earliest documented iteration of the *Anklopfzeremonie* in any form appears to have been Charles VI's funeral in 1740. When the procession reached the church, the doors were closed and locked (as was traditional) and only when the guardian monk asked who was seeking entry the *Obersthofmeister* declared it was the emperor were the doors open and the coffin brought inside. This description is not found in any of the archival material, but rather in an account of Maria Theresa's accession and early reign from 1743 written by Christoph Richter.[100] The first confirmed use of the *Anklopfzeremonie* in its full form, complete with the declaration of the late monarch as a mortal sinner, seems to have been the funeral of Emperor Joseph II, as described for the first time in *Skizen aus den Karakter und Handlungen Josephs des Zweiten weiland regierenden Kaisers der Deutschen* (1790). Joseph II may have insisted on this ritual because it was compatible with his own Enlightenment beliefs of equality among members of the state, including the monarch. There is a bit of irony to this, since the *Anklopfzeremonie* has since become considered a depiction of Habsburg humility

Habsburg, 181; Bogle, *Heart for Europe*, 161; Vovk, "The Last Journey," 4-5. There does not appear to be a formal name for this ritual. Hawlik-van de Water refers to it as the *Klopfsignale*. *Anklopfzeremonie* is the more common term that has been used in German media when reporting on the funerals of Empress Zita in 1989 and Otto von Habsburg in 2011. See "Anklopfzeremonie bei Habsburg-Begräbnis," in *Wiener Zeitung*, July 15, 2011 (https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/chronik/oesterreich/382858-Anklopfzeremonie-bei-Habsburg-Begraebnis.html, accessed June 3, 2022); and "Otto von Habsburg beigesetzt: Was steckt hinter der 'Anklopfzeremonie'?" in *Augsburger Allgemeine*, July 17, 2011 (https://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/panorama/Stephansdom-in-Wien-Otto-von-Habsburg-beigesetzt-Was-steckt-hinter-der-Anklopfzeremonie-id15930846.html, accessed June 3, 2022). After the death of Franz Joseph in 1916, there had not been a dynastic funeral in Vienna until the death of Empress Zita in 1989. Her funeral was the first time that the knocking ritual was documented on film and could be viewed by audiences around the world (Vovk, "The Last Journey," 4-5).

[98] Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 36.

[99] Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 51-2.

[100] Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 169; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 242.

before God—a fundamentally Catholic belief that was very much antithetical to Joseph II's personal beliefs yet was still conducted by his household officials at a much more secularized court than it had been during Maria Theresa's lifetime.[101]

Ultimately, archival material from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv does specify that the doors of the church oratory remained closed and locked until permission was granted for the coffin to be brought in.[102] It seems to have been added into the narrative by Eduard Vehse in his *Geschichte der deutschen Höfe* (1852) as part of revisionist nineteenth-century nationalist Austro-German historiography. Vehse's description has led to historians and authors taking as fact that the *Anklopfzeremonie* had been used by Habsburgs since time immemorial. Wheatcroft includes a description of this ritual in Leopold's funeral yet does not attribute a source. His nearest citation is on the next page, and references Kann's *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History*, which makes no mention of Leopold's funeral.[103] Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water is one of the few historians to address the difficulties in pinpointing when this ritual became a regular feature of Habsburg funerals, believing it may have originated as part of the drumbeats of the soldiers used to keep time for the procession in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.[104] Frank Huss offers a slightly different narrative on the history of the *Anklopfzeremonie*, claiming that the coffin was brought into the church first, then the knocking was performed on the door to the crypt itself before the coffin was taken down to be interred. Huss is perhaps the only historian to claim the ritual originated at the crypt doors rather than the church's, although it is plausible that the ritual may have originated as Huss describes then shifted over time. Although this is an intriguing origin for the ritual, he does not

[101] Friedrich Adam Geisler, *Skizen aus den Karakter und Handlungen Josephs des Zweiten weiland regierenden Kaisers der Deutschen,* vol. 15 (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1791), 228.
[102] Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216.
[103] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 181; Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History*, 74-5. Other historians and authors have likewise propagated this myth, including James and Joanna Bogle, *A Heart for Europe* (1999), John Van der Kiste, *Emperor Francis Joseph* (2005), and Kindermann, *Die Habsburger ohne Reich* (2012). Undoubtedly, this was unintentional.
[104] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 76-7; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 36.

provide dates for when it was first used, any specific funerals at which it was performed, or cite any sources for his discussion.[105]

Regardless of which eighteenth-century funeral was the first to use the *Anklopfzeremonie* in something approaching its full form, once the Capuchin monks opened the doors, the coffin was handed over to eight monks who brought it into the church as the court musicians sang the *Libera me, Domine*, a liturgical responsory performed to absolve the dead of their sins. Even this simple act was symbolic, as the church doors represented Christ as the open door to everlasting life. As such, carrying the coffin inside symbolized the first step of the monarch's entry into the eternal Kingdom of God.[106]

The Crypt Keepers: Burial and Dissolution

Once the *Anklopfzeremonie* was completed, the second stage of the interment required the coffin to be consecrated and prepared for burial by the highest-ranking courtiers and members of the household. A small procession of the imperial family, religious officials, and the senior household escorted the coffin inside. For an emperor's funeral, the interior of the church was lit up by hundreds of candles, the walls hung with black cloth and the imperial crest, and the altar was draped in silver and gold.[107] Those who had the rights of entry into the church for this final stage shifted over the course of the century, but the senior-most officials within the imperial household and court remained a constant presence during the burial and rituals of dissolution, even if their numbers were somewhat scaled back. In 1705, the imperial family, the household, and the Austrian estates were allowed inside, though they most likely overflowed

[105] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 242.
[106] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 349r.-350v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 231; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 305r.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.774-B/422.775-B; Richter, *Geschichte und Thaten*, 169; Rest, *Our Christian Symbols*, 55-56; Webber, *Church Symbolism*, 82.
[107] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 251v.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 230-1; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216.

into the street.[108] In 1740, a much smaller group was allowed to enter: Francis Stephen as the chief mourner acting as his wife's proxy; Charles VI's younger daughter and sister with their court women; the papal nuncio; the knights of the Golden Fleece; the Privy Counsellors; and the *Oberstkämmerer*.[109] As noted above, a significantly larger group of household and court officials accompanied Maria Theresa's coffin inside in 1780. Once the empress's coffin had been brought into the church, the *Libera me* was sung and the (arch)bishop of Vienna performed a final consecration, assisted by the Habsburg state's most senior clerics, after which the coffin was taken down into the crypt for interment and the dissolution of the decedent's household.[110]

Transferring the coffin down into the Capuchin Crypt marked the final stage of the interment process. During this last ceremony, the senior members of the household and court clergy deposited the coffin in the crypt, an act which also marked the dissolution of the late monarch's household. Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, there was no single, exclusive location where the Habsburg emperors were interred in the same way as their English counterparts at Westminster Abbey. Some of the medieval Habsburgs had been buried in St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna, while others were buried in Prague, Graz, and Innsbruck. When Emperor Frederick III died in 1493, his entrails were buried in his capital of Linz, but his body was laid to rest in Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.[111] In 1617, Emperor Matthias

[108] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382. During the funeral for Empress Zita in 1989, at least 150 clergy, attendants, and members of the imperial family were barely able to fit into the Capuchin Church for the final consecration before entering the crypt. This number is based on the author's own tally after reviewing the recording of the funeral and does not include the crowd from the church pouring out onto the Neuer Markt (Horst Friedrich Mayer, August Paterno, and Hugo Portisch, "Begräbnis von Kaiserin Zita," ORF-TVthek/Eurovision, filmed April 1, 1989).

[109] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 252r./v.

[110] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 349r.-350v.; *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 252v.-253r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 401r./v.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 188 n2; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382-3; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 242.

[111] Meyer, *Königs- und Kaiserbegräbnisse im Spätmittelalter*, 186-8.

founded a new church in Vienna, only a few hundred meters away from his residence at the Hofburg. The church was run by the Order of Friars' Minor Capuchin (hereafter the Capuchins), a relatively new order that was founded in 1528 and was related to the Franciscans. The monks were given custodianship of the Capuchin Church because Matthias had admired the monks for their austere, orthodox lifestyles and commitment to evangelicalism. Empress Anna, wife of Emperor Matthias, was the first consort of a Habsburg ruler to be buried at the church in 1617. In her will, she left over 10,000 fl. for the completion of a special crypt (known colloquially as the *Kapuzinergruft* or the *Kaisergruft*) to be built in the church, as a final resting place for her and her husband.[112] Twenty years later, Ferdinand III chose to have his two sons Philip Augustus and Maximilian, who had died one week apart in 1639, buried in the Capuchin crypt as well.[113]

The crypt did not become the official Habsburg necropolis until 1654, when Emperor Ferdinand IV was buried there. Ferdinand III later arranged for his other children to be buried there, ostensibly as a way of ensuring they occupied a closer position to God by being beneath the church.[114] The nineteenth-century Catholic historian and imperial archivist Cölestin Wolfsgruber described the imperial crypt as "encompassing everything that makes a burial ground holy and venerable." The crypt came to hold a unique place within Habsburg rituals as a symbol of the family's piety in death and physical presence at the heart of Vienna. After Vienna became the Habsburgs' permanent capital in the seventeenth century, interring their monarchs in a church located near the city's geographical center also symbolized the enduring permanence of Habsburg rule in Austria. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the Capuchin Church was internationally recognized as the great monument and memorial to the "August

[112] Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 2-3; Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 180.
[113] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241.
[114] Wolfsgrüber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 5-6; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 28-30; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 375-6, 389.

House of Austria."[115] While the British and French monarchs were buried in the striking Gothic abbeys at Westminster and St. Denis, respectively, the Habsburgs chose their crypt to be hidden beneath an utterly unassuming, unadorned brown building that Bassett describes as "the Austrian capital's masterpiece of understatement"; one that highlighted the dynasty's belief that its members were, in death, "poor and miserable sinners" like everyone else.[116]

The crypt was expanded under every Habsburg monarch for most of the eighteenth century. Leopold I ordered the first expansion to accommodate future burials in 1701, followed by Joseph I in 1710. This expansion continued after his death and into the reign of his brother, Charles VI, and was not completed until 1729.[117] Charles opened the crypt as a public space in 1717 as "a showcase of imperial rule" following the addition of a small chapel and altar—although Joseph II eventually removed the latter. Despite this opening, there was a belief among the elites that the contents of the crypt still needed to be protected against the throngs of commoners coming to view the tombs. In 1720, the emperor ordered barricades to be placed around the various sarcophagi for that reason. The removal of the altar was what created space for subsequent sarcophagi. The crypt alternated as a public and private space throughout the eighteenth century.[118] Maria Theresa twice had the crypt expanded: first in 1748 then again in 1753. This second expansion by the empress was carried out to accommodate the creation of the "Maria-Theresien-Gruft", the crypt that would house the remains of her numerous children and the massive joint sarcophagus for her and her husband.

[115] *Mercure historique et politiques*, vol. 38, 579-80; Wolfsgrüber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 5-6; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 375-6, 389; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 49. For an overview of the German historiography dating to the late eighteenth century, see Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 22-3.
[116] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 252v.-253r.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 401r./v.; *WZ* no. 98 (6 Dec. 1780), *Ausführliche Beschreibung* [...], 422.775-B; Bassett, *For God and Kaiser*, 164.
[117] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241.
[118] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 388-90.

Joseph II closed off the crypt to the public in 1787, citing public health concerns, but it was reopened by his brother, Leopold II, after his accession in 1790.[119]

Bringing the coffin down into the crypt was the most sacred and intimate part of the entire funeral, and thus was restricted to a select group. Only the court chaplains and two *Obersthofbeämter* were permitted to accompany the (arch)bishop of Vienna, his presbyters, deacons, and assistants into the crypt for the burial and the ritual dissolution of the household. In 1740, the presbyters and deacons were removed entirely, and by 1780, only the twelve Capuchins carrying the coffin and the two *Obersthofbeämter* were allowed into the crypt. Even as the presence of religious officials involved in the burial changed, the *Obersthofbeämter*—who can be seen as a representation of the entire household—always remained part of this critical ritual in the process of monarchical death and succession.

Once the monks and the procession entered the low, narrow crypt of the Habsburg emperors, the coffin was placed on a pedestal that had been set up in front of an altar. After the bishop had recited the Office of the Dead, the two *Obersthofbeämter* carried out their last responsibility and initiated the dissolution of the household. Changes in which officials were allowed to accompany the coffin into the crypt were shaped by the incumbent's personal relationship with the decedent. Although the *Obersthofmeister* was always the senior official and the most frequent participant in monarchical burials, the rankings of the *Obersthofmarschall* and *Oberstkämmerer* could fall to third place depending on their place in that monarch's household.[120] The *Obersthofbeämter* used their golden keys (Appendix: Fig. 24) to open the coffin. The guardian monk then asked the officials, "Do you recognize in the deceased the most noble Archduke or our most gracious Lord (or Lady) Majesty?" When the

[119] Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 241-2. The only person interred in the Capuchin Church who was not a Habsburg was Countess Karoline von Fuchs-Mollard, Maria Theresa's beloved childhood governess.
[120] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 188 n2; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, ff. 252v.-253r.; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 188 n2); Duindam, "Vienna and Versailles," <23>.

officials answered yes, the coffin was closed again, and custody of the imperial remains were officially transferred to the Capuchin monks. The *Obersthofbeämter* no longer had guardianship of the corpse, and the officials had fulfilled their responsibility to ensure the funeralization process was completed successfully. The officials gave one of their keys to the monks to be kept in the crypt. The other key was kept in the *Obersthofmeister*'s office. Some of the keys were taken into the Hofburg's Treasure Chamber, where many of them are still kept today.[121] Once the identity was confirmed, the monks took possession of the remains. The coffin was left on a pedestal in the crypt until the permanent sarcophagus was completed. As the *Obersthofbeämter* and imperial family exited the church onto the Neuer Markt, the city soldiers resumed beating their drums as all those who had marched in the procession returned to the Hofburg between 10:30 and 11:00 p.m.[122] The funeral had come to an end.

Any officials still retaining a golden key were required to surrender it to either the *Obersthofmeister* or the *Oberstkämmerer* within a few days of the burial. The surrender of the keys and their placement in the Treasure Chamber was the symbolic act that formally dissolved the late monarch's household and their governing councils.[123] This was the Habsburg equivalent to the British High Officers breaking their white staves over the lowering coffin. According to Ralph Giesey, the surrendering of keys of office and the dissolution of a

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[121] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, f. 401v.; OMeA ÄZA 90-11, f. 34; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 231; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 242; Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 77-8; Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, 34; Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 50.

[122] *WD* no. 190 (May 27-29, 1705), *Relation von Weyland* [...]; Wolfsgruber, *Die Kaisergruft*, 188; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 401v.-402r.

[123] AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, f. 350 r.; Scharffenstein, *Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten* [...], 231; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 216; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 382; Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 167. The new monarch could choose to keep anyone in office they so desired. The benefit of doing so would be to help ensure a smoother transition to the new reign. Maria Theresa chose to keep her father's *Obersthofmeister* until 1747, *Oberstkämmerer* until 1741, and *Obersthofmarschall* until 1742. After those dates, she replaced them with officers of her choosing (AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17 ff. 234r./v; AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten. 67-16 ff. 18r./v; *Staats- und Standes-Calender*, 362, 373; Röhsner, "Karl VI., sein Tod und der zeremonielle Ablauf seines Bebgräbnisses," 213; Seitschek, "Was blieb von Karl VI.?": Funktionträges am Hof Kaiser Karls VI., 250-2).

monarch's inner circle was one of the most important symbolic acts in any royal funeral.[124] Since the Habsburg *Obersthofbeämter* and senior court officials were appointed by the reigning monarch, his or her death marked the dissolution of the imperial household as it had existed under their reign. The fact that their household was only disbanded *after* the interment and returning of the golden keys indicates the important role of the corpse in royal funeral rituals and the connectedness between the physical person of the monarch and the role of the imperial household beyond serving the institution of the Crown. As discussed in chapter three, the dual function of the monarch's body as the centerpiece of both the religious funeral and the temporal imperial administration demonstrates that Habsburg funerals, like other royal rituals, represented an intersection of the political, religious, and social orders of the realm within the institution of the household.

The household existed to serve the daily needs of the monarch, but even once the institution was dissolved, its members remained associated with their former master after death. The former officials were expected and required to play a role in ensuring their late master or mistress is properly laid to rest and in ensuring their entrance into Heaven by participating in the court exequies held in the days and weeks after the funeral. The traditional structure for exequies had each service performing a different function in aiding and commemorating the soul of the deceased. On the first day, the death of the monarch was commemorated by recitations of the *De Profundis* and *Miserere*. On the second day, the clergy recited the *Subvenite sancti Dei*, a Latin choral segment from the Office of the Dead. On the third and final day, the deceased was granted absolution for sins through a choral prayer known as the *absolutio ad tumulum* and concluded with a procession that mirrored the one to the crypt, using a *castrum doloris* or mourning frame to ritualistically represented the

[124] Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, 29; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 251. Giesey even goes so far as to claim that this was a secular ritual that was attached to what was otherwise an "essentially religious" burial ceremony (29).

interment of the corpse. Members of the former household were among the many officials, aristocrats, and courtiers whose attendance was required as an act of vassal obedience to the monarchy.[125] The final exequy service ended with a procession inside the church that mirrored the one to the Capuchin Crypt, using a *castrum doloris* or mourning frame to ritualistically represent the interment of the corpse.[126] This format enabled the exequies to recreate a microcosm of the funeral and reinforced the contemporary Catholic belief that death was a process that began when life ended and finished when the soul entered its eternal destination. This deathly process was facilitated along by the participation of those who had been closest to the deceased: their *Obersthofbeämter* and household officials. Once the court exequies had finished, the late monarch's funeralization was officially considered to be over, and the new reign—with its new household—began.[127]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to correct misconceptions about the role of the imperial household in eighteenth-century Habsburg funerals, specifically the omission of the *Obersthofbeämeter* from the scholarly literature. A close analysis of the funerals of the Habsburg monarchs between 1705 and 1780 reveals that the household was the principal corps of actors featured in these rituals. Even in the latter half of the century, with its changing conceptions of religiosity and monarchical sacrality, its aristocratic officials remained central to these rites through the reinterpretation of specific funerary elements. The preceding examination has focused on the structure of the processions from the Hofburg to the Capuchin Church; the courtly and religious presentations of the *Anklopfzeremonie*; and the imperial crypt as a tangible link to and

[125] *WD* no. 189 (May 23-26, 1705); AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 17, f. 292r.; *WD* no. 93 (19 Nov. 1740), 1045-6; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 35, ff. 376r., 380r., 385v.-386r., 402v.-403v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 90-10, f. 276r.; *WZ* no. 99 (9 Dec. 1780).
[126] Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod*, 165-6; Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 383; Bepler, "Funerals," 252.
[127] Hengerer, "Funerals of the Habsburg Emperors," 372.

powerful symbol of the Habsburgs' enduring dynastic authority. Analyzing these elements leads to several key conclusions about the imperial household's continuing influence.

First, the imperial household remained the central institution around which Habsburg funerals operated. This is exemplified in its members' handling of the coffin. From start to finish, the right to interact with the monarch's remains were held exclusively by members of their household, all of whom came from the titled aristocracy. The Augustinian monks, though not aristocratic, still formed a group of elite clergy because of their close relationship with the imperial family. These monks that formed the household clergy were responsible for preparing the coffin at the Hofburg, and only the chamberlains and valets could touch it until they entered the Capuchin Church. Even when the scale of the procession was reduced in 1780, pages still provided a ceremonial escort for the *Trauerwagen* transporting Maria Theresa's remains. A microcosmic version of the larger procession with the senior householders was recreated for carrying the empress's coffin into the church. If the household's role at the centre of Habsburg governance was truly declining, many of the staff could have been dispensed with entirely or at least reduced to the bare minimum. Finally, the household remained responsible for enacting these rituals that displayed the piety of the dynasty. They demonstrated the absolute humility of the Habsburgs in death, the piety of the household and court as funeral participants, and, since the monarch was the embodiment of the state, also represented the corporate piety of the people and the religious homogeneity created under dynastic rule.

The second conclusion that can be drawn from this examination is that the eighteenth-century conceptions of the idealized Habsburg state did not drastically evolve as the modifications to the dynasty's funerary rites might suggest. Even though demonstrative religiosity had weakened somewhat, the household and *Hofstaat* still relied upon familiar Catholic symbols and practices. These were important legitimizing mechanisms because of the intense connection between the Habsburgs, the Church, and beliefs that service to the former

was an act of service to God.[128] This dynastic legitimacy was predicated on the widespread acceptance of religious rituals and traditions within the Habsburg state. Some changes, however, were still made to the funerals of the later eighteenth century. They were slow in coming and did not fundamentally alter how those at the top of the social hierarchy saw the ordering of the state and its subjects. Even as alterations were made for Maria Theresa's funeral in 1780, the overall structure did not change significantly. The poor commoners, clergy, and civil officials still marched in the same spots. Only the imperial family, religious leaders, and the *Obersthofbeämter* went on ahead and did not participate in the public procession. The participants were largely the same; it was only how they were deployed that changed. If anything, this suggests that the aristocrats were seeing their own place within the social hierarchy shifting away from the need for public recognition for legitimacy, while at the same time still viewing the clergy, commoners, and civil orders as the unchanging foundation of the Habsburg state.

The burials of the early modern Habsburg emperors were elaborate multifaceted rituals. Despite all the grandeur and pageantry, these monarchs were still dependent upon the participation of the aristocrats within their households to ensure their funerals were imbued with political and religious significance. Even though the Habsburgs professed to be "poor, miserable sinners", their mortal remains were still cared for by some of the wealthiest land-owning elites in central Europe. These elaborate rituals were constructed for the purpose of emphasizing the uttermost humility and penitence of the Habsburgs. This was shown through the development of the *Anklopfzeremonie* and the consecrations conducted over the corpse in crypt before handing guardianship over to the Capuchin monks. In his study on the theatricality of royal and state funeral, Harry Garlick describes the imperial crypt as one of the clearest statements "of the political might of the Habsburgs," and an enduring powerful symbol of the dynasty's imperial authority, even to the present day:

[128] Duindam, "The Court of the Austrian Habsburgs," 186.

> Every day the Capuchin priests open their crypt to tourist parties, many of whom come to make what amount to a pilgrimage; certainly this is how these visits are viewed by a number of Viennese themselves, to whom—perhaps also to all Austrians and more generally Europeans who have a sense of central European history and tradition—these catafalques of many Habsburg rulers, kings, queens, archdukes, princes, princesses, dating back to the sixteenth century, offer a tangible link with the power of the Habsburg Empire; a token, to some even a fetish, that that power still survives.[129]

The journalist and Habsburg author Andrew Wheatcroft once remarked that death was the "last victory" for the Habsburgs, and that their grand funerals and sarcophagi in the Capuchin Crypt were monuments to their victory for militant Catholicism and against the heresies of the Reformation.[130] In the most reductive sense, this may be true. But the last victory of eighteenth-century Habsburg funeral processions is in their ability to concretize a consistent conception of what formed the ideal, Christian state. The Habsburg processions were a public way to demonstrate through rituals that the authority of the Crown, the structure of the state, and the integrity of the social hierarchy that supported it all remained intact because they mirrored the perfect harmony of God's created order. That, to amend Wheatcroft's words, is the last victory of Habsburg funerals.

[129] Garlick, *The Final Curtrain*, 224.
[130] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 181.

Conclusion

On Tuesday, March 14, 1989, Empress Zita of Austria died in Zizers, Switzerland, at the age of ninety-six. Her husband, Charles I, was the last Habsburg emperor until he resigned from participation in government and went into exile in 1918. News of Zita's death sparked press obituaries from Vienna to Sydney that were just as much Austrian history lessons as tributes to the late empress. Austrian president Kurt Waldheim granted permission for Zita to receive a public funeral in Vienna modeled on the rituals that had been used for Habsburg monarchs since the mid-seventeenth century. A few days after the empress died, her body was embalmed. Her heart was removed and placed in an ornate receptacle next to her husband's at Muri Abbey—the first religious house ever built by the Habsburgs in 1027.[1] On March 28, Zita's body was transferred to Klosterneuburg Abbey near Vienna, where mourners paid their respects for two days. From there, it was taken to St. Stephen's Cathedral for the lying-in-state. An estimated 150,000 people signed the condolence books.[2] The next day, Friday, April 1, Zita's funeral was conducted at the cathedral, with an estimated eight thousand invited guests.[3] "Old Vienna dusted off its imperial finery today to lay to rest Austria's last Empress," wrote one journalist, "paying a regal tribute to a woman who remained quietly true to her lost crown and to the late Emperor through seven decades of exile."[4]

After the funeral liturgy by the archbishop of Vienna concluded, the coffin was escorted to the Capuchin Church for the burial service by a procession of nearly one thousand guards, clergy, officials, and members of the imperial family. The statesman Dr. Heinz Anton

[1] Karl's heart was transferred to Muri after his death in 1922. Zita's heart was eventually deposited into the abbey's Loreto Chapel on December 17, 1989.
[2] Brook-Shepherd, *The Last Empress*, 330; Kindermann, *Habsburger ohne Reich*, "Der Weg zurück nach Wien"; "Bei Otto von Habsburgs Mutter wurde Wien noch einmal Kaiserstadt," Südtirol Online, July 13, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20150924120925/http://www.stol.it/Artikel/Politik-im-Ueberblick/Politik/Bei-Otto-von-Habsburgs-Mutter-wurde-Wien-noch-einmal-Kaiserstadt.
[3] Garlick, *The Final Curtain*, 222-3.
[4] *Times Colonist*, April 2, 1989; *New York Times*, April 2, 1989.

Hafner was appointed to serve as the ceremonial *Obersthofmeister* and perform the *Anklopfzeremonie*.[5] Once the procession reached the doors of the church on the Neuer Markt, Hafner knocked on the church door with his staff three times.[6] Father Gottfried Undesser, the Capuchin prior, called from inside the church and asked who was seeking entry. Hafner replied:

> Zita, the empress of Austria, the crowned queen of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria and Illyria, queen of Jerusalem; archduchess of Austria; grand duchess of Tuscany and of Krakow; duchess of Lorraine and Bar, of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and the Bukovina; grand princess of Transylvania; margravine of Moravia; duchess of Upper and Lower Silesia, of Modena, of Piacenza and Guastalla, of Auschwitz and of Zator, Teschen, Friuli, Ragusa, and Zadar; princely countess [*gefürstete Gräfin*] of Habsburg and Tyrol, of Kyburg, Gorizia and Gradisca; princess [*Fürstin*] of Trentino and Brixen; margravine of Upper and Lower Lusatia and Istria; countess of Hohenems, Feldkirch, Bregenz and Sonnenberg, Lady [*Ĥerrin*] of Trieste, of Kotor, and of the Wendish Mark; grand vojvodinja of the Voivodeship of Serbia, infanta of Spain, princess of Portugal and of Parma.

"I do not know her," Father Gottfried replied. Hafner again knocked on the door three times, and Gottfried asked who sought entry.

"Zita, Her Majesty the Empress and Queen!" Hafner called out. The monk again replied he did not know her. When Hafner knocked a third time and was asked the same question, he replied with the words that opened the door: "Zita, a mortal, sinful person." Gottfried answered that she could enter. This striking ritual reinforced the dynasty's core belief that in death the Habsburgs were not emperors, kings, or archdukes, but mortal sinners before God.[7] Even though Austria had been a republic for seventy years, there was great international

[5] Vovk, "The Last Journey," 4. Haffner currently serves as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta's ambassador to Hungary.
[6] The following account is based on the author's own transcription and translation of Mayer, Paterno, and Portisch, "Begräbnis von Kaiserin Zita."
[7] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*, 181; Bogle, *A Heart for Europe*, 161; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 247.

interest in Zita's funeral as a way to connect with the past. A report from the *Associated Press* at the time described it as "an act of reconciliation with the family that brought Austria greatness but was driven into exile after the First World War."[8]

Zita's funeral was a critical moment for the modern Habsburgs by reminding the world of the role that rituals played in symbolically legitimizing royal legitimacy. The funeralization also revealed that the officers of the imperial household were essential to the dynasty's ritual culture. Moments like the *Anklopfzeremonie* or the burial procession could not be completed without people serving as *Obersthofbeämter*, even if just in a ceremonial capacity.[9] Even at the funeral of Zita's son, Otto von Habsburg, in 2011, Dr. Ulrich-Walter Lipp served as *Obersthofmeister* during the *Anklopfzeremonie*.[10] In Britain, members of the Royal Household have continued to function as key participants in royal funerals. As discussed in more detail in the introduction, during Queen Elizabeth II's burial service at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, in 2022, the Lord Chamberlain, Andrew Parker, Baron Parker of Minsmere, broke his staff of office and placed it on the coffin. As the coffin was lowered into the vault, the Garter King of Arms recited the queen's titles and proclaimed a blessing on the new king.[11] Monarchical households underwent significant evolutions in the twentieth century, while others, like the Habsburg imperial household, were dissolved entirely after the monarchy was abolished. However, the continuing involvement of household officials in the funerary rites of these two regimes, one reigning and one deposed, reveals how much monarchical households shaped the ceremonials and rituals that have symbolically legitimized European monarchies since the early modern era. The High Officers' and

[8] *Times Colonist*, April 2, 1989.
[9] Evidence of this importance can be seen in the fact that funeral updates, press releases, photographs, and even the monarchy's official website, are all controlled by the Royal Household (*The Royal Household* © Crown Copyright, https://www.royal.uk/, accessed July 27, 2023).
[10] Demmerle and Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"*, 25.
[11] "The order of service for Queen's committal at St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle," *BBC*, September 19, 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-62952665.

Obersthofbeämter's control of the planning process, the preparation of the corpse, and the structure of the funeral and burial services help to explain how these establishments were able to remain vital to popular beliefs about political and social hierarchy; beliefs that were constructed around dynastic stability. This is all the more remarkable considering that the traditional venue for aristocratic political power, the court, was losing political currency by the eighteenth century.

This study has sought to remedy gaps in early modern funerary historiography by providing the first English analysis that examined how monarchical households used funerary rites as a mechanism for ensuring their relevance for dynastic legitimacy into the modern era. The preceding chapters have examined four components of British and Habsburg funeralizations between 1695 and 1780. These elements were used by their respective households to control the funeralization process as a means to ensure continued dynastic relevance. The first component to be analyzed was the household's use of earlier protocol precedents in planning the funeralization process. Second was the enforcement of mourning regulations on the social hierarchy. Thirdly, the presentation of the corpse as the embodiment of the state was analyzed. Finally, consideration was given to the efficacy of the funeral service to reflect household conceptions of the idealized state.

Chapter one challenged the misconception that royal households in eighteenth-century Britain and Austria were irrelevant. It showed that these households, particularly through their role in planning royal funerals, maintained and sometimes expanded their symbolic authority despite the courts' decreasing political power. The *Obersthofbeämter* and the High Officers acquired the monopoly on funerary planning by knowing when to leave earlier precedents unchanged and when to adapt them to accommodate contemporary circumstances. The Habsburg *Obersthofbeämter* used historical precedents to create standardized funeral protocols to ensure dynastic stability. They favoured maintaining earlier precedents with minimal changes unless absolutely necessary. Consistent rituals legitimized

both the deceased monarch and their successor, reinforcing Habsburg continuity. The funerals of Ferdinand III in 1654 and Ferdinand IV in 1657 established standardized funerary precedents for Habsburg monarchs that the various *Hofkonferenz* had little need to change for much of the eighteenth century. Even when some changes were made planning Maria Therea's funeral in 1780, the overall ritual structure and format of the event remained consistent with her father's and grandfather's. Ritual consistency enabled the household to connect the deceased ruler through the articulation of the traditional royal virtues, piety, and legitimacy of their ancestors. This ability to control how the decedent was perceived gave the household agency in shaping the popular belief in the stability and sempiternal nature of Habsburg rulership.

In Britain, the later Stuart and Hanoverian households were able to use the special funerary committees of the Privy Council to expand their own authority. After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, the special committees of the Privy Council and parliamentary mandates influenced royal funeral planning. Householders formed the majority of these special committees, giving officials more and more control over how the funeralization process was planned. By 1714, public funerals were no longer necessary for legitimization due to the security afforded Britain by the Hanoverian Succession. This state stability allowed the High Officers to plan royal funerals as private affairs restricted mostly to their own members. The Earl Marshal, Great Officers of State, and the College of Arms were pushed out of the planning process. The Lords Chamberlain became the power behind royal funerals, taking over the planning and management and establishing funerary rites that lasted into the twentieth century. Both the *Obersthofbeämter* and the High Officers managed to maintain a central role in royal governance by balancing how closely they adhered to traditional precedents and when they enacted necessary adaptations for changing political and social conditions.

Chapter two analyzed the significance of mourning regulations, emphasizing how British and Habsburg officials used them to provide structure, reinforce social hierarchy, and maintain order during the transitional period after the monarch died. Mourning regulations provided a structured way for aristocrats and commoners alike to cope with death, providing standardized rules about dress, behaviour, and piety. These regulations transcended religious and political boundaries, creating a common mourning framework that was recognizable across different states and confessions. One of the most important functions of these regulations was that they reinforced the social hierarchies of the British and Habsburg states by emphasizing the household's role in maintaining social order. Those at the very top of the pyramid enforced order through strict mourning schedules based around sacred time, the prosecution of sumptuary laws, and maintaining their responsibility for providing mourning attire to funeral participants and their own household members. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, both the Habsburg and British states moved from *ad hoc* mourning periods to more structured, regulated ones. The household, the court, and the orders of the state participated in these rituals, expressing a unified, hierarchical society through restricted activities and prescribed mourning attire.

Chapter three examined the household's custody of the corpse during the period between death and burial. During this interval, officials embalmed the corpse and arranged the lying-in-state as a way of presenting the deceased monarch as the personification of the realm and metaphor for the state. The Habsburg and British officials used similar rites but framed them according to different worldviews. Habsburg officials saw the imperial corpse as a kind of relic. It was preserved using techniques and ingredients reminiscent of saintly embalmings and even emulated the preparation of Christ's body for burial. The goal of this process was to make the corpse look untouched by death and decay for the lying-in-state. This lifelike state sent the message that the Habsburg monarchs were preserved by God as a sign of their sacrality and piety. During the lying-in-state, the household displayed the corpse for anyone to see.

Chamberlains and valets dressed the body in clothing that was recognizable as conveying power, wealth, and piety. Householders also cultivated this idea of sacrality as central to the Habsburg state by conducting daily Masses in the Knight's Hall and holding constant vigils to pray for the monarch's soul; the public were expected and encouraged to participate in these liturgical rites. By having custody of the corpse, the imperial household was able to influence how mourners interpreted the monarchy and its relationship with the Catholic Church.

The British Royal Household conducted similar post-mortem rites on their corpses, based on a shared history of medieval mortuary traditions. The High Officers' preparation of the corpse, removal of the organs, and staging the lying-in-state were, however, shaped by the Protestant Reformation. In the words of one historian, the "monarch was desacralized" and simply expected "to project an image of pious respectability."[12] In the absence of monarchical sacrality, the household medical establishment preserved the corpse and organs as part of the Protestant death conception. This required them to conduct a "proper" funeral that honoured the dead and demonstrated the household's piety which, in turn, expressed the Protestant morality of the aristocracy and peers within its ranks.[13] At the same time, they also used these rites as a way of showing their respect for God's anointed sovereign. The householders deployed heraldic regalia, mourning décor, and the crown jewels (albeit fake ones) all around the coffin to communicate that the body inside was the personification of the kingdom. Even though the British and Austrian establishments developed some very different modes of laying their monarchs in state, the officials' roles remained the same throughout the century: perpetuate the understanding that the monarch, alive or dead, was the embodiment of the state.

Chapters four and five examined in detail the funerals of the British and Habsburg monarchs, respectively. Both chapters showed that funerals were increasingly limited to senior

[12] Orr, "Introduction," 2.
[13] Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 36, 93-4, 116.

householders who served the monarch personally. Chapter four examined the shift from public to private ceremonials in British royal funerals between 1695 and 1760. The chapter shed new light on how the Royal Household solidified its control over funeral decision-making by excluding rival groups from attending, like the aristocracy and members of the government. The household gradually excluded the Earl Marshal and his Officers of Arms from having any kind of active role during the ceremony; they could attend eighteenth-century royal funerals but only as spectators. The household, which itself was comprised of many peers, understood that the titled aristocracy was an essential ingredient of the British monarchy, but the High Officers limited the wider aristocracy to attending as observing guests only. Gentry were excluded unless they were employed within the household. By 1760, many peers excused themselves from attending George II's funeral. The Earl Marshal sent his deputy, and the head of the Privy Council and the Archbishop of York simply did not attend. The Royal Household had emerged victorious in its ritual warfare against the aristocrats and government for power over royal ceremonial culture. By taking control of the funerary rites, the household made itself indispensable to the British monarchy, ensuring it remained a necessity for the symbolic legitimacy of the reigning dynasty well into the nineteenth century.

The fifth and final chapter explored the Habsburg funerals from 1705 to 1780. As with the mourning regulations and the lying-in-state, the imperial household used the procession, entry into the church, and burial to communicate their view of the idealized state; one that maintained stability through consistent rituals but could also adapt them to accommodate evolving religiosity and beliefs in monarchical sacrality. At all times during the funeral, the household functioned as the principal actors. During the procession to the Capuchin Church, only chamberlains, valets, and members of the *Oberstkämmerer*'s department—almost all of whom were titled elites—could touch or even walk next to the coffin. These officials, along with the Capuchin friars, were the only ones who could escort the coffin into the church for consecration, and only the *Obersthofbeämter* could go down with

the clergy into the crypt for the burial service. At the end of the service, the household was dissolved, and the monarchical life cycle continued as the new reign began. The household used these rites to demonstrate the legitimacy and stability of Habsburg rulership over a state that mirrored God's own kingdom.

These chapters have revealed several important insights about British and Habsburg funerals in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, even though political power shifted away from the court towards legislative bodies, they remained vibrant institutions for social, artistic, and cultural patronage. These activities were still shaped by ritual culture that influenced the interactions among aristocrats and other social orders at court. The durability of these ritualized interactions was demonstrated when the court and its denizens came together to funeralize the monarch. In so doing, they mobilized these vast economic and professional networks to provide the material culture needed for royal funerals to properly express *Repraesentatio maiestatis*. By examining these rituals and relationships, it becomes easier to understand the separation between courtiers and members of the monarchical household. The latter were members of the aristocracy and court who received income and privileges by the Crown for service to the monarch. Those same paid staff, separate from unpaid courtiers, controlled the rituals that symbolically facilitated the life cycle of monarchy through death and funeralization. As such, courtly and aristocratic history needs to be problematized to accommodate the differences between these two institutions while acknowledging the continuing utility of the household to dynastic authority, even though the political court had largely faded by 1780.

The second important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the eighteenth-century secularization thesis only works when applied to states and peoples on a very broad level. Chapters three and five, in particular, have demonstrated that the eighteenth century was not dominated by the 'decline of religion' narrative that has been advocated by Habsburg historians like Derek Beales, Mark Hengerer, and Benjamin Curtis. A close analysis

of the handling of the corpse, lying-in-state, and funeral reveals Catholic doctrines of Purgatory and monarchical sacrality were still important characteristics of Habsburg ritual culture by 1780. Certain elements may have evolved as a result of Enlightenment influences on the *Hofstaat*, such as chamberlains no longer needing to have physical contact with the coffin. But the increase in Masses and intercessory prayers offered for Maria Theresa and the expanding role of the *Obersthofbeämter* in the *Anklopfzeremonie* and the burial service show that religiosity within the imperial household had evolved rather than declined. Similar ritual patterns were also seen in contemporary British royal funerals. By the time of King George II's private funeral in 1760, more hymns, prayers, and ceremonial elements were added to the obsequies than historians have previously considered. Even as sovereignty transitioned from the Crown to Parliament (namely, the House of Lords) after 1688, royal ritual culture for funerals remained both elaborate and pious. Like in the Habsburg state, that piety evolved to adapt to eighteenth-century values while remaining firmly rooted in a Protestant worldview; one that was heavily shaped by the Royal Household and its monopoly on royal funerals.

The most important conclusion of all, however, has been that royal and imperial households did not fade into insignificance in the long shadow cast by parliamentary and legislative governance. Instead, the households enabled the British and Habsburg monarchies to continue to define themselves as distinct institutions that were independent of the legislature by forging and refining their spiritual authority. This independence reveals an evolutionary role in the conception of divine right to the monarch functioning as a kind of spiritual guardian of the state. This analysis of the British and Habsburg households, specifically, has demonstrated that its officials ensured their continued relevance to the belief in dynastic stability throughout the eighteenth century and beyond by taking control of royal funerary rites. That control ensured those institutions continued to function in their monarchical regimes, even if their roles have evolved over the centuries. These rituals became, in effect, a form of real power for aristocrats and householders through their role in shaping

political opinion over time—reinterpreting the past to adapt to the present. Some of these rituals continue to function as the monarch's primary mechanism for interaction with their subjects, like in the United Kingdom. Other royal households were abolished in 1918, as happened in Austria and Germany. But even as these institutions evolved in the twentieth century or disappeared entirely, the significance of the household's ceremonial function in royal ritual culture has survived to the present day.

In Britain, the Lord Chamberlain, the Garter King of Arms, and other members of the Royal Household continue to participate in British monarchical funerals. The functions of the British and Habsburg households have continued to the present day, and much of their roles were cemented through their involvement in eighteenth-century funeralizations. High officials, chamberlains, valets, and hundreds of other householders, many of whom came from the aristocracy, became indispensable to their regimes by gaining control of the ritual culture that was suffused with dynastic, political and religious symbolism. The householders were able to control this symbology at the most vulnerable moment in any monarchy: the death of one ruler and the succession of the next.

Even with other political changes, the household remained important and powerful to the state machinery more generally by facilitating peaceful transition at the moment of death. For monarchy's today or in the past, the moment of death was always a vulnerable one—it could see the end of the institution itself —household helps preserve monarchical integrity and purpose. At a time when court political institutions were in decline, the households that formed their core became inseparable from the day-to-day functioning of monarchy. Royal funerals could not take place without the households, which in turn could not exist without a committed aristocracy. This should not be misinterpreted as a selfless loyalty to the Crown or state. While this was surely the case for some, these pages have shown that many British and Habsburg aristocrats were driven by a simple desire: survival of their class. A stable ruling dynasty was often the surest way to ensure a stable, hereditary aristocracy. In an ironic twist,

the British High Officers, the Habsburg *Obersthofbeämter* and the hundreds of staff who worked under them found their social survival by controlling the one thing that kings and commoners alike experienced: death.

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Appendix: Images, Tables, and Diagrams

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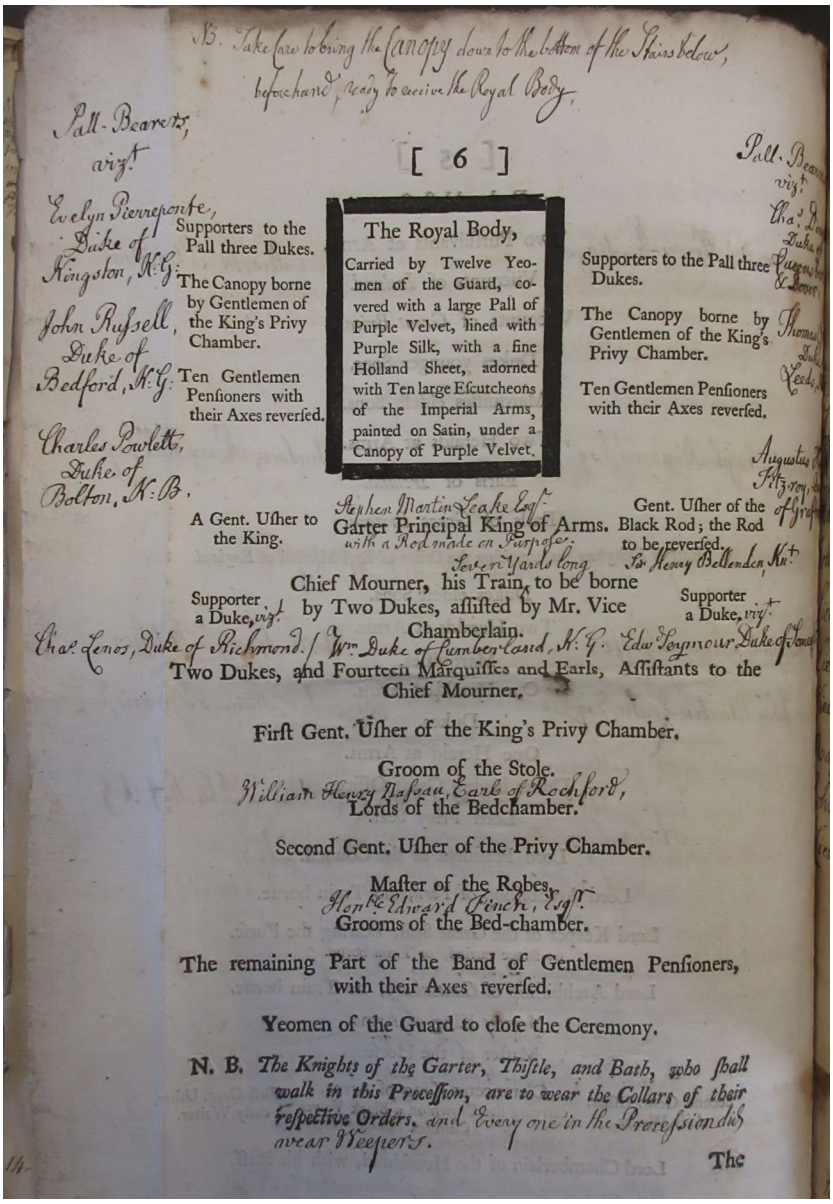


N. B. Take Care to bring the Canopy down to the bottom of the Stairs below, beforehand, ready to receive the Royal Body.

Pall-Bearers, viz.t

[6]

Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, K. G.
John Ruſſell, Duke of Bedford, K. G.
Charles Powlett, Duke of Bolton, K. B.

Supporters to the Pall three Dukes.

The Canopy borne by Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

Ten Gentlemen Penſioners with their Axes reverſed.

The Royal Body,

Carried by Twelve Yeomen of the Guard, covered with a large Pall of Purple Velvet, lined with Purple Silk, with a fine Holland Sheet, adorned with Ten large Eſcutcheons of the Imperial Arms, painted on Satin, under a Canopy of Purple Velvet.

Pall-Bearers viz.t

Supporters to the Pall three Dukes.

The Canopy borne by Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

Ten Gentlemen Penſioners with their Axes reverſed.

A Gent. Uſher to the King.

Stephen Martin Leake Eſq.r Garter Principal King of Arms. with a Rod made on Purpoſe.

Gent. Uſher of the Black Rod; the Rod to be reverſed. Sir Henry Bellenden, Knt.

Chief Mourner, his Train, to be borne by Two Dukes, aſſiſted by Mr. Vice Chamberlain.

Supporter a Duke, viz.t

Supporter a Duke, viz.t

Chas. Lenox, Duke of Richmond. / Wm. Duke of Cumberland, K. G. Edw. Seymour, Duke of Somerſet

Two Dukes, and Fourteen Marquiſſes and Earls, Aſſiſtants to the Chief Mourner.

Firſt Gent. Uſher of the King's Privy Chamber.

Groom of the Stole.

William Henry Naſſau, Earl of Rochford, Lords of the Bedchamber.

Second Gent. Uſher of the Privy Chamber.

Maſter of the Robes, Hon.ble Edward Finch, Eſq.r Grooms of the Bed-chamber.

The remaining Part of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, with their Axes reverſed.

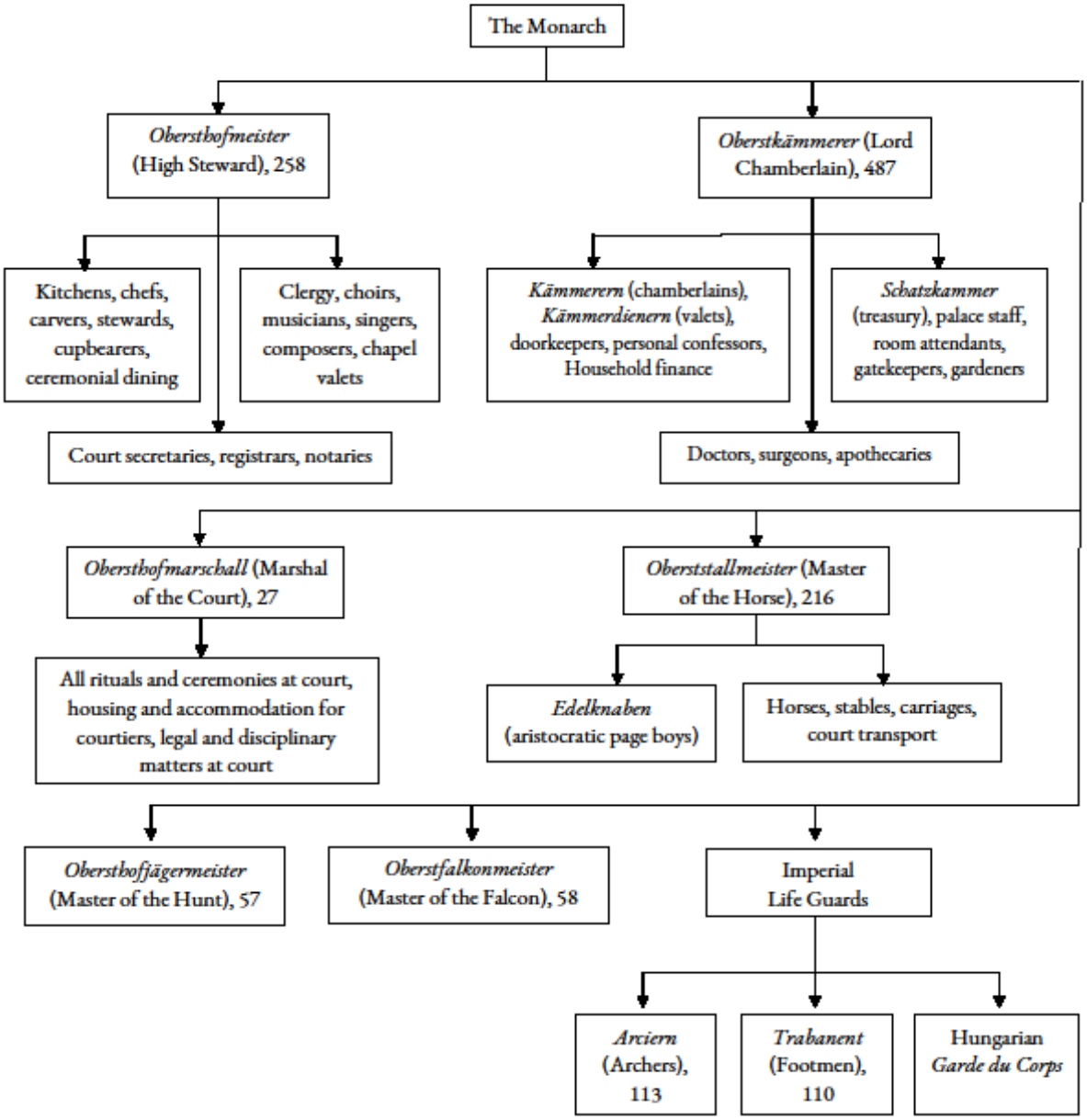
Yeomen of the Guard to cloſe the Ceremony.

N. B. *The Knights of the Garter, Thiſtle, and Bath, who ſhall walk in this Proceſſion, are to wear the Collars of their reſpective Orders. and Every one in the Proceſſion do's wear Weepers.*

The

[Fig. 1. Photograph. The Ceremonial for the Private Interment Of his late Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Second, Of Blessed Memory. *Royal Funerals. Coll: Arms H.* © College of Arms.]

Fig. 2. Table. The Imperial Household (simplified) and staff.



Sources: *Hof- und Staats- Schematismus*, 374-420; Huss, *Der Wiener Kaiserhof*, 226; Pangerl, "Der Wiener Hof," 80-5; Evans, "The Austrian Habsburgs," 122; Spielman, *City and the Court*, 54-5; Golubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold*, 68; Press, "Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government," 31; Adamson, "Making of the *Ancien-Régime* Court," 15; Pangerl, 1.1. "Das Obersthofmeisteramt," 151-61. The numbers for each department are found in Duindam, "The Courts of the Austrian Habsburgs," 168-70.

Fig. 3. Hofkonferenz for Leopold I, May 6, 1705

Name	Office
Count Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach	*Obersthofmeister*, *Obersterblandstallmeister*, and First Minister to Leopold I
Count Heinrich Franz Mansfeld, Prince zu Fondi	*Oberstkämmerer* to Leopold I
Prince Karl Theodor Otto zu Salm	*Obersthofmeister* to Joseph I
Count Georg Adam Martinitz	*Obersthofmarschall* to Leopold I
Count Maximilian von Thurn	*Obersthofmeister* to Dowager Empress Eleonora Magdalena
Count Julius Buccellini	Court chancellor to Leopold I
Count Philipp Sigmund von Dietrichstein	*Oberststallmeister* to Leopold I
Count Donat Trautson	*Oberstkämmerer* to Joseph I
Prince Leopold Ignaz Joseph von Dietrichstein	*Oberststallmeister* to Joseph I
Count Karl Ernst Waldstein	*Obersthofmarschall* to Joseph I
Count Wenzel Adalbert von Starhemberg	*Obersthofmeister* for Bohemia

Sources: AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-5, f. 1v.; AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 20-41, f. 1r.; AT-OESTA/HHStA OMeA ZA-Prot. 6, ff. 341r./v., 356v.-357r. The prepositions "von" and "zu" are used to indicate an aristocratic title rather than a royal one.

Fig. 4. Copper engraving. *Castrum doloris für Leopold I. von der Universität Wien im Stephansdom 1705 errichtet.* Johann Jacob Hoffman and Johann Franz Hörl. DG2018/197. The ALBERTINA Museum, Vienna.

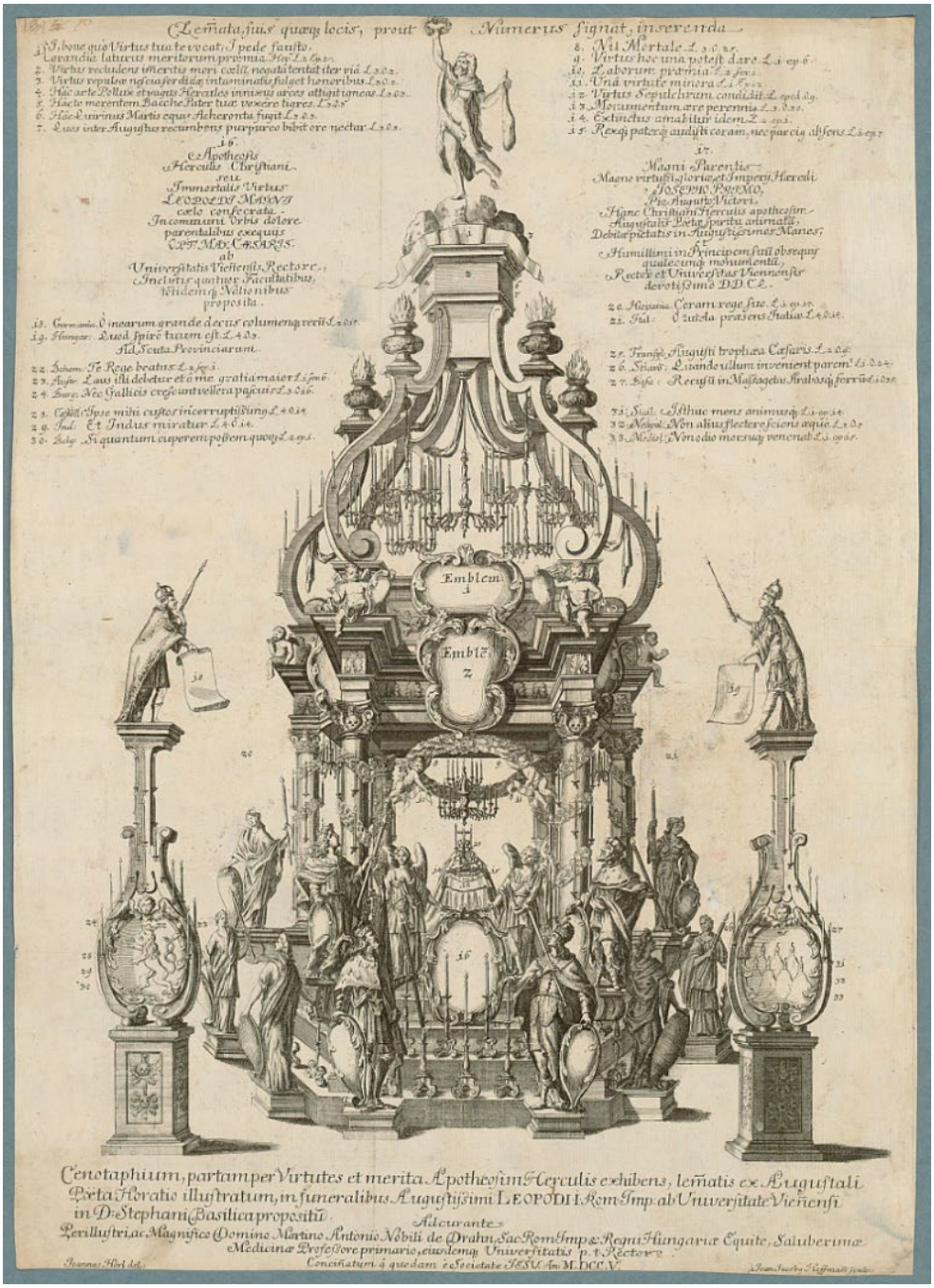


Fig. 5. Exequies funded (in florins) by the Hofstaat in Upper Austria for Charles VI in 1740.

Cloister	Office of the Dead	Masses	Communion	Requiem Masses	Rosaries
Kremsmünster	52	285	138	102	72
St. Florian	70	240	30	30	--
Lambach	10	102	48	48	--
Garstein	30	258	24	24	--
Wilhering	30	66	--	--	--
Baumgartenburg	3	24	--	--	--
Waldhausen	39	45	--	--	--
Mondsee	9	150	--	12	12
Gleink	6	126	18	18	36
Schlögl	15	72	--	24	--
Engleszell	6	24	--	--	--
Spital am Pyhrn	6	102	--	--	--
Schlierbach	12	144	--	--	--
	289	1638	258	258	120

Source: AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Familienakten 67-16, f. 79. These amounts did not include local donations.

Fig. 6. Mourning Expenses of Select Royal Funerals, 1603-1760

Monarch	Quantities of fabrics for mourning (in yards)	Amout paid for fabrics and mourning (£sd)	Approx. no. of people for whom mourning was provided	Mourning as % of total funeral cost	Total funeral cost (£sd)
Elizabeth I (1603)	17,918[a]	14,223[b]	N/A	81.6%	17,428[c]
James I (1625)	29,418[d]	28,252[e]	N/A	90.5%	31,217[f]
Mary II (1695)	37,166[g]	42,884.5.5[h]	2,140[i]	42.8%	≤100,000[j]
Anne (1714)	11,003[k]	6,458.8.6[l]	≥440[m]	61%	10,579.8.8[n]
George II (1760)	5,788[o]	2,032.3.5[p]	≥156[q]	34.6%	5,857.7.7[r]

These numbers do not include fabrics and materials needed for the funeral such as the canopy over the coffin or the ropes used to lower the coffin into the vault. The yards of mourning for Elizabeth I and James I only includes black fabrics. It should also be noted that the number of people who were provided with mourning in 1714 and 1760 are estimates of the bare minimum based on the written warrants from the Lord Chamberlain's office. In all likelihood, additional mourning was provided for other members of Anne and George's households.

Sources for table data: a)—f) Archer, "City and Court Connected," 161, table 1; g) LC 2/11/1, 93, 97; LC 2/11/2, nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 23, 28, 46; Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private'," 68; h) "Total of the Bills for the Funeral of the Late Queen Mary," LC 2/11/2; i) LC 2/11/1, 37-45, 89, 93, 97, 113-24; LC 2/11/2, nos. 1-10, 12, 19-20, 23, 28, 40-1, 46; E 351/3150; R20, f. 97; *Royal Funerals*, vol. 1, 150; j) "Total of the Bills for the Funeral of the Late Queen Mary," LC 2/11/2; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, 421; diary entry of March 5, 1695, in *Diary*, Beer, ed., 204; Van der Zee, *William and Mary*, 393; k)—m) LC 2/18, nos. 12, 14-23, 29, 31; AO 3/1192; n) PC 2/85, 52-4; LC 2/18, no. 22-23; SP 35/1/18, ff. 66r.-67r.; SP 35/1/24, ff. 75r.-79r.; *LG*, no. 5254 (August 24-28, 1714); "For the Funeral &c," AO 3/1192; "For the Funeral &c," Funeral: Anne, 1714, LC 2/19; o) LC 2/27, 115-25, 130, 120-1; p) LC 2/27, 102-12, 119-25, 129-30, 135, 157; q) LC 2/27, 102-10, 115-6, 123; r) LC 2/27, 96-112, 140.

Fig. 7.1. Engraving. View of the original chamber of the Herzogsgruft in the Stephansdom in Vienna. Salomon Kleiner, 1739.

Fig. 7.2. Engraving. The new Herzogsgruft in the Stephansdom in Vienna. Salomon Kleiner, 1758.

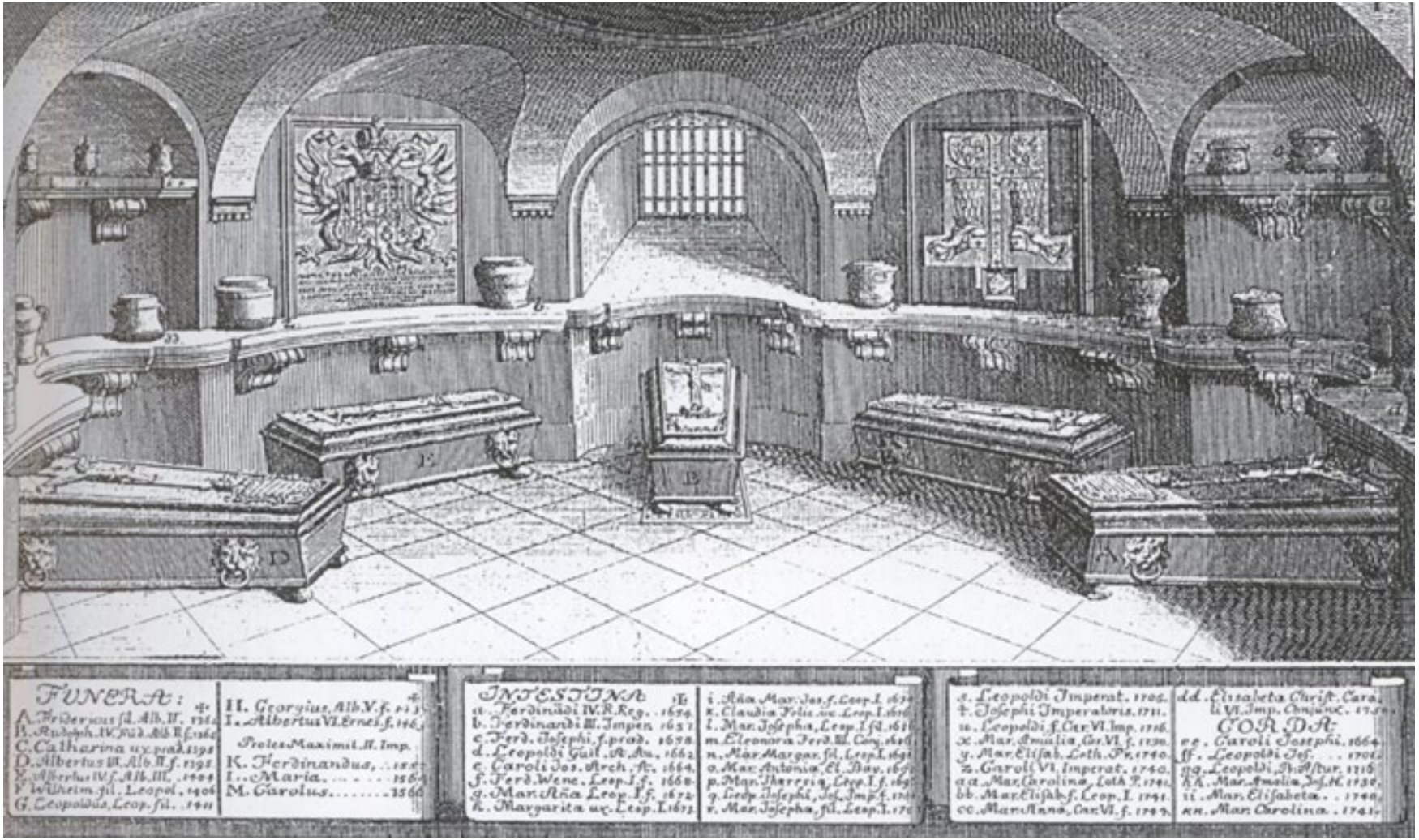


Fig. 8. Print. Stuart Vault © The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

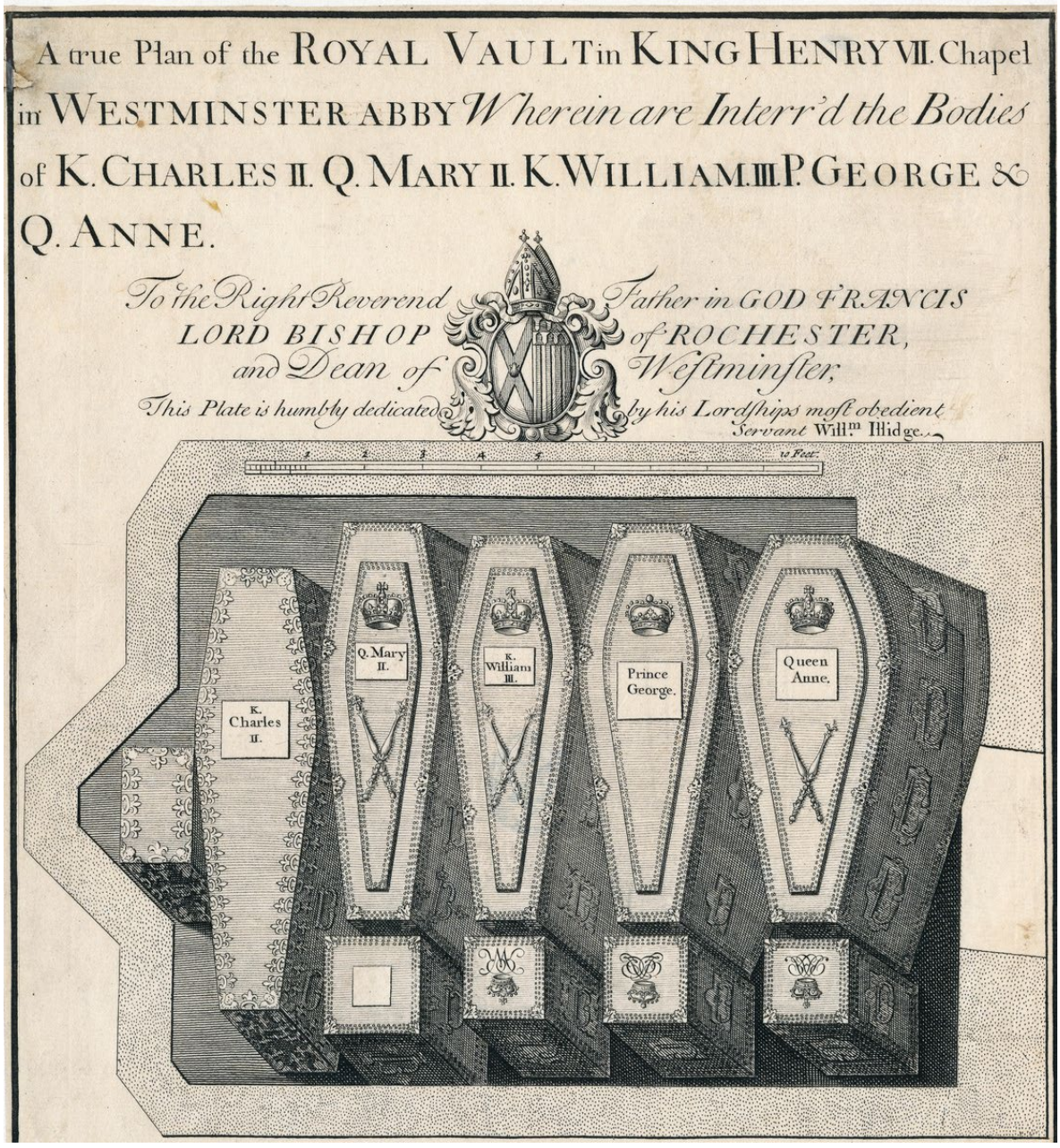


Fig. 9. Print – Engraving of Queen Mary II Lying in State. 1695. John Overton. E.4092-1960. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

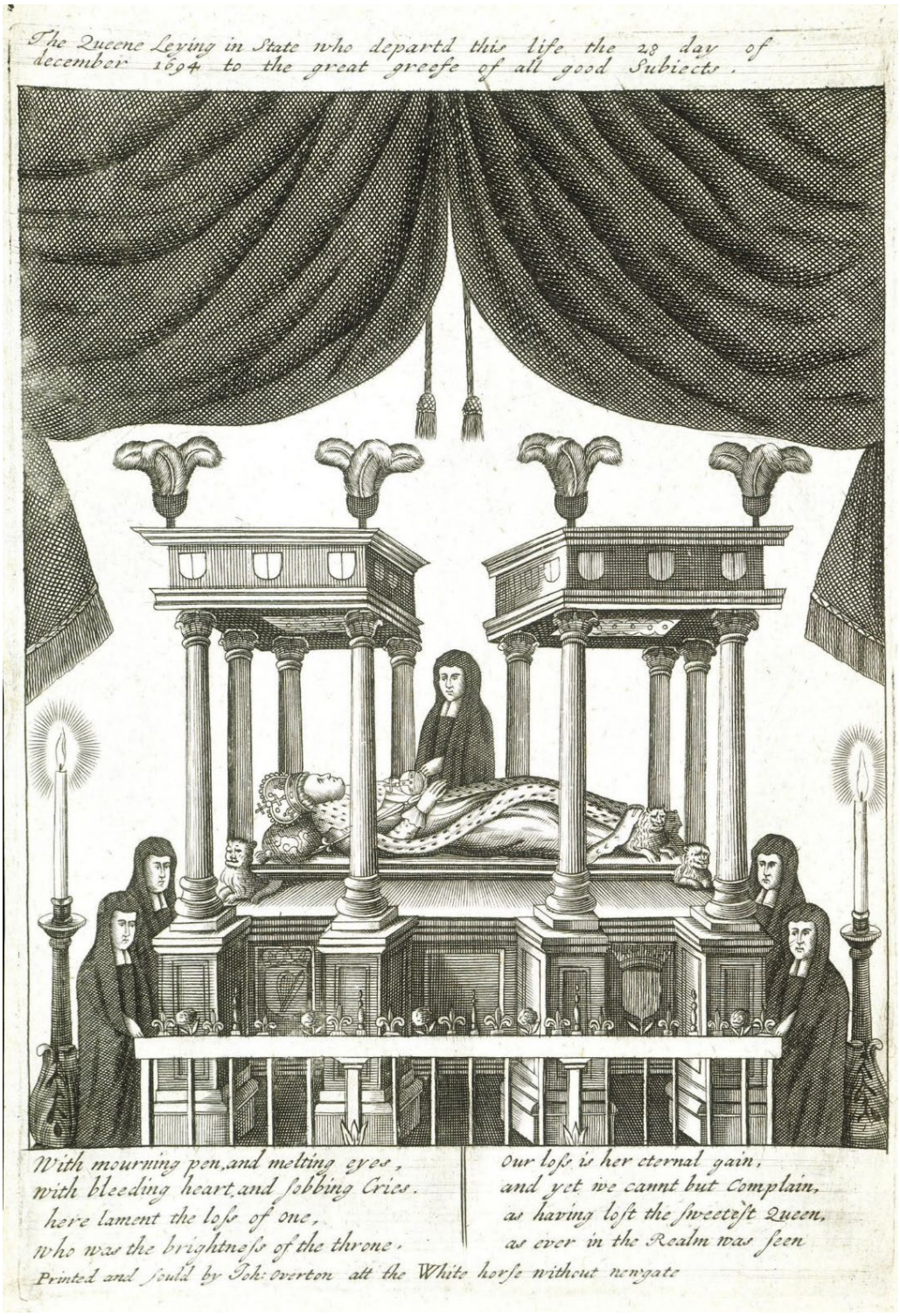


Fig. 10. Photograph. Banqueting House ceiling decorated with paintings by Sir Peter Paul Rubens © Historic Royal Palaces.

Fig. 11. Photograph. The Regalia of Charles II, 1661 (including an 'imperial' crown, the Sovereign's Orb, the Sword of State, and Sovereign's Sceptre with Dove). Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020.

Fig. 12. Print. Depiction of Charles VI on his deathbed, c. 1740. ÖNB Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung. Porträtsammlung. PORT_00047115_01.

Fig. 13. The *Reichskrone* of the Holy Roman Empire. *Schatzkammer*, Hofburg Palace, Vienna. 2019. Author's collection.

Fig. 14.1. Funeral Procession of Queen Mary II, March 5, 1695. © Melissa Heyes.

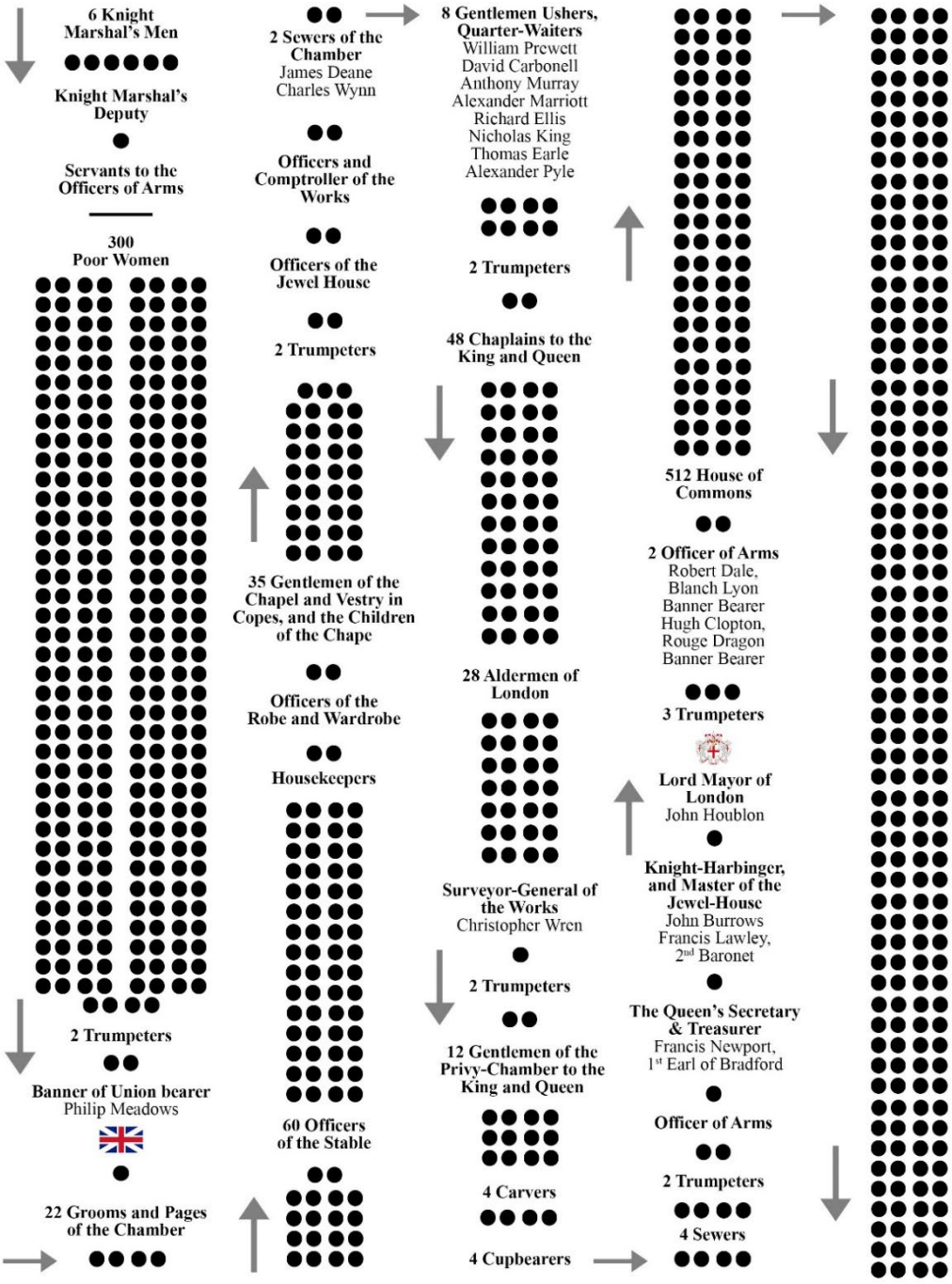


Fig. 14.2. Funeral Procession of Queen Mary II, March 5, 1695. © Melissa Heyes.

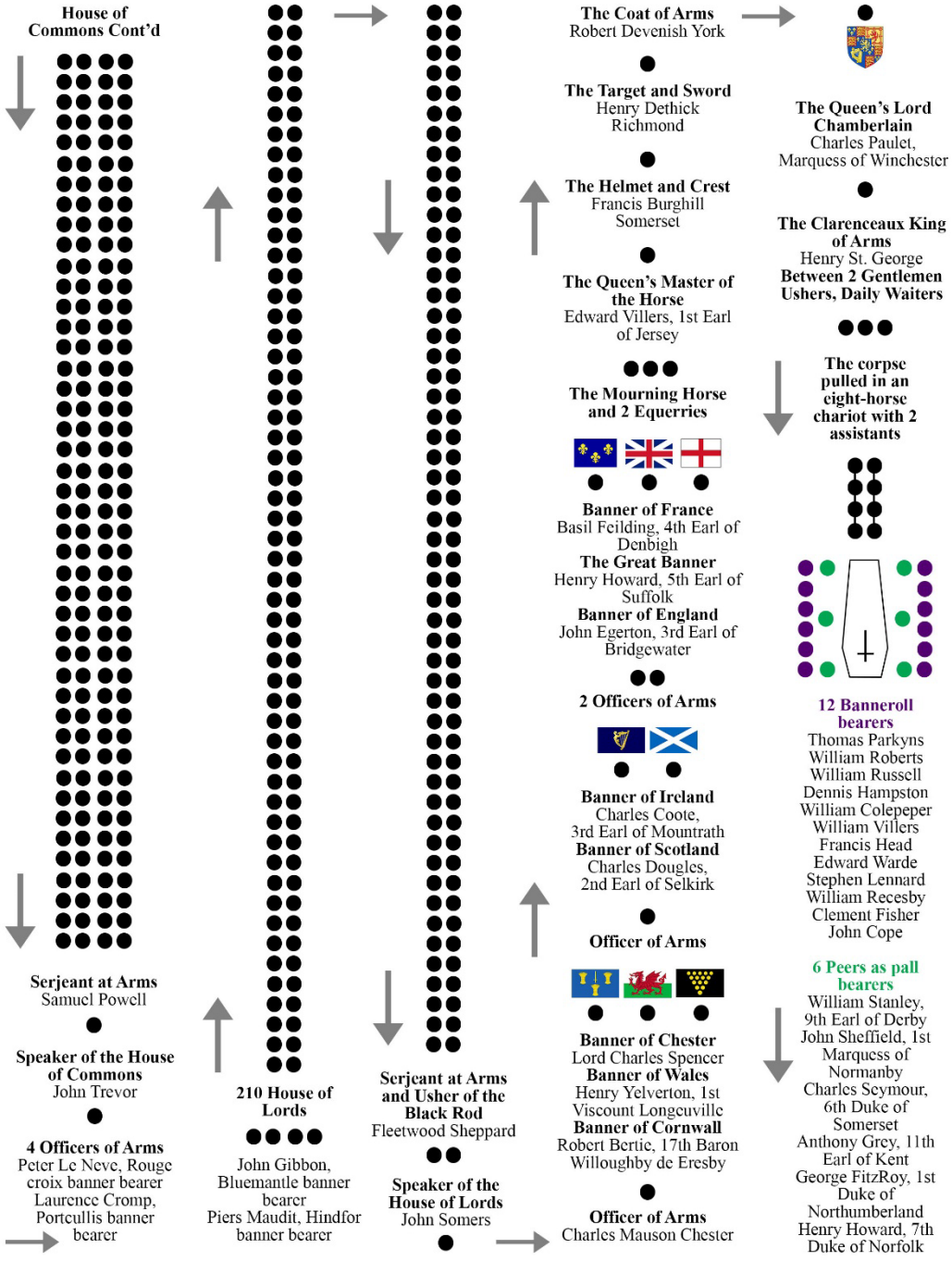


Fig. 14.3. Funeral Procession of Queen Mary II, March 5, 1695. © Melissa Heyes.

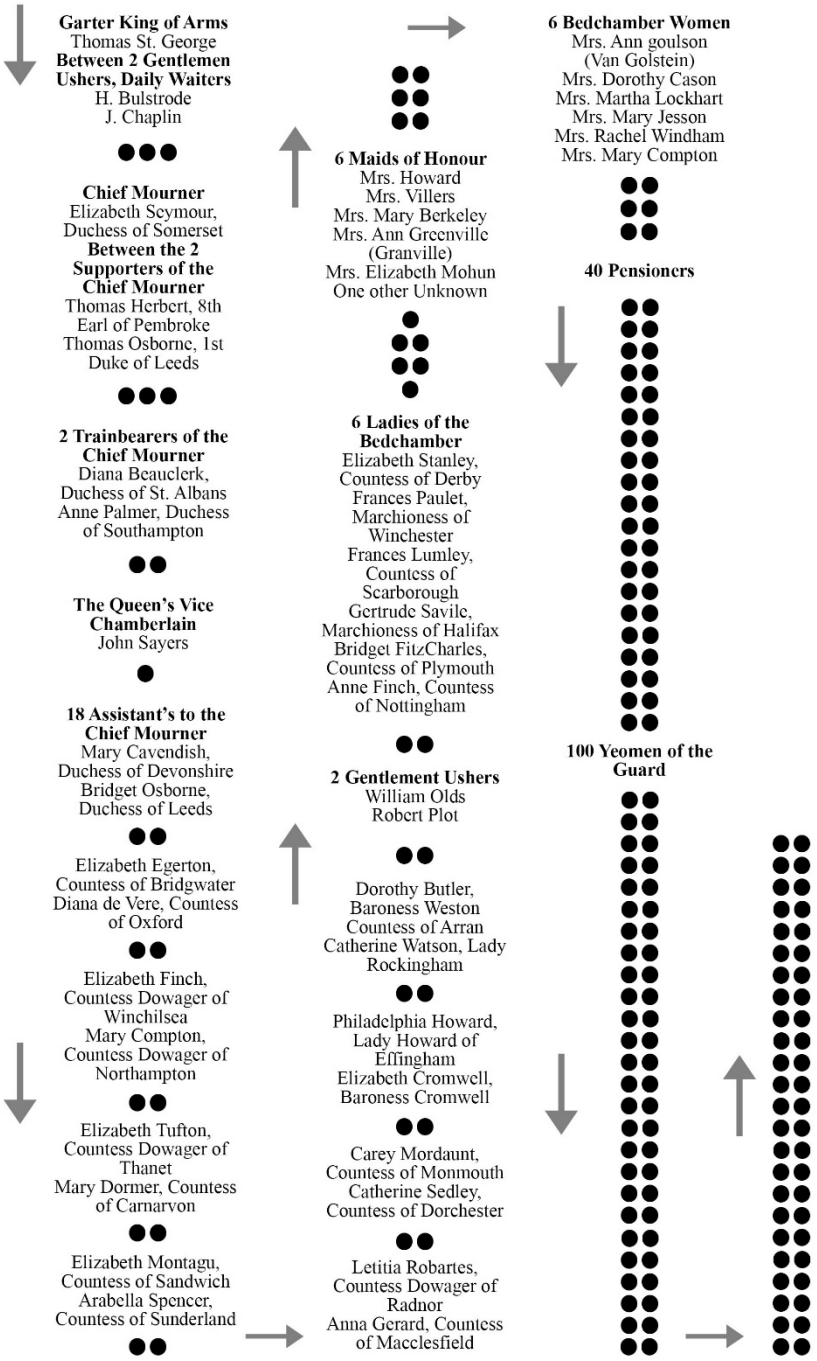


Fig. 15. Print. *Engraving depicting the Funeral Procession of Mary II*. 1695. Lorenz Scherm. E.2266-1889. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 16. Funeral route for Queen Mary II superimposed by the author onto a floor plan of Westminster Abbey. From *The Blue Guides: London and its Environs*. Eds. Findlay and L. Russel Muirhead. 4th ed. London: Ernest Benn, 1934.

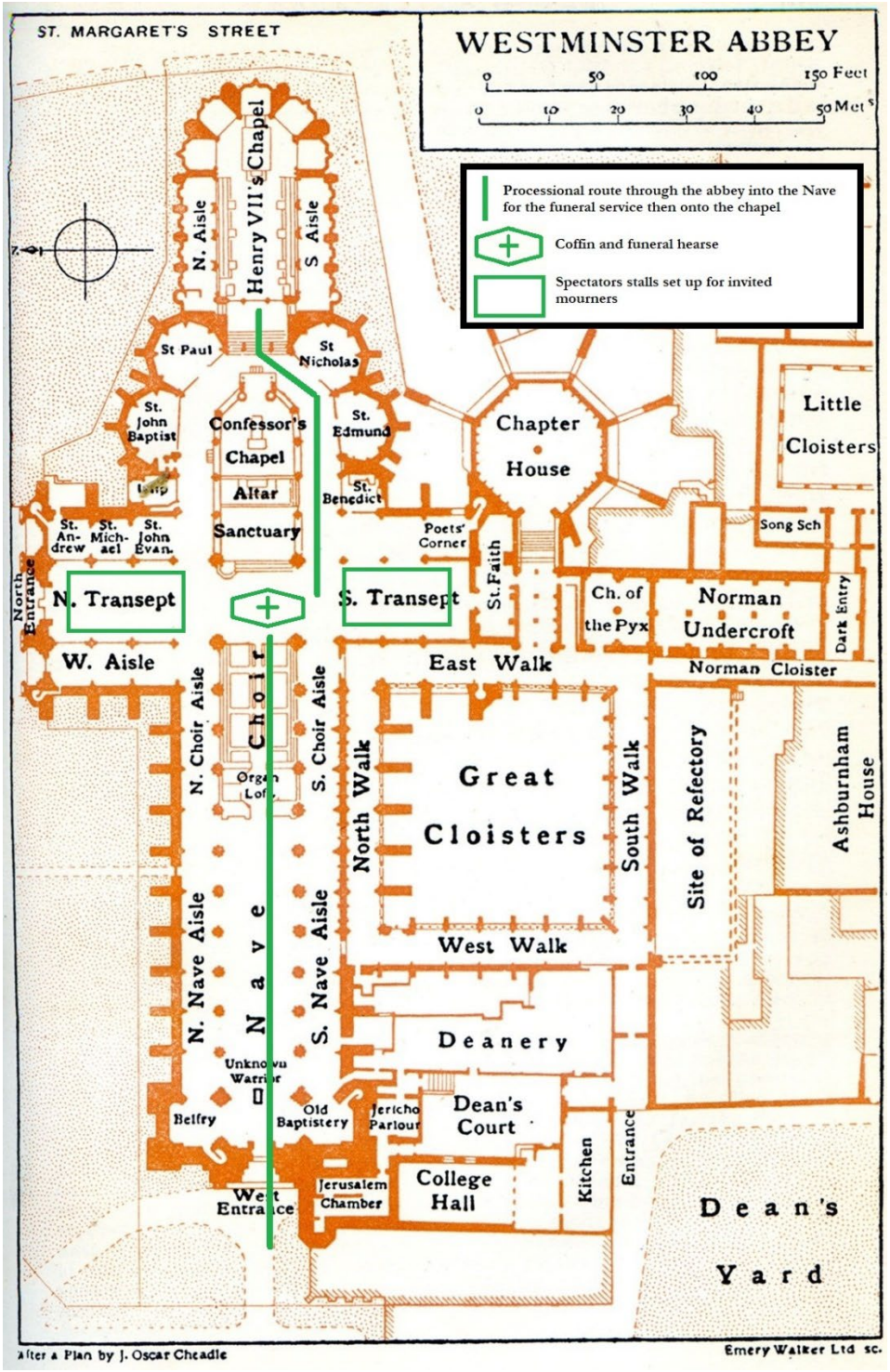
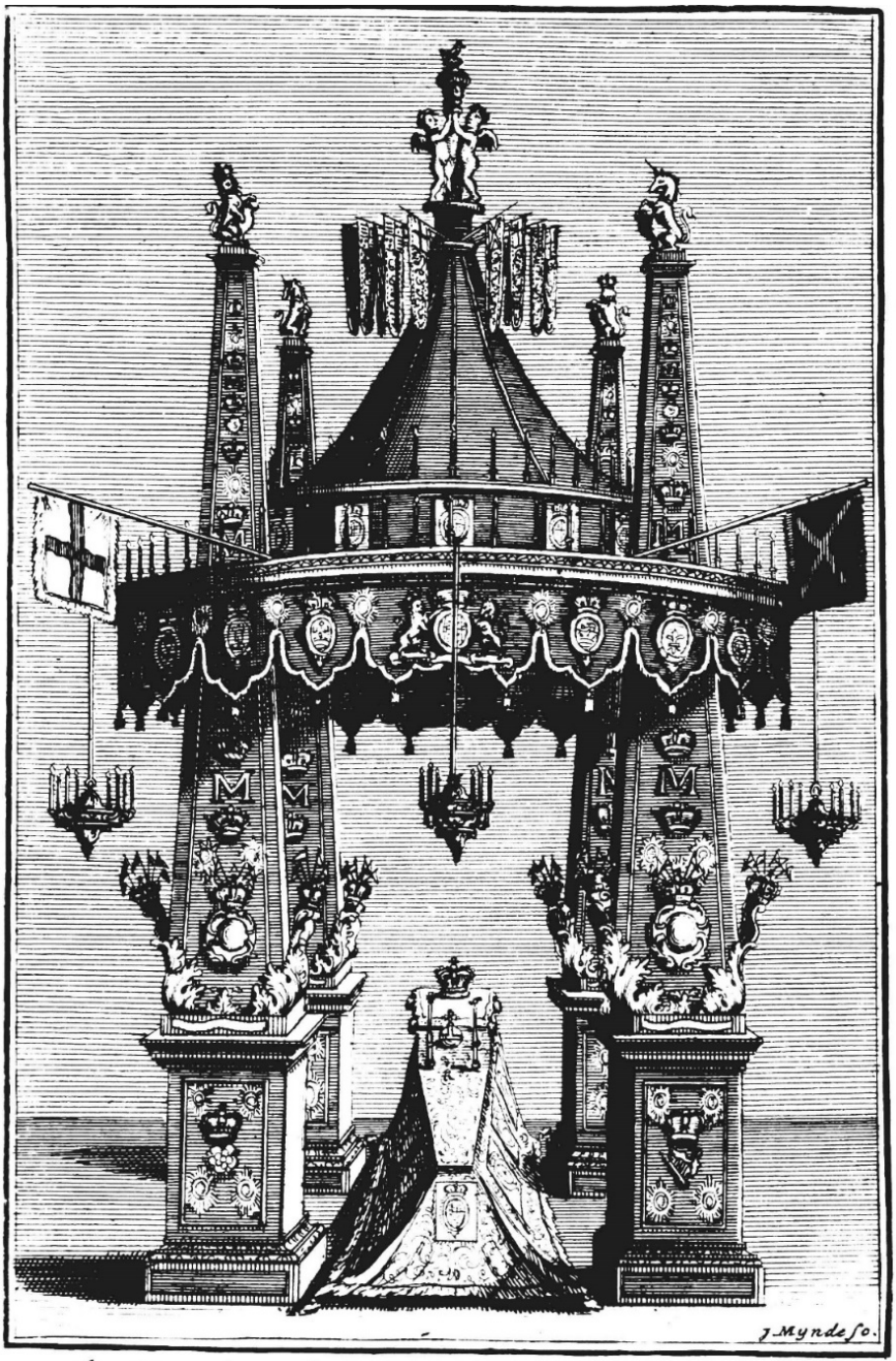


Fig. 17. Print. Mary II funeral hearse 300 © The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.



The Mausoleum Erected in Westminster Abbey, at the Funeral Obsequies of QUEEN MARY II.

Fig. 18. Funeral route for Queen Anne (1714) and King George II (1760) superimposed by the author onto a floor plan of Westminster Abbey. From *The Blue Guides: London and its Environs*. Eds. Findlay and L. Russel Muirhead. 4th ed. London: Ernest Benn, 1934.

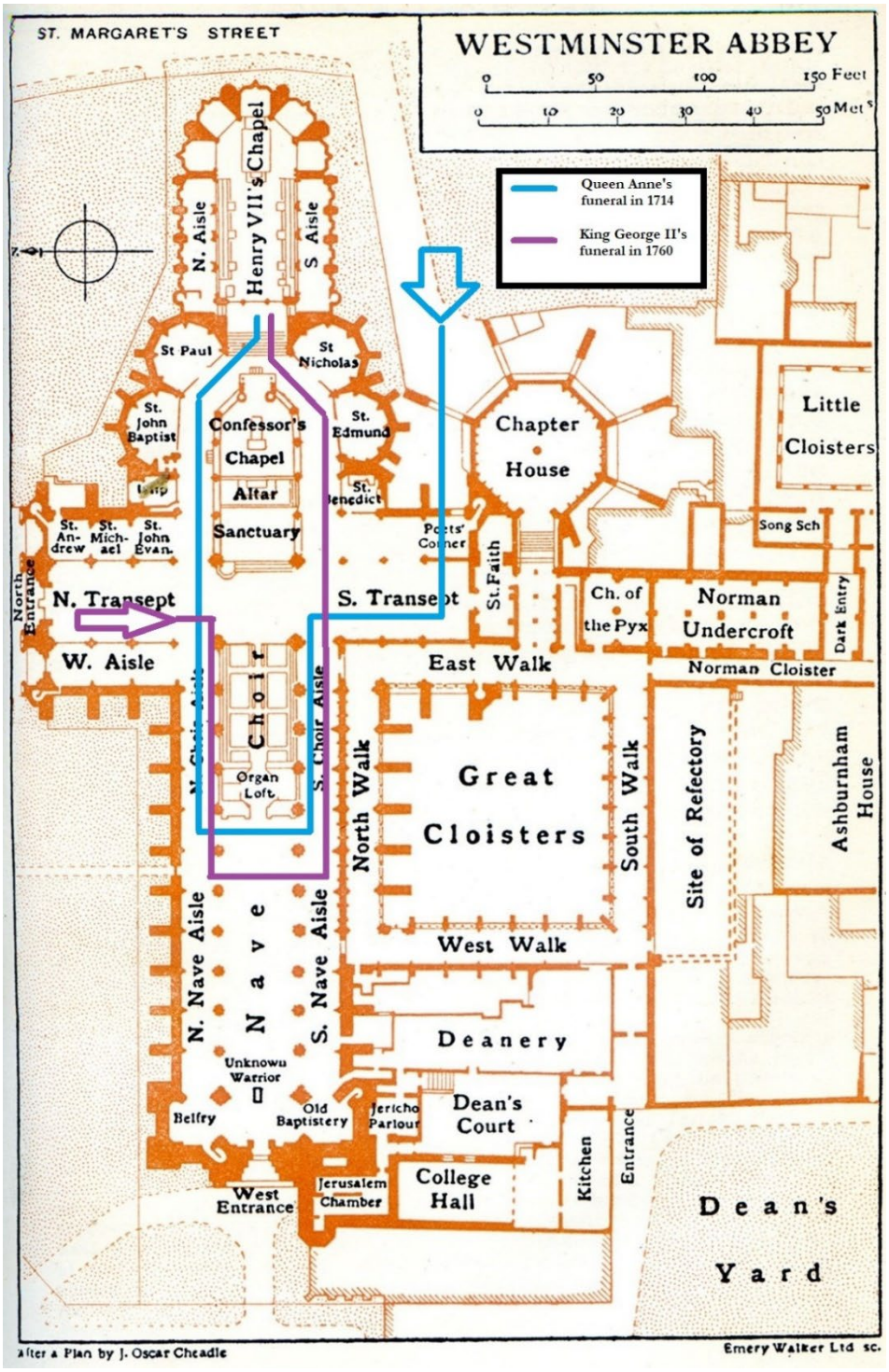


Fig. 19. Henry VII's Lady Chapel © The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 20. Print. Hanoverian vault coffin of George II & Caroline 300 © The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 21.1. Funeral Procession of Emperor Leopold I, May 6, 1705. © Melissa Heyes.

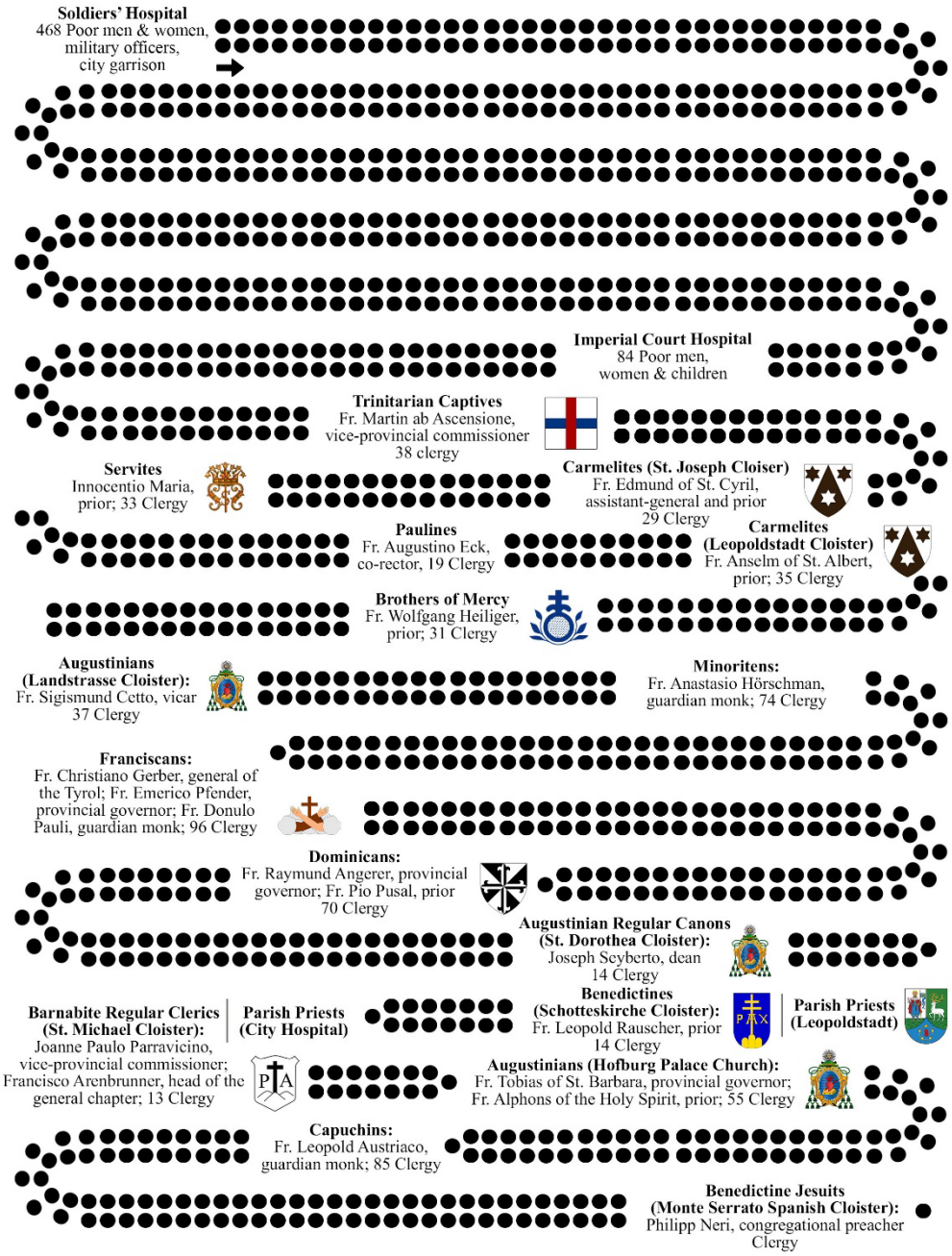


Fig. 21.2. Funeral Procession of Emperor Leopold I, May 6, 1705. © Melissa Heyes.

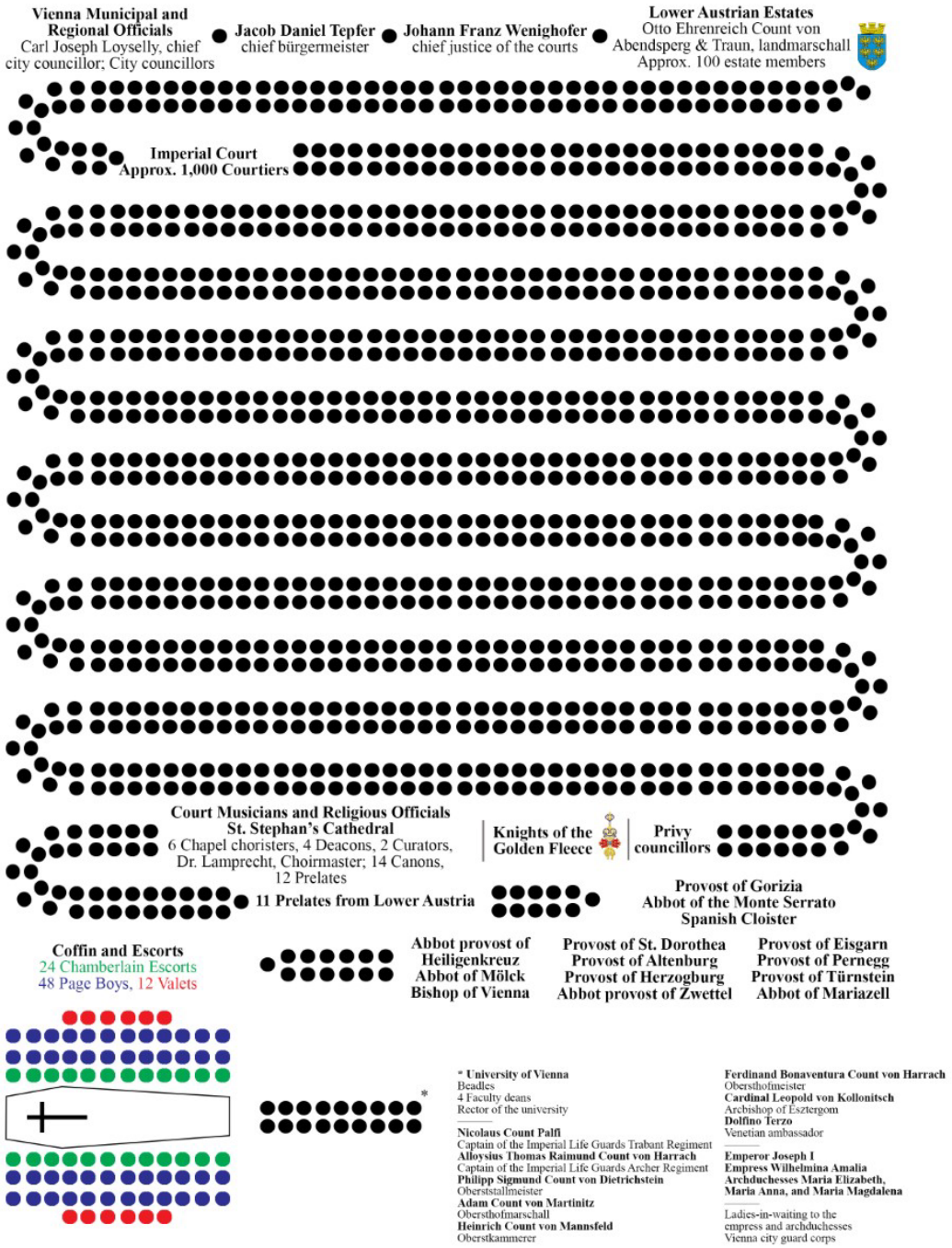


Fig. 22. Print. Leopold I's coffin in the funeral procession, from *Esatta Relazione De Dolorosissimo Funerale Della Felice Memoria Dell'Augustssimo, Potentissimo, et Invittissimo Imperatore De' Romani Leopoldo Primo il Grande.* In Roma: Per Gio. Giacomo Komarek Boemo, 1705. Courtesy of the Graphic Arts Division, Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

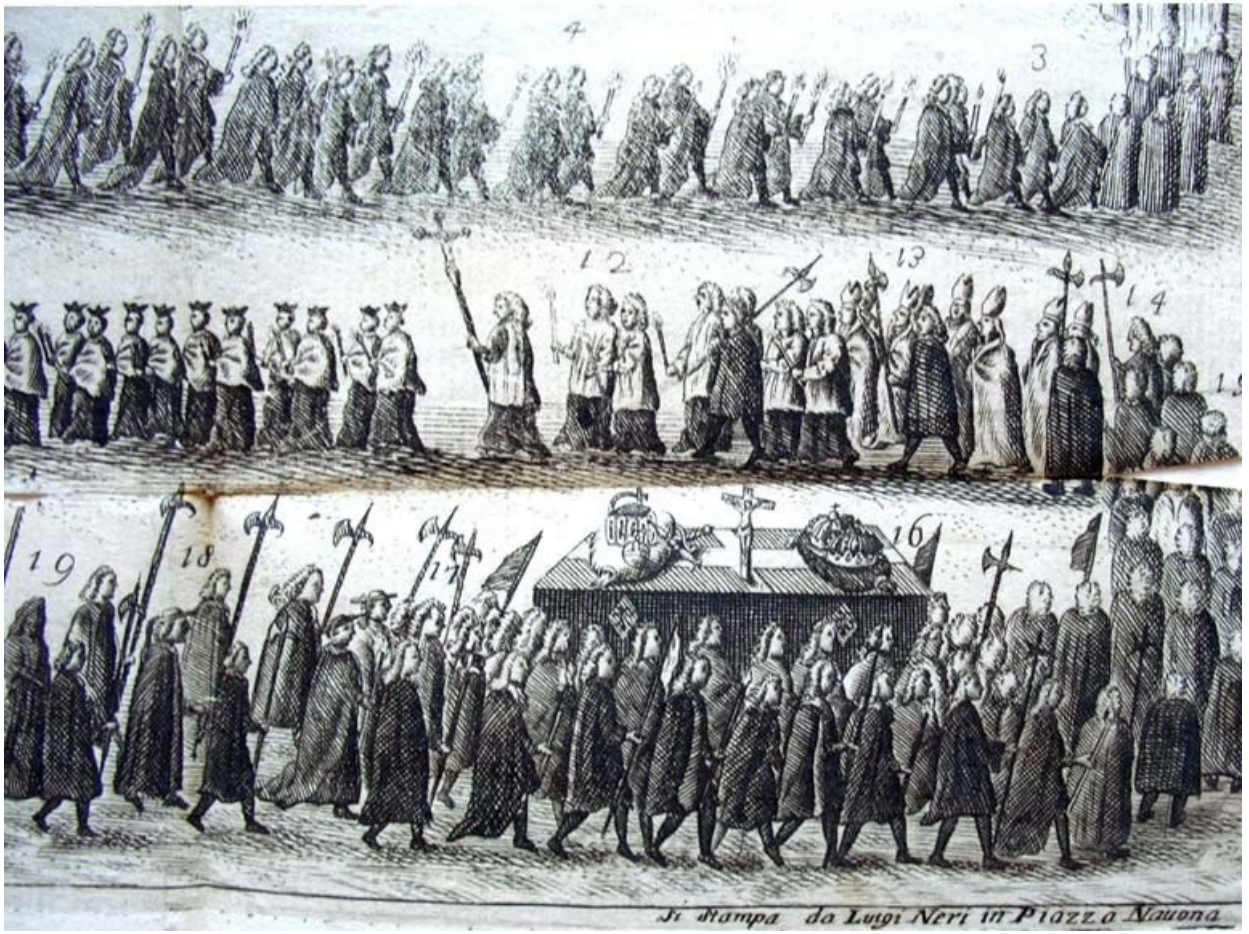


Fig. 23. *Hoftrauer-Galawagen, sogenannter Trauer-Huldigungswagen*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wagenburg, Vienna. © KHM-Museumsverband.

The Kunsthistorisches Museum cannot confirm if this eighteenth-century *Trauerwagen* was the specific one used for Maria Theresa's funeral. The *Trauerwagen*, also referred to as the *Hofleichenwagen* (court hearse), was redesigned several times, most notably around 1820 and 1877.

Fig. 24. Various golden keys given to members of the imperial household. Schatzkammer, Hofburg Palace, Vienna. 2019. Author's collection.