

# Bibliography

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The following summary is not intended as a comprehensive bibliography of the field or even of the titles I employed in writing this book. Instead it is presented here as a guide for further reading. Although I have included a select number of major works in German and French, the bibliography emphasizes English-language titles.

## I GENERAL

Except for Jean Bérenger, *Histoire de l'empire des Habsbourg, 1273–1918* (Paris, 1990), those general treatments that cover the early modern monarchy are now somewhat dated. The most comprehensive and authoritative remains Hugo Hantsch, *Die Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna, 1951). Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918* (London and Berkeley, 1974) is more complete and accurate than Victor-Louis Tapié, *The Rise and Fall of the Habsburg Monarchy* (New York, 1971). Kann and Zdenek David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918* (Seattle, 1984) is a carefully compiled study that gives individual attention to each nationality of the Habsburg core lands, except the Germans and Italians. R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979) is indispensable for understanding the alliance between crown, aristocracy, and church during the Counter-Reformation and the distinctiveness of Habsburg culture. Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement 1700–1800* (London, 1973) provides a very readable survey for the following century, principally from a social and cultural perspective. A more comprehensive narrative is available in Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, *Österreich: Das grosse 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1967) and *Das entscheidende 19. Jahrhundert: Geschichte, Kultur und Wirtschaft* (Vienna, 1972). Charles Ingrao, ed., *The State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, In., 1994) examines various aspects of the monarchy's religious, cultural, economic, social, and diplomatic history from the mid-sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries

Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler, eds., *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit, 1519–1918* (Munich, 1990) provides a collection of biographical sketches for each of the Habsburg emperors. The best general treatment of social developments is Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Vienna, 1985). Eduard Winter, *Frühauflklärung* (Berlin, 1966) and *Barock, Absolutismus und Aufklärung in der Donaumonarchie* (Vienna, 1971) remain the best comprehensive treatments of intellectual developments in the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian lands. For aspects of the Counter-Reformation there is Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1982), and the first half of R.A. Kann, *A Study in*



*Austrian Intellectual History: From Late Baroque to Romanticism* (New York, 1960), which focuses on the prominent court preacher, Abraham à Sancta Clara.

## CORPORATE INSTITUTIONS

Increasing scholarly interest in ruling elites and corporate institutions is reflected in the number of recent studies of the Habsburg estates. R.J.W. Evans and Trevor Thomas, eds., *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1991) includes several relevant articles by leading scholars. Dietrich Gerhardt, ed., *Ständische Vertretungen in Europa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1974) includes an excellent article on the eighteenth-century estates by György Bonis. For the various Austrian estates, there is Herbert Hassinger, "Die Landstände der österr. Länder...im 16. und 18. Jht.," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien*, 2 (1964); Christine Müller, *The Styrian Estates in Transition, 1740-1848* (New York, 1987); Franz Quarthal, *Landstände und landständisches Steuerwesen in Schwäbisch Österreich* (Stuttgart, 1980); and most recently, Miriam Levy, *Governance and Grievance: Habsburg Policy and Italian Tyrol in the Eighteenth Century* (West Lafayette, In., 1988). Eila Hassenpflug-Elzholz, *Böhmen und die böhmischen Stände in der Zeit des beginnenden Zentralismus* (Vienna, 1982) provides a comprehensive analysis for the mid-eighteenth century.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

There is no comprehensive economic history of the Habsburg dominions. For the seventeenth century various parts of the monarchy are covered by Antoni Maczak, *et al.*, *East Central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985) and greater Hungary in John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: from Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations* (Bloomington, 1982). Charles VI's reign is treated by Herman Freudenberger, "Economic Progress during the Reign of Charles VI," in Jürgen Schneider, ed., *Wirtschaftskräfte in der europäischen Expansion: Festschrift für Hermann Kellenbenz* (Bamberg, 1978).

Several scholars have examined the beginnings of industrialization, most notably John Komlos, *Nutrition and Economic Development in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy* (Princeton, 1990) and "Institutional Change under Pressure: Enlightened Government Policy in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy," *Journal of European Economic History*, 15 (1986); the opening chapter of David Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire 1750-1914* (London and Berkeley, 1984); and Herman Freudenberger, "An Industrial Momentum in the Habsburg Monarchy," *Journal of Economic History*, 12 (1983), and "The Woolen Goods Industry of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century," *ibid.*, 20 (1960). Freudenberger has also contributed to our knowledge of the all-important Bohemian lands with *The Industrialization of a Central European City: Brno and the Fine Woollen Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Edington, 1977), and "Industrialization in Bohemia and Moravia in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 19 (1960), as has Arnost Klima, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-industrial Bohemia," *Past & Present* 85 (1979), "Industrial Development in Bohemia, 1648-1781," *ibid.*, 11 (1957), "Industrial Growth and Entrepreneurship

in the Early Stages of Industrialization in the Czech Lands," *Journal of European Economic History*, 6 (1977), and "The Role of Rural Domestic Industry in Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series: 27 (1974).

## II INDIVIDUAL CROWNLANDS

The Hungarian crownlands have attracted considerable attention during recent decades. The most up-to-date general surveys are Erwin Pamlényi, *A History of Hungary* (Budapest, 1973; London, 1975), and Peter Sugar, Peter Hanák, and Tibor Frank, eds., *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington, 1990). The eighteenth century is particularly well covered by Henrik Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1910, reprinted 1971) and Domokos Kosáry, *Culture and Society in Eighteenth-Century Hungary* (Budapest, 1987). Although Stefan Pascu, *A History of Transylvania* (Detroit, 1982) provides a useful survey, the best one-volume treatment of the principality is Gábor Barta, *et al.*, *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Budapest, 1990). Despite its title, Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) includes an excellent eighteenth-century background. Stanko Guldescu, *The Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom 1526-1792* (The Hague, 1970) is a very readable, if somewhat biased study. Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia 1522-1747* (Urbana, 1960) and *The Military Border in Croatia 1740-1881* (Chicago, 1966) remain the definitive works on that fascinating institution.

The rest of the Habsburg dominions have received substantially less attention, at least in English. For the Habsburg capital and its court there is Ilse Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (London, 1966) and John Spielman, *The City and the Crown* (West Lafayette, In., 1993). Karl Bosl, *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder* (Stuttgart, 1974), as well as Ludwig Petry, Josef Menzel, and Winfried Irgang, *Die Geschichte Schlesiens, 2: Die Habsburgerzeit 1526-1740* (Sigmaringen, 1988) provide a comprehensive treatment of these dominions. Stuart Wolff, *A History of Italy, 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London, 1979) devotes some attention to the ruling and cultural elites of Lombardy and Tuscany. For broader coverage there is Heinrich Benedikt, *Kaiseradler über dem Apennin: die österreichischer in Italien 1700 bis 1866* (Vienna, 1964) and Adam Wandruszka, *Österreich und Italien im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1963). For the Austrian Netherlands there is Heinrich Benedikt, *Als Belgien österreichisch war* (Vienna, 1965) and Hervé Hasquin, ed., *La Belgique autrichienne, 1713-1794* (Brussels, 1987).

## III THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598-1650* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979) presents a reasonably broad, up-to-date profile of the European scene, including the General Crisis. For the war itself, C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1938, reprinted 1981) provides a superbly written, thorough account of the conflict and its leading personalities. Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981) studies the interaction between the emperor and



his Jesuit confessor through 1635. The aforementioned Evans and Thomas, *Crown, Church and Estates* includes several studies of the monarchy during the Thirty Years' War, including Robert Bireley's provocative essay, "Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy." Karin MacHardy, "The Rise of Absolutism and Noble Rebellion in Early Modern Habsburg Austria, 1570-1620," *Journal of Comparative History*, 34 (1992) focuses on the evolving alliance between crown, nobility, and church in Lower Austria. For the Habsburg military, see John Mears, "The Thirty Years' War, the 'General Crisis' and the Origins of a Standing Army in the Habsburg Monarchy," *Central European History*, 21 (1988). Gary Nichols, "The Economic Impact of the Thirty Years' War in Habsburg Austria," *East European Quarterly*, 23 (1989) briefly surveys the effects of the conflict. Hermann Rebel, *Peasant Classes: The Bureaucratization of Property and Family Relations under Early Habsburg Absolutism, 1511-1636* presents an innovative study of peasant families during the uprising of 1626.

#### THE BAROQUE MONARCHY (1648-1740)

Oswald Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 4th ed. (Vienna, 1961) and *Das Werden einer Grossmacht*, 4th ed. (Vienna, 1962) are still the most thorough surveys of the politics of the period 1648-1740. Jean Bérenger, *Finances et absolutisme* (Paris, 1975) contains much useful information on the interaction between the crown and the monarchy's corporate bodies under Leopold I. John Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria* (New Brunswick, 1977) is a very useful survey. For the reign of Joseph I, see Charles Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (West Lafayette, In., 1979). For the first half of Charles VI's reign there is John Stoye, "Emperor Charles VI: The Early Years of the Reign," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 12 (1962). For the impact of Charles VI's famous testament see Charles Ingrao, "The Pragmatic Sanction and the Theresian Succession: A Reevaluation," in William McGill, ed., *The Habsburg Dominions under Maria Theresa* (Washington, Pa., 1980), reprinted in *Etudes danubiennes*, 9 (1993).

#### MINISTERS AND ADVISORS

Henry F. Schwarz, *The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943) presents a rather dry but comprehensive look at that body and the men whom it embraced. For Leopold's economic advisors there is John Spielman and S.J. Miller, *Cristóbal de Rojas y Spínola, American Philosophical Society Transactions*, 52 (Philadelphia, 1962) and Louise Sommer, *Die österreichischen Kameralisten in dogmengeschichtlicher Darstellungen* (Vienna, 1925, reprinted 1967). Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London, 1977) is a superior substitute for Max Braubach's massive, five-volume *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (Munich, 1963). Nicholas Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy* (New York, 1964) is a handy, but less authoritative study. For other key ministers there are Hugo Hantsch, *Reichsvisizekanzler Friedrich Karl Graf von Schönborn (1674-1746)* (Augsburg, 1929); J. Hrazky, "Johann Christoph Bartenstein," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs [MÖSA]*, 11 (1958); and Brigitte Holl, *Hofkammerpräsident Gundaker Thomas Graf Starhemberg und die Österreichische Finanzpolitik der Barockzeit (1703-1715)* (Vienna, 1976).

#### HUNGARY AND THE TURKS

Ladislav Baron Hengelmüller, *Hungary's Fight for National Existence* (London, 1913) is a very well-written, if somewhat chauvinistic account of the first half of the Rákóczi Revolt; Orest Subtelny, *Domination of Eastern Europe* (Gloucester, 1986) places the uprising in an east European context, while Charles Ingrao, "Guerrilla Warfare in Early Modern Europe: the Kuruc War (1703-1711)," in Gunther E. Rothenberg and Béla Király, eds., *War and Society in East Central Europe*, 2 (New York, 1982) analyzes it from a military perspective. *Acta Historica*, 22 (1976), 27 (1981), 33 (1987) contain numerous specialized articles in English, German, or French on the kingdom's social, economic, and political history. For the siege of Vienna there is Thomas Barker's definitive *Double Eagle and Crescent* (Albany, 1967) and the shorter, very readable John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna* (New York, 1965). The continuing Austro-Turkish conflict under Charles VI is covered by the somewhat journalistic Lavender Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire 1717-1740* (London, 1966) and the more scholarly but engaging Karl Roider, *The Reluctant Ally: Austria's Policy in the Austro-Turkish War, 1737-1739* (Baton Rouge, 1972).

#### IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

Charles Ingrao, "Habsburg Strategy and Geopolitics during the Eighteenth Century," in Gunther E. Rothenberg and Béla Király, eds., *War and Society in East Central Europe*, II (New York, 1982) visualizes the broader structures and strategic concerns that helped predetermine foreign policy throughout the century. Michael Hughes, *Law and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Imperial Aulic Council in the Reign of Charles VI* (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wolfeboro, N.H., 1988) analyzes not only how the *Reichshofrat* functioned but how its judgments were affected by the emperor's German and foreign policy. For the monarchy's troubled relationship with the Maritime Powers there is Jeremy Black, "When 'Natural Allies' fall out: Anglo-Austrian relations, 1725-1740," *MÖSA*, 36 (1983).

#### V REFORM AND ENLIGHTENED ABSOLUTISM (1740-1792)

There is nothing in any language remotely comparable to Alfred von Arneth's monumental ten-volume *Geschichte Maria Theresia's* (Vienna, 1863-76, reprinted Osnabrück, 1971). Nevertheless, Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (London, 1969), William McGill, *Maria Theresa* (New York, 1972), and especially C.A. Macartney, *Maria Theresa and the House of Austria* (London, 1969) are all useful biographies. For the great empress's consort, see Georg Schreiber, *Franz I. Stephen: An der Seite einer grossen Frau* (Graz, Vienna, and Cologne, 1986). Her stormy relationship with her son and heir is just one of the contributions of Derek Beales, *Joseph II: In the Shadow of Maria Theresa* (Cambridge, 1987). Both Paul Bernard, *Joseph II* (New York, 1968) and T.C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II and Enlightened Absolutism* (London, 1970) provide brief but excellent surveys. For Leopold II's early years as grand duke of Tuscany, see Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527-1800* (Chicago, 1973). Otherwise there are only two German-language biographies, Adam Wandruszka, *Leopold II.*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1963-5) and



the more recent but less scholarly Helga Pehem, *Leopold II: Herrscher mit wieser Hand* (Vienna, Graz, and Cologne, 1987). Paul Bernard, *From the Enlightenment to the Police State: The Public Life of Johann Anton Perglen* (Urbana, 1991) is a superb study of the founder of the Austrian secret police. For the two Swietens, there is Frank Brechka, *Gerhard van Swieten and his World 1700–1772* (The Hague, 1970) and Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens 1781–1791* (Munich, 1978). The second half of the aforementioned R.A. Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History* focuses on Joseph von Sonnenfels.

#### WAR AND DIPLOMACY

The imminent appearance of Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* will likely pre-empt the informative articles on Anglo-Austrian relations in Richard Lodge, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Diplomacy 1740–1748* (London, 1930). Max Braubach, *Versailles und Wien von Ludwig XIV. bis Kaunitz* (Bonn, 1952) is still the best account on the origins and realization of the Diplomatic Revolution. For the first two partitions of Poland, see Herbert Kaplan, *The First Partition of Poland* (New York, 1972) and Robert H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915, reprinted New York, 1969). Karl Roeder, *Austria's Eastern Question* (Princeton, 1982) is particularly valuable for attempts to balance Russian expansion and Ottoman decline under Maria Theresa and her sons. Paul Bernard, *Joseph II and Bavaria* (The Hague, 1965) handles Joseph II's repeated attempts to absorb the strategic Wittelsbach electorate. For his relations with the British, see Jeremy Black, "British Policy towards Austria, 1780–1793," *MÖSA*, 42 (1992). Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa* (Vancouver, 1977) and *The Wild Goose and the Eagle: A Life of Marshal von Browne, 1705–1757* (London, 1964) are two very readable studies of the Theresian military establishment.

#### FISCAL, LEGAL AND SOCIAL POLICY

P.G.M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia 1740–1780* (Oxford, 1987) is a two-volume work of monumental scholarship that contains a wealth of information in meticulous detail. Henry E. Strakosch, *State Absolutism and the Rule of Law: The Struggle for the Codification of Civil Law in Austria 1753–1811* (Sydney, 1967) deals with legal reform, while Paul Bernard, *The Limits of Enlightenment: Joseph II and the Law* (Urbana, 1979) focuses on Joseph II's meddlesome dealings with it. Agrarian reform is best studied by individual crownland, through Edith Link, *The Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant 1740–1798* (New York, 1949, reprinted 1974); William Wright, *Serf, Seigneur and Sovereign: Agrarian Reform in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia* (Minneapolis, 1966); and Béla Király, "Maria Theresa's Hungarian Serf Reforms," in the aforementioned William McGill, ed., *The Habsburg Dominions under Maria Theresa*. For Habsburg political economy, see Helen Liebel[-Weckowicz], "Free Trade and Protectionism under Maria Theresa and Joseph II," *Canadian Journal of History*, 14 (1979).

#### RELIGION, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Grete Klingenstein, *Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der Zensur in der theresianischen Reform* (Munich, 1970) traces the secularization of censorship, while suggesting some continuity between the reigns of Charles VI and Maria Theresa. James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge, 1988) is a provocative and well-written comparative analysis of school reform. Paul Bernard, *Jesuits and Jacobins: Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria* (Urbana, 1971) profiles political and social commentary under Joseph II. Virtually all of the work on Josephinism is in German, most notably Elisabeth Kovacs, *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus* (Munich, 1979); and Eduard Winter, *Der Josephinismus: die Geschichte des österreichischen Reformkatholizismus 1740–1848* (Berlin, 1962). Joseph Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Josephs II.* (Gerlingen, 1986) is especially valuable for Joseph II's policies toward the Jews, as is William McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918* (Bloomington, 1989). For contemporary attitudes and reactions to government policy, there is also Charles O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II, American Philosophical Society Transactions*, 59 (Philadelphia, 1969). For a profile of music and patronage, see Giorgio Pestelli, *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven* (Cambridge, 1984) and Mary S. Murrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna* (Stuyvesant, N.Y., 1989).

#### INDIVIDUAL CROWNLANDS

There are several informative accounts for the reigns of Joseph II and Leopold II, especially Béla Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1969); Robert J. Kerner, *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1932, reprinted 1969); Walter Davis, *Joseph II: an Imperial Reformer for the Austrian Netherlands* (The Hague, 1974); and Janet L. Polasky, *Revolution in Brussels, 1787–1793* (Brussels and Hanover, N.H., 1987). Hamish Scott, *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke, 1990) includes two stimulating articles by R.J.W. Evans, "Maria Theresa and Hungary" and "Joseph II and Nationality in the Habsburg Lands."

#### VI AUSTRIA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1792–1815)

Both C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790–1918* (New York and London, 1968) and Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, *Österreich: Das entscheidende 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1972) begin with excellent sections on the early revolutionary era. There is no modern study of Francis II/I, except William C. Langsam, *Francis the Good: The Education of an Emperor, 1768–1792* (New York, 1949). There are, however, several good studies of the men around the emperor, most notably Karl Roeder, *Baron Thugut and Austria's Response to the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1987); Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversaries: The Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792–1814* (Bloomington, 1982); Hellmuth Rössler, *Graf Johann Philipp Stadion: Napoleons deutscher Gegenspieler*, 2 vols. (Vienna and Munich, 1966); William C. Langsam, "Count Stadion and the Archduke Charles," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 6 (1946); Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castle-*



reagh, and the Problems of Peace 1812-22 (Boston, 1973); Enno Kraehe, *Metternich's German Policy*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1963-83); and Paul Bernard's aforementioned biography of Pergen. Various aspects of the monarchy's reception of the French Revolution are treated in Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials*, 2nd ed. (London, 1969); T.C.W. Blanning, *The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars* (London and New York, 1986); Kinley Brauer and William Wright, eds., *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution* (Minneapolis, 1991); F. Gunther Eyck, *Loyal Rebels: Andreas Hofer and the Tyrolean Uprising of 1809* (Lanham, Md., 1986); Frida Knight, *Beethoven and the Age of Revolution* (London, 1973); William C. Langsam, *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria* (New York, 1930).