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THE CONSTANT REFORMATION OF THE HABSBURG-AUSTRIAN COAT OF ARMS FROM 1740 TO THE END OF THE MONARCHY THROUGH TIMES OF POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

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Introduction

The year 1740 represented an *annus horribilis* for the Habsburg Monarchy in several respects. On the one hand, with the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, not only had the male, agnatic line of the 'House of Austria' (as the Habsburgs had called themselves as a dynasty since the Middle Ages) ceased to exist; on the other hand, the imperial crown, which they had held for centuries, had also been lost. Furthermore, old and new enemies were on the doorstep having perceived an opportunity to seize some pieces from the seemingly leaderless and powerless *Monarchia Austriaca*. Old titles, coats of arms, and seals, had become meaningless overnight. They had lost their former lustre and needed to be reformed.

Every change of monarch in the Empire had been a change of regime, with implications not just to the service around the person of the ruler, but to the wider court, and beyond it to the administration of the lands and the empire in the broadest sense.¹ As the first administrative act, all officials and functionaries had to take their oath to the new ruler. In advance of this the title, coat of arms, and seal had to be changed. By this period it was no longer the heralds, historians and scholars at court who were the advisers on matters of title and coat of arms, as in the Middle Ages, but rather the state chancellor, the cabinet and the cabinet secretaries, or state councillors.

The changes that were necessary related to the national symbols, both those of the ruling Habsburg dynasty (expressed in the ancestral coat of arms, and the imperial or state coat of arms) and those of the subject territories. These two aspects, which in earlier times always belonged together, now drifted further and further apart. The divergent systems will be examined here.

The family arms

The Pragmatic Sanction issued by Charles VI in 1713 was intended to ensure the succession of his eldest daughter and heiress Maria Theresa to the Habsburg hereditary lands and to establish the inseparability and indivisibility of the Habsburg land complex. Following the death of Charles VI on 20 October 1740 everything had to be done very quickly in order to avoid a power vacuum and to preserve continuity. On 22 November 1740, a good month after the emperor's death, the hereditary homage of the Lower Austrian estates took place at the Hofburg. At this ceremony the representatives of the state (Landstände) paid homage to the new sovereign and in return had their privileges confirmed. This event replaced the coronation in Austria, which otherwise only existed in kingdoms.

Looking at the first coat of arms and seal of Maria Theresa (**Figure 1**) in its lesser version, two significant differences from the seal of Emperor Charles VI immediately

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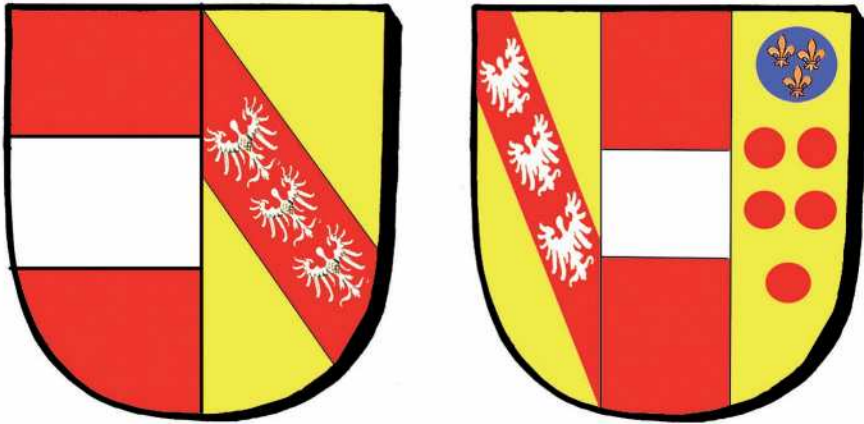


Left: *Figure 1*: the first coat of arms and seal of Maria Theresa, 1740–1745 (Archiv Gesellschaft Adler); right: *Figure 2*: her arms after 1745 as seen on a building in Herrengasse in Vienna (photograph by author).

stand out. For the first time, there was no imperial eagle or imperial crown on the Habsburg coats of arms. The shape of the crown was adapted to become an emblematic heraldic royal crown with five bows referring to the sub-kingdoms (Bohemia, Hungary etc.). On the shield are the most important coats of arms of Maria Theresa: the double cross for Hungary, the lion for Bohemia, the diagonal bars for Burgundy and the eagle for Tyrol. The family coat of arms of the Habsburg House of Austria on its escutcheon *Gules a fess argent*, which the Habsburgs had used since their acquisition of Austria in 1282, occupies the centre. The actual Habsburg coat of arms, the red lion, is not present. The central Austrian shield is crowned with an archduke's hat. The arms of the empress's husband Franz Stephan of Lorraine find no place here, while the territories of Lorraine and Tuscany, held by marriage, only feature in the more extensive second and third category arms.

Five years later, in 1745, when her husband Franz I became the Holy Roman Emperor, the Habsburg family arms (**Figure 2**) could again become imperial and all state institutions were thereafter allowed to call themselves imperial-royal (*kaiserlich-königlich*, or 'k.k.'). In accordance with the imperial title that Maria Theresa now held, she was permitted to use the imperial eagle, but without the sword, sceptre and imperial orb, as she did not exercise the function of a reigning empress. The three stacked crowns of her reign are also clearly recognisable: the archduke's hat on the shield, the royal crown above the shield, and the floating imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire in stylised form above the double-headed eagle.

When the long-awaited son Joseph was born in 1741, the succession to the throne was assured until the end of the monarchy. On reaching the age of seven, a male court had been established for the prince. This included the establishment of new titles, coats of arms and seals to prepare him for entry into ceremonial and public life. As hereditary prince of the two houses of Austria and Lorraine, his ancestral coat of arms had also to be recognisable in the narrower sense. The shield (**Figure 3**) is therefore given two fields:



Left: *Figure 3*: arms of Joseph II; right: *Figure 4*: arms of the collateral Habsburg line of Austria-Tuscany. Both drawings by the author.

the Austrian shield of the fess and the three muzzled silver eagles of Lorraine, called alérions, on a bend gules in a golden field. Although the order of the impalements of the shield should have been reversed, since in alliance or marriage coats of arms the male coat of arms should normally have been displayed before the female, the officials who designed the coat of arms left no doubt that the House of Austria would have to be given honorific precedence over the House of Lorraine. Joseph II also used this coat of arms on his chancery seal as Holy Roman Emperor until his death in 1790.

Since Joseph II had no descendants, a collateral line of the Habsburgs established in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany came to succeed him. The Tuscan line had been founded in 1765 after the death of Franz Stephan, when his second-born son Leopold, Joseph II's brother, assumed the regency there as Grand Duke Peter Leopold (Pietro Leopoldo).² From the beginning of the reign, the line had a coat of arms that differed from the main line (**Figure 4**), with the fields of Lorraine and Austria being supplemented by the coat of arms of Tuscany, which they had inherited from the extinct Medici. This new family shield was used by Emperors Leopold II and Francis II, who came from this collateral line, until 1804.³ In 1806 a new coat of arms was created for the main line. The coat of arms of the collateral line even appears in England, on a stained-glass window in Stonyhurst College, a Catholic Jesuit school, north of Manchester, which Archduke Franz Karl Salvator had visited in 1912.⁴

When Napoleon had himself proclaimed Emperor in Paris on 18 May 1804, he also demanded recognition by the Holy Roman Emperor. In order not to risk war, Emperor Francis II reacted with a diplomatic double step. On the one hand, he recognised Napoleon as Emperor of the French; at the same time, he sent out a sign of equality by proclaiming himself as Austrian Emperor.⁵ This double emperorship found its visual expression in a redesigned coat of arms (**Figure 5**) which had two double-headed eagles nested one within the other, with the German and the Austrian imperial crowns placed one above the other. For the first time, the shield of Austria as the overall state symbol became the central symbol on the coat of arms. Although this actually referred to the dynasty of the 'House of Austria', the archducal house, which had been elevated to the rank of an

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Left: *Figure 5*: Imperial Austria 1804; right: *Figure 6*: the same in 1806. Both drawings from the author's archive, hand coloured.

imperial house,⁶ it could also be understood as a unifying territorial symbol for all the Habsburg hereditary lands. This did not go unchallenged within Austria and immediately brought the Hungarian Court Chancellor Palffy onto the scene, who demanded – but in vain – a separate Hungarian coat of arms for the Hungarian lands.⁷

Two years later on 6 August 1806, Emperor Franz II laid down the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and dissolved the imperial union. Since the effects of the Peace of Pressburg 1805, which had entailed a change in the imperial Austrian coat of arms and titles through the cession of lands, had not even been implemented yet, the design of the new titles and coats of arms was not long in coming (**Figure 6**). One of the most significant changes was made to the central or heart shield, which indicated a new genealogical constellation: the shield of Austria flanked by the arms of Habsburg and Lorraine. For a short period from 1806 to 1815, Franz I as the first Austrian Emperor included the cross of the Teutonic Order on his coat of arms in order to bind the Order closer to his house. This was because Napoleon had abolished the Order as an imperial state in 1805. When in 1809 the Order was abolished in all the Rhine Confederation states, its possessions were reduced to the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, and Vienna became the new seat of the Grand Master. After 1815 a coat of arms was instituted without the cross of the Teutonic Order which remained in use until the end of the Monarchy in 1918 (**Figure 7**).⁸

The appearance of the Habsburg lion (**Figure 8**), *Or a lion rampant gules armed, langued and crowned azure* became established towards the end of the fifteenth century. When the Habsburgs were enfeoffed with Austria in 1282, they used a lion without a crown on their seal. Duke Rudolf IV added a crown to the lion on his great seal in 1359/1360. On the obverse of his exchequer seal, the duke is seen riding a horse to the left, with the coats of arms of Carinthia, Habsburg and Pfirt visible on the horse's caparison, with a crown on the Habsburg lion. Since the crowning of heraldic animals was considered a 'royal adornment', it was subsequently forbidden by Emperor Charles IV, along with the other privileges, as presumption.⁹ Both Rudolf and his successor dukes adhered to this ban. Only Frederick III, who imitated the heraldic compositions of Rudolf IV, resumed the lion with the crown, even before he as Emperor Frederick III



Left: *Figure 7*: Habsburg arms of the middle category from 1815–1918 from the author's archive, hand-coloured; right: *Figure 8*: The Habsburg red lion, photographed by the author.

had confirmed the *Privilegium maius* (the pivotal forged charter of Rudolf IV granting rights to the Habsburgs), in 1453. Thereafter, he used the lion both with and without the crown.¹⁰ It was not until the reign of Maximilian I, from about 1500 onwards, that the lion was ubiquitously depicted crowned. The blue colour of the crown, tongue and claws is noticeable in the course of the fifteenth century. The colour blue was probably created for reasons of colour contrast. If the crown, tongue and claws were tinted in gold or silver, they could not have been properly recognised in the golden field.¹¹

Since the sixteenth century this actual Habsburg coat of arms, the red lion, has played only a subordinate role, and in practice was hardly used. The same can be said of the name 'Habsburg'. When Castle Habsburg in Aargau was lost to the Swiss Confederacy in 1415, they regarded the naming of the dynasty after their ancestral castle almost as a mockery, hence they preferred to be called the 'House of Austria'.¹² Until the seventeenth century the red lion of the original Habsburgs rarely appeared, and when it was revived in the eighteenth century, it only appeared in a less prominent position among the many other national coats in the large suites of arms. It was not until 1806 that Emperor Franz I brought it back into his family coat of arms, where it remained until the end of the monarchy in 1918, and is still used by the family today. The heraldic-symbolic integration of the Hungarian lands into the state as a whole, however, remained an open question, and only became virulent again when the coat of arms of the Dual Monarchy was designed in 1912, as will be shown.

National coats of arms

The medium and large Habsburg coats of arms, with their confusing multiplicity of national arms, were as much a part of the Baroque ruler's representation as they were of his prestige and propaganda. Here he was able to show his dynastic entanglements,

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the lands he actually ruled, and his claims to lost territories, in a symbolic and pictorial way. The time of Maria Theresa and Joseph II is considered as a reformist era not only for the state, but also for state heraldry. The heraldic reorientation related not only to the expansion of the suites of coats of arms, but also to the question of which, and in what order, the individual coats of arms should appear. Just as with the ranking of the countries in the imperial title, its ordering of the country coats of arms on the shield was a matter of great importance. The old heraldic rule applied here that, apart from the central place at the heart of the shield, the most distinguished area is at the top right or the top centre. The nobility of a coat of arms was largely determined by the age, importance and affiliation of a territory to the Habsburg sphere of power.¹³ After the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, far-reaching reforms took place in the Austrian lands. The most important measure was the abolition of the former Court of Chancellery for Austria and Bohemia, and the creation of a central authority called the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus*.

From the old Austrian hereditary lands, combined with Bohemia, a 'core state' was formed which existed with minor changes until its demise in 1918. Hungary was excluded, having already since 1526 assumed a special role. The seal and coat of arms, designed in 1752 (**Figure 9**), were no longer to be constructed according to historical-political contexts as determined by Bohemian or Hungarian crown law. Instead, the guideline for the design was the order of rank as expressed in the monarch's title. This meant that the main shield was divided into four rows from top to bottom:

1. the kingdoms: Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia.
2. the duchies: Burgundy, Silesia, Brabant, Milan, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola.
3. the margravates, counties and principalities: Moravia, Burgau, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Habsburg, Transylvania, Flanders, Tyrol.
4. lands acquired by marriage: Jerusalem, Lorraine, Tuscany, Bar.

Placed in a circle around the shield were the shields of the smaller principalities: Parma, Guelders, Swabia, Kyburg, Gradiska, Flanders, Mantua, Luxembourg, Württemberg, Pfirt, Gorizia and Alsace.

According to the symbolism, this was an attempt to represent a centralised state structure by heraldic means. This was further emphasised by the three crowns: archduke's hat, king's crown and emperor's crown, which radiate in a hierarchical manner from the inside to the outside.

After the death of Franz I, Emperor and husband of Maria Theresa, the time had come to adapt both her coat of arms and that of her son the Emperor Joseph II to new circumstances. The leitmotif was the abandonment of the centralist division of 1752, and a turn towards a territorial-political conception. The main differences to the great coat of arms of her son (**Figure 10**) were the central shield (the Austrian fess), the missing insignia of rulership (sword, sceptre, imperial orb) and the altered coats of arms of the Lorraine group which had come from his father. A novelty was the accurate depiction of the two royal crowns of Hungary and Bohemia: the crown of St. Stephen and the crown of St. Wenceslas. There was also a naturalistic depiction of the archduke's hat above the heart shield.



Top left: *Figure 9*: hierarchical structure of the arms of the central authority in 1752; below, *Figure 10*: the arms of Joseph II of the large category in 1765 (Wikimedia Commons); top right, *Figure 11*: structure of the imperial arms in 1765. First and last by the author.

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A reorganisation had become necessary because several errors had been discovered in the coat of arms of 1752. For example, the Spanish quarters had been placed before the Hungarian and Bohemian quarters, even though Spain no longer appeared in the title. Likewise, the Italian duchies of Milan, Mantua and Parma had been placed before the Austrian ones. The coats of arms of Slavonia, Carinthia and Brabant had been depicted with the wrong colours, figures, and incompletely. In principle, only those countries listed in the title were supposed to appear in the arms. The result was a complete reorganisation (**Figure 11**). Nine groups were put together according to political and historical-geographical aspects, in the form of an isosceles cross.

The five main groups comprised:

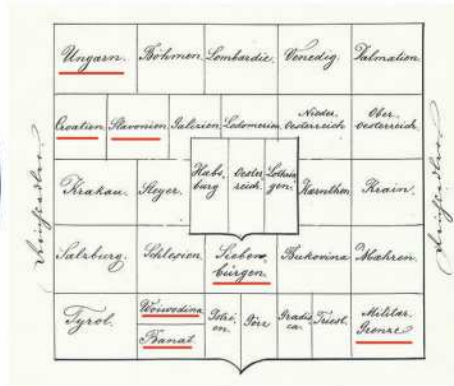
1. central shield with the ancestral arms and the Austrian hereditary lands;
2. Hungary;
3. Bohemia;
4. Burgundy;
5. Lorraine.

In between were the secondary groups of Spain, Tuscany, Transylvania and the Italian Lands.

Before the great regulation of the coat of arms could be published, another circumstance intervened, which was particularly promoted by Maria Theresa, namely the elevation of Transylvania to a Grand Duchy. From the Hungarian side, it was demanded that Transylvania be included among the Hungarian fields, since it had been a land of the Crown of Hungary since time immemorial. The Transylvanian court chancellor Count Bethlen, however, rejected this, as Transylvania had already been independent for 230 years. It was not until 1848 that Transylvania became incorporated into the Hungarian group of countries.¹⁴

In the course of the Polish partitions in 1772, the Habsburg lands experienced a further increase, which also had to be accommodated heraldically. The new provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria had been part of the Hungarian royal title in the Middle Ages. Despite this Hungarian relationship, the two lands were annexed to the Austrian lands as a separate kingdom. New coats of arms or seals were not made for reasons of cost.

It was not until Emperor Leopold II took office in 1790 that new seals and coats of arms were made, and the two new provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria found their place between Hungary and Bohemia in the front row. The reign of the Emperor Leopold marked the beginning of an era of European reorganisation, which necessitated a constant change of devices on the Habsburg state coats of arms, right up to the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This period of constant border shifts, the end of the Holy Roman Empire, and the new Empire of Austria, left manifold traces in the state symbolism, of which only the most important and lasting changes can be dealt with here. From this time onwards until the end of the Monarchy in 1918, in all the sizes of the arms the heart shield comprised the split shield of Habsburg, Austria and Lorraine (Cf. figures 6 and 7). The central coat of arms of the Austrian Empire of 1804 was particularly influential in shaping the style of the subsequent design, in that in addition to the family heart shield the coats of arms of the kingdoms and duchies were attached in a clasp-like manner, on the two wings of the double-headed eagle.



Left: *Figure 12*: Middle category of the state coat of arms 1836–1866, author's archive, hand-coloured; right: *Figure 13*: draft of the middle coat of arms by Minister of the Interior Bach 1861, author's archive.

The constitutional situation often lagged behind the heraldic realities, as the example of the Kingdom of Illyria shows. Napoleon had created this kingdom in 1809 from the southern Austrian provinces (parts of East Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia up to Dubrovnik) thereby cutting off Austria from access to the sea. After the Congress of Vienna, the provinces returned to Austria and Emperor Francis I united them in 1816 to form the Kingdom of Illyria. The name Illyria goes back to a Roman province from the second century. The kingdom was not symbolically represented in the coat of arms until 1836, as a coat of arms for this region did not exist, and had to be newly devised. As its emblem the representation of a galley was used, which had been found on old coins from ancient Illyria. This version of the national coat of arms (**Figure 12**) was used through the change of administration to that of the Emperor Franz Joseph I in 1848, until 1867.

The new large state coat of arms of 1836 was arranged according to political and historical-geographical aspects in accordance with the scheme introduced in the time of Joseph II. Here surrounding the family arms are those of Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardo-Venetia, Illyria and Galicia, to which have been added countries which were part of the medieval Hungarian royal title: Cumania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Rascia. In addition, there were the commemorative coats of arms of: Jerusalem, Castile, Leon, Aragon, India, Sicily, Calabria and Anjou. It is notable that the Habsburg house coat of arms was not superimposed on the rest of the shield, but was adapted to the other armorial bearings without any difference in size. The year 1836 was the last occasion when such a large version of the coat of arms was defined and published, after which there is no longer a large coat of arms category.

The beginning of Emperor Franz Joseph I's reign in 1848 was accompanied by a series of constitutional reforms. He had initially adopted the devices of his predecessor, with his name newly engraved on the seals. At the same time, a coat of arms commission

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was appointed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior discussed at length the old question, should all the coats of arms of the crown lands have equal status, or should the crown lands be grouped together according to historical groups of countries. After eight years of commission work, Minister of the Interior Bach presented a draft coat of arms (**Figure 13**) that reflected the complete reorganisation of the state, which became a unitary state with centralized administration. Hungary was particularly affected by this: Croatia, Slavonia and Transylvania were separated, the Serbian Voivodeship and the Temes Banat were created, and the military border was added. Imperial approval was not granted.

Military defeats of 1859, which resulted in the loss of Lombardy, and in 1866, the loss of Venice, necessitated an internal reconciliation with the Hungarian nation, and further changes of title and coat of arms. The Lombardo-Venetian coat of arms was dropped and Styria, which had previously had to share a shield with Carinthia, was given its own shield. In 1867, a constitutional settlement with Hungary was achieved and the dual monarchy, 'the dualism', was created. Meanwhile, the endless discussions about titles, seals and coats of arms continued. Disputes about the relationship between Austria and Hungary hinged on the question of whether these were two parts of one state or two independent states, i.e. a real union or a personal union linked by the person of the monarch. Both views could be legally justified. The unity of the economic territory was to be maintained by treaties that had to be renegotiated every ten years.¹⁵

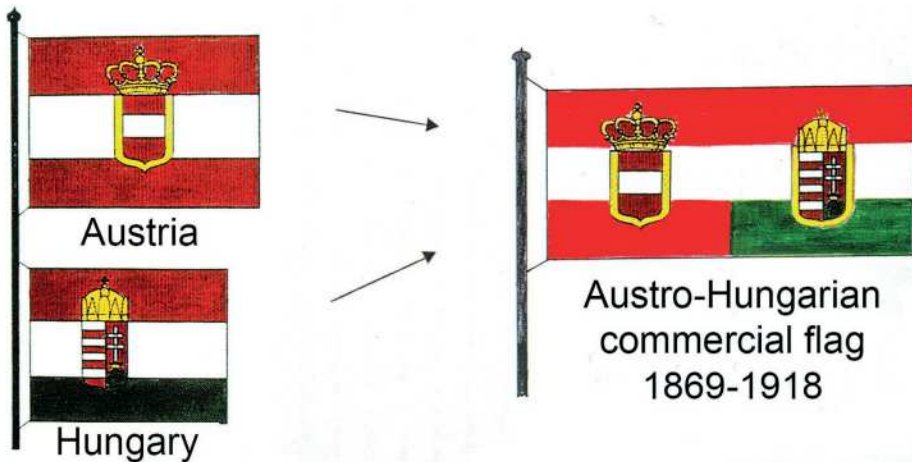


Figure 14: Joint Austro-Hungarian trade flag, author's archive, hand-coloured.

In 1869, a common trade flag was designed (**Figure 14**). The Austrian flag: red-white-red, with a crowned central shield, was impaled with the Hungarian flag: red-white-green, with the crowned small coat of arms of Hungary. This simple solution was difficult to implement in the field of the national coat of arms. Nevertheless, the Hungarian side tried to bring about an analogous solution by using two coats of arms of equal rank.

The Hungarians were of the opinion that the double-headed eagle could not be a common symbol, since it was primarily a symbol of the Roman-German imperial dignity,

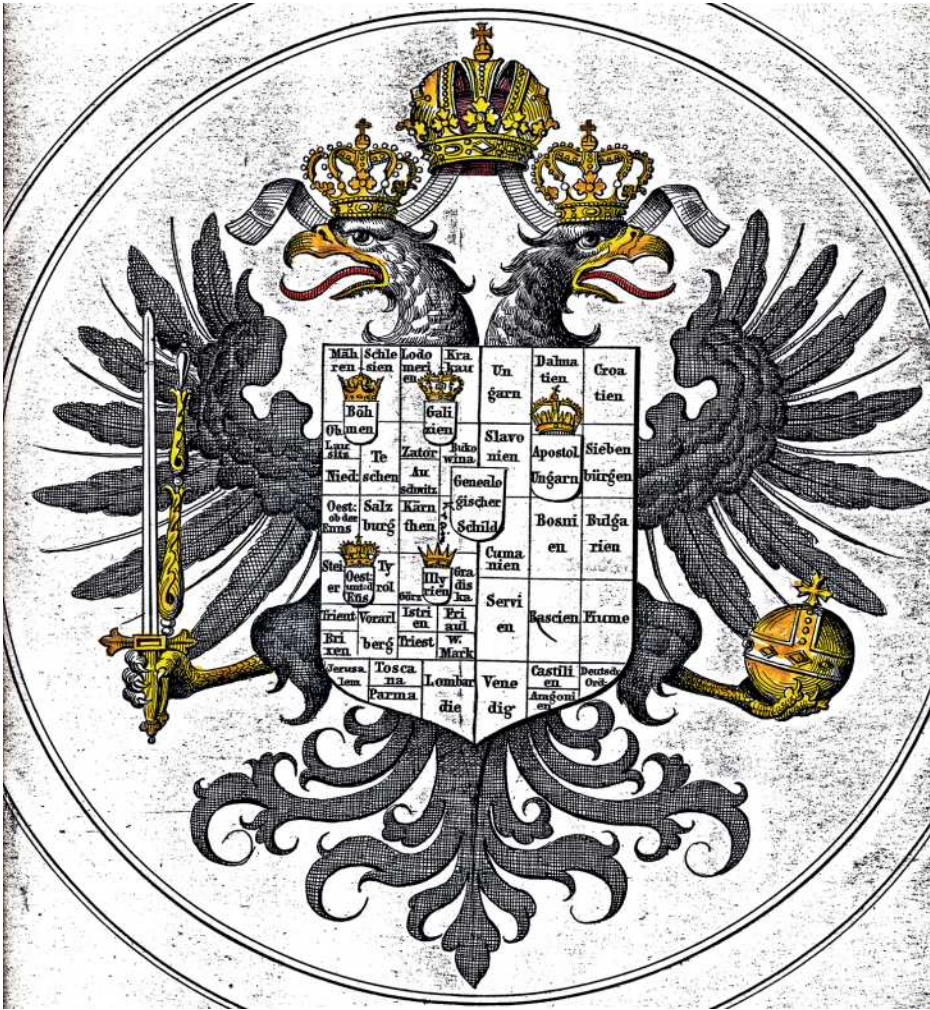


Figure 15: draft Austrian coat of arms of 1871, author's collection, hand-coloured.

and as such was transferred to the Austrian Empire. Hungary had never been part of Holy Roman Empire. The symbolically expressed parity would have to consist of two shields placed side by side. The heraldic concept proposed by Hungary did not meet with approval on the Austrian side, which insisted on depicting the two halves of the empire on a heraldic shield of the double-headed eagle (Figure 15), but the eagle surmounted by the Austrian imperial crown could only be regarded as the heraldic animal of the Austrian hereditary emperors as it had been created in 1804.¹⁶ Thus, while the disputes over the national coat of arms dragged on, other sensitivities emerged at the Länder level, which had to do with the emergence of nationalism. Two crown lands, Moravia and Carniola, wanted to change the colours in their coats of arms from red-gold to red-silver.

Because the Margraviate of Moravia and also the Duchy of Carniola had supported Emperor Frederick III militarily in the fifteenth century, they had been given an

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Left: *Figure 16*: arms of Moravia according to Ströhl; right: *Figure 17*: the same with the eagle checky gules and argent, author's collection, hand-coloured.

augmentation of their coats of arms, whereby the colour silver was replaced by the more noble or superior colour gold. At that time, Moravia received a red and gold checked eagle, while the eagle of Carniola was given a red and gold clasp on its breast. The infrequent use of the two coats of arms revealed colour uncertainties; in various armorial books and patents, the silver colour was retained on one occasion, and the colour gold used on the next. When Pan-Slavism, which appeared politically for the first time in 1848, propagated the colours white, blue and red as the so-called 'Slavic national colours', Moravia and Carniola swung to this national line and wanted to change their coats of arms accordingly.¹⁷ The official Austrian state heraldry, documented by the heraldist Hugo Gerard Ströhl in his Austro-Hungarian roll of arms, however, stuck to the original improved colour of gold in the arms of Moravia (**Figure 16** and **17**) and Carniola.¹⁸

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the lack of common state symbols came to be increasingly lamented, especially by the Austrian side. While the Kingdom of Hungary presented a much more compact picture in a geographical-national sense as a nation state with national minorities¹⁹, the situation on the Austrian side was much more complex. Here there was a conglomerate of countries made up of various historically grown units that had not merged into a homogeneous whole. The *Monarchia Austriaca* was a monarchical union of states, and also a monarchy composed of composite monarchies.²⁰ There was no crown that could have been placed above the coat of arms of the Austrian group of countries analogous to the Hungarian one. This was because the imperial crown, double-headed eagle and imperial insignia were, in Austria's view, among the most essential emblems of the overall coat of arms, and could not therefore be used for the collective coat of arms of one half of the empire, but only together.

Since the Compromise with Hungary of 1867 there had been repeated disputes in the government about the fixing and regulation of titles, seals and coats of arms. The

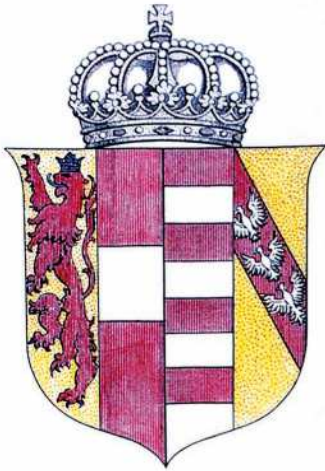


Figure 18: small common coat of arms according to the 1907 design, author's collection, hand-coloured.

longer both sides persisted in their controversial positions, the more a development occurred which amounted to a heraldic-symbolic separation of the two states, and which had already deeply penetrated the public consciousness. A commission set up in 1907 under the leadership of the leading heraldic expert Anthony von Siegenfeld was to draw up a new design. He compared the connection of the Hungarian coat of arms with the single eagle of the Roman kings and the double eagle of the emperors since the sixteenth century. His design (**Figure 18**) featured three major changes to the previous coats of arms, which were much more in line with Hungarian demands.

He retained the double-headed eagle, contending that the eagle was never used as a territorial coat of arms, but only as a sign of imperial dignity, as a symbol of the empire. If the eagle was now shown without the sceptre, sword, orb and imperial crown, he thought, the Hungarians should be able to agree. Both halves of the empire were symbolised for the first time by two separate coats of arms with their respective crowns, held together only by the Habsburg 'genealogical' coat of arms.

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Left: *Figure 19*: Hungarian proposal for the small coat of arms 1912, author's archive, hand-coloured; Right: *Figure 20*: small common coat of arms of Austria-Hungary in 1915 as photographed on the U.S. Embassy in Vienna.

The Hungarians rejected Anthony von Siegenfeld's proposal, but in 1912 made a counter-proposal (**Figure 19**) aimed at referring the double-headed eagle only to the Austrian half of the empire. They thought that the dignity of an emperor of Austria must be distinguished from the dignity of an apostolic king of Hungary. For the genealogical coat of arms they suggested that between the arms of Austria and Lorraine there should be inserted the so-called arms of Old Hungary, *Barry of eight gules and argent*.²¹

The final position in the state symbolism of the Habsburg monarchy was set during the middle of the First World War, in 1915, when agreement was finally reached after fifty years of discussion (**Figure 20**). The dualistic structure of the state, represented in two separate shields, as an alliance coat of arms, became reality, with the two shields crowned with the two crowns. The two state coats of arms were connected by the Habsburg genealogical coat of arms, symbolising the personal union. Hungary thus enforced the demand it had made from the beginning to reject the double-headed eagle, the imperial crown and a common shield. The basic principle was that each crown land, which had its own parliament, should also be represented with its own coat of arms. At the same time, a new state name was decided: the Austrian half of the empire was no longer to be called 'Cisleithania' or 'the kingdoms and lands represented in the Imperial Council', but Austria for short.²² Three years later, the motto affixed under the coat of arms: "*Indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter*", i.e. indivisible and inseparable, a passage from the *Pragmatic sanction*, had lost its magical effect, the monarchy broke apart and the two states went their own ways.

Although this last common coat of arms of the Habsburg Monarchy existed for only three years, it can still be admired today in Vienna on a building that was the Diplomatic Academy in the time of the Monarchy. Today it houses the U.S. Embassy.

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- ¹ Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit. Eine Biographie* (München, 2017), pp. 43, 47.
- ² Franz Pesendorfer, *Die Habsburger in der Toskana* (Wien, 1988).
- ³ Michael Göbl, ‚Genealogisches Wappen‘, in *Wappen-Lexikon der habsburgischen Länder* (Schleinbach, 2017), pp. 75–79.
- ⁴ ‚Franz Karl Salvator (1893–1918)‘, in Brigitte Hamann (ed.), *Die Habsburger. Ein biographisches Lexikon*. (München, 1988), p. 144. I am indebted to Stephen Slater for this reference.
- ⁵ Gottfried Mraz, *Österreich und das Reich 1804–1806. Ende und Vollendung* (Wien, 1993), pp. 31–41.
- ⁶ Anna Benna, ‚Von der erzherrzoglichen Durchlaucht zur kaiserlichen Hoheit‘, in *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 23rd edn. (1970), p. 35.
- ⁷ Mraz, op. cit., p. 46.
- ⁸ Göbl, *Wappen-Lexikon*, op. cit., p. 59–61.
- ⁹ Karl von Sava, *Die Siegel der Österreichischen Regenten Tafel I*, fig. 24, pp. 117–118.
- ¹⁰ Sava, op. cit., p. 153, fig. 95.
- ¹¹ Eduard Gaston Graf von Pettenegg, ‚Das Stammwappen des Hauses Habsburg‘, in *Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft ADLER* (Wien, 1882), pp. 87–112.
- ¹² Alphons Lhotzky, ‚Was heißt “Haus Österreich“?‘, in *Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Wien, 1970), vol. 1, p. 354.
- ¹³ Michael Göbl, ‚Titel, Siegel und Wappen von Maria Theresia und Joseph II‘, in *Herold-Studien* 23/24 (Berlin, 2019), pp. 99–125.
- ¹⁴ Albert Arz von Straussenburg, *Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Wappenkunde* (Köln-Wien, 1981), p. 27.
- ¹⁵ Otto Brunner, ‚Das Haus Österreich und die Donaumonarchie‘, in: *Südost-Forschungen*, 14,1 (1955), pp. 122–144.
- ¹⁶ Michael Göbl, ‚Staatssymbole des Habsburger-Reiches‘, in Norbert Leser and Manfred Wagner (edd.) *Österreichs politische Symbole* (Wien, 1994), pp. 11–36 (here p. 24).
- ¹⁷ Michael Göbl, *Wappen-Lexikon der habsburgischen Länder* (Schleinbach, 2017), pp. 101–104 (for Carniola), pp. 122–124 (for Moravia).
- ¹⁸ See note 21.
- ¹⁹ Gerald Stourzh, ‚Die Dualistische Reichsstruktur, Österreichbegriff und Österreichbewusstsein 1867–1918‘, in: Helmut Rumpler (ed.), *Innere Staatsbildung und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung in Österreich und Deutschland 1867/71–1914* (Wien, 1991), pp. 53–68.
- ²⁰ Brunner 1955, op. cit., p. 126; Mat’ a, Winkelbauer, *Verwaltungsgeschichte von Hochedlinger*, (Wien, 2019), p. 84.
- ²¹ Göbl, Staatssymbole, op. cit, p. 32.
- ²² Hugo Gerard Ströhl, *Österreichisch-Ungarische Wappenrolle 1900*, has an appendix of the state coats of arms up to 1918 annotated by Michael Göbl in the reprint (Schleinbach, 2010).