Clement von Radolt (1593-1670): A Multifarious Career in the Seventeenth-Century Imperial Service

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During the seventeenth century, the expansion of central administration and the confessionalization of court patronage offered able and educated Catholic commoners and lesser nobles increased opportunities for successful careers in the Imperial service and, consequently, for upward mobility. This study will trace the rise of one such man, Clement Radolt, in baroque Vienna. Radolt's long and successful career in the Imperial service, spanning over fifty years and three successive emperors, secured his family's fortunes and propelled it solidly into the ranks of the nobility. Looking at his life as a micro-historical case study contributes to our understanding of the political, social, and cultural systems of the Imperial court and the development of its professional elite from the Wendezeit in the early 1620s well into the latter half of the seventeenth century.\(^1\) Clement Radolt was born into a respectable Catholic bourgeois family in 1593.\(^2\) His father, Andre Radolt, held the post of chief administrator of the Imperial hospital (Hofspital) in Vienna, so young Radolt was likely brought up in the city.\(^3\) In the early part of the seventeenth century, Vienna was quickly establishing itself as the emperor's main residence and seat of administration, and it offered an advantageous milieu for an intelligent and ambitious young man to make a name for himself in government service.

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\(^1\) Emperor Ferdinand II decisively defeated the Protestant rebels in the crown lands in 1620 and thus was able to fully catholicize his court and government.

\(^2\) Fig. 1, The Radolt Family, is helpful in understanding relationships among the family members. Please note that where "Radolt" stands alone in the text, it refers to Clement Radolt.

\(^3\) The Hofspital, the first and largest of the hospitals founded by Ferdinand I, was a comprehensive social institution that provided services to the poor, sick, infirm, and aged and also functioned as a hospice and orphanage. Until the 1750s, it was located between the Imperial palace and the Minorite Church, on the present-day Ballhausplatz. For more on the Hofspital, see Nowotny, Ernst: Geschichte des Wiener Hofspitals: Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der inkorporierten Herrschaft Wolkersdorf, Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, vol. 23, Vienna 1978.
The Radolt Family

Legend: **Bold** = Imperial officials; *Bold italics* = Religious
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Little is known of Radolt’s mother. After her death, his father re-married, wedding the widow Elisabeth (Schlögl) Thenner, daughter of former cavalry captain Caspar Schlögl, in February 1618.⁴ Their marriage, however, was short-lived. Andre Radolt died in 1621, with 6,000 florins from his salary and loans he had made to the Hofspital still owed him by the government.⁵ According to Radolt, his father did not earn much at the Hofspital and therefore did not have much to leave to his heirs.⁶

As a young man, Clement Radolt studied law.⁷ He likely received his preparatory training at a Latin school or with a private tutor, as was the case with most law students of the day. Although there were usually no formal requirements for entry into law school, students needed a firm grasp of oral and written Latin, which was the language of instruction, to survive.⁸ And survive he did, for Radolt successfully completed his law studies and became a doctor of canon and civil (Roman) law.⁹

A university education, and particularly a legal education, was an increasingly common means for sons of the urban elite to attain positions at the Imperial court and in central administration. Jurists trained in Roman law were in particular demand in the growing bureaucracy.¹⁰ Radolf’s legal training not only opened doors for his future career but, once he had gained a government position, also allowed him to rise more quickly into high offices and provided him with opportunities for upward mobility that were eagerly sought by educated commoners. Although his

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⁵ HKA, FA R-10, ff. 34-37, 43-48: 29 Apr. 1629. The saga of Radolt’s attempts to recover the 6,000 florins from the government unfolds in ff. 13-48; he did not succeed in doing so until 1629. The Hofspital was in serious financial difficulties during the entire Thirty Years’ War period. (Nowotny: Geschichte des Wiener Hofspitals, p. 99).
⁶ HKA, FA R-10, ff. 18-20: [1629].
⁷ No evidence exists in the matriculation records of the law faculty of the University of Vienna that Radolt studied there, but there are many gaps in the records.
career path ultimately took him into Imperial administration, Radolt maintained a life-long interest in the law.\textsuperscript{11}

When seeking a government post in Counter-Reformation Austria, the religious affiliation of the job seeker was an important issue. While new opportunities for advancement abounded in the early seventeenth century, this only held true for those who subscribed to the “proper” confession. This state of affairs was due to the development of a Catholic court, a process that began around 1580 and was completed after Emperor Ferdinand II’s 1620 victory over Protestant rebels in the crown lands.\textsuperscript{12} Unsurprisingly he had little toleration for Protestants in his domains, let alone in his service, and by the time Radolt entered the job market, Catholics had replaced Protestants in nearly all Imperial administrative posts.\textsuperscript{13} Fortunately for Radolt, he was a devout Catholic.\textsuperscript{14}

Radolt began his long and varied professional career when he joined the law faculty of the University of Vienna in 1621, not as a professor but as a “doctor”, or non-teaching member of the faculty.\textsuperscript{15} He moved quickly through the ranks and over the years held several high-level administrative positions at the University. In 1621, he served as procurator of the Rhenish nation and, in 1627 and 1629, as procurator of the Austrian nation.\textsuperscript{16} The procurators were representative officers elected by each of the four nations into which students at the University were divided – Austrian, Rhenish, Hungarian, and Saxon. These officials served financial, disciplinary, and electoral functions for their respective nations, including sitting on

\textsuperscript{11} In the 1650s, for instance, Radolt published a compact legal dictionary, Loci Communes. The first volume, covering the letters A-J, appeared in 1657. The only known extant copy of this volume is held at the State Library in Berlin; it once belonged to Emperor Wilhelm II. It is unclear whether further volumes were published or not. Radolt also held a councilorship in the Lower Austrian government in the late 1630s that may have focused on judicial matters (see below, p. 17).

\textsuperscript{12} MacHardy: War, Religion and Court Patronage, pp. 183-185 and passim. MacHardy convincingly argues that a new Catholic nobility dominated the top positions at court before 1618 due to the Habsburgs’ policy of confessionialized patronage, which acted as a catalyst for Protestant revolt in the crown lands.


\textsuperscript{14} Both of Radolt’s daughters became sisters of the Augustinian Convent of St. Jakob in Vienna, and his will is full of religious references, whether to masses to be said for his soul, generous bequests to religious foundations, or personal items of religious significance.


\textsuperscript{16} Radolt’s motto as Rhenish procurator is interesting given the trajectory of his own career: “Nil est deterius humili cum surgit in altum” (Nothing is worse than a man of low condition when he rises to high estate). His motto as Austrian procurator in 1627 was “Nul bien sans peine” (Nothing good [comes] without pain). (Locher: Spekulum Academicum Viennensis, vol. 1, pp. 187, 229).
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the University consistory and electing the rector.\(^{17}\) In 1631, Radolt's colleagues elected him dean of the law faculty.\(^{18}\) Although he was not a professor, his election was not an unusual occurrence. By the early seventeenth century, deans were often doctors who held prestigious positions, including those in Imperial government. Indeed, in the years between 1626 and 1740, only twenty professors were deans of the law faculty. The vast majority were high-ranking government officials like Radolt, who, as described below, was employed in the Imperial treasury (Hofkammer) at the same time that he held many of his University positions.\(^{19}\)

In 1625, Radolt began his long career in government service in the Hofkammer. The Hofkammer was the highest financial authority, and as such it was ultimately responsible for the management of the emperor's revenues.\(^{20}\) These funds were principally derived from two sources – the crown domains and regalia (ordinary revenues) and grants made by the local estates of the hereditary lands (extraordinary revenues). The Hofkammer administered the revenues generated by the former, which provided the primary funding for the Imperial court and central government, as well as indirect taxes and grants periodically made by the Imperial estates. The grants of the local estates, on the other hand, mainly financed the military, and as such the war council and chancelleries disbursed them, though often in consultation with the Hofkammer. In spite of its seemingly wide purview over Imperial finances, the Hofkammer was not a central treasury in the modern sense, that is, capable of completely surveying and controlling all government income and expenditures. Its functions were in fact restricted throughout much of the seventeenth century.\(^{21}\)

A hierarchy of specialized personnel ran the Hofkammer. The president, who usually was a member of one of the prominent families of the Austrian-Bohemian

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\(^{17}\) The Austrian procurator was the most influential of the four because he held the tie-breaking vote in a rectorial election. (Goldmann, Artur: Die Universität, 1529–1740. In: Vom Ausgange des Mittelalters bis zum Regierungsantritt der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, 1740, ed. Anton Mayer, vol. 6, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Vienna 1918, pp. 90-92).


\(^{19}\) Goldmann: Die Universität, pp. 88-89. Since the usual term for a dean was one year, twenty professors over almost 115 years is not many.


\(^{21}\) Schwarz, Henry Frederick: The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century, Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 53, Cambridge 1943, pp. 29-30. The restriction of the Hofkammer's functions was due mainly to the disruption of its administrative unity after 1564, when Inner Austria and Tyrol came under the rule of cadet branches of the Habsburg family. These provinces developed their own administrative bodies, including separate treasuries in Graz and Innsbruck, thus their revenues no longer fell under the Hofkammer's purview.
nobility, oversaw its operations. Under him were the vice president, director, and councilors.\(^{22}\) The *Hofkammer* also had its own chancellery consisting of the head secretaries and necessary clerical personnel to assist them.\(^{23}\) The *Hofkammer* council, which included the councilors and presumably the director, was the treasury’s major decision-making body. It met frequently to vote on the financial business that the secretaries brought before it and to discuss ways to increase revenues, minimize expenditures, secure loans on favorable terms, and redeem mortgaged sources of income. A council representative brought the most important financial issues before the Imperial Privy Council on a weekly basis, and, if necessary, the *Hofkammer* president brought them before the emperor.\(^{24}\) The *Hofkammer* council was a collegial entity – every councilor voted on the issues brought before it, and the majority carried the decision. In many ways this system was slow and cumbersome, but it had its advantages; for example, it ensured that all councilors were informed of the council’s proceedings and that the president was not held solely responsible for unsuccessful policies.\(^{25}\)

Radolt attained increasingly higher offices in the *Hofkammer* over a forty-five year period, moving from his initial position as a secretary finally into the directorship. His work there laid the basis for the rest of his career in the Imperial service. He was appointed *Hofkammer* secretary in November 1625, four years after he joined the faculty at the University.\(^{26}\) In 1632, he earned a promotion to *Hofkammer* councilor, a position equal in rank to aulic or war councilor.\(^{27}\) This was the next logical step for Radolt, as *Hofkammer* councilors were drawn almost

\(^{22}\) To give an idea of the number of councilors in this period, six held office in 1637 – Johann Baptist Weber, Jacob Berthold von Ungersdorff, Johann Christoph Schellendorff, Bartholomäus Schöllhardt, Hieronymus Bonacina, and Radolt himself. (Vehse, Eduard: Geschichte des österreichischen Hofs und Adels und der österreichischen Diplomatie, Geschichte der deutschen Höfe seit der Reformation, Hamburg 1851–1853, vol. 4, pp. 120-122).

\(^{23}\) In 1637, three secretaries – one responsible for drawing up documents for Bohemia, one for Hungary, and one for the Empire – worked in the chancellery, and 27 clerical personnel supported them. (Hurter, Friedrich von: Friedensbestrebungen Kaiser Ferdinands II., Vienna 1860, pp. 245-246; Vehse: Geschichte des österreichischen Hofs, pp. 120-122).


\(^{25}\) I am grateful to Dr. Christian Sapper of the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv for this information.

\(^{26}\) HKA, Hoffinanzbücher [hereafter: HFB] 714 (1625), f. 368: 13 November 1625, Imperial decree to Radolt regarding his appointment as Hofkammer secretary. Young Radolt may have first taken an interest in government finances through exposure to the Hofkammer archive, which was located in the Hofspital overseen by his father.

\(^{27}\) With his new appointment, Radolt’s salary was increased to 1,300 florins annually. In addition, Hofkammer councilors received two marks of granulated silver and thirteen cartloads of salt each year. (HKA, FA R-10, ff. 51-52: 9 November 1632; HKA, FA R-10, f. 53: 19 November 1632; Fellner: Von Maximilian I., vol. 1, p. 86 n. 1).
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exclusively from the Hofkammer secretaries, as in his case, or from the Lower Austrian administration. After more than twenty years of dedicated service as a councilor, the Emperor finally promoted Radolt to Hofkammer director in October 1656. He held this position for fourteen years, up until his death in 1670. Great responsibility came with this post, for the director oversaw the day-to-day activities of the Hofkammer and often represented the president in his absence.

Radolt and his Hofkammer colleagues did not have an easy job managing Imperial finances. On the contrary, the work of the Hofkammer in the early modern period, particularly during the Thirty Years’ War, was extremely challenging. Henry Frederick Schwarz made this point forcefully in his distinguished study of the Imperial Privy Council in the seventeenth century:

Of all the manifold problems which faced the House of Habsburg, that of finances was one of the most serious. It is almost impossible to overemphasize the financial difficulties under which the administration labored in the seventeenth century. Lack of money was a constant problem; the Turkish wars of the sixteenth century were a tremendous drain only exceeded during the period of extraordinary expenses resulting from the Thirty Years’ War. [...] Unable to pay its armies, its diplomats, or its officials, dependent in large measure on subsidies from Spain or the mortgaging of its territory, the House of Austria came close to bankruptcy [...].

The war wreaked havoc on Imperial finances. Ferdinand II’s assumed debt of four million florins doubled in the years from 1619 to 1624. The financial burden only became worse as the Emperor was forced to alienate long-term sources of revenue, for instance by mortgaging crown properties, to acquire “quick-fix” sums often borrowed on unfavorable terms. Throughout most of the seventeenth century, the crown was notoriously short of cash. To help alleviate his financial difficulties, the Emperor continually sought loans from foreign princes and even from his own councilors, including Radolt. The court treasury books (Hofzahlamtsbücher)

28 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [hereafter: AVA], Hofadelsakten, Radolt, Konv. 13 August 1656, f. 4; HKA, FA R-10, ff. 60-67: 13, 15, 26 August 1656.
29 Although no instructions exist for the Hofkammer director, his title and salary (1,800 florins annually, as opposed to the 1,300 paid to a councilor and 2,600 to the president) indicate that he occupied a position above the rest of the councilors.
30 Schwarz: The Imperial Privy Council, pp. 28-29. For the attempts of Anton Wolfradt, Abbot of Kremsmünster and Prince Bishop of Vienna, and president of the Hofkammer from 1623 to 1630, to rationalize and improve the state of Imperial finances by creating a true central treasury into which the income of all provincial treasuries would flow, see Schwarz: The Imperial Privy Council, pp. 120-121, 386, and Fellner: Von Maximilian I., vol. 1, pp. 83-85.
32 When Ferdinand was desperately seeking money to pay the army in 1634, for example, he not only tried to secure subsidies from the Archbishop of Salzburg and Italian princes but also required that almost all of his ministers contribute as well – Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg, the director of the privy council, was to pay 10,000 florins; Anton Wolfradt, Prince Bishop of Vienna, also a privy councilor, 5,000; the other privy councilors, the Hofkammer president and director, and the provincial governors (Statthalter) each 3,000; the Hofkammer councilors each 800; the Hofkammer secretaries and aulic councilors each 200, and so on down to the last civil official. (Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden
clearly show that Radolt lent generously to the government over the years and that he received payments from various incoming sources of revenue to help pay off these loans. The government assigned the annual toll revenue levied at the Lange Brücke over the Danube to Radolt and Count Traun to settle their loan of 200,000 florins.

During his many years as a Hofkammer councilor, Radolt did not spend all of his time poring over accounts in the Hofkammer offices in Vienna. He traveled widely throughout the Habsburg lands in connection with financial business, making trips to Innsbruck, Pressburg, and various places in Hungary. In 1654, for instance, he served as principal commissioner for the visitation of Gmunden. In addition to his customary responsibilities, Radolt also accepted special appointments and commissions that were a natural extension of his work in the Hofkammer. Particularly, he held several posts in the last half of the 1640s and throughout the 1650s in the Obristproviantamt, including Obristproviantmeister and Feldproviantdirektor. The Obristproviantamt, based in Vienna, was the central authority responsible for army provisioning, which involved obtaining, storing, delivering, and distributing the provisions necessary to support army operations in Vienna.
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war and peace. Although the Obristproviantamt reported to the Generalkriegskommissariat, which was responsible for managing army finances, as well as to the Hofkammer, it was a non-military institution commonly staffed by Hofkammer officials like Radolt. Feldproviantstäbe, subordinate offices of the Obristproviantamt, operated with the field armies. While specific information is scarce about how the Obristproviantamt and its subordinate offices in the provinces and in the field functioned together to meet the army’s material needs in the early to mid-seventeenth century, it seems that the Obristproviantmeister organized and managed the supply of provisions from their assigned provinces and the Feldproviantdirektoren oversaw provisioning operations in the field.

While he chiefly concentrated on financial matters, Radolt’s appointments were not restricted to those directly associated with the Hofkammer. He served the emperor in various other capacities over his career. In 1639, for example, he served as a councilor of the Lower Austrian provincial government (Regiment), which was also based in Vienna. His most prominent appointments, however, were as an Imperial representative in foreign lands. Over a period of thirty years, he visited courts in Italy, Poland, England, and Transylvania. Some of these trips were connected with finances in some way, while others were not. In 1632, Radolt traveled on the emperor’s behalf to Italy, and in the following year he visited the Polish royal court in Krakow, where he successfully negotiated an alliance with King Ladislaus IV. In 1634, he journeyed first to Salzburg and then to several Italian residence cities, including Turin, Genoa, Parma, Modena, and Florence, to

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37 At this time, the system of provisioning was unreliable due to money flow and supply problems, another manifestation of the financial troubles the emperor faced during and in the aftermath of the Thirty Years’ War (see above, p. 15). (Tepperberg, Christoph: Das kaiserliche Heer nach dem Prager Frieden 1635–1650. In: Der Schwed ist im Land! Das Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Niederösterreich, Ausstellung der Stadt Horn im Höbartmuseum 22. Juni bis 2. November 1995, Horn 1995, p. 129).

38 I am grateful to Dr. Christoph Tepperberg of the Kriegsarchiv for much of this information. For more on army provisioning, in addition to the former’s article cited above, see Pohl, Jürgen: Die Profiantierung der keyserlichen Armaden abhbelangendt: Studien zur Versorgung der kaiserlichen Armee 1634/35, Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs [hereafter: MÖStA], special vol. 1, Horn 1994, pp. 41-42, 70-75, 87-90; Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen, Vienna 1876–1892, vol. 1, pp. 195-196; and Regele, Oskar: Der Österreichische Hofkriegsrat, 1556–1848, MÖStA, supplementary vol. 1, issue 1, Vienna 1949, pp. 16-19.

39 Beiträge zur Geschichte der Niederösterreichischen Statthalterei: Die Landeschefs und Räthe dieser Behörde von 1501 bis 1896, Vienna 1897, p. 439. The Lower Austrian government was generally divided into two areas of competence, judicial (provincial high court) and administrative (government and military matters). Given his legal background and experience in central administration, Radolt was equally qualified to serve in either area. Ferdinand II allowed officials like Radolt to hold a court office concurrently with a councilorship in the Lower Austrian government, but they were often advised which to prefer. (Niederösterreichische Statthalterei, p. 53).

40 HKA, HZAB 79 (1632), f. 227; HKA, HZAB 80 (1633), ff. 338-339; HHStA, Staatenabteilung, Polen I (Polonica), cart. 56.
explain Wallenstein’s fate and raise funds to pay and supply the Imperial army.41 On his trip home, Radolt was to look for four million florins the erstwhile general had purportedly hidden in Venice.42 Radolt’s most illustrious appointment, however, was as extraordinary ambassador to the court of the English King Charles I in 1636, a mission that played a prominent role in Anglo-Imperial diplomatic relations during the Thirty Years’ War. Ferdinand II sent Radolt to promote a settlement with England on the question of the restoration of the Palatinate lands and titles to the son of the deprived elector Frederick V, the Winter King, who had married Elizabeth Stuart, Charles I’s sister.43 Radolt was the first Imperial ambassador to visit England since Count Schwarzenberg’s embassy in 1622.44 After returning from England, Radolt spent much less time on diplomatic missions abroad. The next and final time the court treasury books record that he served as the Emperor’s representative was in Transylvania in 1659.45

Radolt’s talents were not limited to the administrative and diplomatic realm. He also developed technical and artistic skills that helped bring him some rather creative Imperial appointments. He proved a skilled draftsman with a particular knack for architectural structures. During his embassy to England, he commissioned an engraving of his rendering of St. Stephan’s Cathedral from the south from Cornelius van Dalen. Matthäus Merian later copied the engraving and printed it in his classic atlas of the Austrian provinces, Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum.46 These skills did not escape notice at the Imperial court. In 1654,
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the Emperor tapped Radolt to work on the renovation of the portals and gates of the Imperial palace in Vienna. In 1660, Radolt was named director of the Imperial building office (Hofbauamt) and for three years oversaw a project to expand the palace.47

One would assume that Radolt made a comfortable living in return for the multifarious activities he undertook for the crown. Based on the official salaries on the books, he should have been able to do so merely by collecting his wages, but under the straitened economic circumstances described above, the truth was that the Imperial government had a difficult time remunerating the many officials who kept it running.48 Cash rewards in the form of salaries and bonuses, therefore, were often modest and irregularly paid and sometimes not paid at all. How, then, did the Austrian Habsburgs succeed in retaining the service of officials like Radolt? The answer is found in their substitution of privilege, one of the few dependable resources at their disposal in times of financial difficulty, for monetary compensation.49 Unable to pay adequate salaries, the Habsburgs relied heavily on conferring perquisites, titles, and grants of nobility to reward loyal servants.

Fig. 2: Radolt's Improved Coat of Arms, 1628

This “system of rewards for service” ensured successful career bureaucrats a high level of upward social mobility into and within the Austrian-Bohemian nobility. In the early seventeenth century, commoners with juridical training were able to rise more quickly than ever before into high government office, which often gained


49 Spielman, John P.: The City & The Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600–1740, West Lafayette 1993, pp. 70-71.
them entry into the ranks of the nobility.\textsuperscript{50} This is exactly the route Radolt took. Armed with a doctorate in law, he moved into the nobility by virtue of a successful career in the central administration and was rewarded with increasingly higher degrees of rank and status as his career advanced. He therefore should be counted among the Briefadel, a group of nobles who had earned their titles through careers in the Imperial service.\textsuperscript{51}

In April 1628, while still a Hofkammer secretary, Radolt made the initial leap from commoner to nobleman when Ferdinand II admitted him to the lowest level of nobility, the einfacher Adelstand. At this time, the Emperor and the King of Hungary, the future Ferdinand III, already knew him personally.\textsuperscript{52} Soon thereafter Radolt received the honorary title of Hofrat, or councilor, a title that was – and still is – often conferred upon higher-level civil servants and prominent private citizens.\textsuperscript{53} These honors paved the way for Radolt’s 1632 promotion to Hofkammer councilor, as the Hofkammer was quickly becoming the preserve of the lesser nobility.\textsuperscript{54}

After many years of distinguished service as a Hofkammer councilor and diplomatic representative, in 1652 Ferdinand III invested Radolt with the title of knight in the Austrian-Bohemian nobility, with the predicate “Edler von Radolt”. This was a personal rather than a hereditary award.\textsuperscript{55} Four years later, Radolt’s appointment as Hofkammer director brought him further honors when the Emperor raised him and his three sons to a hereditary barony in the Imperial and Austrian-

\textsuperscript{50} MacHardy: War, Religion and Court Patronage, p. 128.

\textsuperscript{51} Endres, Rudolf: Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, vol. 18, Munich 1993, p. 22. In the Austrian crown lands, there were five levels of nobility in the early modern period, listed from the top down: 1) princes (Fürstenstand); 2) counts (Grafenstand); 3) barons (Herrenstand); 4) knights (Ritterstand); and 5) “simple” noblemen (einfache Adelstand). The first three made up the high nobility and the last two the lesser nobility. (Endres: Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit, pp. 18-19). Beginning in 1572, two groups of nobles existed in Lower Austria – the nobility and the noble estates. Although the ruler granted all noble titles, the estates decided which nobles would join them and thus enjoy the benefits derived from membership in the estates. (MacHardy: War, Religion and Court Patronage, p. 137).

\textsuperscript{52} AVA, Reichsadelsakten, Radolt, Konv. 24 Apr. 1628, ff. 1-7. Radolt’s family already possessed a coat of arms. A description and colored sketch of his improved coat of arms is on f. 4 (see Fig. 2). It is also printed in Siebmacher, Johann: Niederösterreichischer Adel, ed. Johann Kirnbauer von Erzstätt, vol. 4, sect. 4, Großes und allgemeines Wappenbuch, ed. Otto Titan von Hefner, new rev. ed., Nuremberg 1909, vol. 26, pt. 1, p. 371, pl. 203 (Radolt I).

\textsuperscript{53} HKA, FA R-10, f. 9: 27 May 1628.

\textsuperscript{54} Evans: The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 148; MacHardy: War, Religion and Court Patronage, p. 158; Wolf: Die Hofkammer unter Leopold I., p. 444. Many councilors were either knights or barons, but capable, ambitious commoners were always among them.

\textsuperscript{55} AVA, Hofadelsakten, Radolt, Konv. 1652, ff. 1-8: 18 Sept. 1652, Prädikatsverleihung. Radolt’s new coat of arms is described on f. 8.
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Bohemian nobility, accompanied by a grant of großes Palatinat. Radolt’s service as an Imperial representative was highlighted in the official grant, which specifically noted his more than thirty years of loyal and efficient service in many capacities, “the foremost however among them at the royal courts in England and Poland, also many times in Italy and other countries at the courts of various respective Arch- and Grand Dukes as well as other princes and republics.” It goes on to mention other important commissions, missions, and duties entrusted to him, most particularly his service in the Hofkammer. The rewards of social privilege that the Habsburg emperors bestowed upon Radolt over his long career attest to the value they placed on his service and also to the penury of the crown.

In spite of the fact that Radolt, like most of the Briefadel, undoubtedly did not receive direct financial compensation from the crown commensurate with his increased social and professional status, he did manage to advance his family’s financial interests very effectively during his career in the Imperial service. One way he could benefit financially was through the emoluments of his offices. Imperial officials often augmented their earnings by collecting fees for the services they provided to people needing their assistance, that is, to people other than their own superiors. Radolt’s position as a high-ranking Hofkammer official would have presented him with plenty of opportunities to assist appreciative clients – by expediting the payment of debts, the release of property sealed in the treasury, and other financial transactions – and accumulate the accompanying rewards. This system of fees for service was an accepted practice that was clearly distinguished from bribery, and the Habsburgs in fact depended upon their officials’ ability to

56 AVA, Hofadelsakten, Radolt, Konv. 13 Aug. 1656, ff. 1-53; HKA, FA R-10, ff. 64-67: 13 Aug. 1656. For a sketch and description of Radolt’s improved coat of arms, see Siebmacher: Niederösterreichischer Adel, vol. 26, pt. 1, p. 371, pl. 203 (Radolt II). It is interesting that Franz Galeazzo, Radolt’s youngest son with his third wife Magdalena, Countess of Nieva, was specifically named to receive the honor along with his father; his other two sons, Wolf Franz and Johann Anton, were also awarded the honor, but only at their father’s discretion. It is likely that Franz Galeazzo was given special consideration due to the noble background of his mother. A grant of großes Palatinat, a prerogative often accompanying elevation to the rank of count and almost always pertaining to the status of prince, conferred honorary and financial benefits on its recipient. The privileges it conveyed varied, but usually included the right to legitimize, confer elevations in rank upon those lower down on the social scale, appoint notaries, and mint money. (Schwarz: The Imperial Privy Council, p. 396).

57 “[…] vorderist aber in denen an die königliche hoff in Engelandt unndt Poln, auch zu mehrmahl in Italia, unndt andren ländern bey unterschiedlichen respecctive Erz: unndt großherzogen, auch andern fürstn unndt Republichen höffe“ (AVA, Hofadelsakten, Radolt, Konv. 13 Aug. 1656, f. 4).

58 It is noteworthy that even though he certainly did not receive all that the government owed him, the court treasury books show that Radolt was relatively successful in collecting his salary and occasional bonuses from the government, probably by virtue of his employment in the Hofkammer. Imperial salaries, however, including Radolt’s, would not in and of themselves make their recipients rich men.
generate ancillary income by virtue of their status and activity as crown officials as a way of rewarding them at no cost to the crown.59

Another way Radolt could profit as an officeholder was through manipulation of the system of court quartering (Hofquartierung), which Ferdinand I instituted in Vienna and his successors carried on. Under this system, the Imperial government secured accommodation for its servants, officials, and their horses in a chronically overcrowded city by billeting them in the homes of the Viennese populace. By the seventeenth century, court quartering effectively provided rent-controlled housing for underpaid crown servants. Although the occupant of the court quarter had to pay a fee to the landlord, whom the court had compelled to extend his hospitality, this biennial contribution amounted to much less than the landlord could have obtained on the open market. Still, this fee compensated him in some way – when he could extract it – for the unsolicited invasion of his home and occupation of space he could have rented out for more money.60 It was common for the government to take over one-third of a landlord’s house and the majority of his horse stalls for court quarter.61

While court quartering was a financial imposition on most landlords, Imperial officials like Radolt could use this system to reap tidy profits by investing in Viennese real estate. A property-owning official who was eligible for court quarter had the option of requesting quarter in his own house. The court often granted these requests as an additional means of rewarding its servants without further burdening the emperor’s purse. An official who received quarter in his own home had at his disposal not only the best rooms in the house (plus any rooms not subject to court quarter) as the owner, but also the second-best suite of rooms as the recipient of court quarter. He could then rent out these rooms at artificially high market rates due to the shortage of available housing in the city, a state of affairs to which the system of court quartering itself contributed. The higher an official stood in the government hierarchy, the more spacious his grant of quarter and – if he were granted quarter in his own house – the more rooms he had to let for extra income if he so chose. Thus an owner of a large house, particularly if he were an upper-level official who held the privilege of a substantial court quarter in his own home, could make a decent living simply by managing his own property.62

Property ownership apparently proved a worthwhile investment for Radolt. He owned two houses in the heart of Vienna, both of which he possessed until his death in 1670 and passed on to his heirs. The first was located “am St. Petersfreythof” at

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60 Ibidem: pp. 75-77.
61 Ibidem: pp. 78-79.
62 Spielman: The City & The Crown, pp. 88, 90. According to Spielman, a secretary or councilor like Radolt could expect a large three to five-room apartment as his assigned quarters. When he became Hofkammer director, the number of rooms would have been even greater.
Bauernmarkt 1, a prime location within eyeshot of St. Stephan's Cathedral. The house was quite large – a grand medieval patrician's home according to the court quartering books, which inventoried all available space in private houses within the city walls for the purpose of the assignment of living space to court officials. He purchased another, newer but smaller house located at Annagasse 18 in 1631. In addition, by 1670 he had acquired three more residences, "Meyrhoff", "Rothes Haus", and "Pläch Awflekh", and a garden in "Unden Werth" (Unterer Werd). These homes and properties provided him and his family with convenient and comfortable accommodation as well as profitable investments, for as a property-owning Imperial official, Radolt made every attempt to turn the court quartering system to his advantage. In 1638, he asked for quarter in his Bauernmarkt house. Six years later, in 1643, he requested a visitation of both of his houses, most likely in an attempt to secure more favorable quartering terms for himself.

Skillful exploitation of the Imperial system was not the only means available to Radolt to advance his interests. Financial and social assets gained through favorable marriage alliances certainly played a role as well. As his own career advanced, he successively "married up" to maintain and promote his family's position. Radolt was married for the first time in 1626, to Anna Susanna Grapler. Although at this

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63 HKA, Hofquartier [hereafter: HQ], Quartierbücher [hereafter: QB] 19 (1664), ff. 129-131. The house is located in close proximity to St. Peter's Church at the corner of Bauernmarkt and Freisingerstrasse. In his will, Radolt referred to the Bauernmarkt house as his house "am St. Petersfreythof" – an earlier name for Petersplatz – since a cemetery still surrounded the church in the seventeenth century. This is also the designation used in the court quartering books in 1638 and 1643, though it is called the house on Alter Bauernmarkt in 1664, (HKA, HQ QB 51 [1638–1651], ff. 6, 208, HQ QB 19 [1664], ff. 129-131). Although Paul Harrer records that Radolt purchased the house from Maria Pfeiffer in 1648, the court quartering books confirm that he was already in possession in 1638, when he requested quarter in it. For a detailed description of the state of the house in 1399, see Harrer, Paul: Wien, seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur, typed ms. in WSTLA, 1951–1957, vol. 1, p. 698. The building's actual structure has changed little since Radolt's time. Current details about and pictures of the house can be found on the Vienna Greens' web site at http://wien.gruene.at/themen.php?id=11189&wo=24&kat=kontrolle&kid=181 (accessed 23 July 2004). The house is described here as a magnificent old building served by several stairways. To give an idea of its size, the building's area is given as 1,074 square meters, bringing its grand total over four floors to 4,296 square meters. Today it accommodates five stores in the first floor, five medical offices, and at least fifteen apartments.


65 HHStA, Oberstmarschallamt, cart. 625: original will of 5 Nov. 1668, revised and corrected on 5 Sept. 1670, published on 7 Dec. 1670.

66 HKA, HQ QB 51 (1638-1651), f. 6.

67 HKA, HQ QB 51 (1638-1651), f. 208.
point he had only been in the Imperial service a short time, the Emperor sent a representative to the wedding with the gift of a silver and gold-gilt wine service.\textsuperscript{68} Little is known about the lady or her background, but in any case the marriage did not last long – Anna Susanna died the following year at age 19, presumably in childbirth or as the result of one of the many illnesses associated with it.\textsuperscript{69} Radolt married again soon thereafter, in 1628. This time his bride was Helena Constantia, daughter of Jakob von Scholz, a former vice chancellor of Lower Austria.\textsuperscript{70} Together they had two sons – Wolf Franz and Johann Anton – and two daughters – Benigna Constantia and Maria Teresia.\textsuperscript{71} Radolt also managed to outlive his second wife, and in February 1640, he wed for the last time. His bride was Magdalena, Countess of Nieva, the widow of Hofkammer councilor Hieronymus Bonacina.\textsuperscript{72} She came from an established Spanish noble line.\textsuperscript{73} Radolt and Magdalena had several children, but only one, Franz Galeazzo, survived to adulthood.\textsuperscript{74}
Clement von Radolt (1593–1670)

The financial and social achievements of the father are even more telling in the successful careers and marriages of his sons. Two of Radolt’s three sons followed him into the expanding Imperial central administration, a trend that reinforced the tendency towards the establishment of family groupings in government service. Radolt’s eldest son Wolf Franz served as a Hofkammer councilor like his father but attained the position at a much younger age. In 1661, he married Jacobina Barbara, daughter of Martin von Hafner, a regent of Lower Austria, and his wife Helena (Teüblin). Sadly, Wolf Franz did not survive his father. He died in the house on Annagasse on 10 February 1663 at the age of 29. Besides his wife, he left behind two daughters, Maria Anna and Maria Franziska, whom their grandfather fondly called Maria Andl and Maria Fränzl.

Radolt’s youngest son Franz Galeazzo also joined the Imperial service, and he made an excellent match to boot. In 1667, he married Maria Polixena, daughter of Johann Rudolf, Baron Schwarzenhorn, the famed Imperial ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and his wife Helena (Fellner von Feldegg). Franz Galeazzo and Maria Polixena’s first son, Wenzel Ludwig, was born later that year. Wenzel Ludwig became a man of independent means and a musician and composer of some

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some discrepancies in the record (noted in parentheses), including Clara on 4 January 1644 (mother recorded as Catharina), Maria Lucretia on 23 August 1648, and Anna on 28 March 1651 (father recorded as Martinus Radoldt). (Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 55 n. 6).

75 The fate of the Radolt family through the mid-eighteenth century may be traced in Haan, Friedrich von: Genealogische Auszüge aus den beim bestandenen Niederösterreichischen Landmarschall’schen Gerichte publicierten Testamenten. Jahrbuch der k. k. Gesellschaft Adler, n.s. 10 (1900), pp. 80-319.

76 HKA, FA R-10, ff. 72-73: 29 Apr. 1659; HKA, HZAB 106 (1660-1661), f. 6; HKA, HZAB 107 (1662), f. 129; HKA, HZAB 108 (1663), f. 5. Wolf Franz was a councilor by age 25, and he served in this position from 1659 to 1663. This implies not only that he had legal training but also that he had previous government experience.

77 Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 54 n. 2. The prelate of Heiliger Kreuz married the couple on 21 February 1661 in the Chapel of St. Barbara. If the incumbent was the same as in 1670, he was Clement Schöffer, one of the executors (and beneficiaries) of Radolt’s will. The bride’s father, Martin Hafner, was a son of a mayor of Vienna and knight in the Lower Austrian nobility. He served as Austrian procurator at the University of Vienna the same year Radolt served as Rhenish procurator, and also as a dean and rector. (Niederösterreichische Statthalterei, p. 436).

78 Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, pp. 54-55 n. 2. Wolf Franz died of a catarrh. Maria Anna was baptized on 18 August 1662 and her sister Maria Franziska on 6 August 1663.

Thea Lindquist

importance.80 A daughter, Maria Barbara, and another son, Joseph Anton, followed.81 Franz Galeazzo took up a government position in 1671 and lost no time requesting exemption from court quarter for his newly inherited house on Annagasse.82 Four years later, records show he held an honorary office as the Emperor’s master of the table (Truchseß).83 In 1694, through his wife’s successful petition, the noble estates admitted him as baron in the Lower Austrian landholding nobility. According to one source, Franz Galeazzo went mad shortly after the petition was granted, so the title was bestowed instead upon his son Wenzel Ludwig.84

Less information is available about Radolt’s other children. Both of his daughters became sisters of the Convent of St. Jakob in Vienna, but only Benigna Constantia survived her father. The career and fate of Johann Anton, Radolt’s second son, is

80 Wenzel Ludwig was baptized in St. Michael’s Church on 18 December 1667, with Prince Lobkowitz, Count Sinzendorf (president of the aulic council), and Dorothea Elisabetha Prince of Holstein as sponsors. (Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 56). He became an accomplished lutenist and composer: “In Austrian and Bohemian court circles around 1700 Radolt was [...] the most important composer of delicately balanced ensemble writing with the lute prominently featured.” (Sadie, Stanley, ed.: New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London 1980, s.v. “Baron Wenzel Ludwig von Radolt,” by Wolfgang Boetticher). His sole publication was Die aller treueste, verschwigneste und nach so wohl fröhlichen als traurigen Humor sich richtende Freindin (Vienna 1701). For more on Wenzel Ludwig’s musical career, see: Koczirz, Anton: Klosterneuburger Lautenbücher. Musica Divina (Aug.-Sept. 1913), pp. 176-177; Samson, Bill – Hodgson, Martyn: Von Radolt’s Instructions to Lute Players (Vienna 1701). FoMRHI Quarterly 45 (Oct. 1986), pp. 48-55; and Crawford, Tim: The Historical Importance of François Dufault and His Influence on Musicians Outside France. Paper given at the colloquium “Le luth en l’Occident” at the Musée de la Musique, Paris, May 1998, http://www.soi.city.ac.uk/~timc/ttc/DufaultWP.html (accessed 11 June 2004). Wenzel Ludwig dedicated himself to music as a young man, and he was subsequently married late in life, on 16 January 1708 to Maria Susanna Franciscia, daughter of Ernst Constantin, Baron Grandeman, Hofkammer councilor and councilor of the Lower Austrian government, and Maria Eleonora, Countess Schallenberg. The marriage only lasted eight years, for on 10 March 1716, Wenzel Ludwig died of a stroke at 49 years of age. His wife outlived him by 32 years. Four of their children survived: Franz Karl, Leopold, Wenzel, and Philipp. (Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 57).

81 Maria Barbara and Joseph Anton were baptized at St. Stephan’s Cathedral on 19 September 1670 and 26 December 1671 respectively. Joseph Anton went on to become a Jesuit in Italy. Maria Barbara, also quite pious, never married. An additional sister and brother died early on. (Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 56).

82 HKA, HQ QB 65 (1671), ff. 16-17; HKA, HQ Resolutionen, cart. 6, 22 Dec. 1671. Exemption from housing assignments was yet another privilege the emperor often granted to his servants and officials in the place of remuneration. Franz Galeazzo succeeded in obtaining six years’ exemption, though the house technically belonged to his son, Wenzel Ludwig, who had inherited it from Radolt in 1670.

83 Koczirz: Österreichische Lautenmusik, p. 56.

Clement von Radolt (1593–1670)

unknown. He may have died as a young man, for unlike his siblings he is not mentioned in his father’s 1668 will.

On 8 December 1670, at the age of 77, Clement Edler von Radolt, baron and Hofkammer director, died in his house on Annagasse. His body was interred in the family vault he had purchased in the newly built Dominican Church. Radolt’s will makes abundantly clear that he had made a very comfortable living in the Imperial service. By the time of his death, he had succeeded in building a substantial fortune, accumulating enough wealth to leave generous bequests to his family members, friends, and servants as well as to several religious and secular foundations.

Radolt owned several properties in and around Vienna, the most important being his two houses in the city. He left his large house on Bauernmarkt and its contents to his granddaughters Maria Andl and Maria Fränzl, Wolf Franz’s daughters. To Franz Galeazzo, his “universal” heir, he left all his remaining properties – three residences and a garden – and their contents, with the exception of the house on Annagasse. This house along with his personal belongings – the contents of his living room, his books, etc. – he left to Franz Galeazzo’s son Wenzel Ludwig, who must have been a special favorite of his grandfather. Franz Galeazzo, however, oversaw the boy’s inheritance while he was a minor.

85 Pfarrarchiv St. Stephan, Barleihbuch 1670, f. 146. Radolt’s doctor determined the cause of death to be a catarrh, specifically a Stöckh Catharr (Stück Katarrh). The vault is located in the right side aisle, turned sideways in front of the altar of St. Dominic. There is a red marble plate in the floor inscribed: BURIAL VAULT OF THE FAMILY B. RADOLT 1649, in this grave rests Clement von Radolt, Imperial Royal Hofkammer Director, who in 1656 was raised with his three sons to the Freiherrnstand by Emperor Ferdinand III. He died in 1659 (“Eine rothe Marmorplatte im Boden, darauf: SEPULTURA|FAMILIAE|B. RADOLT|1649 In diesem Begräbnisse ruhet Clemens von Radolt, k. k. Hof-Kammerdirektor, welcher mit seinem 3 Söhnen 1656 von Kaiser Ferdinand III in den Freiherrnstand erhoben wurde. Er starb 1659.”). (Grabmale und Grabinschriften in der Dominikaner-Kirche zu Wien. Berichte des Alterthums Vereines zu Wien 26 [1890], p. 211). Church records, however, belie both this death date and that of 1668 given in 850 Jahre St. Stephan.

86 HHStA, Oberstmarschallamt, cart. 625: original will of 5 Nov. 1668, revised and corrected on 5 Sept. 1670, published on 7 Dec. 1670. This document includes an inventory of specific bequests of 6 November 1668, instructions for burial of 31 December 1666, and an agreement with the Convent of St. Jakob in Vienna of December 1659 that provided for the support of his daughters there. Radolt wished for a Christian burial in the family vault, without pomp, display of arms, or anything else of smacking of worldly familiarity (“ohn einige pomp, oder fürstellung der Wappen, oder was sonst von weltlicher gewohnheit”).


88 For more information on these properties, see pp. 22-23.

89 As previously noted, Franz Galeazzo requested exemption from court quarter for the house on Annagasse in 1671. It was still in his name in 1684, but Wenzel Ludwig sold it in 1693 to Ferdinand Emmrich, Count Kollonitsch. (Harrer: Wien, vol. 5, p. 356; Schimmer: Ausführliche Häuser-Chronik, p. 191).
Apart from these properties, Radolt made many smaller, more specific bequests, disposing of cash, plate, and a wide range of artifacts made of precious metals and stones. He left to Franz Galeazzo, for instance, his mother Magdalena’s wedding ring and a beautiful sapphire ring; Maria Andl a hanging pearl and a band decorated with diamonds; Maria Fränzl a golden chain, various rings set with precious and semi-precious stones, and a golden vessel containing “almonds” of amber; Jacobina Barbara, the girls’ mother, a ring with a diamond rose; Wenzel Ludwig a large lozenge-shaped diamond, a neck chain with Agnus Dei pendant, and an honorary medal from the King of England; and Benigna Constantia an image of the Virgin Mary in gold.90

Radolt’s will underlines the importance of his religious faith in life and death. In it, he specifies the many prayers and masses to be said for his soul at several churches and monasteries. He left to these religious foundations generous monetary contributions and rich artwork, for example, various silver and gold-gilt vessels and sacred images carved in ivory. Also, Radolt particularly wished that the Stations of the Cross near Hietzing be kept in good repair, and he made arrangements for the Hofbauamt, of which he had formerly been director, to receive an annual sum to carry out this work. Finally, he left charitable bequests to various religious and secular organizations, including the Hofspital, to benefit prisoners and the poor, sick, infirm, and aged.91

Radolt rose to wealth, power, and noble status by virtue of his long, successful, and varied career in the Imperial service. He held posts ranging from progressively more responsible positions in the Hofkammer to several stints as an Imperial representative to foreign powers. Although the government’s financial resources — and thus its ability to enrich its servants directly through salaries — were limited in the seventeenth century, Radolt was able to take advantage of the opportunities and perquisites it could offer to improve his financial, social, and professional situations, all of which mutually reinforced and augmented one another. Just some of the ways he could realize these benefits was through the appurtenances of office, manipulation of the court quartering system, elevations in rank and status, and social connections made at court.

Radolt’s years of study, hard work, investments, and wisely contracted marriages paid off in rapid career advancement, enhanced family fortunes, and ever-higher degrees social status, which laid a solid basis upon which future generations of Radolts could build. His success is perhaps illustrated most clearly in his rise from educated commoner to member of the high nobility and in his son’s alliance with

90 Magdalena’s wedding ring was “ein Ring mit einer diemet tafl di paragone.” Of Maria Fränzl’s rings, one was set with a small diamond, another with a ruby, and another with a large emerald. Radolt’s crucifix would have gone to his other daughter Maria Teresia, had she lived.

91 Radolt left annual sums to the Amtshaus and Stadtgraben (prisoners) and to the Citizens’ hospital (Bürgerspital), St. Marx’s hospital, and “Ihr ladt” as well as a lump sum to the Hofspital (poor, sick, infirm, and aged).
Clement von Radolt (1593–1670)

the Schwarzenhorn family and move into the landholding nobility. While Radolt’s own personal efforts were essential to these achievements, the growth of central administration and the Habsburgs’ concerted policy of confessional patronage also made them possible. Together these developments increased opportunities for upward mobility, especially for able, educated Catholics of the urban elite like Clement Radolt.

**Abbreviations**

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>aft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVA</td>
<td>Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges</td>
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<td>Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv</td>
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<td>Quartierbücher</td>
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