

Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs

Essays on Central Europe, c.1683–1867

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enlightened ideas: the ways in which they were harnessed for other purposes. Secondly, the two areas of study have been treated largely independently. Whereas Josephinism as a body of thought has been viewed in a Vienna-centred way, embracing the Austrian state as an undifferentiated whole, historians with national preoccupations usually proceeded on a centrifugal and provincial basis. Whereas the literature on Josephinism concentrated on political themes, scholars in the national mould have stressed linguistic and literary matters.² The following sketch of how intellectual change came about seeks to hold on to a pan-monarchical perspective, but also to indicate something of the nature of local diversity.

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Famously the *Aufklärung* took as its target a whole world-view, together with much of the social and political structure which underpinned it. But it would be a mistake to regard this assault as a concerted campaign, where reformist circles in the capital always took the lead. Just as the cultural accomplishments of the baroque were unmanageably multifarious, so the critique of them—despite common features—assumed the character of a congeries of manifold particular confrontations which, though they may have lacked any wider purpose, all contributed to the overall outcome. For that reason we must first look back to the time before Maria Theresa's accession, since behind the triumphal and resplendent façade of that incomparable epoch there already lodged numerous frictions and unconformities, indeed downright contradictions.³ Precisely the intellectual and spiritual consolidation of the counter-reforming church caused traditional discords to be rekindled, and its worldly power-base engendered antagonisms.

Best known is opposition to the Jesuit order, which possessed vast financial resources, as well as a sometimes flexible moral code, and enjoyed a near-monopoly position in education. At the heart of the system, an anti-Jesuit mood had already taken over for some years in the court of Joseph I.⁴ More important was a rising dissatisfaction among the secular faculties at the University of Vienna. From the 1720s jurists and physicians allied with mistrustful officials

² Cf. the surveys by Paul P. Bernard, 'Origins of Josephinism', *Colorado College Studies*, 7 (1964); Erich Zöllner, in *Österreich und Europa: Festschrift H. Hansich* (Graz, 1965), 203–19; Helmut Reinalter, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 17 (1975), 213–26, 18 (1976), 283–307; beales, *Enlightenment and Reform*, 287–309. Also various contributions in the commemorative vols., *Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II.*, ed. K. Gutkas et al. (V., 1980), and *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, ed. Pláschka and Klingenstein. Typical of the national approach: Walter Schamschula, *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung und das deutsche Geistesleben* (Mun., 1973). But signs of a broader base in Isván Fried, 'II. József, a józsefinizáció és a reformerek', *Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (1979), 563–91; Kosáry, *Művelődés*, 275 ff., 345 ff., and *passim*. See also below, ch. 8.

³ Overview in Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, esp. 311 ff.

⁴ Hans Kramer, *Habsburg und Rom in den Jahren 1708–9* (Innsbruck, 1936); Bernard, 'Origins of Josephinism'; Heinrich Benedikt, 'Der Josephinismus vor Joseph II', in *Österreich und Europa*, 183–201; Friedrich von Rummel, *Franz Ferdinand von Rummel* (Mun., 1980).

3 The Origins of Enlightenment in the Habsburg Lands

Two different kinds of movement have conventionally been identified with the Enlightenment in Habsburg Central Europe: the officially sponsored reform programme under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, and the campaigns for cultural renewal among the nations of the region. This essay tries to bring both together by investigating their common genesis. The first half of the eighteenth century already witnessed the beginnings of Enlightenment across the Monarchy, in the form of reaction against the prevalent forms and ideas of the Baroque; but just as the latter had never been monolithic, so its challengers were correspondingly diverse. Alongside external influences, often associated with immigrants and travellers, much of the critique drew on alternative traditions within the Habsburg lands themselves, and stress is laid here on the notion of a Counter-Reformation, which returned to earlier humanist and Protestant values, even though many of its carriers continued to be Catholic priests.

The notion of a specific Enlightenment, or *Aufklärung*, on the territories of the Habsburg Monarchy in the later eighteenth century has become firmly established in recent decades, thanks to a whole series of perceptive and instructive studies, beginning with Winter and Vajjavec.¹ But the phenomenon remains hard to define. 'Enlightenment' tends to be used in conjunction with two other concepts which are more specific. On the one hand it relates to the state reform programme which after a few earlier intimations took off in Austria from the 1760s onward and culminated in the hectic decade of Joseph II's rule, whence its conventional designation as 'Josephinism'. On the other hand we have aspirations to cultural renewal, which set in at much the same time and later issued in explicitly national movements.

This state of affairs calls for two comments. First, both points of departure are somewhat teleological. They consider rather the result than the genesis of

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¹ Eduard Winter, *Der Josephinismus und seine Geschichte* (Brünn, 1943), revised as *Der Josephinismus* (Berlin, 1962); id., *Frührenaufklärung* (Berlin, 1966); Fritz Vajjavec, *Der Josephinismus* (2nd edn, Mun., 1945); id., *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa* (5 vols., Mun., 1953–70), iii, esp. 40 ff.; id., *Geschichte der abendländischen Aufklärung* (V./Mun., 1961).

to press for change.⁵ We are less well informed about action at the other Jesuit universities, but competition from rival orders among the Catholic clergy can be surmised with some confidence. A number of them—notably canons regular, Premonstratensians, and Austin friars—followed the rule attributed to St Augustine, whose distinctiveness was asserted during the post-Reformation period; and these tended from the mid-seventeenth century onwards to be more sceptical about neo-scholastic theology, even a little Jansenist, in the loose sense of that controversial term. Examples range from the Irish Franciscans in Prague to the entourage of the rebel leader Ferenc Rákóczi in Hungary.⁶

Innovation in secondary schooling fell largely to the Piarist order, which was especially numerous in Moravia and Hungary. By the beginning of the eighteenth century Piarists had taken up in philosophy the position of so-called 'modified Aristotelianism'; they taught much mathematics and applied physics (after all they had long since been much attracted to the doctrines of Galileo); they taught history and geography, and also law and politics up to a point. In the 1740s a process of rethinking was already under way among Piarists and others—reflected at least in manuscript literature—which to some extent anticipated the imminent dramatic attack on the powers and privileges of the Jesuits.⁷ But (as specialists today know, though there is still no adequate survey) individual Jesuits proved wholly equal to the demands of the times. Whereas the introduction of such things as university history courses at Graz and Innsbruck may have had little effect, the achievements of a Stepling or Tesánek in mathematics or of Maximilian Hell in astronomy command respect. Even in remote Nagyszombat/Tрнава Hungarian Jesuits discovered a modified, 'newer philosophy' around the middle of the century.⁸

These Catholic spokesmen for more modern viewpoints drew readily upon foreign writers, strongly represented in the more enterprising monastic libraries,

⁵ Grete Klingenstein, 'Vorstufen der theresianischen Studienreformen in der Regierungszeit Karls VI.', in *MIOG* 76 (1968), 327–77. Cf. in general R. J. W. Evans, 'Die Universität im geistigen Milieu der habsburgischen Länder, 17.–18. Jahrhundert', in *Die Universität in Altösterreich*, ed. A. Paschowsky and H. Rabe (Konstanz, 1994), 183–204, at 192 ff.

⁶ On the Irish or 'Hibernians': Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 217, 221, 320, 326–8. On Rákóczi: Béla Zolnai, *A janzsenizmus Rákóczi* (Szeged, 1927).

⁷ Alexius Horányi, *Scriptores Piarum Scholarum liberalium artium magistri* (2 vols., Buda, 1808–9), contains brief biographies of many learned members of the order from eighteenth-century Central Europe. See also Josef Haubelt, 'Seminarium politicum a Gelasius Dobner', *ČČH*, 27 (1979), 76–110. Cf. also Augustinus K. Huber, 'Das Stift Tepl im Aufklärungszeitalter', *Analele Præmonstratensis*, 26 (1950), 41–66; 27 (1951), 28–50; 28 (1952), 16–45; 29 (1953), 67–105; 30 (1954), 41–59; at 26, p. 58.

⁸ Csaba Csapodi, 'Két világ határán: fejezet a magyar felvilágosodás történetéből', *Sz.* 79–80 (1945–6), 85–137; Ján Tibenský, 'Prispevok k dejinám osvietenstva a jozefinizmu na Slovensku', *Historické štúdie*, 14 (1969), 98–114. On Jesuit historiography: Emil C. Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* (Freiburg i.B., 1927); Walter Höflechner, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Graz, 1729–1848* (Graz, 1975); Notker Hammerstein, *Aufklärung und katholisches Reich: Untersuchung zur Universitätsreform und Politik katholischer Territorien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1977). Paul Shore, *The Eagle and the Cross: Jesuits in Late Baroque Prague* (St. Louis, 2002).

as well as upon personal experiences abroad, even in Rome (which furnished an interesting chapter in the intellectual history of the Hungarian Piarists), but also in northern Europe: the famous Wenzel Anton Kaunitz and his fellow aristocratic reformer Rudolf Chotek were only two of numerous members of the Austrian elite to study there.⁹ Yet the attachment to foreign influences is more distinct still among Protestants. Even the illegal and clandestine *Geheimprotestanten* of the supposedly dependable Austrian archduchies, who recurrently re-emerged just when the victory of the Counter-Reformation seemed at last to have been won—and fresh efforts were made to convert or expel them in the 1730s and 1740s—had demonstrable foreign links. All the more so did heretics in north-east Bohemia and parts of Moravia, who had displayed enhanced confidence since the encouraging Swedish-imposed terms of the peace of Altranstäd, with the help of its direct beneficiaries, the Lutheran communities in Silesia.¹⁰ In Hungary the survival of a Protestantism which, if intimidated, had not been isolated, was naturally far more important. From their prime in the previous century the Calvinists salvaged a living culture of somewhat puritanical stamp, into which had penetrated certain precepts of Descartes and Bacon, as well as more recent theological controversies from the Netherlands. After 1700 the Lutherans, whose ministers were sent for training at Halle, Jena, and Wittenberg, experienced a movement of pietistic awakening, which embraced not only the Saxons of Transylvania and the Zips, but also the Slovaks and Magyars in the north of the country.¹¹

Such currents were not necessarily progressive, or tokens of an early Enlightenment. As with Jansenism, they betrayed, particularly among the clergy, many signs of a renewal of essentially conservative positions. But they do witness, already before 1740, to a degree of open-mindedness, and to contacts between different

⁹ Gustav Orruba, 'Kirche und Kultur in Aufklärung und Barock', *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, NS 31 (1953–4), 238–66 (librarians); István Gerenesér, *A magyar felvilágosodás és a kegyes iskolák* (Bp., 1943) (Piarists); Grete Klingenstein, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz* (Cottungen, 1975), 112 ff.; cf. Jiří Kroupa, 'Mikulovské a evropské kořeny joesefinizmu', *Studie Muzea Kroměřížska* (1979), 59–69, for another Moravian example. Ivo Cerman, in *ČČH*, 101 (2003), 818–52 (Chotek).

¹⁰ Hans von Zwiédneck-Südenhorst, 'Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung in Innerösterreich im 18. Jahrhundert', *AÖG*, 53 (1875), 457–546; Rudolf Reinhardt, 'Zur Kirchenreform in Österreich unter Maria Theresia', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 77 (1966), 105–19; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Camb., 1992), 54–115; Regina Pörner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria, 1580–1630* (Ox., 2001), 249 ff. For Bohemia: Antonín Rezek, *Dějiny protestantského hnutí náboženského na českém území* (2 vols., Pt., 1911–24); K. V. Adámek (ed.), *Lištný k dejinám lidového hnutí náboženského na českém území* (2 vols., Pt., 1911–24); V. Schulz (ed.), *Lištný náboženského hnutí podaného lidu na panství litomyšlském* (Pt., 1915); Eduard Wüner, *Die Pflege der west- und südslavischen Sprachen im Halle im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1954), 10–30, 87–131; Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, in *Le Livre religieux et ses pratiques*, ed. H. C. Bödeker et al. (Göttingen, 1991) 131–94; and in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 54 (1999), 915–44.

¹¹ On Hungarian Pietists: Hermann Jekeli, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pietismus in Siebenbürgen* (Mediasz, 1922); Béla Szencsiványi, 'A pietizmus Magyarországon', *Sz.* 69 (1935), 1–38, 157–80, 321–33, 414–27; Ján Durovič, 'Slovenský pietizmus', *Historická slovnica*, iii–iv (1945–6), 165–201. For Calvinists, see n. 13 below; and cf., for the Dutch connection, Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (Ox., 1995), 900–2.

linguistic, confessional, and ethnic communities: as with the group around Matthias Bel in Pressburg or the international correspondents of the Transylvanian scholar, Sámuel Köleséri (1663–1732).¹² Thus they constitute a preliminary stage of the broader development at a pan-monarchical level, to which their own contribution was not insignificant. Consider a few examples from the eastern marches of the Hungarian lands. Despite official restrictions, students from thence in this period consolidated their customary connections to Holland and Switzerland, as the letters written to one of their high-born Calvinist patrons, Count Sándor Teleki, indicate. In Germany too they were abundant: they soon discovered the new universities at Halle and then Göttingen, and the older ties to England did not entirely dissipate. In the 1750s a young son of Debreceen, the later polymath István Wessprémi, pursued path-breaking medical research there.¹³ Against that, Maria Theresa was expressing a proto-Josephinist official stance when she shortly afterwards dismissed the proposal for a professorship of English language and literature in Austria 'because of the danger of this tongue as a carrier of principles deleterious to religion and morals'.¹⁴

After the peace of Szatmár the range of such encounters was no longer restricted to the lands of St Stephen, even if the question of Austrian attitudes to Hungarian heterodoxy has as yet hardly been examined. Thus the intellectual leader of the Transylvanian Saxons, Samuel Brukenthal, whose highly civilized and cosmopolitan tastes emerge strongly from Schuller's monumental biography, functioned as a bridge between Lutheran Hermannstadt and the highest circles in Maria Theresa's Vienna. His compatriot Ignaz von Born was stimulated by experience of his native mining district to the notable scientific activities that he transferred from 1770 to the sessions of the 'Privatgesellschaft', or quasi-academy which he founded in Prague.¹⁵ Sámuel Teleki, son of Sándor just mentioned and favourite of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, constituted with his nephew (but contemporary) József a stellar bibliophile duo (rather like the brothers Zaluski during the Polish Enlightenment). His book collection, originally housed in Vienna, subsequently became, alongside Brukenthal's holdings, the greatest library in Transylvania.¹⁶

¹² Jean [Ján] Oberuč, *Matthieu Bel, un piémontais en Slovaquie au 18e siècle*, Zsigmond Jakó, 'Beiträge zu den Beziehungen des rumänischen kulturellen Lebens mit der deutschen Erklärungs', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 8 (1969), 673–86 (Köleséri).

¹³ G. Hoffmann (ed.), *Peregrinuslevelek, 1711–50: Külföldön tanuló diákok levelei Teleki Sándornak* (Szeged, 1980). On Wessprémi: R. J. W. Evans in *Bodleian Library Record*, 9, no. 6 (1978), 344 and n. For semi-progressive tendencies in the Hungarian Reformed church: Imre Révész, *Sínai Miklós és kora* (Bp., 1959); Tamás Esze in *A Heidebergi Káta története Magyarországon*, ed. T. Bartha (Bp., 1965), 169–203; Vilmos Gyenis on József Hermányi Dienes in *Sorsotok előre nézések*, ed. Köpeczi and Sziklay, 79–106.

¹⁴ Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*, vol. i (v., 1854), 516. Cf. Albert Jäger, 'Das Eindringen des modernen kirchenfeindlichen Zeitalters in Österreich unter Karl VI. und Maria Theresia', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 2 (1878), 259–311, 417–72, at 277.

¹⁵ Schuller, *Brukenthal*, esp. ii. 228 ff. Josef Haubert, *Studie o Ignáci Bornovi* (Pt., 1972), esp. 15 ff. ¹⁶ A. Dée Nagy (ed.), *Teleki Sámuel és a Teleki-írka* (Buch., 1976); Dóra F. Csanak, *Két horvátk határain: Teleki József* (Bp., 1983), very comprehensive.

But let us return to our starting point in the first years after 1700. The most celebrated dissident thinkers in the Habsburg Monarchy of the early eighteenth century were certainly the free spirits who belonged to the entourage of Prince Eugene and certain other cultivated aristocrats. Most of them had been invited in from abroad: Frenchmen, Italians, a few Germans. The well-known names among them—Jean-Baptiste Rousseau and Montesquieu, Leibniz and Pietro Giannone—should not seduce us into exaggerating the effects of their time in Austria. It was often a matter of *libertinisme érudit*, with a fair helping of affectation and self-indulgence, on the part of relatively short-term visitors, who remained distant from the indigenous world of ideas. A fine biography of the self-willed Bohemian grandee, Franz Anton Sporck, persuasively lays stress rather on his baroque than on his libertarian traits.¹⁷ Yet such cases do point up the important cultural role of real immigrants, who were attracted in increasing numbers by the new opportunities available in and around the expanding Austrian state apparatus. Many came from Protestant countries; frequently their contribution was so indispensable that they could remain Protestant.

I am thinking in the first place of the bureaucracy itself. We know about Johann Christoph Bartenstein, son of a professor in Strasbourg, who had enjoyed a thorough Lutheran academic training before he became a trusted counsellor to Charles VI and then especially to Maria Theresa.¹⁸ But there must have been countless lesser newcomers in the widening ranks of the administration, each of whom brought with him a small piece from another sphere. The south-German poet, painter and scholar Franz Christoph von Scheyb (1704–77), for example, had studied in Leiden and Rome before taking up the post of secretary to the Lower Austrian estates. The Rhinelander Johann Christoph von Jordan (died 1748) operated as a senior official in the Bohemian Court Chancellery and as a renowned antiquary. Theodor Anton Taulow von Rosenthal (1702–79), a native of Hildesheim, concluded his career as *Haus- und Hofarchivar* in Vienna. One of the luminaries of the next generation, Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728–78) had begun life in London—and with the surname of 'Dove'.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pavel Preiss, *Bojs s dvoudlunovými: František Antonín Sporck a barokní kultura v Čechách* (2nd edn, Pt., 2003). For earlier literature on this question, see Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 216, 326–7, and esp. Max Braubach, *Geschichte und Abenteuer: Gestalten um den Prinzen Eugen* (Mun., 1950), 354 ff.

¹⁸ Max Braubach, 'Johann Christoph Bartensteins Herkunft und Anfänge', *MIOG* 61 (1953), 99–149.

¹⁹ For such personalities Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, remains a still under-exploited mine of information; see also the incomplete Ignaz de Luca, *Das gelehrte Österreich* (2 vols., v., 1776–8); and the studies in institutional history by Gross, *Geschichte der deutschen Reichshofkanzlei*, and Oswald von Gschlleser, *Der Reichshofrat, 1559–1806* (v., 1942). For Scheyb, see also Justus Schmidt, 'Voltaire und Maria Theresia: Französische Kultur des Barock in ihren Beziehungen zu Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 11 (1931), 73–115, at 100–4; Gerhard Winner, *Die Klosteraufhebungen in Niederösterreich und Wien* (v./Mun., 1967), 49 f.; Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, 'Zwischen Giannone, Muratori und Metastasio: Die Italiener im geistigen Leben Wiens', *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, 3 (1976), 224–50. For

From the free professions a similar list could no doubt be assembled, though the Irish physicians in Bohemia are among the rare beneficiaries of an existing investigation.²⁰ We have better information about commercial contacts. Here there existed unique chances for clever foreigners who, if not highly educated, were at least differently educated from those with whom they did business in the Monarchy. The (second) Oriental Trading Company, founded by Charles VI, was almost wholly in the hands of immigrants, whether as managers or as skilled workers in their manufactories; likewise the trade routes through Trieste. Spokesmen for the Catholic church were hardly charmed by this state of affairs.²¹ Bohemia received all manner of individual entrepreneurs, such as the English Allasons, who founded a significant linen business at Rumburg in 1713. Hungary was the destination for mining technicians like Georg Ernst Moltz from Joachimsthal, Georg Zacharias Angerstein, a Swede from Hanover, or another Englishman, the steam-engine expert (and drunkard) Isaac Potter.²² Viennese bankers were mainly Swiss Calvinists. Many Viennese booksellers were German Lutherans, since they could more easily acquire the new foreign literature, including specialist work, which was theoretically proscribed but in practice silently tolerated.²³

It was surely not by chance that one of the first modern historians of Bohemia, Voigt, came from Oberleutensdorf, where the largest manufactory in the land was located; or that the Josephinist reformer-abbot Stephan Rautenstrauch grew up as the son of a well-to-do artisan in the north of the country. Such examples could be multiplied at will. That is not, however, to say that the relation between *Aufklärung* and industrial or other economic development can be grasped in simplistic Marxist categories (even if one of the pioneers in our field, Eduard Winter, played along with such views²⁴). It is far more a question of mutual

Jordan: Schamshula. *Anfänge*, 78–81. For Taulow: *ibid.* 65–9; L. Bittner et al. (ed.), *Gesamtinventar des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, vol. I (V., 1936), 117–23. For Taube: Luca, *Das gelehrte Österreich*, II, 209–20.

²⁰ Ludvík Schmid, *Iřiti lékáři v Čechách* (Pr., 1968).

²¹ Jäger, 'Eindringen', 259 ff. On Trieste: Charles H. O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II* (Philadelphia, 1969), esp. 12, 19 ff., and now esp. Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford, Cal., 1999).

²² Arnošt Klíma, *Manufakturní obdobi v Čechách* (Pr., 1955), 143 ff. (Allasons). For Hungary, see various articles by Josef Vozár, in *Studia Historica Slovaca*, 7 (1974), 102–40; *Acta Historiae Rerum Naturalium necnon Technicarum*, 7 (1974), 52–80; *ibid.* 16 (1981), 61–86; *Hospodářské Dějiny*, 7 (1981), 145–72; summarized in *id.*, 'Der Bergbau in der Slowakei während der Regierungszeit Maria Theresias', in *Maria Theresia als Königin von Ungarn*, 96–105.

²³ Hanns L. Mikolezky, 'Schweizer Händler und Bankiers in Österreich', in *Österreich und Europa*, 149–81 (bankers); Jäger, 'Eindringen' (Lutherans). Cf., in general, Theodor Wiedemann, 'Die kirchliche Bücher-Censur in der Erzdiözese Wien', *AÖG* 50 (1873), 287 ff.; Grete Klungenstein, *Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert* (V., 1970), 131 ff.

²⁴ Winter, *Josephinismus* (1962 edn.), 361. 'Josephinism is not only the ideology of so-called enlightened absolutism, but also in high degree the expression of the emergence of the bourgeoisie in Austria'; *id.*, *Frührenaissance*, 107 ff. Cf. the suggestive formulation of Josef Haubelt in *Věstník Československé Akademie Věd*, 78 (1969), 571 f.; and in general, *id.*, *České osvícensví* (Pr., 1986).

connections, such as developed particularly clearly in the upper Hungarian mining region. At Schemnitz in the middle of the 1730s a school of mines was opened which achieved the rank of academy in 1763 and enjoyed a greater European reputation than any other Habsburg cultural institution. Here metallurgical technology very fruitfully complemented pure science, and the professors—the Tyrolean Scopoli and his fellow-countryman the unconventional Jesuit Nikolaus Poda, the north-Bohemian Peithner, the Dutch-educated Frenchman Jacquin, the Thuringian Christoph Traugott Delius and others—formed a much-travelled and cosmopolitan (but seriously under-researched) fraternity with personal and epistolary contacts to many colleagues of like mind within and beyond the frontiers of the Monarchy.²⁵

There were also many foreigners in the Austrian army, such as the Frenchman Balthasar Hacquet, who later worked as doctor and geologist in Ljubljana and Lwów and distinguished himself as an indefatigable travel writer. Yet the army, whose public significance grew mightily in these years, suits rather to illustrate a contrary tendency. Military service, whether in the manifold Habsburg garrison towns or in theatres of war abroad, stretched the intellectual horizons of many. Joseph von Sonnenfels (whose father, a native of Berlin, was incidentally one of the first important modern Jewish immigrants into the Monarchy) spent six years in this fashion across Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. The father and father-in-law of his friend Born were professional officers as well as economic entrepreneurs. The enthusiastic Josephinist pedagogue, scientist, and Slav patriot Franz Joseph Kinsky remained a soldier throughout his life; the first chair of Czech was established under his patronage at the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt.²⁶ The contemporary Hungarian historian Kovachich was correct up to a point when he attributed the Enlightenment in his homeland to the experiences of the Seven Years War;²⁷ however, he seems to set his *terminus a quo* too late. The resultant founding of a Hungarian bodyguard by Maria Theresa may be seen as an attempt to forestall any possible oppositional movement of a west-European kind in that country. But it resulted in a display of patriotic objectives within this elite corps which almost anticipated the later goals of the Decembrists in Russia.

If we seek, albeit in the highly cursory and sketchy fashion suggested here, to conceive of the early *Aufklärung* in the Habsburg Monarchy as a series of personal linkages, it reveals itself to be a confluence of sundry different channels of intellectual renewal. We can measure that phenomenon by reference to one important shared landmark, the genesis of the first learned society in our

²⁵ Good summary by Josef Vlachovič et al. in *Z Dějin Věd a Techniky na Slovensku*, 3 (1964), esp. 33–95; an English version in *Studia Historica Slovaca*, 2 (1964), 103–39.

²⁶ Franz Kopecký, *Josef und Franz von Sonnenfels* (V., 1882), 6 ff. On Kinsky: Josef Hanuš, *Národní Museum a naše obrození*, vol. I (Pr., 1921), 91–107; Haubelt in *Věstník*, 560–77; and cf. above, p. 31.

²⁷ Margaret C. Ives, *Enlightenment and National Renewal: Patterns of Interplay and Paradox in Late Eighteenth-Century Hungary* (L., 1979), 14.

territories, the short-lived Societas Incognitorum Litteratorum, which operated at Olomouc between 1745 and 1752. This first modern scholarly institution has been discussed repeatedly, especially from the standpoint of Bohemian national culture; at times its achievements have been somewhat exaggerated. For our purposes it suffices to point to its composition: numerous members of religious orders, with the exception of the Jesuits, joined it; so did Protestants from neighbouring parts of Germany and Hungary, and officials like Peter Jordan and Taulow von Rosenthal; while its chief organizer was Baron Petrasch, a retired military man, who would shortly make friends with the young Sonnenfels.²⁸

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Let us turn now to consider some of the forms which this proto-Enlightenment took. As has already been intimated, it expressed itself rather in postures of rejection than in innovation. It is a commonplace of recent research that discontent was directed against 'baroque Catholicism'. Indeed, it attacked precisely those features of the prevailing system of thought which the Counter-Reformation, in its assault on Protestant heresy, had extolled: the cult of saints, Marian worship, the conspicuous practice of good works, mysticism and abnegation of the world, symbolic forms and imagery. The attempt was made—whether consciously or unconsciously—to counteract a wrong turning in the spiritual and cultural life of the Habsburg lands. From this dialectical presupposition flow consequences which have been pondered much less often, particularly in the context of the Monarchy as a whole. For if we identify early Enlightenment to some extent with Counter-Reformation, then several of its concerns turn out to involve a reversion to the prime aspirations of the age which had preceded the reimposition of Catholicism in Central Europe, that is to say the sixteenth century and in part even the fifteenth.

One of those concerns was toleration, especially in the religious sphere: a notion conceived not as the fruit of indifference, but—and this became normal among Josephinists—as reconciliation on the basis of free private worship (*exercitium privatum*), the principle subsequently enshrined in the Patents of 1781–2 and asserted by some (only) in a fully eirenic spirit.²⁹ A certain number of reformist Catholics reached this conclusion because they were converts: thus Bartenstein; or Tobias von Gebler, who had studied at Jena, Göttingen, and

²⁸ Hanuš, *Národní Museum*, 38 ff.; Ludwig Hammermayer, 'Die Benediktiner und die Akademische Bewegung im katholischen Deutschland', *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Cisterzienserorden*, 70 (1959), 55 ff.; Beda F. Menzel, *Abt Franz Stephan Rautenstrauch von Braunau-Braunau* (Königstein i. Ts., 1969), 76–88; Schamschula, *Anfänge*, 34 ff.; A. S. Mýlníková, *Vznik národní osvícenské ideologie v českých zemích 18. století* (Pr., 1974), 133 ff.; Antonín Kostlan, *Societas incognitorum: první učená společnost v českých zemích* (Pr., 1996).

²⁹ O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration*, 17 ff.; Grete Klingenstein, 'Modes of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in 18th-Century Habsburg Politics', *AfH*, 24 (1993), 1–16, makes the best case for the regime's goodwill. Josef Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Josephs II.* (Göttingen, 1986), stresses rather the foreign-political concerns behind this policy. Things were naturally somewhat different in Hungary. See the fundamental account by Mályusz, *A társalmi rendelék*, vol. 1.

Halle; or Karl von Zinzendorf, nephew of the founder of the Herrnhuter, who had grown up in Saxony. Others reflected on their experience with the remnants of the indigenous Protestant population. Johann Leopold Hay, Sonnenfels's brother-in-law and later bishop of Hradec Králové, headed a commission to investigate the Moravian sectarians who surfaced again in the late 1770s; its recommendations exercised considerable influence over the new legislation. Hay became convinced that these deluded souls (who in fact found support from Silesia and Hungary, and had often served in the army) could be won back for the old church only by persuasion and in an atmosphere of coexistence.³⁰

The content and tone of Hay's views, as expressed in his famous pastoral letter of 1781, are reminiscent of the religious pronouncements of Emperor Maximilian II a full two centuries earlier. The previous year Kaunitz himself, in a memorandum for Maria Theresa, had pointed to the conciliatory attitude of Lazarus von Schwendi, who was Maximilian's adviser and also (be it noted) his military commander. Several other contemporaries likewise resurrected the example of Schwendi.³¹ Rautenstrauch and Stöger, the leading figures in the campaign for new 'general seminaries', to replace the existing episcopal institutions for the training of clergy, recommended to their students long lists of the works of Protestant theologians, in particular the classics of the age of Reformation and the later promoters of confessional harmony or syncretism. Most striking is perhaps a short history of toleration which a Moravian cleric, Otto Steinbach von Kranichsfeld, published in 1785 in the proceedings of the Bohemian *Privatgesellschaft*. Steinbach lingers lovingly over the spokesmen for religious moderation in the national past, above all Maximilian II and the great tribune of the estates in his own province, Karel Žerotín, before descending into the mutual excesses of the seventeenth century.³²

The roots of these professions of tolerance in the mature *Aufklärung* lay to some degree in Jansenism, which set the ethical principles of the Council of Trent high above its commitment to Rome and its counter-reforming edge, and which evinced a certain congruity with puritanical and pietistic notions in Hungary at that time. Count Sporck already bore witness to that, as he published

³⁰ On Zinzendorf's beliefs, see his autobiography and early diaries: E. G. von Pettenegg (ed.), *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf* (V., 1879), 165 ff.; Karl von Zinzendorf, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern: 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, ed. H. Wagner et al. (V., 1997). On Hay's activity: František Bednář, *Zápisy moravských evangeliků o náboženské souboji v letech 1777–81* (Pr., 1931); Winter, *Josefinismus* (1962 edn.), 167–76; Reinhold J. Wolny, *Die josephinische Toleranz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres geistlichen Wegbereiters J. L. Hay* (Mun., 1973). Cf. Arnost [Ernest] Denis, *Czechy po Bílé Hoře*, ed. J. Vancura (3rd edn., 2 vols., Pr., 1921), iii, 185 f. (army).

³¹ Wolny, *Toleranz*, 23, cf. (e.g.) *Magazin für Geschichte, Statistik und Staatsrecht der österreichischen Monarchie*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1806), 296. For Maximilian II and Schwendi, see Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 19 f. and literature cited there.

³² Menzel, *Rautenstrauch*, esp. 254 f.; cf. Josef Hanzal, in *ČCH* 93 (1995), 86–98. Elisabeth Kovács, *Ultranationalismus und Staatskirchentum im österreichisch-josephinischen Staat* (V., 1975), esp. 69–72 (Stöger); O. Steinbach, 'Versuch einer Geschichte der alten und neueren Toleranz im Königreich Böhmen und Markgrathum Mähren', *Abhandlungen der böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag*, 2 (1785), 200–33.

Protestant works, among them the treatise by a chaplain to William III on the reunification of the churches, alongside controversial Catholic devotional works, among them a letter of the eminent *spirituale*, Cardinal Pole, to Archbishop Cranmer. The influence of Muratori and other Italians also underpinned such notions in Austria.³³ Yet Jansenists were not necessarily well disposed towards Protestants: they disapproved of the latter's ecclesiastical organization and feared accusations of heresy.

On the other hand, the development of ideas of toleration can be seen as well in an increasingly explicit association with Protestant traditions as such, especially in the Bohemian lands, where the Hussite movement had assumed distinctly national characteristics. There Franz Faustín Procházka and Fortunat Durich, drawing on Reformation models, elaborated a thorough, scholarly, and idiomatic new translation of the Bible into Czech. Their enterprise found an echo among the Slovenes, in a circle at Ljubljana around Bishop Herberstein and Canon Japelj. They too could refer back to valuable Lutheran texts from the sixteenth century in the vernacular. Kaspar Royko, a native Slovene settled in Bohemia, made so bold as to assert in his history of the Council of Constance that Jan Hus and his fellow-accused, Jerome of Prague, had been innocent when burned at the stake. Josef Dobrovský attacked the orthodox position on clerical celibacy.³⁴ In the 1780s others sought to inflame the controversy further: witness the notorious *Specimen Monachologiae* (a classification of monks according to the Linnaean system), which was frequently attributed to Born and consciously evoked the spirit of Ulrich von Hutten and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*; or the comparisons of Joseph II to Luther which appeared in the pamphlet literature.³⁵

Once more we must beware of exaggeration. Historical Hussitism was no gospel of peace; nor did it directly prepare the way for intellectual and political liberalism, even though a significant current in Czechoslovak culture, which culminated in (President) Masaryk, sought to validate such views, and not without some success.³⁶ In Austria there were too few Protestants for similar notions to be seriously entertained. In Hungary there were too many to mollify

³³ Preiss, *Sporák*, 72–103. E. Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich* (Innsbruck, 1970).

³⁴ For an introduction to these Bohemian developments, see Jaroslav Vlček, *Dějiny české literatury*, vol. II (Pr., 1940), 178 ff. Cf., most recently, Zdeněk V. David, in *ČCH* 99 (2001), 486–518. Royko's *Geschichte der großen allgemeinen Kirchenversammlung zu Kostnitz*, 4 vols, appeared first at Graz, then in Prague 1785, also in a partial Czech translation. The equivalent Slovene movement seems not yet to have been scrutinized; but cf. Jože Pogacnik, *Barbolaromius Kopitar: Leben und Werk* (Mun., 1978), 131 ff; F. M. Dolinar, 'Jožefinci med Rimom in Dunajem', *Acta Ecclesiastica Slovenica*, I (Ljubljana, 1979), 43–101.

³⁵ 'Joannes Physiophilus', *Specimen Monachologiae methodo Linnaeana*, ran to several editions in 1783–4, mostly with false imprints; Haubelt, *Studie*, doubts Born's authorship. On the comparison to Luther: Wintler, *Josefinismus* (1962 edn.), 100; Elisabeth Kovács, 'Neue Aspekte und Forschungen zur Reise Pius' VI. nach Wien', *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert [und Österreich]*, I (1983), 31–43, esp. 38.

³⁶ J. Herben, *Otázka náboženská v našem probuzení* (Pr., 1927), is suggestive, but tendentious; cf. Albert Pražák, *České obrození* (Pr., 1948), 63–110.

the Catholics, and pietistic impulses in that country formed a kind of spiritual defence mechanism against encroachments from the dominant confession. In these circumstances it seems rather worth stressing a common denominator between moderate Catholics and moderate Protestants in the region: the renewed admiration on both sides for Renaissance humanism.

This was partly a matter of receptivity to the neoclassical school of Göttingen, whose teachings were transplanted to the Habsburg lands, notably to Hungary, by many students and professors.³⁷ But a conscious return to domestic sources also took place. Procházka, for instance, did not stint in his praise for the sixteenth-century Latin literature of Bohemia, which was reckoned to have reached its climax at the court of Rudolf II; only to condemn with withering scorn the practitioners of that genre during the Counter-Reformation. The pioneering historical researches of the Piarist, Gelasius Dobner, were initially stimulated by the commission to render a crude popular chronicle of the Czech Renaissance into Latin (in the end his annotations filled six volumes). Dobner's colleague Voigt took much trouble to edit humanist writings for the press; he particularly esteemed the neo-Latin poets, above all Bohuslav Hassenstein of Lobkowitz.³⁸ Already in the middle of the 1740s the young natural scientist Joseph Stepling made his mark as a Latin versifier. In the foreword to the first volume of the proceedings of his Private Society, Ignaz von Born praised the 'learned gatherings' of Bohemian authors of yore. Dobrovský, the most illustrious figure in this world of Bohemian Enlightenment, was deeply marked by the sceptical, tolerant, ethical values of classicism (as Jaroslav Ludvíkovský already showed in a powerful analysis seventy years ago).³⁹

In Hungary the same enthusiasm can be measured by a series of humanist re-editions which appeared between 1740 and 1790. These included the Renaissance historiographers: Bonfini (in three separate versions), Ransano, Istvánffy, Forgách, and others. The splendid Latin poetry of Janus Pannonius was published twice, once by a Piarist, then by a team under the direction of Sámuel Teleki. Constantín von Khautz, nephew of Scheyb (whom we encountered earlier), and author in 1755 of the first attempt at a literary history of Austria, espoused similar priorities.⁴⁰ And everywhere the epistolary genre, so favoured

³⁷ Above all in the last generation of the eighteenth century: cf. I. Borzák, *Budai Eszaiás és klasszika-filológiai kezdetei* (Bp., 1955), 27 ff. On Göttingen influences in general: Eva H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely a reformpolitikus* (Bp., 1967), 8 ff.; C. Göllner and H. Stănescu (ed.), *Aufklärung: Schriften der Siebenbürger Sachsen und Banater Schwaben* (Buch., 1974).

³⁸ F. F. Procházka (ed.), *De Saecularibus Liberalium Artium in Bohemia et Moravia Fatis* (Pr., 1782), esp. 307 ff. J. Haubelt, 'Počátky historiografické práce Gelasia Dobnera', *ČCH* 22 (1974), 703–33; A. S. Mj'nikov, *Epocha Praveščenija v Cheskich zemljach* (Moskva, 1977), 136 f. (Voigt).

³⁹ Wintler, *Josefinismus* (1962 edn.), 59 ff. (Stepling). *Abhandlungen einer Privatgesellschaft in Böhmen*, ed. I. v. Born, I (1775), Preface. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, *Dobrovského klasická humanita* (Brat., 1933).

⁴⁰ Hungarian titles in brief in *A magyar iradalom története*, ed. Sőtér, II, 568 f. F. C. F. von Khautz, *Versuch einer Geschichte der österreichischen Gelehrten* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1755); on Khautz, see Würzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v.

despotism after 1780 could take refuge in an analogous kind of historical argumentation. In this way both Hungarian Calvinists and Saxon Lutherans defended their case with extensive memoranda. Had not the Emperor himself, when he dissolved the Servite monastery which had been erected on the battlefield of the White Mountain, called on the Bohemians to display more self-respect and cease performing their devotions on the site of their own abasement?⁴⁴

We have here to do with patterns of ideas which were anyway in process of formation since the early eighteenth century. If this indigenous sense of history seems not to be in best harmony with the still widespread conception of a *philosophie des lumières* dedicated to debunking tradition, it had all the more in common with the first stirrings of a regionally or nationally based patriotism in the most important non-German lands of the Monarchy: Bohemia and Hungary. Let me draw a few examples from Bohemia, where the original impulse to a revival of Czech even smacked of atavism, since it drew so heavily on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century linguistic forms. Thus František Martin Pelcl edited a Czech travel account from the late Renaissance with an introduction where he quotes from letters of the great humanists Hassenstein of Lobkowitz and Žerotín in the vernacular. Among Procházka's publications was a further travel narrative of that period, as well as a work by Erasmus in Czech translation; and his already mentioned people's Bible drew richly on the acclaimed Kralice version prepared by the Bohemian Brethren in the 1590s. Ignaz Cornova revised the noted text by Pavel Stránský on the Bohemian state in the Renaissance age, expanding it now, a century and a half on, into seven volumes; and the historical collections of Steinbach and Monse in Moravia contain similar sources.⁴⁵ Particularly interesting in this regard is the figure of the jurist Joseph Anton Riegger, the son of a famous and controversial campaigner for Josephinist legal principles, who settled in Prague and brought together all sorts of valuable materials for the study of old Bohemia. Meanwhile Dobrovský was definitively establishing the presumption of a golden age of Czech language and literature in the days of Rudolf II, the last decades before the assault by Counter-Reformation and the onset of the *terro*, or baroque darkness.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See e.g. *Succincta Deductio iurium et gravaminum Evangelicorum utriusque Confessionis in Hungaria* (n.p., 1790); Ilona Matkó, *II. József és az erdélyi százok* (Bp., 1940) (Saxons). Denis, *Czechy po Bílé Hoře*, i, III, 195 (White Mountain).

⁴⁵ *Příhody Wáclava Wratislava z Mitrowic*, ed. F. M. Pelzel (*sic*) (Pr., 1777). J. Hanuš, *František Faustín Procházka, český buditel a literární historik* (Pr., 1915); cf. Vlček, *Dejiny*, ii, 178–81. Pavel Stránský, *Staat von Böhmen*, trans. and ed. I. Cornova (7 vols., Pr., 1792–1803). For Moravia, cf. my survey in *Staatskundler Wenzel Anton von Kaimitz-Rieberg 1711–94: Neue Perspektiven zu Politik und Kultur der europäischen Aufklärung*, ed. G. Klingenstein and F. Szabo (Graz, 1996), 383–99.

⁴⁶ J. A. von Riegger (comp.), *Materialien zur... Statistik von Böhmen* (12 vols., Pr./Leipzig, 1781–94); id. (ed.), *Archiv für Geschichte und Statistik, insbesondere von Böhmen* (3 vols., Dresden,

by the humanists, came into its own again. The Hungarians discovered the court culture and the correspondence of Matthias Corvinus; the Bohemians discovered the heritage of the magnanimous and cosmopolitan statesman, Karel Žerotín. Remarkably, the Viennese even found some interest in the previously unregarded literary productivity of that negligent Renaissance ruler, Rudolf II. In 1771 a certain Count Bernardino de Pace marketed a stout collection of chancellery missives from the 1590s as a contribution to 'the history of our time'.⁴¹ In reality they belong among the most tedious of all times. At one point the painstaking aristocrat (or his unnamed copyist) printed fifty identical letters of recommendation to different princes of the church one after another.

This well-developed (even if somewhat unbalanced) historical perspective formed a crucial component of the *Aufklärung* in the Monarchy. Thus it set itself sharply apart from the baroque, where history's role had been largely ancillary to the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or institutional totality, of the world of Counter-Reformation ideas. The transitional stage between the two lay around the middle of the century. Thereafter the new attitudes were manifest even among administrative Josephinists. Joseph II's counsellors, if not the Emperor himself, took pains to justify their reforms by appeal to precedent. They adduced the medieval realists, especially Marsilio, and appealed without inhibition to the teachings of Jean Bodin, to the constitutional arguments of the early seventeenth-century Calvinist, Melchior Goldast, or even to the Gallican writings of Bossuet (whom Sporcck too had invoked).⁴²

It could well be contended that such considerations had no less effect on the course of public policy, at least in respect of the relation between church and state, than did all the better-known west-European and north-German theories of natural law and rationality. In 1764, as we saw in the previous chapter, Maria Theresa's court librarian and confidant, Adam Franz Kollár, issued a work on royal patronage rights in the Hungarian church which unleashed such a storm of protest that it had to be withdrawn. Yet his text consisted of a severely historical exegesis of the question, and the author (who had in fact already published a complementary study two years earlier without causing any stir) counted as an internationally recognized scholar and antiquarian. In Croatia Kollár's like-minded friend Baltazar Krčelić pursued a parallel course.⁴³ On the other hand, those whose enlightened convictions stood in contradiction to Joseph's

⁴¹ *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini*, ed. I. Kelcz (4 vols., Kassa, 1743–4); I. Kaprinai (ed.), *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Matthiae de Hungaria* (2 vols., V., 1767–71); *Caroli L. B. Zierotini Epistolae selectae*, ed. J. W. Monse, vol. i (Brünn, 1781). *Divi Rudolphi Imperatoris Epistolae ineditae*, ed. B. de Pace (V., 1771). I have no information about Pace.

⁴² G. Holzknrecht, *Ursprung und Herkunft der Reformierten Kaiser Joseph II. auf kirchlichem Gebiet* (Innsbruck, 1914), somewhat overstated (cf. H. Voltdini, 'Die naturrechtlichen Lehren und die Reformen des 18. Jahrhunderts', *HZ* 105 [1910], 65–104); I. W. Frank, 'Zum spätmittelalterlichen und josephinischen Kirchenverständnis', in *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus*, ed. E. Kovács (Mun., 1979), 143–72.

⁴³ On Kollár, see above, ch. 2, nn. 17, 31; on Kerchelich/Kercselics, Krčelić, see below, ch. 8, n. 33.

This notion of a *temno*, a preceding time of obscurity, was later explicitly formulated in terms of an antithesis to the *Aufklärung* and raised to the level of a commonplace, not just for Bohemia. So far we have indeed mostly contemplated the rise of a practical, rational movement which arraigned the existing order on a wide front. But this endeavour, precisely because its roots lay deep within the old system, remained correspondingly attached to the former regime and could yield only limited results. Suffice it to dwell here a little on the most striking feature in that respect: the continuing prominence of priests in the intellectual life of the Monarchy. Ignaz de Luca, who was the first to compile a history of literature based on an Austrian perspective in the broadest sense, drew up a list of 437 living authors in the mid-1770s: 236 of them are laymen and 201 clergy.⁴⁷ Revealingly the anticlerical de Luca uses his figures to reproach idlers in the church, which should in his view have contributed a yet higher percentage! Had he only possessed more information about circumstances in the provinces, that would indeed have been the case. Much the same state of affairs is alluded to in a well-known but enigmatic remark by Maria Theresa, when in 1774 the establishment of an Austrian academy of sciences was proposed: 'I couldn't possibly decide to set up an *académie des sciences* [sic] with three ex-Jesuits and one professor of chemistry, however worthy; we should be a laughing-stock in the world.'⁴⁸ A comprehensive stock-taking would doubtless confirm this situation later in the century too. After the wave of apparent secularization in the eighties a Spanish ecclesiastic came to Vienna and was struck by the achievements of his fellow-clergy (only good theologians were conspicuous by their absence). His unjustly neglected account hints at how much the priesthood still set the tone, even in the capital, not to speak of those more outlying regions which form the main focus of the present observations.⁴⁹

Among the clergy the regular orders dominated. De Luca names 92 ex-Jesuits, 21 Piarists, 24 Benedictines, and so forth. This direct legacy of counter-reforming contemplative and ascetic ideals naturally acted as a brake on innovative efforts. Most monastery libraries seem from 1740 or so hardly to have kept up with contemporary literature, especially in modern languages. The archabbey of Mons Pannoniae, or Pannonhalma, Hungary's most important monastic foundation, owned fewer books in 1760 than a hundred years earlier, just after it had been regained from the Turks.⁵⁰ Besides, Maria Theresa's takeover of the censorship in

1792-5). On Riegger *père*, see E. Seifert, *Paul Joseph Riegger, 1705-75* (Berlin, 1973). J. Dobrovský, 'Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur', first in *Abhandlungen der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft* (1791), then the following year as a separate publication; cf. Schamschula, *Anfänge*, 203 ff.

⁴⁷ Luca, *Das gelehrte Österreich*, esp. ii.481 ff.

⁴⁸ J. Andres, *Carta a su hermano D. Carlos Andres dandole noticia de la literatura de Viena* (Madrid, 1794).

⁵⁰ L. Erdélyi et al. (ed.), *A pannonthalmi Szent Benedek-Rend története*, vol. v (Bp., 1907), 402 f.; cf. Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 312. Cf. also the position at the Bohemian Premonstratensian canonry of Tepl: Huber, 'Stift Tepl'.

the 1750s led to a divergence between Habsburg and papal indexes which put many monasteries to the test. The Collegium Norbertinum in Prague, for example, was an institution of higher education run by the Premonstratensians of Strahov in close cooperation with the local archiepiscopal seminary. It boasted a quite extensive and well-kept library, but recent works hardly appear in its catalogue. On the contrary, whereas into the 1760s the *Libri Prohibiti* made up a minute part of it, the index issued by Benedict XIV in 1764 prompted a fit of reactionary zeal: now all manner of half-forgotten Lutherans and gentle-spirited Jansenists found themselves 'ad scrinium prohibitorum translati'.⁵¹

Yet the religious orders, for as much as they belonged to the innermost essence of baroque culture, partook also of its contradictions. Various of their members exhibited real curiosity; some shared the mood for reform. Benedictines stood in the forefront, with their historians from Pez and Bessel to Ziegelbauer, Piter, and others, or their observatory at Kremsmünster.⁵² Individual Augustinians, like the antiquary Xystus Schier (a genuine Austro-Hungarian, since he operated in the border town of Bruck) and the diligent Slovene linguistic researcher Marko Pohlín, and Piarists, such as the tireless literary historian Horányi, vied with them. And Jesuits, as de Luca's figures indicate, accounted both before and after their dissolution for a considerable proportion of the new learned activity: we need think only of György Pray, director of the university library in Pest, and his colleague István Katona, compiler of the forty-two-volume *Historia critica regum Hungariae*.⁵³ Of the two most significant remodelers of the Habsburg educational system, the elder, Johann Joseph Felbiger, served from 1758 as abbot of the Augustinian canonry at Sagan, by now in Silesia, until he followed the imperial call to Vienna in 1774; while the younger, (Franz) Stephan Rautenstrauch, was the previous year unanimously elected to the headship of the leading Benedictine abbey in Bohemia, the bipolar foundation of Břevnov-Braunau. Steinbach too was an abbot: he presided over the Cistercian house of Zďár nad Sázavou in Moravia. In 1784, after a fire, he underwent the dissolution of his own monastery.⁵⁴

Altogether the generation of the rising *Hochaufklärung* included many regulars. In Bohemia there were the Piarists Dobner and Voigt, the Premonstratensian

⁵¹ Strahov Library, Prague, MS. D L III 15; 'Catalogus Librorum indyri Collegii Norbertini Prage completus' (1768); a brief history of this Collegium *ibid.* MS. D J IV 1-2; *Annales Seminarii S. Norberti* 1637-1785. Cf. also *ibid.* MS. D LIII 33: 'Catalogus Bibliothecae Milovicensis' (i.e. of the Premonstratensian house at Milevsko/Mühlhausen in Bohemia).

⁵² Hans Sturmberger, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Aufklärung des 18. Jahrhunderts in Kremsmünster', *MOIG* 53 (1939), 423-80; cf. in general the interesting reflections in Ottuba, 'Probleme von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in ihren Beziehungen zu Kirche und Klerus in Österreich', in *Katholische Aufklärung*, ed. Kovács, 107-39.

⁵³ Such figures have hitherto only been explored very sporadically by historians: e.g. F. L. Milsch, *Der Augustinerhistoriker Xystus Schier, 1727-72* (Würzburg, 1969); Balint Hóman, *Történetírás és forráskritika* (Bp., 1938), 353 ff. (Pray, Katona). The editorial and compilatory work of Elek Horányi stands especially in need of appraisal.

⁵⁴ Winfried Romberg, *Johann Ignaz von Felbiger und Kardinal Johann Heinrich von Franckenberg: Wege der religiösen Reform im 18. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1999). Menzel, *Rautenstrauch*, 105 ff. On Steinbach, see *Ottáv slownik naučný*, 24 (Pt., 1906), 80 f.

Ungar, the Minim Procháčka, the Pauline Durich, the ex-Jesuit Cornova. Even the young Dobrovský almost entered the Society of Jesus, and he retained important humanist principles of thought from his instruction by the fathers.⁵⁵ Hungary experienced much the same evolution: there progressive Piarists like Bernát Benyák and Károly Koppi or Paulines like Ferenc Verseghy had open access to the works of Fénelon, Wolff, and other philosophers of the Enlightenment in monastery libraries. Even the career of the maverick (and later Lutheran) Ignaz Aurel Fessler would be inconceivable without his years as a Capuchin novice.⁵⁶ Many such interesting advocates of moderate reform have fallen into almost complete oblivion: among them Maria Theresa's favourite, Pius Manzador, who left the Viennese house of the Barnabites to act successively as general of the order and then as first bishop of Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben in Transylvania.⁵⁷

More familiar is the share of secular clergy in this process, and that has frequently been associated in recent literature with a Jansenist persuasion.⁵⁸ Yet their views are not simply to be equated with Jansenism. Often it was less a matter of dogmatic, ethical, or indeed liturgical aspirations as of a mental rejection of inherited forms and conventions which gained strong impetus from the shift in attitudes towards humanism and history which we have just examined. Priests inclined towards Jansenism could certainly be found in the provinces, especially in Bohemia and Moravia, at Pressburg (among the Slav seminarians) and Ljubljana (around Bishop Herberstein and Canon Jurij Japelj); but I suspect that its contribution was rarely decisive.⁵⁹

One instance may help to illustrate some of the points just made. József Barthyány, son of a future Palatine of Hungary, took up an ecclesiastical career at the beginning of the 1750s, becoming archbishop of Kalocsa and then of Esztergom, and as such primate of the country and a cardinal.⁶⁰ In this capacity he became the acknowledged leader of opposition to Joseph's church reforms: his *Remonstrance* of 1782 appeared in Italian, Latin, German, French, and purportedly also in English. However, in the last resort Barthyány held his protest campaign within limits. Even the papal nuncio commented on his lack of

⁵⁵ Ludvíkovský, *Dobrovského klasická humanita*, 56 ff.

⁵⁶ Sándor Takács, *Benyák Bernát és a magyar oktatásügy* (Bp., 1891); K. Pallós, *18. század végi szerzetesirodalmak és a felvilágosodás* (Bp., n.d.); Gerencsér, *A magyar felvilágosodás*. I. A. Fessler, *Rückblicke auf seine siebenjährige Pflanzschaft* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1851).

⁵⁷ János Temesváry, 'Manzador Pius', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, ns 37 (1930), 215–42; cf. Reinhardt, 'Kirchenreform'. Also Bahldke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 147–50.

⁵⁸ See the very authoritative account by Peter Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich* (V., 1977), which however, apart from some suggestive discussion of Moravia, treats mainly of developments in Vienna and the Alpine provinces. Cf. also Franz Wehl, 'Der "neue Geist": eine Untersuchung der Geistesrichtungen des Klerus in Wien von 1750–90', in *MÖStA* 20 (1967), 36–114.

⁶⁰ For what follows, see OL P 1314, nos. 59779–60381 (private correspondence of József Barthyány) and various files in the Barthyány section of the Esztergom Primatial Archives. This source merits more extensive treatment.

'drive and courage'.⁶¹ Before 1780 he had close dealings with many Enlightenment figures; apparently he was on good terms with the Emperor himself (whose tutor, it may be recalled, had been Barthyány's own uncle). After 1790 Joseph's deeply suspicious successor, Leopold II, had no doubt about the Cardinal's reliability.⁶²

From Barthyány's five-language correspondence one gains the impression of an urbane cleric, who is anything but a Jansenist, and no neologist or Voltairian either; yet who simply despises much of the baroque inheritance. Indeed, he had found it difficult to settle on an ecclesiastical career: 'Au lieu que ma résolution [to become a priest] me console, elle me désole', he wrote at that time; and his overriding concern was to be able to retain his valet. Instead Barthyány gave himself over to his recreations, in the first place to his precious collections of books and documents (during the 1760s and 1770s he was deeply in debt to Italian bankers).⁶³ He drew on these for the rigorously historical argumentation of the *Remonstrance*. Similar figures could be found elsewhere among the Hungarian prelates: the primate's relative, Ignác Barthyány, in Transylvania; his predecessor Barkóczy at Esztergom; Károly Esterházy at Eger, György Klimó at Pécs, and so on.

How do the findings of this essay bear upon the broad picture of intellectual change in the late eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy? We have followed certain currents which emerged substantially earlier, as a result of the breakdown of baroque institutions or the decadence of baroque structures of thought, and which already reached maturity by the 1770s. Their representatives professed a very mild form of Enlightenment, one distinctively coloured by stimuli from a blend of domestic and foreign sources. With the 'official' *Aufklärung* around dynasty and government they stood in a relationship far more of interaction than of subordination. Josephinism could exploit them to some extent; but inversely, they determined to a great extent the practical success of Josephinism.

All depended on whether the Emperor's objectives were rooted in already tended ground. For we must recognize too that the Enlightenment tendencies which we have been pursuing gathered strength at exactly the same time as their opponents finally made good their appeal to the bulk of the population. Doubt

⁶¹ I have used the Italian edition: *Rimonstranza di sua Eminenza il Cardinale Giuseppe a Bathian* (Assisi, 1783); cf. Domokos Kosáry, *Bevezetés a magyar történelem forrásaihoz és irodalmába* (3 vols., Bp., 1951–8), ii, 265. Tomko, *Errichtung der Diöcese*, 9 f., 46 ff., 62 (nuncio). Evidence of Barthyány's moderation over the *Remonstrance*: Primatial Archive, Esztergom, Barthyány II Intr. no. 50/8.

⁶² Esp. OL P 1314, no. 60025, on his relations with Joseph II. For Uncle Károly, cf. above, pp. 19, 21, 30. E. Mállyusz (ed.), *Sándor Lipóczy főherceg nádor iratai, 1790–5* (Bp., 1926), 292–5, 434, 454 (Leopold).

⁶³ Comments of the young Barthyány: OL P 1314, nos. 59892 ff. OL P 1318, fasc. 2, contains promissory notes for huge sums, especially in favour of the Genoese house of Brentano Cimaroli. These debts evidently mounted up also as a result of property and family transactions.

about the achievements of the Counter-Reformation, in other words, trickled down from above, exactly as the Counter-Reformation had itself had to gain recognition some 150 years before; the values and content of the baroque did not crumble away from below. In Catholic Hungary that became particularly apparent. There the mid-century decades witnessed a veritable heyday of emotional piety, sumptuous decoration, and grass-roots cults of the miraculous and mystical.⁶⁴ In the calmer and more self-satisfied atmosphere of Austria and Bohemia, however, the same phenomenon can be observed. The countless books of devotions and invocations of saints which are recorded in the Czech national bibliography testify indeed to an increased reading public, but were bad news for popular reformers, to say nothing of full-blooded Josephinists.⁶⁵

Of course, there was also a more radical Enlightenment, which points beyond Josephinism. The 'Jacobins' of East-Central Europe have been the subject of much productive scholarship over recent decades, writing which—unusually for the area—has been pursued on a genuinely international and comparative basis.⁶⁶ In light of that it may seem surprising that the harbingers of such radical convictions, French influences during the earlier *Aufklärung*, have been so little investigated. Once upon a time it was naively assumed that the enthusiasm for French models from the time of Kauniz's mid-century *renversement des alliances* onwards comprised almost the sum total of the Austrian Enlightenment. Commentators pointed to French fashion in its often superficial manifestations, to French journals, to the French theatre in Vienna, to indigenous editions of French-language literature as well as the genuine publications from francophone Europe which found their way into contemporary noble libraries despite the vagaries of the Maria-Theresan censorship. What was formerly the source of exaggeration by historians of ideas is now in danger of being largely ignored, a point to which I shall revert in the next chapter.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Evidence in: Ödön Málnási, *Gróf Csáky Imre bibornok élete és kora, 1672–1732* (Kalocsa, 1933); Piszker, *Barokk világ Győregházmegyében*; Gyula Jánosi, *Barokk hiélet Magyarországon a XVIII. század közepén* (Pannonhalma, 1935); Kálmán Juhász, 'Jesuiten im Banat, 1718–73', *MÖStA* 11 (1958), 153–220; Gábor Tüskés, *Bücsújárs a barokk kori Magyarországon a mirábulumirodalom tükrében* (Bp., 1993); id. and Eva Knapp, *Népi vallásosság Magyarországon a 17–18. században: formák, közevitőlők* (Bp., 2001). Cf. also Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna, *Bücsújári magyarok: a magyarországi bücsújárs története és néprajza* (Bp., 1994).

⁶⁵ Z. Tobolka and F. Horák (comp.), *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků*, vol. II (9 pts, Pr., 1939–67), nos. 5655–5901, 7872–8339, 9921–11204, 12876–12950, 13145–13226. For a belated instance of the cult of the *pietas Austriaca*, see Werner Telesko in *MÖStA* 48 (2000), 379–404.

⁶⁶ Pioneering works were Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials: Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (L., 1959), and Walter Markov, 'I giacobini dei paesi absburgici', *Studi Storici*, 3 (1962), 493–525. Further examples from the heyday of the genre: Bohuslav Lesnodorski, *Les Jacobins polonais* (Paris, 1965), ch. 7; Kálmán Renda, *Emberbarát vagy hazafi?* (Bp., 1978), esp. 232–86; various works by Helmut Reinalter, esp. *Aufklärer Absolutismus und Revolution* (V., 1980); L. Haas, *Wohntumultszuo w Europie 1740–1800* (Warsaw, 1981).

⁶⁷ See below, p. 58f.

Without a figure like Count Maximilian Lamberg, for example, our picture of the Austrian Enlightenment would be incomplete. This free-thinker was filled, in fact saturated, with the thinking of the *philosophes* and their salon culture, with mental and physical *Reisefieber*—he continually moved around, mostly in Germany and Italy. Lamberg (1729–92) wrote a masterwork in the Frenchifying manner, the *Mémorial d'un mondain*, whose second, expanded edition appeared in London in the year of the outbreak of the American Revolution, and which with its bizarre appendices lies stylistically somewhere between Laurence Sterne and Heimito von Doderer.⁶⁸ Lamberg represents a liminal but indispensable case-study in the varieties of the later eighteenth-century Central-European *Zeitgeist*.

By contrast I have here sought to sketch a broader and more populous constituency, where the spirit of Enlightenment operated in a more home-grown environment, and where the outcomes were different, though in the end every bit as subversive of accepted values as those of the unorthodox aristocrat. Their chief result was the strengthening of a humanistically transfigured and historically underpinned consciousness of particularity. *Aufklärung* became first a patriotic and then a national awakening.⁶⁹ Let us recall Kinsky, that 'good descendant of the Slavs', as he described himself, with his 'Slavonic prejudices'. Or even Lamberg, who on occasion—with the slogan 'je suis Moravé'—declared allegiance to his narrower fatherland and ended his outlandish literary odyssey on a Moravian landed estate.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ For Lamberg's life, see the 'Episode historique sur l'auteur de ce Mémorial', at the beginning of his *Mémorial d'un mondain* (n.p., 1774; 2nd edn., 2 vols., L., 1776), and Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v. Some of his letters are in Josef V. Polišenský, 'Korespondence moravského osvícence Maxe Lamberga s J. F. Opizem o Francouzské revoluci', *Časopis Matice Moravské*, 71 (1952), 140–8, and in Michaud, 'Lumières'.⁶⁹ Cf. below, ch. 8.

⁷⁰ F. J. Kinsky, *Ermuerungen über einen wichtigen Gegenstand* (Pr., 1773), 131–6, 201 ff. Lamberg, *Mémorial d'un mondain*, i. 202 ff.

Austrian Succession threatened the future of the Monarchy and threw imperial traditions into turmoil.

'Baroque' and 'Enlightenment' are useful labels to apply to the decades before and after the 1740s, in so far as culture may be found to march with politics. But the real evolutionary structure is provided by a pattern of confrontation-cum-receptivity, first on an international, then on a national plane. We shall pursue two overlapping bouts of Austrian rivalry-cum-emulation, first of a foreign enemy and model, France; then of an adversary within the Reich, Prussia. In each case some twenty years of intermittent armed conflict led on to decades of stand-off, and eventually to alliance (before the cycle of conflict was ultimately renewed). The political 'anarchy' of the Empire, we shall find, could still prove culturally productive; but it continued to need stimulus from outside. Now, with the growing hegemony and counter-hegemony of Vienna and Berlin, and the lesser foci of power among the rest of the German states, the Reich became terminally enfeebled, though the extent of that decrepitude remains a subject of lively debate.²

The efflorescence of High Baroque in the Habsburg lands possessed, of course, its own close antecedents before the 1680s and its own artistic logic. But it was conditioned then by two main historical factors. One was the heady military and political successes of the dynasty and its attendant aristocracy, which yielded a reckless and extravagant wave of building and decoration, as if to persuade the world—and themselves—that Austrian great power had come to stay. Contemporary perceptions of the function of the visual and representational in central European baroque culture at its climax are well illustrated from the pages of one of its best-known handbooks, Johann Christian Lünig's *Theatrum Ceremoniale*. 'Most people, especially the lower orders (*Pöbel*), are so constituted that sensual impressions and imagination accomplish more with them than wit and understanding; and they can therefore be moved rather by such things as tickle the senses and strike the eye than by the most compelling and clearest arguments. This wonderment yields respect and reverence, whence come subordination and obedience.'³

Such regulation was rarely, perhaps, envisaged so clearly by its chief beneficiaries. At all events they did not conceive it as a merely Austrian purpose. The Reich actually revived as a notion after 1683, in opposition first to the Turks

² For significant recent discussion, see above all Arcin, *Das Alte Reich*, also Christof Dipper, *Deutsche Geschichte 1648–1789* (Frankfurt, 1991); John G. Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime, 1600–1790* (L., 1991); Peter H. Wilson, *From Reich to Revolution: German History, 1558–1806* (L., 2004).

³ Cited in Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Der schöne Tod: Zeremonialstrukturen des Wiener Hofes bei Tod und Begräbnis zwischen 1640 und 1740* (V., 1989), 12. Cf. the words of another prominent commentator, Julius Bernhard Rohr, in 1733: 'Der gemeine Mann, welcher bloß an den äußerlichen Sinnen hängt und die Vernunft wenig gebraucht, kann sich nicht allein recht vorstellen, was die Majestät des Königs ist, aber durch die Dinge, so in die Augen fallen und seine übrigen Sinne berühren, bekommt er einen klaren Begriff von seiner Majestät, Macht und Gewalt.' Hubert C. Ehalt, *Ausdrucksformen absolutistischer Herrschaft* (Mun., 1980), 65.

4

Culture and Authority in Central Europe, 1683–1806

This is a companion piece to the preceding one, and links also with other chapters, especially ch. 8. It sketches the relation between Enlightenment culture, in its Aufklärung variant, and the evolving state in the Habsburg lands and beyond. The powerful French influence at mid-eighteenth century is noted, then the rival Prussian-Protestant model. A closely related issue is that of patriotism and its relation to these trans-national or trans-regional currents. Whose cause did the patriotic vogue serve? Then, in all brevity, the social foundations of the changing cultural structures in the region are suggested, along with their implications for art and aesthetics. The underlying question addressed is how far, and to what effect, the state took over from the court as purveyor and fashioner of culture. This is an area in which much work has been done since this essay was originally conceived, and it therefore seeks also to draw attention to current debates.

In another place I took as a theme for some reflections on German intellectual evolution in the period 1540–1680 the juxtaposition of 'culture' and 'anarchy', concluding that it was precisely the divisions in the body politic of the German Reich which helped to sustain the distinctively international flavour of its cultural life in the age of late humanism and beyond.¹ My subject here comprises a later period and a further juxtaposition: that of 'culture' and 'authority'. I wish to examine how cosmopolitan disjunction gradually gave way to national and official conjunction, as intellectual and artistic life accommodated themselves to the authority of increasingly well-ordered states within and beside the Empire. By some way the most important of those states was the Habsburg Monarchy, whose dynasty had borne and continued to bear the imperial crown, and whose fortunes serve to delimit my terminal dates of a long eighteenth century: from 1683, the deliverance of Vienna from the Turks, to 1804/6, the replacement of a German with a merely Austrian imperial title. My argument concerns the process of transition, which quickened markedly during the latter half of that period. Nevertheless it is a striking convenience that the chronological mid-point, the early 1740s, represents also the turning point, as the War of the

Unpublished; first drafted 1990 for a conference at Princeton University.

¹ 'Culture and Anarchy in the Empire, 1540–1680', *Central European History*, 18 (1985), 14–30.

and then to Louis XIV, and especially in the person of the youthful and vigorous Archduke Joseph, Emperor Joseph I from 1705. There is clear evidence in a political tract entitled *Ehren-Ruff Teuschlands* by his tutor, Wagner von Wagenfels, which combines fierce anti-French polemic with the concept of Germany as a single harmonious cultural entity, embracing also the author's own 'narrower' (*eigentlich*) Austrian patrimony.⁴ As such, the Viennese model could make a widespread stylistic appeal over much of the rest of the Empire, even while the programme began to be displaced in the Habsburgs' own priorities after the early death of Joseph in 1711 and the subsequent uninspiring and ill-directed leadership of his brother, Charles VI.

The other prime constituent of the fully-fledged baroque sensibility in Austria was, as we have already seen, a continuing impetus towards, and need for, Counter-Reformation in Catholic Central Europe. In parts of the Monarchy heresy remained rife well into the eighteenth century—not just in Hungary, where it was fully institutionalized, but in Alpine valleys and in remoter parts of Bohemia and Moravia. This endeavour too had its wider resonance and its thoroughly international component in the work of the religious orders, particularly the dominance of the Jesuits, unrivalled as an educational and intellectual force throughout the Habsburg lands, southern Germany, and Poland. While the actual personnel active in Austria in learning and literature, music and the visual arts became increasingly native or at least naturalized, their inspiration was still largely foreign and cosmopolitan.⁵

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Underlying that continuity, however, is a paradoxical change: the debt to the enemy power of France, whose cultural impact grew rapidly at the expense of the Italian, Latin, and Spanish influences so marked in seventeenth-century Central Europe. 'Universal' values revealed themselves more and more often as predominantly Gallic ones. The direct or indirect significance of the model of Louis XIV's government and society, and of the associated intellectual and artistic enterprises, for Germany as a whole is a commonplace: we are familiar not just with the fascination exerted by Versailles, but with such French-inspired initiatives as Thomasius's worldly-wise philosophy, first proclaimed during the 1680s at the very time of greatest pressure from Louis.⁶ Its effects on Austria are likewise often assumed, though surprisingly little studied in detail. Individual Frenchmen (and only few Frenchwomen) purveyed the influence, men like the architects Mathew and later Jadot. So did groups such as the circle around Prince Eugene, his library and collections at Vienna in the first decades of the eighteenth century. So did the close connections established when the Southern

⁴ Wilhelm Bauer in *MÖIG* 41 (1926), 257–72; cf. Ingraio, *In Quest and Crisis*, 31–4. Cf. above, p. 11.

⁵ Cf. above, pp. 7–9, 22–4.
⁶ W. Schneider (ed.), *Christian Thomasius 1655–1728: Interpretationen zu Werk und Wirkung* (Hamburg, 1989).

Netherlands passed into Austrian Habsburg hands from 1713 and then when the Duke of Lorraine married Charles VI's daughter Maria Theresa, in the 1730s. The whole role of Nancy as cultural mediator east of the Rhine at this time deserves to be better appreciated: it simultaneously became equally important for Poland through Stanislas Leszczyński, Louis XV's father-in-law, who was pensioned off as the next duke of Lorraine.⁷

French ideas and fashions penetrated as far east as provincial Transylvania, where indeed enthusiasm for Cartesian principles among local Calvinists provided them with one of their first footholds. They swelled to a peak in mid-century, at the time of the *renversement des alliances*, to embrace many Austrian readers of the *philosophes* and even more who followed the literary small change of the day. A *Gazette de Vienne* appeared between 1757 and 1766; a French court theatre operated there in the 1750s and 1760s. Above all French was a linguistic fashion: for example, in much family correspondence of the Habsburgs themselves; in the official and private letters of Cornelius Neny, Maria Theresa's cabinet secretary in the 1760s, as of many aristocrats, artists, and musicians, even of prelates like Cardinals Migazzi and Barthyány, archbishop of Vienna and primate of Hungary respectively; in the famous court diaries (over sixty volumes) of Count Karl Zinzendorf. It survived as such through the rest of the century and beyond: much of the anti-French diplomacy after 1790 proceeded in the language of the foe, which remained an essential part of Austrian *bon ton* long into the age of Metternich.⁸

Austria, like Germany, also produced its full-blooded participants in the francophone *siècle des lumières*: mostly men of high status like the exquisite salon figure from Moravia, Count Maximilian Lamberg, and the Hungarian poet, Count János Fekete, both of whom we have already met.⁹ Yet the thrust of the German Enlightenment was markedly different: to stress that nowadays is happily to push at an open door. Even when closely associated with speculative traditions within the Empire, the *Aufklärung* exhibited characteristically practical,

⁷ Miscellaneous materials in the twin volumes *Charles Alexandre de Lorraine: l'homme, le maréchal, le grand maître*, ed. L. Ducloo, and *Charles Alexandre de Lorraine: gouverneur-général des Pays-Bas austrichiens*, ed. C. Lemaire (both Brussels, 1987). For the Polish connection: Pierre Boye, *La Cour polonoise de Lunéville, 1737–66* (Nancy, [1926]); Edmund Cieslak, *Stanisław Leszczyński* (Wrocław, 1994).

⁸ For all this: Schmidt, 'Voltaire und Maria Theresa'; Zoltán Baranyai, *A francia nyelv és műveltség Magyarországon a XVIII. században* (Bp., 1920); V. Oravecz, *Les Impressions françaises de Vienne* (Szeged, 1930); Ilona Vasskó, *A pécsi püspöki könyvtár francia nyomtatványai és kéziratjai* (Pécs, 1934); Sándor Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi Magyarországon* (Bp., 1924); id., *De Scambria à Sans-Souci* (Paris, 1943), esp. 265–81; Adrienne D. Hyier, 'Joseph II, la cour de Vienne et les philosophes', *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 103 (1973), 225–51; Köpeczi and Sziklay (ed.), *Sorsokak előre nézések*; B. Köpeczi (ed.), *Les Lumières en Hongrie, en Europe centrale et en Europe orientale* (Bp., 1981); cf. Michaud, 'Lumières'; Derek Beales, 'Christians and "philosophes": The Case of the Austrian Enlightenment', in *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick* (Camb., 1985), 169–94, now also in his *Enlightenment and Reform*, 60–89.

⁹ For Lamberg, see above, ch. 3, n. 68. For Fekete, see above, p. 31 and nn. 37–8.

even utilitarian concerns; unlike its French equivalent it enjoyed a large measure of (semi-)official support and was led by state-controlled universities, especially in Prussia. Even in Austria, as we saw in the previous chapter, it was beginning to manifest its effectiveness before the crucial date of 1740.¹⁰ In that year Maria Theresa succeeded her father in the Habsburg dominions, but promptly found herself attacked by a constellation of forces in the Reich and beyond, which launched a more than merely political challenge to the dynasty. The contest laid bare deep rifts within the Catholic camp, as hostilities with France were renewed and the Bavarians pressed their claim to Bohemia. But the real damage was wreaked by Prussia, and—what matters most in this context—Maria Theresa attributed her loss of Silesia to Protestant cultural superiority. She sought to gain revenge as soon as possible. As later, in 1866, defeat—albeit only partial—in a German civil war elicited a much sharper reaction from Austria's ruler than any reverse at the hands of outsiders.¹¹

The Habsburg government immediately set about dismantling its baroque cultural structures, which were already beginning to be undermined from within by incipient criticisms of the Society of Jesus and by a receptivity to certain kinds of innovation. Jesuit control was assailed: both from near at hand, by the challenge of rival ecclesiastical corporations, especially the Pietists, whose important Prague school, for instance, opened in 1752; and from a distance, by reformers much less convinced of the place of miracle or tradition in Catholic intellectual life. Their foremost spokesman was Gertard van Swieten, the Queen's physician and later librarian, an immigrant who transmitted, via Belgium, the priorities of the Dutch universities. Others followed from northern Germany, bringing to Vienna and lesser centres the new sciences of cameralism and natural law. Reverence was rapidly redirected from qualities to quantities, and that epitome of the old order, the baroque thesis announcement, with its pompous formalism, came to yield to more sober academic pursuits.¹²

A wider movement in society accompanied these changes, a kind of capillary action of many other immigrants, imported to serve the revitalization of the Habsburg state—Protestants or converts or liberal Catholics, rising in the bureaucracy, in trade and industry, or in the army, and significant in their

¹⁰ For Austria, cf. ch. 3 above. General surveys by Thomas P. Saine, *The Problem of Being Modern, or, The German Pursuit of Enlightenment from Leibniz to the French Revolution* (Detroit, 1999); Richard van Dülmen, *Die Gesellschaft der Aufklärer: Zur bürgerlichen Emanzipation und aufklärerischen Kultur in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 1986; Eng. trans. 1992); Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994). Comparative view in James van H. Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Camb., 2001); T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Ox., 2002).

¹¹ Cf. Werner Bein, *Schlesien in der habsburgischen Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung des Dualismus im Alten Reich* (Sigmaringen, 1994).

¹² Frank T. Brechka, *Gerard van Swieten and his World, 1700–72* (The Hague, 1970). Oldřich J. Blažický, *Theses in Universitate Carolinae Pragensis disputatae* (7 pts., Pt., 1967–70); cf. J. Tříška (ed.), *Výbor ze starší pražské univerzitní literatury* (Pr., 1977).

collective careers and contacts, the bearers of broader currents of less elevated ideas.¹³ At the same time an institutional base for the formulation and discussion of reform was provided by the mushroom-like growth of a network of free-masonic lodges. The first traces of Freemasonry appeared in the Monarchy more or less simultaneously with its beginnings in the Protestant North, around 1740, papal comminations being outweighed by the active support of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen (Emperor Francis I from 1745). But it blossomed later in the Habsburg lands. Of the approximately 27,000 lodge members calculated for the whole Reich by a recent analyst, a considerable proportion by the 1770s and 1780s were Austrians.¹⁴

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Her government's policies from the 1740s on only exacerbated the other prime cultural problem of Maria Theresa: the nature of loyalty to the Habsburg state. The Austrian Monarchy was now evidently more distinct than ever from the rest of the Reich: in the ruler's own person (for Maria Theresa was 'Empress' solely as a consort and then, after Francis's death in 1765, as a dowager); in the enhanced role within the Monarchy of Hungary (whence Maria Theresa's foremost dignity as queen—or strictly speaking as king), which did not form part of the Empire at all; then in the confrontational *Reichspolitik* of her son Joseph. Yet feelings of allegiance towards it were essentially derivative upon a sense of adherence to Germany—let us recall Wagner's approach, cited earlier—and that became a vital consideration in the age of absolutist reform. The whole attack on privilege, on corporations, on provincial status, etc., undertaken by 'enlightened despots' like Maria Theresa and Joseph II, involved a new stress on citizenship. The language of government, especially its myriad administrative enactments, becomes peppered with talk of the *Bürger* and *Bürgertum*, or with references to the '*Volk*' as an object of policy. As the Bohemian Josephinist Gebler put it, in a formulation to which I shall return, 'little by little the state must work towards becoming a people'.¹⁵

Now the cultural concomitant of citizenship was patriotism: not to be regarded merely as some weak precursor of nineteenth-century nationalism, or as the vague xenophobia of earlier more inchoate polities, or as an oppositional formation in the coming age of revolution. Those sentiments certainly belonged to the notion of a patriot;¹⁶ but more significant from our vantage point is its

¹³ See above, pp. 41 ff.

¹⁴ The standard history is still Ludwig Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (5 vols., Bp., 1890–9). For the figures, see Winfried Dörzauer in *Aufklärung und Geheimgesellschaften: Zur politischen Funktion und Sozialstruktur der Freimaurerlogen im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Reinalter (Mun., 1989), 109–49.

¹⁵ 'Der Staat muß darauf arbeiten, nach und nach ein Volk zu werden': cited in Pavel Bělina, 'Teoretické kořeny a státní praxe osvícenského absolutismu v habsburské monarchii', *ČČH*, 29 (1981), 879–904, at 904.

¹⁶ Good introduction in O. Dann and J. Dinwiddy (ed.), *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (L., 1988); cf., in general, Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Ox., 1995).

role as an important official contrivance to identify society with the aims of reforming government. Prominent among the apostles of such patriotism in Austria was a leading adviser to both Maria Theresa and Joseph whom we shall also encounter again, more than once: Joseph von Sonnenfels, whose *Ueber die Liebe des Vaterlandes* appeared in Vienna in 1771. It contains a vigorous, though rhetorical appeal for civic responsibilities to be shouldered by all ranks of society.¹⁷

Yet this development of patriotism did not, of course, simply take the form of a governmental initiative. 'Patriotic societies' sprang up more or less spontaneously from the early eighteenth century all over Germany.¹⁸ They went with significant concerns of the *Aufklärung*: to discover and influence the common people; to measure and harness resources; above all to emancipate and validate the vernacular tongue. Suddenly and dramatically a 'modern' German language and literature took shape, in hardly more than a generation between the 1750s and 1770s, and not by accident did their emergence coincide with a number of influential writings on the subject of national characteristics, bearing titles like *Vom dem Nationalstolze* (1758), *Vom Tode für das Vaterland* (1761), and *Vom deutschen Nationalgeist* (1765). The author of this tract on 'Death for the Fatherland', the precocious and short-lived Thomas Abbt, helped initiate a genre of reflection on public service to Germany, and an identification of Frederick of Prussia as a German hero. Soon the most important theorist of enlightened patriotism appeared on the scene, in the person of the young Johann Gottfried Herder, who—a strong admirer of Abbt—devoted one of his earliest treatises to the question: *Haben wir noch jetzt das Publikum und Vaterland der Alten?*¹⁹

Suffice it for these purposes to identify two tensions to which the development of patriotism gave rise. First came the tension with Frenchified—rococo, if you wish—courtly traditions. That was evident from the beginning; thus the new literary movement consciously sought to break with the universalist, French-dominated models of the earlier eighteenth century which had reached their apotheosis in Göttsched.²⁰ But it assumed curious forms: our author on 'national pride' was actually a Swiss physician equally at home in French and German;

¹⁷ See below, p. 138; cf. Ernst Wangermann in *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, ed. H. Reinalter (V., 1988), 157–69.

¹⁸ R. Vierhaus (ed.), *Deutsche patriotische und gemeinnützige Gesellschaften* (Mun., 1980).

¹⁹ Christoph Frignitz, *Vaterlandsliebe und Freiheit: Deutscher Patriotismus von 1750 bis 1850* (Wiesbaden, 1981); John G. Gagliardo, *Reich and Nation: The Holy Roman Empire as Idea and Reality, 1763–1806* (Bloomington, 1980), 53 ff.; Jörg Echernkamp, *Der Aufstieg des deutschen Nationalismus, 1770–1840* (Frankfurt a.M., 1998), 41 ff.; Benjamin W. Redekop, *Enlightenment and Community: Lessing, Abbt, Herder, and the Quest for a German Public* (Montreal, 2000); Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland: Die deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 2000). Herder's *Schulrede* on 'Do We Still Have the Public and Fatherland of the Ancients?': *Frühe Schriften*, 1764–72, ed. U. Gaier (Frankfurt a.M., 1985), 40–55.

²⁰ Günther-Louis Fink in *Tradition, Norm, Innovation: Soziales und literarisches Traditionsverhalten in der Frühzeit der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. W. Barner (Mun., 1989), 33–67. Cf. Eric A. Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1700–75* (Camb., 1959).

while Herder's 'fatherland' in 1765 did not even lie on the territory of the Empire. He saluted on the one hand the city of Riga; on the other, as his wider *patria*, the Russia of Catherine the Great. Secondly we should note the tension for governments faced by this first cult of some kind of *Deutschtum*. No authority took that challenge in its stride. Not even Prussia, which towards the end of the century, after the notoriously Francophile personal tastes of Frederick II, fell back under Frederick William II into reaction against the Enlightenment; certainly not Saxony, whose progressive Lutheran intellectuals were alienated from Catholic rulers embroiled in their unedifying political game in Poland; and not lesser territories like Württemberg, whose Duke Karl Eugen joined the patriotism debate by observing 'Fatherland? I am the Fatherland.'²¹ Yet at least German states could project themselves as manageable, respectable parts of one Teutonic *Kulturnation*. The foundation of regular academies, first in Berlin, then in a number of other centres including conservative Bavaria, demonstrated the point (even if, at the end of Frederick the Great's reign, still only seven out of eighteen Prussian academicians were German).²²

Against this background the Austrian dilemma becomes apparent. Her increasing political separation from the rest of Germany, which we have already encountered, now became awkwardly counterbalanced by the dynasty's more intimate association with German culture. Joseph II especially began promoting the language at all levels, and not just as an administrative medium: for a time he personally directed the court theatre which in the early 1770s replaced the French players, a highly meaningful gesture if we consider the status of theatre as a meeting point between the native traditions of Viennese popular entertainment and the high-flying literary-edificatory endeavours of a Lessing or Schiller. As the latter put it in 1784: 'If we have a national theatre, then we shall be a nation'; and Joseph actually rechristened his troupe the 'Hof- und Nationaltheater'.²³

There seems no denying that 'Germanization', however neurally or 'Austrianly' conceived by ruler or government, served to isolate the authorities from important regional interest groups at home, without (re)building a real bridge to the rest of the Reich. Thus, on the one hand, the ideology of an Austrian identity, despite certain antecedents—notably a tract in political economy by Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk with the programmatic title *Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will*, first

²¹ T. J. Reed, 'Talking to Tyrants: Dialogue with Power in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 63–79, qu. at 64.

²² Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der kön. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. I (Berlin, 1900). For a spirited argument that Frederick II did in fact promote German culture: T. C. W. Blanning in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty*, ed. Oresko et al., 527–50, and id., *Culture of Power*, 194 ff. *passim*. F. Hartmann and R. Vierhaus (ed.), *Der Akademiedenke im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bremen, 1977). For Bavaria, esp. Ludwig Hammermayer, *Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Kallmünz, 1959).

²³ *Thatergeschichte Österreichs*, vol. x (Graz, 1984); Hilde Haider-Pregler and Herbert Zeman in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, ed. Plaschka and Klungenstein, 701–41. Cf. also Echernkamp, *Aufstieg*, 118–33. For the linguistic issue, cf. my 'Language and State-Building: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy', *AHY*, 35 (2004), 1–24, at 6–8.

Austrian traditions, which they imbibed under dynastic aegis, and north German ones, which they assimilated through university and ecclesiastical channels. Full civic rights allowed them to become far more conspicuous in public: whether Transylvanian Saxons, above all the fascinating *bon-viveur* but pertinacious Lutheran, Samuel Brukenthal, already flying high in Maria Theresa's Vienna; or Magyar Calvinist administrators like Teleki and Podmaniczky; or the handful of Lutheran ministers who would begin to assert a Slovak secular identity by the end of the century.³¹

Toleration formed part—or so I argued earlier—of a Counter-Counter-Reformation in Austria, which looked back to pre-baroque arrangements, among them precisely the rehabilitation of Protestant traditions. As such it belonged within the larger historical consciousness cultivated by the *Aufklärung*. Again this is a facet brought into much clearer focus—at least for Germany—through recent work.³² The central-European Enlightenment developed a profounder understanding of the past, a more critical view of authenticity, a more serious pedagogical approach; leading representatives occupied chairs of history at the universities. But the resultant scholarship was certainly not neutral: in particular, it frequently aligned itself with the newly asserted identities of individual states (overlapping thereby with the work of commentators on imperial public law, ever on the lookout for precedents).³³ And it could readily be harnessed by rulers. Good examples in the Habsburg lands are the writings of Adam Franz Kollár, van Swieten's successor as court librarian, a capable savant who possessed a large collection of historical books, but also an enthusiastic propagandist for the dynasty's rights in Hungary and Poland; and of Baltazar Krčelić, canon of Zagreb, who performed the same function in respect of Maria Theresa's claims on South Slav territory.³⁴

Of course, the relationship was a mutual one. Thus the works of Muratori and his Austrian and German followers had their independent part in steeling the resolve of secular rulers to initiate campaigns against the privileges of the church. Moreover it remained, particularly in the Austrian case, an unstable and unpredictable one: historiography could rapidly tend to reinforce regional patriotisms, just as the interest in vernacular languages did. Thus—to cite Bohemian instances again—the impeccably loyalist soldier, Count Kinsky, in his

³¹ Survey in Kosáry, *Művelődés*, esp. 396 ff., 424 ff., 462 ff., 485 ff. For the Saxons: Göllner and Stănescu (ed.), *Aufklärung*; for the Slovaks: Ludwig [Lajos] Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes*, vol. II: 1790–1848 (Mun., 1969), 11 ff.

³² e.g. Nolte Hammerstein, *Jus und Historie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des historischen Denkens an deutschen Universitäten im spätem 17. u. 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1972); H. E. Bödeker (ed.), *Aufklärung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1986).

³³ Michael Stolleis in *Tradition, Norm, Innovation*, ed. Barner, 1–13; Mack Walker, *Johann Jakob Moser and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981).

³⁴ On Kollár, see above, pp. 24, 29. For his library, see *Catalogus praesantissimorum librorum . . . Bibliothecae Kollarianae* (V., 1783). On Kerčelić/Kercselics/Krčelić, see below, ch. 8, n. 33.

treatise on the education of a gentleman, having pronounced on the correct kinds of shoes, socks, food, and so forth, ends with a peroration about the merit, in Bohemians like himself, of studying Bohemian history; whereas the popular chronicle by Franišek Martin Pelcl, compiled for 'young people' (*die angehende Jugend*) and the 'peasant' (*Landmann*), and designed to root out 'fables, mere opinions and suppositions, prejudices and superstition' also set itself to serve a 'patriotic need', and began by the 1790s to act as a focus for Czech aspirations.³⁵

Toleration and historiography had something of a link in the simultaneous process of humanist revival. As is well known, the European neoclassical movement was led, on an academic front, by scholars at the northern German universities, and it shared common ground with the Greek aesthetic developed by Winckelmann, another vastly influential initiative of the mid-eighteenth century. Together they permitted, in some degree, a reassertion of universal values, though in unmistakably German dress, as most famously with Goethe. In the south of the Reich too, aspects of the Renaissance and, behind it, of the ancient world were rediscovered, but often in the context of their local intellectual associations and relevance. The patriotism of Sonnenfels, mentioned before, revolves around notions of classical virtue and civic responsibility (and deserves examination in the light of the contemporary west-European and American debate about such ideas, as well as of Herder's conception of the ancient and the modern *Vaterland*). Others devoted themselves to the collection of texts, for example Count Károly Reviczky, Joseph II's ambassador in London and Warsaw, one of the great classical bibliophiles of the age.³⁶ We should bear in mind, in assessing the significance of this facet of the culture of the Habsburg dominions, that we are dealing, not just with learned Latin revival, but with a degree of everyday Latin survival unmatched elsewhere in Europe, except at Rome. As an administrative language, and in certain branches of literary composition, Latin continued to be quite widely employed, especially in Hungary.

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What, very briefly, were the implications of the foregoing for the social foundations of culture? The ideal of advanced eighteenth-century reformers comprised some form of 'civil society', a phrase whose German equivalent, *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, was by the end of the period just beginning its career and generating calques in the other vernaculars of the region. For an Austrian voice we may turn to the younger van Swieten, Gottfried, son of Gerard, another vigorous exponent of the new parlance of government: 'It is an undoubted,

³⁵ [Kinsky], *Erinnerungen über einen wichtigen Gegenstand*, esp. 201 ff.; F. M. Pelz [Pelcl], *Neue Kronik von Böhmen* (Pr., 1780), esp. Preface. Cf., for Austria, Khautz, as above, ch. 3, n. 40, and Hans Wagner, 'Historische Lektüre vor der Französischen Revolution', *MÖG*, 71 (1963), 140–56.

³⁶ K. Reviczky (comp.), *Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina, complectens auctores fere omnes Graeciae et Latini veteris* (Berlin, 1784). This library later passed via the Spencers of Althorp to Manchester: cf. A. Lister in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 71, no. 2 (1989), 67–86.

indeed a fully demonstrated proposition that a *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* is distinguished from a horde of savages only through its principles of association, which are anterior to all other cultural progress: viz, that there exists no right (*Recht*), without obligation and no obligation without right.³⁷ Yet such a society, in the eyes of most *Aufklärer*, would remain thoroughly *ständisch*, several 'orders' or levels surviving in it as distinct entities, as should religious groups once their toleration was assured. Sonnenfels's 'nation of patriots' seems to be construed on these lines.

At the top, of course, stood the wealthiest landed nobles, who would, once suitably prepared for their station, bear not a lesser, but a greater burden of public responsibility, and a corresponding share in public esteem, if culture and government really joined hands. It is surely a myth that any absolutist ruler in the eighteenth century despised the aristocracy as such, at least as a maxim of state; certainly not Joseph II (for all the occasional petulant remarks, divorced from their context) or the theorists of his reforming administration. Consider Lombardy, where two of the most original minds in the Habsburg Monarchy, Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria, preached the virtues of the cultivated, public-spirited landlord. Or Bohemia, where aristocrats around Count Nostitz combined bureaucratic involvement with agricultural innovations and sponsorship of literary and artistic activities. At the new Burgtheater in Vienna, a majority of the seats were reserved to the nobility.³⁸ A somewhat parallel role fell to the officer corps in the imperial army, massively expanded at mid-century, and increasingly subject to the direct control of the state. Regiments assumed a common uniform, *schwarzgelb* colours, and the celebrated 'k. k.' terminology in the 1740s; from 1766 the hussar's sabre first carried the arms of the ruler rather than those of his proprietor.³⁹ Although the matter needs proper study, it seems safe to assert that senior military men, almost all of them aristocrats either old or new, represented a prime vehicle for cultural diffusion in Central Europe, from the Prince Eugene circle to noted *Aufklärer* like Kinsky or the Prince de Ligne. They also contributed a particularly significant number of Freemasons.

Beneath the nobility, indeed overlapping with its lower echelons, a larger middle class was in process of formation, especially as officialdom expanded during the eighteenth century, in lesser degree through the invigoration of trade and industry. Whereas the successful bureaucrat could expect a predicate—under Maria Theresa this stratum provided 38 per cent of those ennobled—he did not owe such mobility to the educational purposes of the *Aufklärung*.

³⁷ Cited in Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (V., 1985), 320. Cf. Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator der österreichischen Unterrichtswesen, 1781–91* (V., 1978).

³⁸ Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. v, pt. 1 (Turin, 1987); Daniel M. Klang, 'Reform and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy', *Canadian Journal of History*, 19 (1984), 39–70; Hilde Haider-Pregler, in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, ed. Plaschke and Klingenstein, 701–16, at 715 (Burgtheater).

³⁹ Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 297 ff.; Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte*, 329 (sabres).

Joseph II made no bones: 'Nothing must be taught to the young people which they will later need only rarely, or not in the interests of the state, since university studies are essentially for the training of civil servants, not of scholars.'⁴⁰ However, since he actually reduced the numbers of those servants, in order to save money, he thereby deprived himself of the necessary cadres to back his reforms.

Bürger were to observe their place, and culture should confirm that acceptance. As Count Pergen, Joseph's minister of police, tidily put it: 'A state in which enlightened subjects acknowledge and fulfil their duties of conviction... will face fewer uprisings and need to issue fewer laws and commands.' Austrian government had much to learn in this last regard; yet excellent explorations of educational policies and the rise of the *Bildungsbürgertum* in Central Europe have now revealed the nature of the *Aufklärung*'s campaign to manage the intellectual and social aspirations of the third estate. Even the brotherhood of Freemasons had its limits: whereas English nobles, it is alleged, removed their swords on entering a lodge, Austrian bourgeois were lent one to strap on.⁴¹ Nonetheless, tensions continued to grow, particularly the discordance we have already encountered between the values of courts, prelates, and aristocrats, still decidedly French in expression, and the simpler, more nationally defined values of the professional classes. The north German universities did increasingly convey a middle-class ethos, however diffidently and deferentially, as at Schlözer's Göttingen or Kant's Königsberg. Even in Vienna by the late eighteenth century the salons of the 'second society', like that of *Hofrat* Greiner, father of the hostess and memoirist Caroline Pichler, were bringing together officials and literati, artists and musicians. The very ambiguity of the term 'Bürger'—at once member of the urban *Mittelstand* and also *Staatsbürger* or citizen of the realm—played its part in legitimating the culture of this class as a nascent culture of state.⁴²

The clash between the older beneficiaries of that state and its younger servants was, however, still muffled by their shared mistrust of the common people, pejoratively identified as *Pöbel* by the Enlightenment as much as by Lünig in the passage cited earlier. Arguably the *Aufklärung*, for all its educative mission, actually widened the gulf between learned and popular culture in Central Europe. It did so precisely through the studious, detached interest in folk traditions displayed by its commentators, and their use, even when they wrote

⁴⁰ Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte*, 253 f.; Joseph quoted by Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung*, 25.

⁴¹ James van H. Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Camb., 1988), p. xxii (Pergen) and passim; Anthony J. la Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Camb., 1988); cf. earlier Wolf, *Schulwesen des Teilsauer Banats*, Paul P. Bernard, in *EHR*, 107 (1992), 732 (swords).

⁴² Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, ed. E. K. Blümmel (2 vols., Mun., 1914), i. Cf. Hannes Stekl in *Ambivalenzen der Aufklärung: Festschrift für Ernst Wangermann*, ed. G. Ammerer and H. Haas (V., 1997), 33–48.

in the vernacular, of refined and literary forms far removed—especially in southern Germany—from the demotic speech of ordinary people.⁴³ The campaign to root out superstition was fundamental to the rational character of the Enlightenment, as both a religious and a secular priority. Much of it was conducted on the classic terrain of magic, especially the assault upon witchcraft prosecutions, which only reached their peak in some parts of the Monarchy during the earlier eighteenth century. At an erudite level the attack was mounted in Austria by Gerard van Swieten, by his successor as physician-in-ordinary to Maria Theresa, another Dutchman, Anton de Haen, by the Tyrolean Girolamo Tartarotti, and by other leaders of the intelligentsia; while a stream of writers in the other languages of the area found a common purpose in literature of popular instruction against obscurantism.⁴⁴

Yet the campaign was massive precisely because it encountered massive obstacles. While learned support for the baroque cultural synthesis melted away after 1740, grass-roots manifestations of it continued to gain ground: the vogue for calvaties (*Kalvarienberge*) is a good example. An increase in basic literacy probably only encouraged those loyalties in the short term; while enlightened investigations, for all their own studious detachment, might only serve to bring them more effectively into public view. There is an early instance in one of the literary sensations of the 1730s in Central Europe: a series of scholarly disquisitions on Hungarian vampires. Far from laying the supposed ghosts, of course, censorious pedantry actually prepared the ground for one of the most spectacular themes in twentieth-century popular culture.⁴⁵ The dead weight, even of regular Orthodox religious practice, let alone of such folk belief, frustrated most Habsburg attempts to regulate it; but let us not forget that even in advanced Württemberg we find atavistic eschatological tendencies among the extreme contemporary Pietists. A peak of monastic professions in the Austrian lands, and of entrants into the Jesuit order, seems only to have been reached about 1770: while the start of an influx of Jews into the area, some of them

⁴³ Contrast the argument made by Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978). Cf. James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Ox., 1989), 144 ff.; Harro Segeberg, in Dann and Dinwiddie, *Nationalism*, 137–56. One of the earliest examples was Friedrich Fütse, *Historische Nachricht von den merkwürdigen Ceremonien der Altenburgischen Bauern* (1703). Cf. Herder's comment: 'Even the Volk is not the same. There [among the ancients] this name was honourable: it included all the Bürger . . . now it commonly means the same thing as *Pöbel* and *canaille*. *Frühe Schriften*, 40–55.

⁴⁴ Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 400–17, surveys the overall phenomenon of witch trials in the area; for their cessation, see E. M. Kern in *AHY*, 30 (1999), 159–95 (and cf. my 'Comment', *ibid.*, 229–35). For Tartarotti: Miriam J. Levy, *Governance and Grievance: Habsburg Policy and Italian Tyrol in the Eighteenth Century* (W. Lafayette, Ind., 1988), 31 ff. Cf. H. LeC. Agnew in *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich*, ed. I. Banac et al. (Boulder, Colo., 1981), 201–36, for Czech and Slovak examples.

⁴⁵ M. Lehmann, 'Die Kalvarienberganlagen im Donauraum', *Festschrift Franz Loidl* (2 vols., V., 1970), i, 113–59; Gábor Klaniczay, *The Use of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe* (Camb., 1990), 168–88; Paul Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death: Folklore and Reality* (New Haven, 1988), 3–9 and *passim*.

touched by Hasidism, introduced a related problem.⁴⁶ We may recall Joseph's theatre reform, designed to scotch the vulgar traditions of the *Volksbühnen*: it did not prove very successful in that end.

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We have followed through a catalogue of leading themes in the eighteenth century's cultural transition—the practical and pedagogical impetus, patriotism, toleration, historiography, social ordering, rationality—in order to see how the bearers of Enlightenment in Central Europe were drawn into an ever closer alliance with the forces of the state. In what ways can the fine arts be associated with this analysis? I am unqualified to offer more than a few hints. Evidently the literary and edificatory objectives of the *Aufklärung* stood in sharp contrast to the sensuality and visual appeal of the Baroque. Did that amount to a real shift of sensibility? How much was it part of Protestant Germany's sobering influence?

In practice we find less of a gap. Some baroque forms and vocabulary survived in the heartlands of the style till the end of the century; while after 1740, as before, a strong programmatic element can be discerned, even if philosophy rather than theology came to dictate it. Again we may consider Sonnenfels, this time as critic of art, urging its practical, useful, moral, national, and above all educational ends, its affinity to learning and literature, its need to be released from the restrictions of guild or creed, to be sustained by the patronage of patriotic nobles and churches.⁴⁷ There are excellent exemplars in the later career of Franz Anton Maulpertsch, greatest artist of the second half of the century in Austria, and one won over to Sonnenfelsian ideology. The frescoes which Maulpertsch painted in the 1770s at Louka (Klosterbruck), one of Moravia's wealthy Premonstratensian monasteries, suffered the sad and ironic fate of being effaced within a few years when the house was dissolved on the orders of Joseph II. Thereupon the artist repeated the whole exercise at another Premonstratensian monastery, this time in Bohemia, and created at Strahov, on the commission of its free-thinking abbot, a memorial to the age of Josephinism and Freemasonry. The activity of Chancellor Kaunitz as artistic Mæcenas was similarly directed.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Winner, *Klosteraufhebungen*, shows the continuing strength of traditional Catholicism around Vienna; cf. now Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815* (Camb., 2003), 180 and *passim*. McCagg, *Habsburg Jews*, 27 ff.

⁴⁷ Jiří Kroupa, *Alchemie štěti: Pozdní osvícenství a moravská společnost* (Kroměříž/Brno, 1986), 150–65; Ernst Wangermann in *AHY*, 30 (1999), 1–15.

⁴⁸ Pravoslav Krcidol et al., *Strabovská knihovna Památníku národního písemnictví: historické základy, dějiny a výt fondů* (Pr., 1988); [Gregor Norbert Korber], *Historische Erklärung der Kalvarienberg in Frezsko, welche in dem königlichen Stift Bruck an der Teja . . . Anton Maulpertsch . . . verfertigt hat* (Znaim, 1778). Hungarian examples in Geza Galavics, *Program és mialkötés a 18. század végén* (Bp., 1971); Enikő Buzási and Anna Jávör in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria évkönyve* (1980–8), 47–58; cf. Klára Garas, *Magyarországi festségek a XVIII. században* (Bp., 1955), 81–153. Jiří Kroupa in *Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg*, ed. Klingenstein and Szabo, 360–81. For a different kind of survival, cf. above, ch. 3, n. 65 (Telesco). On Maulpertsch, see now also Thomas DaC. Kaufmann, *Painterly Enlightenment: The Art of Franz Anton Maulpertsch* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005).

Yet such instances conceal considerable changes in the nature of patronage. The role of the court was sharply reduced throughout the Reich, especially in Austria, where it never substantially recovered from the inverted orientation of Joseph II (and the comparative frugality of his mother too, which is often overlooked).⁴⁹ Some good functional building apart—like the Josephinum, an academy for army surgeons, in Vienna—imperial expenditure, and that of the aristocracy as a whole, came to concentrate on music and collections. Contrast the two great princely collectors in eighteenth-century Austria: Eugene of Savoy at the beginning, whose pictures matched his fever of palace construction; and Albert of Saxe-Teschen towards the end, significantly a German outsider as Eugene had been a Franco-Italian one, another military man, but an outstanding progressive landowner and philanthropist rather than a builder or patron.⁵⁰ It was characteristic of the major aristocratic collections of the *Aufklärung*—themselves monuments to the rediscovery of history and respect for Renaissance values—that they heralded a fresh era in both social and communal terms. By the next generation they would become a focus for the new middle-class public and for new national ambitions, as in Bohemia and Hungary. Indeed, these considerations announced themselves already with the self-made Brukenthal: his thousand and more paintings, 16,000 books, 17,500 coins, mineral cabinets, etc. (though not perhaps the forty-nine kinds of wine in his cellars) were all made over for the benefit of his fellow Saxon burghers of Transylvania.⁵¹ They announced themselves too, in a broader way, in the tastes of the rising officialdom of the cities and of the professional classes generally, at once the subjects and the purchasers of the more intimate moralizing and genre pictures of the last decades of the century (a notable practitioner in Berlin was Daniel Chodowiecki), which they acquired through new large-scale art distributors, especially the firm of Artaria based in Vienna.⁵²

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After 1789 our cosy world of moderately reformist, but acquiscent and orderly public service, like the rest of Central Europe's *ancien régime*, was thrown into turmoil. It underwent testing and remoulding in the revolutionary and Napoleonic age, a much more direct challenge than Louis XIV's earlier, or the

⁴⁹ Elisabeth Kovács, 'Kirchliches Zeremoniell am Wiener Hof des 18. Jahrhunderts im Wandel von Mentalität und Gesellschaft', *MÖStA*, 32 (1979), 109–42. Dickson, *Finance and Government*, ii, 108, estimates that court expenditure fell to c.7% of the total Austrian budget under Maria Theresa and less than 2% under Joseph. Cf. now Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Camb., 2003), 196, 210–12, and *passim*.

⁵⁰ Barbara Dossi, *Albertina: The History of the Collection and its Masterpieces* (Mun./L., 1999). Cf. above, ch. 2, n. 6.

⁵¹ Schuller, *Bruckenthal*, ii, 255 ff., 283 ff.

⁵² Artaria: Hedwig Szabolcsi in *Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois, XIIIe–XIXe siècles*, ed. J. le Goff and B. Kópeczi (Bp./Paris, 1985), 159–64. Chodowiecki: W. Busch in *Tradition, Norm, Innovation*, ed. Barner, 315–43; E. Hinrichs and K. Zernack (ed.), *Daniel Chodowiecki, 1726–1801: Kupferstecher, Illustrator, Kaufmann* (Tübingen, 1997); U. Fuhrich-Grubert and

Turks' before that. Even the limited common purpose of a century earlier proved unattainable, and *Kultur*, while its universalist traditions were once again stimulated by events without, found itself spreadeagled and splintered within. The foremost victim was the Habsburg Monarchy, which failed either to assert leadership in the Reich or to sustain domestic momentum. Now the hopes of a Wagner as of a Hörnigk came to ruin amid ill-managed diplomacy, supineness, and recrimination. In 1806 a representative of Emperor Francis II proclaimed the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire from the balcony of the church Am Hof in Vienna, a church with the exquisitely baroque dedication to 'the nine choirs of angels', whose own eighteenth-century history rehearses the whole development we have been pursuing: from municipal headquarters of the Jesuits, the conventual building was turned after their dissolution into a war ministry, hub of Joseph's programme of state formation; while the same balcony staged the highlight of the papal visit of 1782 when Pius VI, seeking to reverse the transformation of the Austrian church, pronounced his benediction over the massed crowds of the faithful.⁵³

Moreover, by 1806 the government had lost confidence in its own cultural ambitions, in the Josephinist ideal of patriotism, in such a degree of self-definition as the Monarchy had yet been able to generate. The gifted, but lugubrious and dyspeptic Archduke Charles, younger brother of the Emperor, uttered a *cri de cœur*: 'In the arts and sciences... the Austrian Monarchy lies more than a century behind other states... It needs only a push from without or a convulsion from within to bring about its complete collapse.'⁵⁴ That estimate appears wild and ungenerous—some observers were much impressed by the new levels of intellectual activity in the Habsburg lands—and it does not chime in well with the Archduke's simultaneous verdict that precisely a highly dangerous ratiocination (*Vernunftfehn*) about human rights and constitutions had precipitated revolution in France.⁵⁵ Either you need ideas or you do not! But his remarks do reveal, alongside a historical perspective on the state of civilization or backwardness which would hardly have been adopted a hundred years before, a clear sign of recognition of official, governmental responsibility for culture, that source of so many opportunities and liabilities in the future.

Eighteenth-century Central Europe witnessed the crucial stage in the replacement of court-based by state-based culture. The Habsburg Monarchy had represented a classic example of the former, but its attempt to adapt to the latter foundered on the problematic character of Austrian statehood. Clearly there

J. Desel (ed.), *Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801): Ein hugenotischer Künstler und Menschenfreund in Berlin* (Bad Karlshafen, 2001).

⁵³ Richard Groner (comp.), *Wien wie es war* (V./Leipzig, 1922), 173–5.

⁵⁴ Erzherzog Carl von Oesterreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (7 vols., V./Leipzig, 1893–4), v, 549–604, at 549, 603. For later stages of this 'patriotism' debate, cf. my 'Josephinism, "Austrianness", and the Revolution of 1848', in *Austrian Studies*, 2 (1991), 145–60.

⁵⁵ Erzherzog Carl, *Schriften*, v, 550. Andres, *Carla a su hermano*, 26–9; *Alma Mater Carolina Pragensis: Charles University and Foreign Visitors*, ed. J. Polišenský et al. (Pr., 1988), 94.

was some failure of encouragement and direction from above: dynastic and aristocratic patronage lived on only in an attenuated way into the age of neoclassicism, where it inspired little genuine creativity outside the realm of music. It was supplemented by educational and literary modes of influence and control; but these advanced very hesitantly, finding themselves crippled by lack of Austrian or imperial institutional identification, by the clumsy workings of the censorship, and by the ultimate irreducibility of absolutism. Equally important, perhaps, was an inadequate self-awareness on the part of educated society: the absence in Austria of that kind of middle-class consciousness which contributed so much to cultural change further north. The noble and clerical ethos in the Habsburg lands was only slightly diluted by challenges from officialdom or army, still less from the urban milieu; the rapid development of Vienna into a metropolis yielded no corresponding coherence of identity. Josephinism stunted creativity on the whole, confirming intellectual provincialism at a vital juncture; and Austria could not capitalize adequately on rising levels of general *Bildung*. Her isolation from *Sturm und Drang*, the cult of sensibility, and their derivatives proved convenient for the government in the short run, but by the early nineteenth century it yielded bitter fruit: having failed to bind the people to itself under the aegis of enlightened reform—as Gebler demands in the quotation cited above—the multinational Monarchy of the age of Meternich had desperately to defend itself from Romantic notions of the *Volk* and the aspirations, political as well as cultural, of its *Völker*.

5

The Habsburg Monarchy and Bohemia, 1526–1848

Why was the kingdom of Bohemia on the whole so tractable a possession of Habsburg rulers during this period? Part of the reason lay, of course, in the failure of the famous revolt of 1618–20, with its termination at the battle of the White Mountain. This essay, the only one in the book to focus squarely on the historic Czech/Bohemian state, takes a correspondingly broad sweep, beginning with the background to that confrontation, which terminally weakened the ancestral institutions of rule there. Yet Austrian authority had its domestic supports before that date, while significant local forces continued to mediate between court and country thereafter. Most important was a process of symbiosis whereby in the eighteenth century Bohemia, besides remaining the material powerhouse of the expanded Monarchy, supplied personnel for much of its overall political, administrative, and intellectual leadership. After 1800 the underpinnings of that alliance began to shift; but only in the revolution of 1848 was their full debility suddenly revealed. It became apparent in the disgrace of absolutism that newer liberal and national ideas drew heavily on those pre-White Mountain values which the Habsburgs and their Bohemian lieutenants had sought to exorcize.

In 1526, when sovereignty over the lands of St Wenceslas passed by election to Ferdinand I of Habsburg, no one could have predicted which party would predominate, the ruler or his subjects.¹ The kingdom of Bohemia formed one of the prime political and economic constituents of late medieval Europe. With its core territory of Bohemia proper, looking nationally and administratively to the capital city of Prague as its focus, and the associated lands of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, it possessed a population of some three million (more than lived in contemporary England) and extensive resources. These included the rich

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¹ Only a skeletal annotation for such a long period is possible in the context of this chapter. For summaries of the whole period, with good bibliography, see K. Richter and G. Hanke, *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, ed. K. Bosl, vol. ii: 1471–1848 (Stuttgart, 1974); Jaroslav Purš and Miroslav Kropilák (ed.), *Přehled dějin Československa*, vol. 1, part 2: 1526–1848 (Pr., 1982); Jörg K. Hoensch, *Geschichte Böhmens von der slavischen Landnahme bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Mun., 1987). There is nothing remotely adequate in English, though *Bohemia in History*, ed. M. Teich (Camb., 1998), provides a few leads.