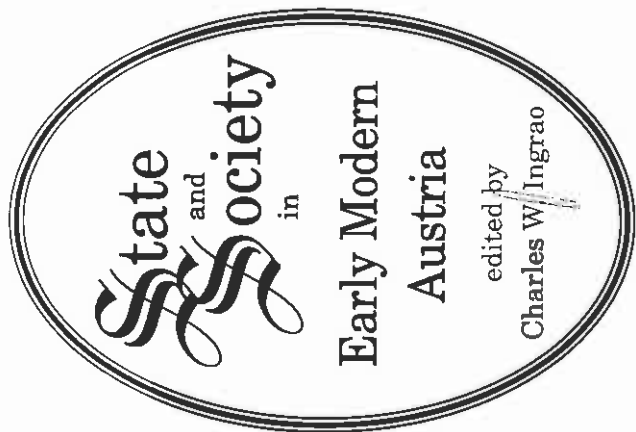


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78. Hainstetten: OÖLA, Scha, HS 16/1, 98–100; Weitra: HALW, H 104. Data for estates in Upper Austria, Ort 1723–78 and Windhaag 1734–39 cf. Bruckmüller, "Grundherrschaft," 48; for Aschach 1640–80 cf. Stenitzer, "Adelige als Unternehmer," 60.

79. Harnisch, "Gutsherrschaft," 210, 219; Harnisch, *Bauern—Feudaladel—Städtebürgertum: Untersuchungen über die Zusammenhänge zwischen Feudalrente, bäuerlicher und gutsherrlicher Warenproduktion und den Ware-Geld-Beziehungen in der Magdeburger Börde und dem nordöstlichen Harzvorland von der frühbürgerlichen Revolution bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachf., 1980).

80. Hoffmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 98.

Translated by Désirée Verdonk, Vienna

Between Mercantilism and Physiocracy

Stages, Modes, and Functions of Economic Theory
in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1748–63

Grete Klingenstein

The Platonic notion that rulers should follow the concepts of philosophers became a standard ingredient of public opinion in the second half of the eighteenth century. Or rather, it then emerged as the secularized version of the traditional expectation that religion be the foremost guide of politics. The ideological programs that political parties chiseled out during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to attract and hold a mass following have colored this vision of eighteenth-century rulers, particularly those of Central European enlightened absolutism. As a result, the actions of Maria Theresa, Joseph II, Leopold II, and Frederick II have often been measured against the precepts and critiques of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, and the relations between the theory and practice of enlightened rule have become a major subject of historical scholarship.¹

In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy, Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733–1817) figures as the most prominent enlightenment thinker who reputedly influenced the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.² Indeed, Sonnenfels was not only the monarchy's leading *philosophe* of economy, society, and culture but also the first and most eminent representative of the new profession of journalism. As professor of *Polizey- und Kameralwissenschaften* in Vienna since 1763, he was the first academic teacher who, by using German instead of Latin, introduced the widening reading public to the discourse of the *philosophes*. But did Sonnenfels really influence the policy making

of Maria Theresa and Joseph II? More specifically, did his ideas help determine Habsburg political economy? Such questions may seem banal, but they beg an inquiry into the origins, orientations, intent, standards, and dissemination of economic theory, as well as into the administrative levels of economic planning and decision making.

In assessing the extent of Sonnenfels's impact, it is important to analyze oral and written discourse of as wide a circle of private and public figures as possible.³ Hence, rather than limiting ourselves to a relatively narrow examination of personal correspondence among a few key individuals, we should study a much wider group of economic administrators and other experts who worked alongside the monarch and *philosophes*. An analysis of their discourse might also help to determine the validity of the assertion—which first arose in the nineteenth century—that Enlightenment ideas flowed in a linear, almost mechanistic fashion from their cradle in France to the “less developed” states and nations of Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe.⁴

However, such an analysis suggests a more variegated pattern to the European Enlightenment. What emerges is a multiplicity of national centers where ideas with a general European appeal were not only discussed and adopted but also transformed, or even rejected, and transplanted to other regions further east, depending on each society's individual circumstances and needs.⁵ Indeed, this multipolar intercourse of Enlightenment ideas involved a variety of national cultures and languages. Therefore, translations into a country's native language or into a third, intermediary tongue played an important role in the process of disseminating and transforming ideas throughout Europe.⁶

This new concept of multipolar Enlightenment intercourse invites a reappraisal of Sonnenfels's person in particular and economic theory and practice in the Habsburg Monarchy in general. What emerges is not so much a picture of the transition from cameralism to physiocracy and protoliberalism as one of the perseverance of cameralistic doctrines and practices in the face of budding liberalization. This essay is, however, of a more limited scope and covers

only the fifties and early sixties. New source material indicates that this was the initial phase, when the international discourse on economic matters was firmly implanted in the Habsburg Monarchy by a group of economic administrators under the protection of State Chancellor Wenzel Anton Prince Kaunitz (1711–94).⁷

At the top levels of administration, the group included men such as Johann Karl Philipp Count Cobenzl (1712–70), Kaunitz's man in the Austrian Netherlands. This reform-minded minister promoted the publication in Brussels of the first economic journal in the Habsburg Monarchy, the *Journal de commerce* (1759–62).⁸ Another key member was Ludwig Count Zinzendorf (1720–80), who was promoted in 1762 to the presidency of the newly instituted *Hofrechnungskammer*. He was the group's outstanding theoretical mind. In 1761 he called his half brother, Karl (1739–1813), from Saxony to Vienna, where he gave him a thorough theoretical and practical training for later governmental services. Also worth mentioning are Philipp Joseph Count Sinzendorf (1726–88), the president of the Lower Austrian *Kommerzienrat*; and Egid Valentin Baron Borí (1719–93), a member of the recently established *Staatsrat*. None was, however, more important than the brothers Zinzendorf. What kept the group together was apparently Kaunitz's protection and a firm determination to learn from Western European economic patterns. Yet none of them publicly participated in the international discourse. This role was played by Sonnenfels alone, who, as if by coincidence, began teaching at the University of Vienna in 1763. By his numerous publications, he established his reputation as Austria's foremost theorist and authority on economic matters.

Furthermore, it is important to note that it was during this time that both Joseph II and Leopold II received their education. The two rulers will be mentioned only briefly, for my main concern is the juxtaposition of the Zinzendorf brothers as economic administrators on the one side and Sonnenfels as academic teacher on the other. In this context, the Viennese interlude of the cameralist Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi (1717–71) is important largely because it elucidates the limited function that was granted by economic administrators and policy makers to academic economists.

In addition, it witnessed the first, but unsuccessful, attempt to establish Vienna as Central Europe's foremost interlocutor and intermediary of international economic discourse under the direction of Friedrich Wilhelm Count Haugwitz (1700–1765), Maria Theresa's most eminent minister during the first reform phase (1746–1759/61). By 1761, Haugwitz's system was replaced by new policies and institutions, designed by State Chancellor Kaunitz.

As the Seven Years' War (1756–63) drew to a close, Maria Theresa's advisors shifted their primary attention to economic problems, especially the enormous state debt.⁹ As de facto prime minister, Kaunitz argued that improving the economic, social, and cultural conditions of the empire's subjects was the main prerequisite for raising overall economic productivity, which he considered indispensable for making Austria more competitive in European power politics. Kaunitz's orientation meant a radical shift in all internal politics from merely quantitative considerations of state revenue to quality consciousness. Henceforth, the government would have to focus upon the living conditions, social attitudes, and mentalities of the population—explicitly including religion and education—since each was a factor in determining economic productivity and, consequently, the state's wealth and power. This ideological shift was strongly prompted by Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748).¹⁰

The principal venue for discussing Kaunitz's program was his newly created *Staatsrat* (1760/61), which included all of the empire's key ministers and, occasionally, Crown Prince Joseph.¹¹ A memorandum written by Joseph in 1765 still echoes the vivacity of the discussions. Although very critical, he mentions "the modern French," and ironically he presents himself as "almost as wise as Colbert."¹² He clearly alludes to the neo-Colbertist and physiocratic schools, which had arisen in France in the fifties. Furthermore, Joseph hints at a general control of state revenues and expenditure. Such an institution, patterned after the French model, was designed by Kaunitz's protégé Ludwig Count Zinzendorf and introduced as the *Hofrechnungskammer* in 1762, with Ludwig acting as first controller general.¹³

Kaunitz emerges as the main pivot for the transfer of the new currents of economic thought that swayed Western Europe after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). While preoccupied with securing support from Austria's allies during his diplomatic missions in Turin (1742–44), Brussels (1744–46), and Aix-la-Chapelle (1748),¹⁴ he had become acquainted with the great Western European financial revolution that had established land, trade, and credit as the main sources of public wealth, state stability, and national power.¹⁵ Following his return to Vienna in 1749, he hired Ludwig Zinzendorf as his collaborator to copy memoranda and to translate foreign writings.¹⁶ Ludwig's linguistic abilities were truly exceptional. He mastered Italian and French, the latter surpassing the former as the most favored language at the court of Vienna. He had also become one of the first in multilingual Vienna to acquire a sound knowledge of English.¹⁷

Although the Zinzendorfs were of Lower Austrian origin, Ludwig, ten years younger than Kaunitz, had taken a circuitous route to the center of Habsburg power. Since his branch of the family was Protestant, it had emigrated to Saxony in the second half of the seventeenth century. Yet he converted to Catholicism in Dresden in 1739 and soon came to Vienna to inherit the family estates. At the age of twenty-six, he returned to the University of Leipzig, where Kaunitz himself had studied fifteen years earlier. The university was held in high esteem at the court of Vienna as the very center of modern law studies and as the seat of language reform.¹⁸ Ludwig's Lower Austrian inheritance afforded him a seat in Vienna on the Lower Austrian court of nobility (*Landrecht*), where he developed an expertise in the financial affairs of the estates at the very time of Haugwitz's reforms. By September 1750, he had produced his *Essai sur l'établissement d'une banque générale des états*.¹⁹ Since Kaunitz was already keenly interested in the credit of crown and estates, he decided to take Zinzendorf to Paris as his *élève* (i.e., trainee) (October 1750–January 1753).

As in his earlier missions, Kaunitz's diplomatic responsibilities in Paris also involved economic and financial issues. Indeed, his embassy acted as the fulcrum for the monarchy's diplomatic and

economic activities in Western Europe.²⁰ Kaunitz probably had the Adriatic port of Trieste and current commercial negotiations with Spain in mind when, in October 1752, he sent Ludwig to the French ports of Lorient and Brest to observe and learn the sale of overseas commodities.²¹ Four months earlier, he apparently instructed Ludwig to compose an essay on the economic resources of France, entitled *Mémoire sur les richesses, le commerce et les finances de la France*.²²

Further research is needed to determine which *salons* he preferred, whether he frequented the circles of the Pâris-Marmontel family, other financiers, or the aristocratic Stainville of Lorraine, who helped to forge and sustain the Austrian alliance under the auspices of Madame de Pompadour.²³ Although Ludwig was well versed in the books, prints, and manuscripts that were then circulating in Paris, it is impossible to trace all the books and pamphlets that he read during his stay in Paris or on his short trip to London. For sure we only know that, while still abroad, he conceived of a plan to have the most important economic tracts translated into German, and that the enterprise was to be located in Leipzig.²⁴

Ludwig's obsession with translations is a clear indication that he was familiar with the seminal group of economists who were close to the intendant of commerce, Jean Claude Marie Vincent de Gournay (1715–59), to whom we attribute the phrase "*laissez faire et laissez passer*."²⁵ In Paris, economics was already considered a proper science, encompassing population, agriculture, manufactures, the trades and crafts, traffic and commerce, shipping and the colonies, taxation, and currencies and banking. Most of the group were either entrepreneurs themselves—manufacturers, merchants and ship owners, tax farmers, bankers, landholders, physicians—or were employed by the government. Indeed, the basic ingredients to their systematic inquiries into economy as a proper field of study stemmed from a combination of the maxims of natural law, the principles of the natural sciences, and a wide range of indigenous economic experiences.

Among these economists were François Louis Véron de Forbonnais (1722–1800) and his cousin Louis Joseph Plumard de Dangeul (1722–77), who both translated from English and Spanish.

They were joined by Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727–81), who translated from English; Claude Jacques Herbert, who wrote on the trade of grain; and Henri Louis Duhamel de Monceau, who, following the lead of Englishman Jethro Tull, specialized in agriculture, later also in trade. Notable is the group's preoccupation with Spanish and, above all, British authors, past and contemporary. Britain was France's partner and rival in commerce and politics, and at the same time the object of general admiration and emulation. In comparison to Central European cameralism, conspicuous features of the Western European economic discourse of the fifties are the absence of codification by means of university teaching, and proper economic experiences of the participants. In addition to the *salons*, the wider public was already fully involved in these discussions, and French authors, as in Britain, appealed to public opinion. Economic topics had established themselves as proper themes of political writing and journalism.

In the absence of more direct evidence, a provisional reconstruction of Ludwig's intellectual orientation must rely heavily on the contents of the library that he offered to his twenty-two-year-old brother Karl upon his arrival in Vienna in February 1761.²⁶ Karl had studied law and related subjects at the University of Jena, including courses on cameralist economy and on "statistics" (i.e., the demographic and political conditions of the European states). For the following three years, Karl underwent a systematic training in the theory and practice of "governing economy," as it was conceived by Ludwig and like-minded friends, above all Philipp Joseph Count Sinzendorf, the president of the Lower Austrian council of commerce.²⁷ All were opposed to protective tariffs and other prohibitive measures. The Lower Austrian council of commerce was Karl's first training ground. It was not long, however, before Sinzendorf, and then Kaunitz, sent him to explore the economic policies of the major European states (1763–69) and to analyze the economic situation of all the Habsburg lands (1771–76). During these journeys, he compiled an enormous trove of analytical works, none of which has ever been published.²⁸

The details of Karl's economic education are too extensive to recount here. I should, however, like to review those elements which

are also relevant to a reappraisal of Sonnenfels's position in the governing economy of eighteenth-century Austria. Of major influence was the policy- and action-oriented, yet intimate social climate of the economic discourse that surrounded Karl at his brother's home and in the *salons* of Vienna's international court society. Then there are the texts that Ludwig himself wrote or translated, both in print and in manuscript form. Again and again, Karl took to the voluminous manuscript that Ludwig had composed in 1758 on the history of European banking under the title *Beschreibung der vornehmsten europäischen Banken*.²⁹ Furthermore, Ludwig had translated John Locke's treatise on money and interest rates, which also remained in manuscript form, under the title *Übersetzung aus dem Englischen des Locke Geld und dessen Ausmünzung und Erhöhung (sic) betr.*³⁰ In 1758 Vienna's most enterprising publisher, Johann Thomas Trattner, printed Ludwig's copiously annotated German translation of John Law's famous tract *Money and Trade Considered* (1720) under the title *Gedanken vom Gelde und von der Handlung nebst einem Vorschlage dem Geldmangel in Schottland abzuhefeln. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt*. It made no mention of either the author or translator.³¹

Karl also learned the bookkeeping and accounting method that Ludwig had imported from France and that was the mainstay of the *Hofrechnenkammer's* business of control. The bookkeeper Matthieu de la Porte's *Le Guide (La Science) des négocians et teneurs des livres* (Paris, 1685) had long been the standard handbook of this métier. It had been edited several times, most recently in 1748. Finally, in 1762, Trattner published the first German-language edition, together with a series of model instructions. It presented the double-entry bookkeeping used by merchants as a rational tool in civil-law inheritance cases, in the management of a landed property, as well as in the estates' credit operation of 1761 that Kaunitz and Ludwig had instigated and managed. There is enough evidence in the book to ascertain Ludwig's responsibility and the hand of the *Hofrechnenkammer's* chief accountant, Johann Matthias Puchberg.³²

The readings cited above were directly connected to Ludwig's special fields of banking, accounting, and controlling. Since commer-

cial experts were in great demand,³³ Kaunitz suggested that Ludwig secure a position for Karl in the Lower Austrian council of commerce, which was then being reorganized. Karl's was among several nominations that were made on 15 March 1762. Between April 26 and July 20, the council's president, Sinzendorf, assembled three of the nominees and his secretary to discuss the most controversial questions of the monarchy's industrial and commercial policies, such as the continued reliance on monopolies and privileges, the permanence of governmental intervention, and the principles of free competition.³⁴ In fact, although the council's activity was technically restricted to Lower Austria, these meetings, so-called academies, were committed to training their members to view every province as part of the monarchy as a single economic entity.

Karl's orientation now took a definite turn toward commerce. Previously, Sinzendorf had already advised him to read Forbonnais's *Éléments du commerce* (1754).³⁵ Indeed, Forbonnais emerges from Zinzendorf's diary as the most important author of Vienna's governing economy.³⁶ Kaunitz himself had a copy of the *Éléments* in his library,³⁷ and Sonnenfels labeled it "the commercial bible."³⁸ To all those who were intent on transforming the still-separate economies of the provinces into a unified national economy, or *Universal-kommerz*,³⁹ Forbonnais supplied such important concepts as interior market and competition and gave technical advice on the business of currency and foreign exchange.⁴⁰

Karl also studied those Spanish mercantilists who had tried to revive Spain's economy during the opening decades of Bourbon rule. In his *Théorie et pratique du commerce* (Spanish 1724/1742) Gerónimo de Uztáriz (1670–1732) had opposed monopolies and internal tariffs and had decried the impediments that the Catholic church had imposed on economic activities through holidays, fasting, the distribution of alms, and celibacy. It was in much the same vein that Bernardo de Ulloa (1690–1750) had composed his *Retablissement du commerce et de manufactures d'Espagne* (Spanish 1740). Indeed, Forbonnais himself had introduced Uztáriz to the French-speaking public of Europe in 1753, the same year that his cousin, Plumard de Dangeul, translated Ulloa's tract.⁴¹ The Spanish authors were very popular among the economists of Catholic Europe in general, and

among reform Catholics in particular.⁴² It was the Jansenist abbot Ignaz Müller of the Viennese monastery of St. Dorothea who had first advised Karl to read Uztáriz when he steered the lad through a long-drawn-out conversion process.⁴³ Karl himself noted that Uztáriz's book was very pleasant to read. Karl thus directly encountered the Spanish sources of Catholic reform economics, as did probably most of Vienna's leading administrators, while clerics and other laymen were acquainted with the economic critique of religious traditions by the intermediation of Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750). Although Muratori was very popular in Austria, his writings were absent from Karl's reading list.⁴⁴

But religion, particularly dissent and toleration, as topics of the economic discourse, were not confined to Catholic countries. By 1750, the question of the naturalization of foreign Protestants and of Jews had become a major political issue in Britain and caused the Anglican clergyman Joshua Tucker to expand on his economic analyses.⁴⁵ Today, Dean Tucker is considered an immediate precursor of Adam Smith. Then, he was one of the favorites of the Parisian group, and Turgot, who was fascinated by the economic implications of religion, in 1755 translated Tucker's *Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalisation of Foreign Protestants* (1751–52).⁴⁶ It took Karl three months—from 20 October 1762 to 15 January 1763—to translate Turgot's anonymous *Questions importantes sur le commerce* into German as *Einige wichtige Fragen den Handel betreffende bey Gelegenheit der Widersprüche, die die letzte Bill zu Naturalisation der Ausländer in Großbritannien erlitten, aufgeworfen durch Josiah Tucker, Rectoren des S. Steffens Collegii zu Bristol und Caplan des dasigen Bischoffs, London 1755. Aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt durch Carl Christian Heinrich Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorff und Pottendorff, Wien 1763*.⁴⁷ A conspicuous example of the international network of communication, copies of the German translation were bound and handed over to Sinzendorf and Ferdinand Count Harrach (1708–78), the president of the *Reichshofrat*, another great friend of the Zinzendorf brothers.⁴⁸ Just as Paris had served as a conduit for Tucker's ideas, it also helped to introduce David Hume with the publication of his *Discours politiques* (1752).⁴⁹ His reflections disbanding the deeply

rooted doubts about the compatibility of commerce and luxury with virtue, happiness, and freedom and spread confidence in the beneficence of economic progress.

It was during these formative years in the early sixties—much earlier than historians have assumed⁵⁰—that Karl was first exposed to the emerging physiocracy of the coterie of Madame de Pompadour's personal physician, François Quesnay (1694–1774), which now superseded the earlier ideas of Gournay. Due to his later positions in the eighties as president of the *Hofrechnungskammer* and of the tax reform commission, Karl is generally considered the herald of physiocracy in the Habsburg Monarchy. But as his education and later readings and writings show, the encounter in no way conflicted with his mercantile interests in manufacture and commerce.⁵¹ Or rather, one might define his attitude as protoliberalism. By 1761, he was captivated by Victor Riqueti Marquis Mirabeau's *L'ami des hommes* (1758). He later studied the economist Charles-Etienne Pesselier's refutation of Mirabeau's *Théorie de l'impôt* and revealed in the humanitarianism that emanated from Mirabeau's *Mémoire*, which was published in 1759 in the *Mémoires et observations recueillies par la société oeconomique de Berne*.⁵² And then there were the *Journal économique* (1751–72) and the *Gazette de commerce* (1763–1783), both prominent examples of the rising trade of economic journalism, which reproduced the disputes between the proponents of physiocracy and their adversaries.⁵³

Among all these publications, the proportion of Central European ones is small. Given the exceptional weight that is generally attributed to German and Austrian cameralism, this fact deserves closer attention. The most eminent representatives on the Austrian side were Johann Joachim Becher (1635–82), Wilhelm Schröder (1640–88), and Philipp Wilhelm Hörnigk (1640–1714).⁵⁴ They had established their science as special advisors to Leopold I and his ministers, who were still intent on accumulating a large state treasury. With their knowledge of *Polizei* (i.e., the good order, security, welfare, and peace of the commonwealth), the *Kameralisten* were expected to produce guiding principles of *Staatsklugheit* that were to serve as the exclusive catechism of the ruling elite. The rise of bureaucratic government, however, necessitated the transfer of

these *Hof- und Kanzleiwissenschaften* to the universities. This first occurred in Prussia in 1727, and other, smaller territories of the *Reich* followed. These sciences were added to the other courses that liberally surrounded the core of law studies.⁶⁵ It is significant that economic theory remained geared to the needs and possibilities of the medium-sized and small states of the empire. As Justi's case will demonstrate, there was little interest in teaching the central-state-oriented cameralist doctrine within the Habsburg Monarchy until midcentury because there was such a great variety of regional and local economies that were largely run by the provincial estates. Moreover, as Sonnenfels's experiences show, the traditional Jesuit framework of Austrian universities also militated against such an innovation until 1762–63.⁶⁶

However, Karl had become acquainted with Central European cameralism at the University of Jena in 1759. His teacher was Johann Joachim Darjes (1714–91), a councillor to the duke of Weimar, who taught him the branches of natural, international, and public law from 1757 to 1760. Darjes was an innovative thinker who criticized coercion and constraint in economic affairs and established the idea that circulating money was preferable to hoarding.⁶⁷ But, like other contemporary cameralists, Darjes did not transgress the boundaries of his small principality. Thus, none of the cameralists, neither traditional nor innovative, appear in Zinzendorf's reading list.

The only exception is Justi. He had risen to prominence with his *Staatswirtschaft oder Systematische Abhandlung aller Oekonomischen und Cameral-Wissenschaften, die zur Regierung eines Landes erforderlich werden* (1755). As a former protégé of Haugwitz, he had based this book on his Austrian experience from 1750 to 1754.⁶⁸ But this treatise does not appear to have been held in high esteem by the men around Kaunitz, especially the economic administrators of Ludwig's intellectual standing and international horizon. Instead, Ludwig recommended only Justi's latest treatise on manufacturing, *Vollständige Abhandlung von denen Manufacturen und Fabriken* (1758–61). It served as a preparation for Karl's visits to the workshops of Vienna.⁶⁹ But Justi's prolific pen had more to offer. His *Vergleichungen der europäischen mit den asiatischen und*

andern vermeintlich barbarischen Regierungen (1762) effected a comparison between Asiatic and European governments.⁶⁰ This political typology was fascinating since Montesquieu had introduced it to the reading public. Karl also read Justi's tract on the usefulness of the German language, which the Zinzendorfs, as translators, and like-minded men in Vienna considered most appropriate. Justi was the first to introduce this subject in Vienna when he delivered his inaugural lecture as professor of rhetorics at the *Theresianum* in 1750.⁶¹

Much more to the liking of Vienna's governing economists was the two-volume treatise *Institutions politiques* by Jakob Friedrich Bielfeld (1717–70). Of commercial origins, Bielfeld combined diplomatic experience in Hanover and London with a scholarly bent when he became tutor to Frederick II's brother Ferdinand.⁶² Written in French and untinged by German academic pedantry, the *Institutions* gave a sensible survey of the latest Western European discussions not only on economy but also on politics, society, and religion, including Montesquieu, Melon, and Forbonnais. The proposals therein were supported by broad evidence taken from history and contemporary affairs. Suffice it to say that Ludwig advised his brother to read Bielfeld the very day after his arrival in Vienna on 8 February 1761; two years later, Bielfeld was also recommended to Archduke Leopold, who assiduously made long extracts from the French original.⁶³

For members of the ruling elite, such as Zinzendorf, manuscripts were of equal importance for the shaping of a theoretical mind. Karl read most of the state papers that Ludwig composed, and he had easy access to other key economic texts that emerged from governmental activities, past and present. Karl's diary gives ample evidence that a host of manuscripts circulated among the ruling elite of Vienna.⁶⁴

In this context, it is of far-reaching importance that Karl studied the detailed descriptions of all the Habsburg provinces that had been originally composed in 1759–60 for the express purpose of Joseph's education.⁶⁵ Such a work had never been compiled before, whether for governmental or academic purposes, because such knowledge had been considered the reserve of the provinces' estates

and of the respective court ministers. Hardly an administrator—or even the emperor himself—possessed an overview.⁶⁶ Things changed with Haugwitz's administrative unification of the Bohemian and Austrian lands. The crown prince was the first to profit from such an endeavor. This is not the place to correct the wrong impression that has been given of Joseph's education.⁶⁷ But one must stress the fact that these so-called *Verfassungen* had been compiled under the supervision of Johann Christoph Bartenstein (1689–1767), who was state secretary until 1753 and afterwards vice president of Haugwitz's *Directorium*. Maria Theresa often requested his advice on economic, particularly commercial questions. It is also important to note that the *Constitutions*, as they were termed in Karl's diary, were patterned after the intendants' reports on the French provinces. Originally collected for the education of the duke of Burgundy in 1697, the reports had been published in 1727 and 1728 in Henry de Boulainvilliers's (1658–1722) version under the title *État de la France*. Since 1758 Karl had been familiar with a similar approach, called *Statistik*. Combining geographic, demographic, economic, political, and social perspectives, it had been developed at the University of Göttingen. At Jena, Gottfried Achenwall's (1718–72) *Staatsverfassungen der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Reiche*, first published in 1749, was Karl's textbook.⁶⁸ It is also important to note that the *Verfassungen* contain full assessments of the economic situation of each province. As translating was considered an excellent mental training, Karl had rendered the Latin text on Transylvania into German in his *Kurzgefaßte Nachricht von dem Fürstenthum Siebenbürgen und denen demselben einverleibten Stücken des Königreichs Ungarn, 1760, aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt 1763 durch C.G.U.H.V.Z.V.P.*⁶⁹

Karl thus shared with Joseph II, who was two years younger, a compact, empirical view of the provinces. It was a highly innovative *Herrschaftswissen* that was to be restricted to the top levels of decision making and administration, never to be divulged in print to commoners and foreigners. The veil of secrecy continued to surround this empirical description, especially if the Prussian enemy was to be prevented from taking advantage of it. As we shall see, the research endeavors of both Justi and Sonnenfels were crippled by

this grave restriction. Of more immediate concern to Zinzendorf, and equally indicative of the government's precaution, is the case of the *Anmerkungen über die natürliche Beschaffenheit deren k.k. Erbländer und derselben bequeme Lage nicht allein zu ihrem eigenen inländischen Commercio, sondern auch den Kaufhandel in andere Reiche und Länder zu treiben* (Augsburg, 1763).⁷⁰ The book was banned in 1763, when peace already had been concluded at Hubertusburg. The *Hofkommerzienrat*, the board above the Lower Austrian council, did not consider it appropriate to reveal to the public either the economic resources and future economic opportunities or the deficiencies of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁷¹ Zinzendorf regretted the ban. If also Sonnenfels judged the *Anmerkungen* to be "inapplicable, dreamlike designs," it was probably because he had just submitted his own *Probeschrift* to the economic authorities for approbation.⁷²

In light of Zinzendorf's training and background, Justi's brief stay in Vienna (1750–54) and Sonnenfels's hasty training as an economist (1762–68) deserve a reappraisal. It was Haugwitz who summoned Justi in 1750, first to teach a reformed German language as an efficient instrument of administrative communication, then to hold private and public courses in *Kameral- und Polizeywissenschaften* at the *Theresianum*. Founded in 1746 for the training of administrators and run by a group of reform-minded Jesuits, this academy was open for such an innovation, while the university, entangled in conventional Jesuit and corporate structures, was not yet ready. As was customary, the cameralist was also employed by Haugwitz in the mining department of the *Directorium*. Justi also experimented, albeit unsuccessfully, in a silver mine of the Lower Austrian Alps.⁷³ In the absence of a competent academic body, the plan of the public course was approved by the councillors of Haugwitz's *Directorium*. Because Justi soon left Vienna, the plan was published in Leipzig in 1754 under the title *Auf höchsten Befehl an Seiner Römischen Keyserlichen und zu Ungarn und Böhmen Königlichen Mayestät erstattetes allerunterthänigstes Gutachten von dem vernünftigen Zusammenhange und practischen Vortrage aller oeconomischen und Cameralwissenschaften, wobey zugleich zur Probe die Grundsätze*

der Polizeywissenschaft mit denen darzu gehörigen practischen Arbeiten vorgetragen werden, benebst einer Antrittsrede von dem Zusammenhange eines blühenden Zustandes der Wissenschaften mit denjenigen Mitteln, welche einen Staat mächtig und glücklich machen. Rumor has it that Justi declined to convert to Catholicism.⁷⁴ It seems more likely that a combination of several circumstances induced Haugwitz, himself a convert, to withdraw his protection, and therefore caused Justi to leave.

A major reason for Justi's departure was the inhibitions imposed upon his teaching, which had hardly begun. Justi intended to extend it from theoretical to practical courses—as was customary at the law faculties of Protestant universities—thus combining theory and practice, teaching and research.⁷⁵ For this purpose, Justi requested access to registrars' offices and archives and proposed to interview ministers and councillors. The *Directorium* and the *Hofkommerzienrat* reacted negatively.⁷⁶ They considered the available economic data and the whole process of policy and decision making, particularly in regard to taxation, a matter too important to be communicated to an outsider or to be divulged to students and to the public. One must take into consideration that Justi was still a forerunner and a Protestant, not yet subject to the empress, and had even served in the Prussian army (1742–44).

From abroad, Justi carried his case to the public and in 1754 published the request for access to registrars' offices and archives that he had submitted to the Austrian authorities in 1752. When Sonnenfels in 1765 sent a petition to Maria Theresa for the same purpose, he cited Justi's earlier plea.⁷⁷ With no prospect of gaining insight into the government's everyday practices, Justi left Vienna. Thus failed Haugwitz's attempt to institutionalize the teaching of *Kameral- und Polizeywissenschaften* in Vienna. The *Staatswirtschaft*, Justi's first great work of 1755, was based on his Austrian experience. He dedicated it to Maria Theresa.

In turning to Sonnenfels, we bridge a gap of eight years, from 1754 to 1762. It was most likely in the newly founded *Staatsrat* that the general lack of education and public communication in economic affairs caused alarm. Borié, one of its members, approached Son-

nenfels in 1762 to publish an economic journal in German. It was to be patterned after the *Journal de commerce*, which, as we have already seen, had been published in Austrian-ruled Brussels since 1759. It was Borié who, at the same time, proposed the teaching of *Polizey- und Kameralwissenschaften* at the university.⁷⁸ Having undergone far-reaching changes in the fifties, the University of Vienna could now serve as an efficient instrument for reform.⁷⁹ The shift from the noble-dominated *Theresianum* to the more broadly based university was to meet the dire need for a distribution of such knowledge to a wider and socially lower segment of the bureaucracy, especially the new generation of provincial *Kreishauptleute*.

Again, as with the Zinzendorfs and Justi, language played an important role. Having worked at his father's side in translating Hebrew into German, Sonnenfels was enthusiastic about the German language. This enthusiasm was shared by many a secretary, civil servant, military officer, and minister, including Kaunitz and Karl Zinzendorf,⁸⁰ as well as by ordinary citizens. When Borié sought Sonnenfels out, he was the most active member of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, which had just been founded in Vienna for promoting German as a literary language. In addition to his language skills, Sonnenfels had acquired some aptitude in economics when briefly working as an accountant to the imperial horse guard.

Three aspects of Sonnenfels's preparation as an economist deserve our attention. First is the importance of German in teaching the new sciences dealing with economy, politics, and society. Although Latin remained the language of instruction at the university until 1782, the new sciences were propagated all over Europe in the national languages, be it in the original or in translation.⁸¹ Therefore, foreign terms had to be translated and by explanation and adaptation made intelligible to the German public.⁸² In Vienna, even the contemporary German cameralist literature and German translations from foreign languages had to be adapted, since the vocabulary did not quite fit the situations existing in the various provinces of the monarchy. Fortunately, Justi's *Staatswirtschaft* was an exception, since it had been based on his Austrian experiences. Sonnenfels was, therefore, able to adopt it as his model. On the whole, however, the teaching of *Polizey- und Kameralwissenschaften* in

German must have seemed a great challenge to a man who had originally aspired to obtain the new chair in German rhetorics at the university. Moreover, the prospect of starting an economic journal held forth the promise of yet another career, in the budding business of publishing.

In November 1762, Sonnenfels submitted a detailed financial plan for his economic journal. There are several likely explanations why the project was stillborn. Teaching and handbook writing probably consumed too much of his time and energy. He was also handicapped by a dearth of empirical contributions. Indeed, there were as yet only a few economic societies to promote such publications, and those that did exist were still in their infancy. Most of these had been established by members of various provincial diets, which still wielded enormous influence in economic matters. In 1764, the first economic society was founded by the estates of Carinthia.⁸⁵ In March 1765, Maria Theresa ordered the estates of the other provinces to follow its example. Her directive was apparently inspired by the recommendation of the council of commerce, following its commentary on the report that Karl Zinzendorf had brought back from his journey through Saxony.⁸⁶ For Sonnenfels's plans, however, there was a considerable drawback, as the estates stressed agriculture over commerce. In Vienna the preconditions for commercial societies were palpably less favorable. There was no attempt made among Vienna's merchants to found a commercial society.

Lack of information was, therefore, a severe obstacle to Sonnenfels's journalistic enterprise. His 1765 *Versuche in politischen und ökonomischen Ausarbeitungen zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was short-lived. It consisted of only one volume, which contained three articles.⁸⁷ But Sonnenfels did, by his own efforts, considerably widen the circle of economic communication. Besides writing textbooks, he had his students defend and publish theses in German, many of them translations of foreign tracts or extracts.⁸⁸ In addition, he held an annual lecture to open his course at the university. Though this was an academic tradition, it was a novelty insofar as it was given in German and was open to the general public. Justi already had made use of this institution to introduce himself and the new sciences.⁸⁹ Like Justi, Sonnenfels published these lectures.⁹⁰

Besides using his linguistic skills and journalistic talents, Sonnenfels had to acquaint himself with a complicated network of theories. Keith Tribe has raised "doubts as to the solidity of Sonnenfels' [course] proposal . . . and of his grasp of the material."⁸⁶ Indeed, the span of time was very short from the day that Sonnenfels was recruited to his petition to the empress (November 1762), to his submission of a model chapter of his future course to the *Studienhofkommission*, the *Hofkammer*, and the *Hofkommerzienrat* (June 1763), to his first university lecture (November 1763), and, finally, to the publication of the first volume of his trilogy under the title *Sätze aus der Polizei, Handlungs- und Finanzwissenschaft* (1765). It contained only *Polizei*.

Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that it was not Sonnenfels himself who selected the sources but rather Borie and other men whom he consulted. From Zinzendorf's diary, we know that Sonnenfels paid a visit to Philipp Sinzendorf on 17 November 1762. We also know that his model chapter was patterned after Justi and that, when the experienced *Hofkanzlei* and *Hofkommerzienrat* councillor Karl Holler von Doblhof reviewed it, he praised the stylistic qualities and the purity of the sources—and commented that it contained nothing new.⁸⁹ This was the opinion among Vienna's governing economists. It is indicative that Zinzendorf's entry of 17 November 1762 is the only one concerning Sonnenfels among years of meticulous notes and other writings.⁹⁰ In his June 1763 petition to the empress, Sonnenfels confessed that his knowledge would become more perfect in the future as he applied his zeal to the preparation of his lectures. Indeed, his plan for the economic journal included the exorbitant annual sum of fl. 2,000—3,500 for purchasing books. In 1766, in his fourth year of teaching, he received fl. 800 for that express purpose from the empress, together with an extra fl. 800 from the *Staatsrat*.⁹¹

It is, therefore, evident that Sonnenfels's theoretical framework was grounded in the same discursive structures that had already been articulated by Kaunitz and the *Staatsrat*, the Zinzendorfs, Sinzendorf, and other architects of Vienna's governing economy. It is striking that most of the authors whom Karl Zinzendorf studied during his formative years in Vienna reappear in

Sonnenfels's commentaries, in his book list, and in the theses of his students. The list includes Locke, Law, Melon, Montesquieu, Uztáriz, Ulloa, Forbunnais, Dangeul, and Hume.⁹² Sonnenfels's task as a teacher, therefore, was to retrieve the economic discourse on commerce, national credit, population, society, and culture that had germinated in Western Europe's nation-states and to adapt it to the conditions in the Habsburg Monarchy.

In this respect, France occupied a prominent place in this transfer, for contemporaries perceived a striking resemblance between the two states, at least as far as sheer size of territory and population and form of government were concerned.⁹³ By contrast, Sonnenfels dismissed the contemporary German cameralists Simon Peter Gasser, Julius Christoph von Dithmar, Johann Jakob Moser, Johann Joachim Georg Darjes, and Georg Heinrich Zincke as "superficial," at least in matters of *Polizei*.⁹⁴ Indeed, their principles were geared to the small- and medium-sized territories of the *Reich* and, as such, were not adequate to cope with the acute problems arising in Central Europe's largest town, Vienna, or in the monarchy's vast and highly diverse rural areas. Furthermore, the German cameralists operated within the cultural matrix of the Protestant churches and were not familiar with Catholicism, the predominant denomination in the Habsburg Monarchy. This is probably the reason why Sonnenfels would have preferred the *Institutions politiques* as a textbook model, for Bielfeld's horizon was not parochial but rather oriented toward France and England. In addition, as Sonnenfels stated, the German cameralists only briefly dealt with commerce, and then solely in the traditional context of foreign trade. They did not discuss how to establish an interior market, whereas Forbunnais and the Western European authors visualized economies that were geared to large territories and the colonial expanses of the Western European nation-states.⁹⁵ Therefore, with the single exception of Justi, the contemporary German cameralists are absent from Zinzendorf's training as an economist.

Thus, the Zinzendorfs and Sonnenfels built upon the same theoretical grounds. Their paths diverged, however, as soon as practical

training, actual experience, journeying, and personal contacts with merchants, manufacturers, and bankers at home and abroad were concerned.⁹⁶ Sonnenfels was aware of the problem. In the plan for his economic journal of 1762, he stipulated that he required insight into the "inner manipulation" of the *Kommerzienrat* and the personal assistance of a copyist. In 1765, after two years as a university professor and the completion of his volume on *Polizei*, he submitted a request for access to the registrar's office and to the archives for the unrestricted use of official papers. He cited Justi's plea of 1752.⁹⁷ Again, Karl Holler von Doblhof formulated the negative vote, which contained practically the same arguments raised against Justi.⁹⁸ Doblhof agreed to grant Sonnenfels access, but he would not allow him to take the papers out of the office. Since Sonnenfels had no assistants, he was apparently too overloaded with work to profit immediately from the *Kommerzienrat*'s offer. In 1767, however, he repeated his request before issuing the volume on commerce.⁹⁹ This time the secretaries and registrars were ordered to cooperate with him. They were directed to mark all theoretical sentences that were in accordance with already existing practices and institutions. Sonnenfels finally had the explicit consent to lay open deficiencies and to propose reforms that had originally been intended by all those in the *Staatsrat* who supported him.¹⁰⁰ For this purpose, Sonnenfels formulated a questionnaire to be answered by the staff of the *Kommerzienrat*. It was previously approved by the councillors in their session of 26 November 1767.¹⁰¹ But on 23 July 1768, the main registrar, speaking for his colleagues, who were bogged down in routine work, declined to approve the professor's demands.¹⁰² Indeed, the extensive subjects in Sonnenfels's questionnaire would have mustered the experience, diligence, and entire work force of a dozen secretaries and registrars for several years.

What in Vienna was conceived of as a one-man enterprise was in Western Europe the object of a broad discourse that was oral and written, private and public. In Paris and in London, the economic discourse was backed up by proper experience and practice in government and in enterprise and sustained by national languages that already had mastered all the technical vocabulary and necessary

ter was closely interrelated, if not identical. Yet the political and cultural institutions in which they operated were distinct, and their social milieus and appearance in the emerging public sphere differed significantly.

The first stage opened with Austria's survival as a European power in 1748 and the general intensification of international competition in the brief span of peace until 1756. As ambassador to France in the early fifties, Kaunitz was most zealous to receive firsthand information on the latest economic discourse that had been generated about the state debt, national credit, strength, and wealth of the rivals France and Great Britain. Insight into economic developments in Europe and overseas had long become prerequisites of foreign-policy decision making. In his Parisian retinue, we therefore find the multilingual Ludwig Count Zinzendorf, already an expert on financial and commercial matters at home and abroad. Upon his return to Vienna, Zinzendorf was to become the leading financial mind of Vienna's bureaucracy. He was active in translating and publishing the most important tracts in the German language. Together with Kaunitz, he therefore must have harbored the notion of economy as a proper field of study and subject of discourse not only in the councils of state and in the estates' assemblies but also in the wider public, as it existed in Western Europe. Ludwig Zinzendorf, a nobleman and member of the high bureaucracy, did not, however, unveil his identity as author or translator. Nor did his brother Karl, an equally hardworking man and prolific writer, leave his elevated station. A public economic discourse did not ensue; the main notions of modern economy remained restricted to Vienna's governing elite.

At the same time, in the early fifties, Haugwitz, as head of the *Directorium in publicis et cameratibus* (i.e., internal administration and taxation, public safety, social welfare, education, church matters, mining, and commerce), also attempted to promote the study of economy. He chose to implant modern economic thought at the *Theresianum*, a recently founded school for training civil servants of noble descent. For this purpose, he recruited a Protestant foreigner, Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi, and, as was customary, Haugwitz also used his practical skills in one of the offices that dealt with

stylistic means. Considering Sonnenfels's starting position in Vienna, his achievements in economic theory and communication were respectable.

Similarly, Sonnenfels's endeavors to travel to Interior Austria and to the shore of the Adriatic came to naught already in 1765.¹⁰³ He himself had no private means to finance such an undertaking of six months' duration. Since he wanted to travel in his capacity as public professor, he needed a travel permit and the official recommendation for visits of all sorts. The *Staatsrat's* support did not overrule the negative vote of the *Hofkammerzienrat*, which was the decisive body.¹⁰⁴ Again it was Doblhof who expressed the profound distrust that economic administrators harbored against Sonnenfels, the academic and writer. First, he contended, there was Sonnenfels's zeal for publishing, and then the low standing of his economic experience and knowledge: "The applicant still has little comprehension of the nature and wide scope of the practical cameral and commercial sciences." How could he ever in such a short time acquaint himself with the provinces and learn about the great differences that existed among them?

Sonnenfels was never given an opportunity for practical work or investigative travel. In economic matters, he had few connections and no correspondence at home or abroad. By contrast, Zinzendorf met in Paris and in London with the prominent authors whose books he had read previously, including Forbonnais, Mirabeau, Turgot, Plumard de Dangeul, Hume, Galiani, and Helvétius. He collected information from merchants, financiers, and other economic experts all over Europe and visited the great ports and commercial centers where goods were produced and sold.¹⁰⁵ It has escaped historians, except Karl-Heinz Osterloh,¹⁰⁶ that Sonnenfels never occupied a seat on an economic board. Therefore, he could hardly ever have exerted direct influence on the shaping of economic policies in the Habsburg Monarchy.

From this investigation thus emerge two distinct stages and different modes and functions of economic theory in the Habsburg Monarchy during the decisive phase of modernization between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. The subject mat-

primary resources. Justi's first commission, however, was to contribute actively to the reform and teaching of the German language in Vienna. This is a clear indication that it was also Haugwitz's intention to establish a forum for public economic discourse. Yet the scope was limited, and the experiment failed. The science that Justi conceived was grounded in large-scale empirical investigation and local case studies. But this kind of information was considered top secret in view of the international competition and therefore was not made available to him. As a foreign Protestant and former Prussian soldier, he did not carry the necessary badge of loyalty.

The second stage opened during the closing phase of the Seven Years' War in an atmosphere of high economic tension and exertion. The dissemination of economic knowledge to a wider public by way of German-language journals and other publications had become as imperative as the teaching of economics to the broad mass of law students who were to serve in the local and provincial administrations after the war. Joseph von Sonnenfels, who had already established a reputation as a writer and, in addition, possessed some accounting experience, was chosen for this new task. He was a beginner in the field. Notions of the latest economic discourse were transmitted to him by the high financial and commercial bureaucracy. His main task was to adapt and codify the international economic knowledge for teaching purposes, not to investigate and research. Though Catholic and an Austrian subject, Sonnenfels's enterprise experienced the same limits as Justi's experiment.

Economic thought in this decisive phase of the Habsburg Monarchy's modernization thus was channeled into two distinct institutions and milieus. One was the high aristocratic bureaucracy, Vienna's governing economy properly speaking. Keen on foreign publications, its members could investigate freely and thus possessed a vast treasure of firsthand information. They wrote prolifically, yet it was for official or personal use only and not destined for the public. The other institution was the university, which later, and on a lower level of discourse, entered the scene to educate regional and local administrators. Slowly, through Sonnenfels's efforts as author and teacher, the techniques of economic analysis and argumentation were imparted to the growing public.

It will be a fascinating task to examine how the numbers of economic publications steadily rose in the seventies and what their subject matter was, until the eighties witnessed a veritable outburst of economic tracts with the lifting of censorship.

Notes

For stylistic improvements, I am greatly indebted to Prof. Charles W. Ingrao.

1. See my "Revisions of Enlightened Absolutism: The Austrian Monarchy Is like No Other," *Historical Journal* 33 (1990): 161–62; Günter Birtsch, "Der Idealtyp des aufgeklärten Herrschers: Friedrich der Große, Karl Friedrich von Baden und Joseph II. im Vergleich," *Aufklärung* 2 (1987): 9–47; Leonard Krieger, *An Essay on the Theory of Enlightened Despotism* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
2. Robert A. Kann, *Kanzel und Katheder: Studien zur österreichischen Geistesgeschichte vom Spätbarock zur Frühromantik* (Vienna: Herder, 1962), 156; Helen Liebel-Weckowicz, "Physiocrat Economics and the Economic Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II" (revised typescript), n. 15; Terence Hutchison, *Before Adam Smith: The Emergence of Political Economy 1662–1776* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 252.
3. See Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 90.
4. Louis Réau, *L'Europe française au siècle des Lumières* (1938; reprint, Paris: Edition Albin Michel, 1971); Hans Wagner, "Der Höhepunkt des französischen Kultureinflusses in Österreich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 5 (1961): 507–16.
5. Siegfried Jüttner and Jochen Schlobach, eds., *Europäische Aufklärungen-Einheit und nationale Vielfalt* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1992).
6. See Kenneth E. Carpenter, *Dialogue in Political Economy: Translations from and into German in the 18th Century* (Boston: Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1977); John Reeder, "Economía e ilustración en España: Traducciones y traductores 1717–1800," *Monedas y crédito* 147 (1978): 47–70; Wilhelm Graeber and Geneviève Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung: Eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988) concentrates on *belles lettres*.
7. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Vienna, Nachlaß Karl Graf Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf's diary has been used extensively for this essay. Christine Lebeau's important dissertation, submitted to the Sorbonne, Paris, in November 1991, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf, administrateurs des finances: Aristocratie et pouvoir dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg, 1748–1791," has been available to me only since June 1992. While I am in general accordance with Lebeau's findings, I do underscore subjects and themes that Lebeau overlooked or neglected. The first to

discover the diary's politicoeconomic value were Elisabeth Rainer, "Karl von Zinzendorf und das Eisenwesen in Innerösterreich," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 13 (1960): 258–330; and Helen Liebel-Weckowicz, "Count Karl Zinzendorf and the Liberal Revolt against Joseph II's Economic Reforms 1783–1790," in *Sozialgeschichte Heute: Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), 69–85; idem, "Physiocrat Economics and the Economic Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II"; and idem, "Modernisierungsmotive in der Freihandelspolitik Maria Theresias," in *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, ed. Walter Koschatzky (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1980), 153–58.

8. Jerom Vercruyssse, "Journal de commerce," *Dictionnaire des journaux*, 1600–1789, ed. Jean Sgard (Paris: Universitas, 1991), 2, no. 643.

9. P. G. M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresa 1740–1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 2:36–79, 114–56.

10. On Montesquieu's theory of the relationship between a state's internal and external forces, see my article "Jede Macht ist relativ: Montesquieu und die Habsburger Monarchie," *Festschrift Othmar Pickl*, ed. Herwig Ebner et al. (Graz: Verlag Leykam, 1987), 307–24. On Kaunitz, see Franz A. Szabó, "Haugwitz, Kaunitz and the Problem of Absolutism" (typescript), 19 (we are looking forward to the publication of his Ph.D. thesis on Kaunitz [University of Alberta, 1976]); Harm Kluebing, *Die Lehre von der Macht der Staaten: Das außenpolitische Machtproblem in der politischen Wissenschaft und in der praktischen Politik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1986), 167–235. For the influence of Montesquieu on Kaunitz, which Kluebing ignores, see my review in *English Historical Review* 20 (1988): 134–38.

11. Carl Hock and Hermann Ignaz Bidermann, *Der österreichische Staatsrat 1760–1848* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879).

12. Cited by Derek Beales, *Joseph II in the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 106–9.

13. Dickson, *Finance and Government*, 2:82; Gaston von Petteggy, ed., *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf, Minister unter Maria Theresia, Josef II., Leopold II. und Franz I.: Ihre Selbstbiographien* (hereafter cited as *Zinzendorf*) (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879), 83–89.

14. Kaunitz's early career needs a reassessment; William J. McGill, "The Political Education of Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rittberg" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1961) is disappointing in this respect.

15. Georges Weulersse, *Le mouvement physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1910), 23–42; Hutchison, *Before Adam Smith*, part 4; Antoine Murphy, "Le développement des idées économiques en France, 1750–1756," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 33 (1986): 521–41; Thomas E. Kaiser, "Money, Despotism, and Public Opinion in Early Eighteenth Century France: John Law and the Debate of Royal Credit," *Journal of Modern History* 63 (1991): 1–28. Christine Lebeau has drawn my attention to Simone Meyssonier, *La balance et l'horloge: La genèse de la pensée libérale en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Montreuil: Les Éditions de la

Passion, 1989), but it was not available to me in time, as well as Jean-Claude Perrot, *Une histoire intellectuelle de l'économie politique, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1992).

16. Petteggy, *Zinzendorf*, 58–59. In this context, the French translations of English political tracts in the HHSa, Staatskanzlei, England Varia, Karton 11, deserve further attention.

17. As the example of the Milanese chief minister, Karl Count Firmian (1756–82) demonstrates, the imperial envoy to London, Ignaz von Wasener, was an influential source of such early Anglophilia. See Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, "Überlegungen zu einer Karriere im Dienst Maria Theresias: Karl Graf Firmian, 1716–1782," in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, ed. Richard Plaschka et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 2:547–56.

18. Hilde Haider-Pregler, *Des sittlichen Bürgers Abendschule: Bildungsan-spruch und Bildungsauftrag des Berufsheaters im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 269–350. See Kaunitz's study program at Leipzig in my *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz: Studien zur Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Wenzel Anton Kaunitz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975); and Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 178–80.

19. Petteggy, *Zinzendorf*, 59; HHSa, Nachlaß Zinzendorf, vol. 105, 26 September 1750. See Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 308–19, and the reprint of *Essai sur l'établissement* in appendix 8, 534–40.

20. See my article "Kommerz und Außenpolitik: Habsburgische Kommerzreisen im Vorfeld der Diplomatischen Revolution, 1756," in *Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen den Österreichischen Niederlanden und den Österreichischen Erblanden im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Othmar Pickl (Graz: Selbstverlag der Abteilung für Wirtschaftsforschung und Sozialgeschichte des Instituts für Geschichte, 1991), 55–71.

21. HHSa, Staatskanzlei, Spanien Varia, Karton 55; Frankreich Varia, Karton 22, Kaunitz to Koch, Paris, 10 October 1752.

22. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 14.302, anonymous, carries the *ex libris* of Karl Zinzendorf.

23. Dickson, *Finance and Government*, 2:156–84; Guy Chausinand-Nogaret, *Gens de finance au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Bordas, 1972), 57–66; Rohan Butler, *Choiseul: Father and Son 1719–1754* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980). Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 320, relies mainly on the brief remarks by Marmontel and the marquis d'Argenson.

24. Petteggy, *Zinzendorf*, 62.

25. Cf. note 15 above for the following.

26. See Lebeau's chapter on Karl's education. A selection of Karl's diary, 1747–62, is being prepared for publication by Maria Breunlich and Marie-Louise Mader under the auspices of the *Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs*, Vienna.

27. Little is known about Zinzendorf. Cf. Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1877), 35:20; Karl Pribram, *Geschichte der österreichischen Gewerbe-politik von 1740 bis 1860* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1907), 1:32, 34, 101. In

1764 Sinzendorf served as a councillor to the *Intendenza* in Trieste and in 1760 as councillor to the Lower Austrian council of commerce, cf. *Kaiserlich und Königlich, wie auch Erz-Herzoglicher, dero Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien Staats- und Standes-Calendar, auf das Gnaden-reiche Jahr Jesu Christi 1754. Mit einem Schematismo gezieret* (Wien: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1754 and 1760).

28. The *Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs*, Vienna, has commissioned an international group, including myself, Christine Lebeau (Paris), Antonio Trampus (Trieste), Helmut Waclawik (Geneva), Eva Faber, Elisabeth Fattinger, and Erwin Reisinger (all Graz), with the edition of the most important journals, and of Karl von Zinzendorf's activity as governor of Trieste, 1776 to 1782. The reports were first requested by Sinzendorf, and then by Kaunitz, and submitted to Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The diaries, the memoranda, and the documentary material are in HHStA, Nachlaß Zinzendorf. His vast correspondence and further biographical material are in the Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Vienna.

29. Diary, 9 September 1761 and 21, 22 November 1761; Nachlaß Zinzendorf, vol. 103 (vol. 104 is identical). See Pettegny, *Zinzendorf*, 72; and Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 324-29.

30. Diary, 6 November 1762; Nachlaß Zinzendorf, vol. 93, which is currently missing. See Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 309.

31. Diary, 8 February 1761. This translation is listed in Carpenter, *Dialogue in Political Economy*, 29, but the translator is not identified. Nor could Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 305, trace the printed version, as the manuscript in Nachlaß Zinzendorf, vol. 106, is missing.

32. Diary, 16, 20, 26, 27, 29, 30 January and 4-6, 11 February 1762; Pettegny, *Zinzendorf*, 59; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 48.E.13, *Einleitung zur doppelten Buchhaltung. Erster Teil. Wissenschaft der Kaufleute und Buchhalter. Aus dem Französischen des Herrn de la Porte übersetzt* (Vienna: Johann Thomas Trattner, 1762); 48.E.13, *Einleitung zur doppelten Buchhaltung. Zweyter Teil. Enthaltend eine Erbschaftsabtheilung, eine Wirtschaftsrechnung und eine Finanzoperation* (Vienna: Trattner, 1762). The *Erbschaftsabtheilung* was a German translation from the Genevan tract by Pierre Girardeau, with examples drawn from the year 1745. The *Finanzoperation der Stände*, 43, gives the amount that Ludwig Zinzendorf himself received for his translation of relevant legal texts into French, Italian, and Latin; 48.G.42, *Einleitung zu einem verbesserten Cameral-Rechnungs-Fuße auf die Verwaltung einer Herrschaft angewandt* (Vienna: Trattner, 1762). Ludwig himself had first applied the new method to the administration of his own estates; see Dickson, *Finance and Government*, 2:82-83. The *Einleitung zur doppelten Buchhaltung* was also in Kaunitz's library, Slavkov (Austerlitz), catalog no. 667.

33. Christian d'Elvert, *Zur österreichischen Verwaltungs-Geschichte unter besonderer Rücksicht auf die böhmischen Länder* (1880; reprint, Vienna: Geyer, 1970), 419. Příbram, *Gewerbepolitik*, 15; Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 197.

34. Diary, 15 March 1762. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 50. Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," chap. 6.

35. Diary, 21 November 1761.

36. Forbonnais has a remarkable lead in Lebeau's statistics of Karl's economic reading; see "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," appendix 11.

37. Slavkov (Austerlitz), catalog no. 629; Leyden, 1776.

38. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, Sonnenfels to Studienhofkommission, n.d., probably August 1762.

39. The term, already used before 1750, was apparently derived from France; see my article "Kommerz und Außenpolitik."

40. See Louise Sommer, *Die österreichischen Kameralisten in dogmengeschichtlicher Darstellung* (1920-25; reprint, Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967), 364-69; Joseph J. Spengler, *Economie et population: Les doctrines françaises avant 1800: De Budé à Condorcet* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), 251-62; Zinzendorf diary, 11, 12 December 1761, 9 January 1762, 15, 16 January, 16, 17, 19, 22 February, 3, 8, 18, 28 March 1763, and 9, 15, 16 January 1764; Hutchison, *Before Adam Smith*, 225-27; Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 213-14.

41. The translations are listed in Hildegard Kremers, "Quellenkritische Analyse des ökonomischen Denkens von Joseph von Sonnenfels: Vermittlung und Anpassung" (Ph.D. diss., University of Graz, 1983), 120-57. Forbonnais's translation of Uztáriz (Paris, 1753) was dedicated to the controller general of finances Machault; a copy is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 37.E.26. Cf. Alexander Wirminghaus, *Zwei spanische Merkantilisten: Gerónimo de Uztáriz und Bernardo de Ulloa: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nationalökonomie* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1886).

42. Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore: Da Muratori à Beccaria* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1969), 571-75.

43. Diary, 26, 28, 29 March and 1, 7 April 1762; Peter Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), 125-34.

44. On the popularity of Muratori and the translations of his books into German (1758, 1761), see my *Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1970); and Eleonore Zlabinger, *Ludovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich* (Innsbruck: Österreichische Kommissionbuchhandlung, 1970). Muratori's *Della pubblica felicità* (Lucca/Venice, 1749) is apparently identical with the brief title *Felicità pubblica*, mentioned in diary, 14, 15 March 1777, a French translation having been published in Lyon in 1772.

45. George Shelton, *Dean Tucker and Eighteenth-Century Economic and Political Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 70-87; Hutchison, *Before Adam Smith*, 228-47.

46. Weulersse, *Mouvement*, 28, 36; Murphy, *Développement*, 523, 535.

47. Nachlaß, vol. 124. Lebeau briefly mentions it, attributing the translation to 1766; see "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 212n.56.

48. Diary, 30 January and 23 March 1763.
49. Diary, 20, 25, 27 March 1763. Hume's *Essays philosophiques* was subject to group reading in a small society. On luxury and commerce, see diary, 9, 10 July 1763. See Peter Kopf, *David Hume: Philosoph und Wirtschaftstheoretiker, 1711-1776* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1987); and Richard Brandt and Heiner Klemme, *David Hume in Deutschland: Literatur zur Hume-Rezeption in Marburger Bibliotheken* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 1989).
50. Adam Wandruszka gives the date 1767, as does Liebel; Wandruszka, *Leopold II.* (Vienna: Verlag Herder, 1964), 1:263; Liebel-Weckowicz, "Count Karl Zinzendorf," 70.
51. Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 397-400, 417-18, 429-36, and appendix 11, is very explicit on this fact.
52. Diary, 13, 16, 19 October, 19, 21 November 1761, 18 March 1762, and 10 April 1763.
53. Diary, 23 April, 14-16, 25 May, and 8 June 1763; Weulersse, *Mouvement*, 94; this is also covered in greater detail by Kremers, *Quellenkritische Analyse*, 63-70; and *Dictionnaire des journaux*, nos. 555, 729.
54. For an introduction, see Erhard Dittrich, *Die deutschen und österreichischen Kameralisten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974).
55. See Tribe, *Governing Economy*, 35-55.
56. See my "Der Fall Buresch oder Über die Anfänge der Polizey- und Kameralwissenschaften in Graz," in *Siedlung, Macht und Wirtschaft: Festschrift Fritz Posch*, ed. Gerhard Pferschy (Graz: Merkur, 1981), 397-410.
57. Here I follow Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 169-72.
58. For valuable material on Justi's position in Vienna, see Haider-Pregler, *Abendschule*, 466-68. Justi deserves a fundamental reappraisal, especially his activities in Vienna. For the foreign-policy implications of his writings, see Kluetting, *Die Lehre*, 84-114.
59. Diary, 21 February, 10, 14, 15 March, 7 December 1762, and 28, 29 March 1763.
60. Diary, 21 February and 3, 10, 14, 15 March 1762.
61. Diary, 12 December 1762. The full title of his lecture is *Abhandlung von dem Zusammenhange der Vollkommenheit der Sprache mit dem blühenden Zustand der Wissenschaften wobei zugleich zu Anhörnung einer Rede von dem unzer-trennlichen Zusammenhang eines blühenden Zustandes der Wissenschaften mit denjenigen Mitteln, welche einen Staat mächtig und glücklich machen, als mit welcher auf dem (16ten) des Winter-Monaths (nach dem 4.) in dem k.k. Collegio Theresiano das öffentliche Lehramt der Teutschen Beredsamkeit angetreten wird . . .* (Vienna: Trattner, 1760), Nationalbibliothek Wien, 134.837-B.
62. Kluetting, *Die Lehre*, 114-37 stresses foreign-policy aspects of Bielfield's activities.
63. *Institutions politiques*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1760). This edition, located in the Universitätsbibliothek Wien, was originally acquired by the Jesuit College in 1762,

as the inscription on the first page demonstrates. The new, four-volume Parisian edition of 1761 carries the subtitle *Ouvrages, où l'on traite de la Société Civile, des Loix, de la Police, des Finances, du Commerce, des Forces d'un Etat, et en général de tout ce qui a rapport au gouvernement*. Leopold's extracts in Nationalbibliothek S.n.12.200 bear the title "Remarques et commentaires sur les institutions politiques de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfield," 483 pp., with the inscription "Anno 1765" on the cover. Bielfield is briefly mentioned by Wandruszka, *Leopold*, 1:89. Wandruszka has no knowledge of the *Remarques* and doubts whether Leopold read the *Institutions*, finding it "wahrcheinlicher" that he read Bielfield's *Lettres familières* (1763). It is indicative of Bielfield's reputation among the courtiers that Zinzendorf mentions the fact that Leopold read Bielfield (diary, 6 January 1764). Wandruszka's citation is based on the Zinzendorf diary.

64. A full assessment of these official papers cannot be given here, only indications as to selected papers, such as a memorandum by Ludwig on the French alliance in diary, 10 October 1761; the papers of Hofkammer president Johann Seyfried Herberstein on commerce in diary, 14, 18-20 September 1762 and 4 April 1763; and a memorandum by Philipp Sinzendorf for the Hungarian Chancellery in diary, 12, 27 April 1763.
65. Diary, 24, 28 February, 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 23, 28, 29 March, 2, 4, 8, 15-17, 27, 28, 30 April, and 2-4, 9 May 1763. See also Anna Hedwig Benna, "Der Kronprinzenunterricht Josefs II. in der inneren Verfassung der Erbländer und die Wiener Zentralstellen," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 20 (1967): 115-79.
66. This is the general tenor of Maria Theresa's so-called *Politisches Testament* of 1750-51, edited by Friedrich Walter in *Maria Theresia: Briefe und Aktenstücke in Auswahl* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 63-97.
67. See Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, 29-68, and my critique in *Historical Journal* 33 (1990): 155-67.
68. Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 163.
69. Nachlaß Zinzendorf, vol. 156, 991-1064. That Karl studied the *Verfassung* assiduously and translated *Transylvania* entirely escaped Lebeau's attention, though she briefly (313n.36) mentions the description of Lower and Upper Austria in vol. 156 of the Nachlaß.
70. The *Anmerkungen* is published anonymously; the author is C. F. Meixner, a person so far not identified.
71. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, Vortrag Andler-Witten, 1, 7 March 1763.
72. Diary, 1, 2 May 1763 concerns a discussion of Meixner's book with Alexander Freiherr von Schell, a colleague of Karl's at the Lower Austrian Commercial Council; Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna, Studienhofkommission, Faszikel 10, Kameralwissenschaft, fol. 70; Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, Sonnenfels to Studienhofkommission, n.d.; Meixner's tract escaped Lebeau's attention.

73. Hofkammerarchiv, Bergwerks- und Münzkollegium; so far only the indices of 1751 and 1752 have been consulted.
74. Dittrich, *Die deutschen und österreichischen Kameralisten*, 104.
75. See my chapter on the University of Leipzig in *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz*.
76. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 92-93, extract of Justi's statement of 15 October 1752, published in Leipzig in 1754; see his *Gutachten von dem vernünftigen Zusammenhange*, 40-43.
77. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 94-97, Andler-Witten to Maria Theresa, Vortrag, 21 May 1765. Andler's *Vortrag* is identical with the expert opinion of Karl Holler von Doblhof of 21 May 1765.
78. The details in Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich, Kommerz, rote Nummer 117; see the recent evaluations by Karl-Heinz Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels und die österreichische Reformbewegung im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1970), 31-35; and Kremers, *Quellenkritische Analyse*.
79. See my *Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität*.
80. See diary, 1761; and Haider-Pregler, *Abendschule*, chap. 4.
81. See note 6 above.
82. I am grateful to Hildegard Kremers for having given me insight into unpublished preliminary material concerning aspects of Sonnenfels's political language. In this context, further investigation is warranted; see Eric A. Blackall, *Die Entwicklung des Deutschen zur Literatursprache 1700-1775* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966); and Dieter Klimpel, ed., *Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Aufklärung* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1985).
83. Karl Dinklage, "Gründung und Aufbau der thesesianischen Ackerbau-gesellschaften," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 13 (1965): 200-211.
84. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 116, Kommerzialreisen: fols. 247-52, Referat Karl Holler von Doblhof, 3 March 1765; and Andler-Witten to Maria Theresa in her *Resolution* on "Commercial Betrachtungen über die Relation des Herrn Grafen Carl von Zinzendorf das Manufacterwesen in Sachen betr.," n.d. (date of this *Vortrag* given in Hofkammerarchiv Ms. 290, fol. 105v, as 8 January/5 March 1765).
85. Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 33.
86. Sonnenfels's theses and translations are for the first time discussed by Fritz Redlich and Kenneth E. Carpenter, "Some Eighteenth-Century Bibliographical Oddities Viewed in the Light of Austrian Economic and Educational Policy," in *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftsweg: Festschrift für Hermann Kellenbenz*, vol. 2: *Wirtschaftskräfte in der europäischen Expansion*, ed. Jürgen Schneider (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 657-68.
87. A full list of Sonnenfels's lectures has not yet been established.
88. Tribe, *Governing Economy*, 79.

89. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 86-87v. See Kaunitz and Blümegen's statement of 1767 in the *Staatsrat*, directed against Cardinal Migazzi, that Sonnenfels only taught "what famous contemporaries and predecessors taught," in Hock and Bidermann, *Staatsrat*, 61.
90. According to Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 318, Karl mentions Sonnenfels in his diary on 24 August 1789.
91. Hock and Bidermann, *Staatsrat*, 60.
92. *Ibid.*; and Kremers, *Quellenkritische Analyse*.
93. See Lebeau, "Ludwig et Karl von Zinzendorf," 187.
94. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, Sonnenfels petition to Maria Theresa, n.d., fol. 21v, probably mid-June 1763.
95. See Horst Kraemer, *Der deutsche Fürstenstaat* (1656; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974).
96. See diary entries of 11, 13, 15, 17, 23 September 1763, which concern visits to manufacturers in Vienna. For the contacts that Zinzendorf established with merchants and bankers in Paris and Spain, see my article "Spanien im Horizont der österreichischen Aufklärung: Zinzendorfs Kommerzialreise im Jahre 1767," in *Geschichtsforschung in Graz*, ed. Herwig Ebner (Graz: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geschichte, 1990), 115-26.
97. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich, Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 91-97. In the light of the Zinzendorf papers, Osterloh's interpretation of Sonnenfels's plea seems deficient (*Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 132-34).
98. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich, Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 98-102v, Doblhof's vote of 21 May 1765, which is identical with Andler's *Vortrag* to Maria Theresa of the same day, submitted 1 June 1765.
99. *Ibid.*, fol. 107, extract of the council's protocol of 26 November 1767.
100. Hock and Bidermann, *Staatsrat*, 62.
101. See Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 133n.57, for an example of the questionnaire.
102. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 117, fols. 110-13, the official *Anzeige* by Franz Krick, registrar and taxator, i.e., stamp official.
103. Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreich Kommerz, rote Nummer 116, extract of the council's protocol of 5 March 1763, Hofkammer president Johann Seyfried Herberstein to Kommerzienrat, 14 May 1765, and Doblhof's vote. Sonnenfels's petition is not extant, fols. 75-77. Cf. Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 129-30.
104. *Ibid.*; and Hock and Bidermann, *Staatsrat*, 60.
105. See note 95 above and my "Spanien im Horizont." For an enumeration of some of Zinzendorf's interlocutors, see Erzsebet Magda Langfelder, *Les séjours en Suisse, en France et en Belgique du comte de Zinzendorf d'après son Journal, 1764-1770* (Szeged, 1933).

106. Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 195. Cf. Helmut Reinalter, ed., *Joseph von Sonnenfels* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988); and Kann, *Kanzel und Katheder*.

Austria and European Economic Development

What Has Been Learned?

John Komlos

In this essay, I would like to emphasize two distinct, but related ideas: first, that quite a few historical insights can be generated by viewing the Habsburg economy as an integral part of the European economic system. By this I mean that the Austrian economy shared much in common with Europe from as early as the Middle Ages onward. This idea leads directly to my second point: since Austria was indeed a part of Europe in more than just a geographic sense, much can be learned about Continental economic development by studying Habsburg economic history. I would like to demonstrate the latter point on the basis of what I have learned about the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century from studying Austrian history and formulating what I call the "Austrian model" of the Industrial Revolution.¹ I would first like to outline how I came, in the course of my research, to emphasize Austria's integration into the European economic system.

When I started out as a graduate student, the Habsburg economy was invariably thought of as essentially "backward" and "different."² Scholars were preoccupied with attempting to ascertain when and *whether* Austria experienced a take-off into sustained growth.³ Almost every upswing of the business cycle had its advocates for designation as the take-off point. Alexander Gerschenkron, one of the most prominent thinkers on this issue in the 1960s, put it this way: "Industrialization either comes as a great spurt or does not come at all."⁴ This view became his gospel to such an extent that he

