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## Vorwort

Mit der Ausgabe 2003/4 erscheint das „Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts“ (OGE 18) erstmals im Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler. Das Jahrbuch folgt einem neuen Konzept. Es gibt für jeden Jahrgang – Doppelbände bleiben wie bisher eher die Ausnahme – ein Schwerpunktthema, gefolgt von Aufsätzen und Miszellen, die der Gesellschaft zur Veröffentlichung angeboten und für das Jahrbuch angenommen wurden. Wie im Fall des vorliegenden Jahrbuchs kann sich dabei durchaus ein zweites, vom Umfang her begrenztes Schwerpunktthema ergeben. Obwohl manche wissenschaftlichen Periodika inzwischen von der Veröffentlichung von Rezensionen absehen, erscheint es der OGE 18 nach wie vor wichtig, Literatur- und Forschungsberichte sowie Einzelrezensionen vorzusehen. Die Gesellschaften zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts sind in einem Weltverband, der ISECS, zusammengeschlossen, und die jeweiligen „nationalen“ Jahrbücher stellen ein wichtiges Instrument des wissenschaftlichen Austausches zwischen den Gesellschaften dar. Der OGE 18 fällt in diesem internationalen Netzwerk die Aufgabe zu, über die Forschung zum „österreichischen“ 18. Jahrhundert zu berichten. Gemeint ist damit die Habsburgermonarchie des 18. Jahrhunderts, die multinational und multikulturell zusammengesetzt war.

Die OGE 18 ist, wie die Schwestergesellschaften, interdisziplinär ausgerichtet. Bisher ist es auch gelungen, die verschiedenen Disziplinen wie Geschichte, Philologien, Kunstgeschichte, Musikgeschichte, Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Bildungsgeschichte etc. kontinuierlich einzubinden. Davon zeugt auch dieses Jahrbuch. Zugleich wird Wert auf eine „kosmopolitische“ AutorInnenschaft gelegt. Alle eingereichten Artikel – gleich, ob in Folge eines „call for papers“ oder von Eigeninitiative – werden einer Begutachtung durch Mitglieder des Vorstands und Beirats der Gesellschaft sowie der jeweiligen HerausgeberInnen des Jahrbuchs unterzogen.

Artikel im Rahmen eines „call for papers“ sind an die im „call“ aufgeführten Personen zu richten, frei zugesandte Artikel sind an den Obmann ([wolfgang.schmale@univie.ac.at](mailto:wolfgang.schmale@univie.ac.at)) zu senden, die Rezensionenrubrik wird von Johannes Frimmel ([johannes.frimmel@univie.ac.at](mailto:johannes.frimmel@univie.ac.at)) betreut.

Wolfgang Schmale, Obmann der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts

# Orte des Wissens

DANA ŠTEFANOVÁ / MARTIN SCHEUTZ

Das hiermit vorliegende Jahrbuch 2004 thematisiert verschiedene „Orte des Wissens“ und deren Vernetzung innerhalb der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert. Ausgehend von einem Vorschlag des bekannten Kameralisten Philipp Wilhelm Hörnigk, der im Sinne einer Beschleunigung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung innerhalb der Habsburgermonarchie gegen die Geheimhaltung wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse und für die Bereitstellung von Wissen an uneigennützig Fachleute plädierte, sollen exemplarisch mehrere Verdichtungszone von Wissen in der Habsburgermonarchie vorgestellt werden.

Ziel des Jahrbuches war es, neue Ergebnisse zu unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen im Prozeß der Vermittlung und Lokalisierung von Wissen innerhalb der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert anzusprechen. Berücksichtigt wurden dabei nicht nur räumliche Aspekte und die durch den absolutistischen Staat strukturierten Rahmenbedingungen, sondern auch konkrete öffentlich oder geheimgehaltene Handlungen von einzelnen Akteuren oder Gesellschaften in der Produktion und Vermittlung von Wissen. Verschiedene Fragestellungen standen am Beginn dieses Bandes: Welche Organisationsformen und Wissensorte (etwa Klöster, Archive, Bibliotheken, Universitäten, Wirtshäuser etc.) bildeten sich im 18. Jahrhundert verstärkt aus? Wie wurden Wissensbestände lokalisiert und geordnet? Welche Rolle nahm der absolutistische Staat dabei ein? Wer beteiligte sich an der Wissensvermittlung, wer waren die Mittler bzw. verschiedenen sozialen Schichten bei diesem Kulturtransfer? Änderten sich die Formen der Wissensvermittlung im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts (etwa am Beispiel von Bildungsreisen und Schulen, auch vor dem Hintergrund verschiedener Konfessionen)? Welche Rolle spielten Briefe, Bücher und Zeitungen für die Bildung von Wissensorten? Wie gingen Minderheiten mit „ihrem“ Wissen um (etwa am Beispiel von Kryptoprottestanten) und wie beeinflusste diese Organisationsform von Wissen das Verhalten der Akteure? In diesem Band kaum angesprochene und noch unzulänglich erforschte Fragen wären auch zu stellen, ob es Unterschiede in der Vermittlung von Wissensinhalten in den verschiedenen Teilen der Habsburgermonarchie gab und wie sich die Geschwindigkeit dieser Vermittlung im 18. Jahrhundert änderte? Zielsetzung des Bandes war vor allem Ergebnisse aus verschiedenen Teildisziplinen der Geschichtswissenschaft (etwa Wissenschafts-, Wirtschafts-, Geistes-, aber auch Sozialgeschichte) zu präsentieren.

Der vorliegende Band kann nur exemplarisch auf diese Fragen antworten, nur einige wenige Orte des Wissens konnten vorgestellt werden. Die Rezeption des Wissens und deren Umsetzung in der Praxis im Sinne Hörnigks wurde nur

teilweise angesprochen, doch verdeutlichen die Beiträge die große Dynamik der „Wissenslandschaft“ innerhalb der Habsburgermonarchie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung.

# Zeitschichten – Kulturschichten: Städte des 18. Jahrhunderts

WOLFGANG SCHMALE

In seinem Buch „Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik“ (Frankfurt 2000) schreibt Reinhart Koselleck: „*Zeitschichten* verweisen [...] auf mehrere Zeitebenen verschiedener Dauer und unterschiedlicher Herkunft, die dennoch gleichzeitig vorhanden und wirksam sind. Auch die Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen, eines der aufschlußreichsten historischen Phänomene, wird mit *Zeitschichten* auf einen gemeinsamen Begriff gebracht.“ (9)

Diese *Zeitschichten* sind ein Phänomen aller Zeiten, selbstverständlich auch des 18. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschichten* sind visuell erfassbar (der Begriff „unterschiedlich“ bedeutet im Folgenden „unterschiedliche Entstehungsepochen, aber gleichzeitiges Auftreten“): unterschiedliche Bau- und Kunststile, unterschiedliche Moden, unterschiedliche Technologien, unterschiedliche öffentliche Verhaltensweisen usw. *Zeitschichten* werden sichtbar, wenn unterschiedliche Kulturen und kulturelle Referenzen auf einander treffen. Sie werden besonders gut sichtbar, wenn sie im vergleichsweise engen Raum, den die Stadt darstellt, auf einander treffen. Man könnte an die Gleichzeitigkeit unterschiedlicher Gartentechniken denken (Barockgärten, botanische Gärten, englische Gärten usw.), die verschiedene *Zeitschichten* repräsentieren, aber auch – in der Habsburgermonarchie – an die Gleichzeitigkeit der modernen „progressiven“ französischen Kultur, der sich zunehmend rebellisch manifestierenden deutschen Kultur, der beinahe traditionell gewordenen italienischen und der traditionellen ständischen Kultur in der Stadt des 18. Jahrhunderts. Parallel zu *Zeitschichten* kann also auch von *Kulturschichten* gesprochen werden.

Bezüglich *Kulturschichten* ist zu unterscheiden, ob es sich um Schichten im engeren Wortsinn handelt, oder ob wir es eher mit *Kulturtransfer* zu tun haben. Durch den Transfer kultureller Referenzen aus der Kultur A in die Kultur B entsteht eine neue Kultur C, die als „Mischkultur“ eine neue *Kulturschicht* neben anderen weiterbestehenden bilden kann.

Zur Erforschung dieser Zeit- und Kulturschichten in der Stadt des 18. Jahrhunderts stehen zahllose Quellen zur Verfügung. Jede Form und Art zeitgenössischer Stadtführer, Reiseführer (besonders auch Apodemiken), Reiseberichte, gestochene, gemalte, gezeichnete etc. Stadtansichten oder Teilansichten, Stadtpläne, Topographien, geographisch-historische Stadtbeschreibungen, Tagebücher, Autobiographien städtischer Einwohner usw. lassen sich in der Perspektive von *Zeit- und Kulturschichten* analysieren. Dasselbe gilt für jegliche Art von



Interieurs und Exterieurs etc. Geschlechtsspezifische Räume und Verhaltensweisen in der Stadt eignen sich ebenso für eine Untersuchung in der Perspektive von *Zeit- und Kulturschichten*.

Die folgenden drei Beiträge, die den zweiten kleineren thematischen Schwerpunkt dieses Jahrbuchs bilden, nähern sich dem Thema von Zeit- und Kulturschichten in der Stadt des 18. Jahrhunderts aus sehr unterschiedlichen Perspektiven und behandeln ganz unterschiedliche Städte. Harald Heppner und Olga Katsiardi-Hering führen nach Südosteuropa und vertiefen das Thema nach einem Überblick anhand dreier Beispiele: Thessaloniki, Belgrad und Temeschwar. Herbert Karner bietet eine fesselnde Studie zum ehemals sogenannten Jesuitenplatzl in Wien, dem heutigen Platz vor dem Hauptgebäude der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Das beste ist, sich beim nächsten Besuch von Wien mit dem Aufsatz zu bewaffnen und unter seiner Anleitung den Platz zu besichtigen! Heiner Krellig führt uns nach Venedig, genauer gesagt in die verschiedenen Venezie, die Canaletto und andere Vedutisten ihren Veduten zugrunde gelegt haben. Er gibt der Veduten-Interpretation durch die Anwendung der Zeit- und Kulturschichten-Idee eine innovative Wendung.

# Abstracts

STEFAN BENZ

## The Court Library in Vienna as a Place of Knowledge

This study examines the significance that the Court Library in Vienna had for academia during the eighteenth century. Three aspects are investigated in detail.

1. The storage of knowledge is dependent on spatial factors. Originally somewhat of an afterthought, the library soon transformed itself into the city's most magnificent secular public space, a symbol of the cultural and imperial pretenses of the Habsburgs. Basic necessities of library organization, however, particularly with regard to the space itself, were neglected. At the same time, the civil servants in the library's employ failed in their attempts to create a subject catalogue.

2. Accessibility of knowledge. As a rule, manuscripts were not lent out. Still, information and even comparative analyses were readily provided. Such support was provided for several English research projects, in particular. Readers had relatively free access to the books, especially since the censorship authorities reacted only slowly to shifts in reader interests. For example: while it was still being discussed how heterodox theological texts could best be culled from the collection, the readers had long since turned their interest to latitudinarian writings. These, however – particularly under Emperor Charles VI – were “hidden”, so to speak, by the library via the purchase of private, free-thinking collections, thereby effectively removing such material from the domestic Austrian book market.

3. The collection's development. Due to the lack of sources, very few precise indications as to the qualitative development of the print collection can be made; purchase records indicate that French and French-language works were objects of special interest, while the German book market was only given partial coverage. At this point, English works were almost completely absent from the purchase inventories. Contemporary criticism was centered on the lack of North German, English and Swiss books, while complaining about the over-abundance of books coming from countries where romance languages were spoken. The princely library's time-honored practice of collecting unique and valuable works was continued. In terms of content, the librarians displayed a strong aversion to theology, popular writings of which were in large part destroyed upon the dissolution of many Austrian abbeys. The librarians did, on the other hand, show a keen interest in history. In order to remain attractive for historians, an attempt was made to compile a collection of official documents, since the academic approach to history in the 18th-century Holy Roman Empire was defined by dip-

lomatic records. In particularly high demand were manuscripts on history (such as that of Muratori on Italy) and theology, and later on Slavic and Hungarian historical studies. The reading room for printed works seems to have been well-visited at all times – perhaps due in part to the fact that the library was heated during the winter. As the number of similar research institutions within and outside of the Austrian lands increased, the relative centrality and significance of the Court Library was, of course, diminished. Even so, its European aura remained. Within the Holy Roman Empire, it remained the most important collection of books, even if the University Library in Göttingen was better capable of satisfying academic needs.

IVO CERMAN

### The Grand Tour in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The present study attempts to refute the thesis that the Grand Tour disappeared under the pressure of the reforming monarchy after the 1740s. The term “Grand Tour” denotes here the educational travels, undertaken by noblemen and noblewomen, which functioned as a rite of passage to adulthood. I argue that this type of educational travel was changed and adjusted to fit the new requirements of the Age of Enlightenment. The structure of the article follows this argument: the first part shows the diversity of opinions in the discourse regarding the Grand Tour, the second part depicts the general situation on the basis of university registers, and the last section traces the changing content of the Grand Tour in two noble families over three generations. In conclusion, I argue that the Grand Tour of the Habsburg nobility developed in two phases: The first (1720-1770) was the phase of ‘rationalized Grand Tour’ – nobles began to seek reformed Protestant universities where they could study new streams of legal science, and the time spent was divided into a longer period of intensive university studies and a shorter period of travels around Western Europe. The second (1770-1792) was the phase of “sentimental journeys” – the nobles did not go abroad to visit universities, but to gain experience while traveling. The sentimental traveler tried to become acquainted with the lands visited, but also with his or her own soul and feelings. The wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon (1792-1815) caused a long break in this time-honored tradition, which was only resumed once more during the *Vormärz* period.

CHRISTIAN DIRNINGER

## The Transfer of Knowledge and information as an Instrument of Economic Policy in enlightened Absolutism. Ways in which to approach Analysis

The crystallization of the essential elements of modern state economic policy under enlightened absolutism included the development of complex institutions and organizations for the systematic collection and presentation of information. This information had to be compiled to produce a structured store of knowledge regarding economic conditions in the various regions, a knowledge base which would underlie further economic strategies and measures. “Universal commerce”, a widely promoted ideal of the mid-eighteenth century, can be viewed here as a good case study. Realization of the underlying integrative concept required the creation of a large-scale system of information and knowledge processing. In this article, the attempt will be made to provide several approaches by which these efforts might be analyzed in terms of their institutional and ideological dimensions. Inclusion in the political system entailed a heightened potential for tension and conflict, which led to friction and functional disturbances in the nascent information and knowledge system. As a consequence, the theoretical demand for an all-encompassing network of information and knowledge ended up being only partly realized in actual political practice. Regardless of this fact, “universal commerce” – or its institutions – represented a very important “center” of 18<sup>th</sup>-century knowledge, the systematic examination of which largely has yet to be undertaken.

KATALIN GÖNCZI

## The culture of national science, migration and legal transplants. A survey on the development of national legal scholarship in Hungary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

Within the search for the basics elements of common European culture, this survey focuses on the routes, actors and methods involved in the transfer of legal knowledge, ideas of the Enlightenment and experiences of a more open academic society to Habsburg-ruled Hungary during the Age of Absolutism. Since protestants were not eligible for university admission in Hungary until 1781, they attended universities outside the Habsburg Monarchy – usually in Germany – and became transmitters of the European legal culture. The universities of Halle and Jena had been the leading destinations of the Hungarian *peregrinatio academica* up until the 1770's, at which time they were superseded by the newly founded University of Göttingen. There arose close connections to the Göttingen

School of Comparative Public Law and especially to professor August Ludwig Schlözer, whose courses on “state science” (*Staatwissenschaften*) and the history of European public law were attended by several handpicked Hungarian legal scholars. The publications on Hungary in the leading academic reviews of Göttingen indicate that Hungarian legal scholarship had become an integral part of the European legal culture.

LOUISE HECHT

### Train the youth according to his way (Prv 22,6): Theoretical Concepts of Modern Jewish Education and their Practical Implementation in the Habsburg Empire

After a brief outline of the ideological shift in Jewish concepts of education during the last third of the eighteenth century, the paper traces the specific texture of educational reforms concerning Habsburg Jewry, as initiated by Joseph II. With the edicts of Toleration, issued for each province at a different time (Bohemia and Italian Provinces, 1781; Moravia, 1782; Hungary, 1783; Galicia, 1789), the state laws about compulsory schooling from 1774 also applied to the Jewish inhabitants of the Habsburg lands. Jewish communities were required to set up German-Jewish schools where Jewish children could acquire the basics of secular education (Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and German language). State authorities launched an extensive campaign for the establishment of these schools. As a result of the consistent implementation of this policy, a larger proportion of Jewish children attended secular schools in the Habsburg Empire before the French Revolution than in all of western Europe during the initial period of enfranchisement. Whereas German Maskilim (Jewish Enlighteners) had to struggle for the official authorization of every Jewish school, in the Habsburg lands, the state itself enforced their establishment. The Maskilim and the enlightened absolutist state thus seemed to be natural allies in the reform of Jewish education.

Nevertheless, it soon turned out that both parties had different interests. While the Maskilim sought to educate ‘modern Jews’, the state wanted to turn his Jewish subjects into ‘useful citizens’. In order to win over the traditional Jewish elite, state authorities agreed to a radical segregation between religious and secular subjects. Only the latter would be taught in the state controlled German-Jewish schools, whereas the first would continue to be studied in traditional Jewish institutions. Disappointing as this compromise was for the Maskilim, who strove for an integration of religious and secular studies, it provided a solid base for the establishment of the new schools in Bohemia and Moravia. In the lands of the Bohemian Crown, German-Jewish schools continued to function until the Czech national movement swept them away, at the end of the nineteenth century.

In Hungary, the Josephinian school system seemed less successful (with the Jewish as with the non-Jewish population). Most German-Jewish schools were closed down almost immediately after the Emperor's death, in 1790. Although more than hundred German-Jewish schools were established in Galicia, the new schools never became very popular within Galician Jewry. Partly because of coercive methods applied by the state supervisor Herz Homberg. Instead of seeking a compromise with traditional Jewry, Homberg, himself Jewish, tried to enforce 'Enlightenment' upon a reluctant population. As in Hungary, schools were closed down as soon as the state coercion ceased, in 1806. In the Italian provinces, on the other hand, the Jewish communities proposed to integrate German studies into the curriculum of their religious schools. Thus, they fulfilled the expectations of the Maskilim and created well functioning educational institutions.

The state was without doubt essential in the establishment of an impressive network of secular German-Jewish schools in the Habsburg Empire. However, in the long run the school system could not be kept up against the will of Jewish (mostly traditional) elites. Where the state representatives failed to come to an understanding with rabbis and heads of community the schools were doomed to failure.

HARALD HEPPNER / OLGA KATSIARDI-HERING

### Three Epochs of a City. On Time Layers in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Southeastern Europe

As the Ottoman Empire crumbled over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, those cities in its direct or indirect sphere of influence received new impulses that added a third time layer to the two existing ones (Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman). This new layer contributed to more-or-less tangible changes that were evident even to people living at the time. To be sure, their perception was dominated by urban superficialities: while they perhaps did register a change in the general atmosphere, they were hardly in a position to realize that the respective time layers were based mainly on particular groups of people and their values, customs and habits, themselves all coming from various "times". The variety of overlapping courses of history grew even greater during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as – particularly in the cities – the native populations began to split into European-oriented progressives and deeply rooted traditionalists. The latter of these, in particular, looked to their origins in the past, putting things forgotten or long-gone into the foreground, thereby effecting the codification of this multi-layered quality in southeastern Europe for a long time to come. This article analyses such aspects with respect to the cities of Thessaloniki, Belgrade and Temesvar/Timișoara.

ROBERT HOFFMANN

## Knowledge Transfer through the Formation of Networks. Karl Erenbert von Moll and the Origins of the Academic Study of Local History in the Ecclesiastical Principality of Salzburg

This contribution is centered on the renaissance of local-geographical and natural research initiated by Karl Erenbert von Moll in the ecclesiastical principality of Salzburg. Raised in a noble family environment amidst the alpine loneliness of the Zillertal Valley and educated at the *Ritterakademie* of Kremsmünster in the spirit of academic versatility, the Salzburg university student Moll engaged in a multitude of activities that led to the acquisition and further transmission of knowledge and experience, particularly of that relating to the natural sciences. Even after he had returned to the isolation of the Zillertal, the young civil servant continued to take advantage of every opportunity to build up a far-reaching network of academic contacts, a network which soon came to include important learned minds of protestant Germany as well as Switzerland. The “Natural History Letters” of 1785 (authored by Moll and his compatriot Franz de Paula Schrank) mark the beginning of an academic, alpine discourse in the eastern Alps, permeated by the spirit of the late Enlightenment and nearly contemporaneous with the travelogues of Belsazar Haquet. The prerequisite for all this was a transformation of the political context, for it was the reforms of Enlightened Absolutism – in Habsburg Austria as well as in the Principality of Salzburg – that first gave rise to an intellectual and communicative situation that made possible intensive exchange concerning the natural sciences in general and the characteristics of the alpine region in particular.

HERBERT KARNER

## Vienna – from the Little Jesuit Square to University Square: Architecture and its Intent

Squares in big cities are uniquely suited to examining the various layers of architectural history. The many levels of urban building culture, typically spanning many centuries, are preserved and visible to a surprising extent on squares, to be experienced all at once, in concentrated form. These will be examined more closely here, in light of the square in Vienna’s inner-city First District which, by 1701, was known as the “Jesuitenplatzl” and after 1773 as the “Universitätsplatz”, only to be renamed again in 1949 – this time as “Dr. Ingaz-Seipel-Platz”. The small, almost hermetically sealed space, displaying visible architectural layers from the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and the early and (hardly evident) late 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, has experienced an fascinating transformation in terms of its function, political sig-

nificance and architectural effect – particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the one hand, a chain of formal and intellectual linkages allows a harmonious coexistence among tightly grouped buildings of extreme stylistic heterogeneity (particularly the Jesuit Church and the University building, today the Austrian Academy of Sciences). This facilitated the basic correspondence of the square’s walls and, thus, an aesthetically binding foundation for the end result – intended and masterfully achieved by the architect Jean-Nicolas Jadot (University building). On the other hand, important links of this chain serve to bring out contradictions and thus to document an ideological turn. One important point of the new University building’s construction was to break up the strict system of Jesuit and counter-reformatory associations that had previously tied the square together. The effect of the new structure was to change the square’s aura and ideological weighting.

HEINER KRELLIG

### Venetian *Vedute* of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Time Layers in the Appearance of the City

Admittedly, time layers – which perforce include the component of various speeds and stages of progress – possess only very limited validity for the arts. Even so, if one applies the model of time layers to paintings of the city of Venice, there arise questions as to various extents and forms of modernity in evidence. One of the “asynchronies of the simultaneous” within the Venetian painting of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – and particularly within the genre of the *veduta* – is revealed in the various forms of recognition experienced across Europe by the oeuvre of the most important Venetian *veduta* painter: Canaletto. In Canaletto’s painted cityscapes, time layers bearing witness to urban development – including various building periods and architectural styles – are in clear evidence. This essay pursues these and further issues with respect to the Venetian *vedute* of Canaletto.

KAREN LAMBRECHT

### “Tables and Tolerance”: Johann Ignaz von Felbiger’s reforms of primary education in Eastern Central Europe.

Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788), abbot of the Augustinian Monastery in Sagan, Lower Silesia, is known as one of the most important pedagogues and educational reformers of his century. Felbiger’s educational reforms found their way all across Central Europe; they had their greatest effect, however, in the



countries of Eastern Central Europe, which were characterized by religious and linguistic diversity. Uniform training of teachers and uniform school books certainly facilitated these reforms' implementation, but their success in Eastern Central Europe was due first and foremost to the fact that Felbiger showed tolerance where necessary, respecting and integrating local traditions – and thereby increasing acceptance among the general populace. Thus, in spite of all that regional variants arose, a degree of uniformity was achieved that provided a certain immediate satisfaction of the need for educational norms. In this way, the cornerstone was laid for a wave of educational reform in Eastern Central Europe. Schoolbooks written in the pupils' native tongues – a key element of the reform – had a linguistic and cultural impact that can hardly be overestimated. In most regions there occurred a measurable increase in literacy and a definite improvement in teacher training. The spread of these reforms was promoted by the close personal relationships and wide-ranging travels of Felbiger's trainees, who relied on the new textbooks – especially catechisms and (local-language) grammar books – for further crucial support.

CONSTANZE NATOSEVIČ (†)

### “Cosi fan tutte” – Mozart, Love and the Revolution of 1789

To this day, Mozart's opera “Cosi fan tutte” is widely viewed as a frivolous rococo piece about love and loyalty or, better put, about disloyalty and the fickleness of love – a pure entertainment piece. The fact that Mozart wrote this opera in 1789 – during the second half of the year, in fact – has never really been paid much attention, even though references to social conditions are to be found in all his other late operas. One still occasionally hears the – unproven – assumption that the opera was based on real events; at the same time, one of the strongest and earliest criticisms of the work is its improbable, supposedly unrealistic plot. This opera is not based on real events in this narrow sense, but rather on real history: the current events of 1789, at which center stood the French Revolution.

MARTIN SCHEUTZ

### “I heard it, here and there, at the inn [...]” Inns as multifunctional public Places in the 18th Century

Research on the history of inns in the Austrian lands has been scarce up to now, a surprising fact in a country which derives its present-day identity in large part from tourism and hospitality. Even so, the inn's central function for both rural and urban societies is uncontested. While there do exist certain studies having to

do with inns in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – both in connection with the prohibition debate and, particularly, in the field of folklore – the early modern inn was almost never examined in terms of its multifunctional quality. It is hardly possible, on the basis of presently available research, to offer a typology of the various forms taken by this institution in the early modern period. But the results of historical research sketched out in this article, based on 18<sup>th</sup>-century sources, provide clear evidence of the importance accorded to inns by the authorities as places of potential “opposition,” as sources of revenue and as places from which to control mobility and migration. The control over drinking culture (and therefore over youth culture, as well), the monitoring of closing times, hygiene and maximum prices were among the responsibilities of the authorities to “maintain order.” The inn assumed myriad functions for the formative state: soldiers were recruited there, strangers registered, official announcements posted, etc. The upper class and the collective “village eye” were thoroughly informed of what went on there. The many brief mentions in court documents afford one only a very fragmentary impression of this early-modern, gossipy “institution”: promiscuity, uncontrolled speech and fencing activities were assumed by the authorities to go on there, money and clothing were exchanged, soldiers recruited and wares stored. Conflicts of honor were carried out by within and between various social groups in this difficult-to-control rural and urban place of “social cohesion.” The question as to whether early modern inns were or were not “male places” can hardly be given a satisfactory answer based on the material presented here; women did visit inns, and the guests were served by waitresses, but on the whole, women seem to have been underrepresented. The topic of alcohol and inns within the Habsburg monarchy – sparsely researched up to now, and difficult to research in terms of sources – could, quite apart from an anecdotal sort of “cultural history”, bring up and even partially answer numerous questions regarding everyday life at the time: for example the separation of the public and private spheres, the history of consumption, and the history of public political involvement.

KARIN SCHNEIDER

### *Séjours* as a Part of Everyday Life: The Organization of Imperial Representation at the Hunting Palace of Laxenburg during the Mid-Eighteenth Century

The *Fuhrpartikular* encompasses the period between April and June 1756. It contains 530 entries documenting trips made by paid coachmen between Vienna, Schönbrunn and the summer residence on the occasion of the annual heron hunt in Laxenburg. The volume provides information on the organizational measures and material requirements essential for the maintenance of a courtly country life,

while also showing the connection between the splendid imperial façade and the everyday activities via which it was maintained. It indicates the large number of personnel, as well as the quantities of foodstuffs and other consumer goods required by the imperial household, that had to be moved around between the various residences. The volume reveals the preparations (regarding staff, building and grounds) made for the sojourn of the court at Laxenburg, as well as many aspects of everyday imperial life – ranging from courtly representation to ordinary needs such as spiritual and medical advising, clean linens and the supply of foodstuffs and wine. Moreover, it tells of the organizational efforts that went into hosting visits by the various Habsburg princes and princesses. Finally, the entries contain details about the harnessing of coaches – especially concerning the number of horses used to pull them, which depended on the rank of the passengers.

CLAUDIA SCHWEITZER / ELKE SCHRÖDER

### Madame Ravissa de Turin – Opportunities and Limitations of a Woman Musician in the 18th Century

“Madame Ravissa de Turin” – until recently neither the first name, nor dates or any other details on this forgotten composer, singer and harpsichordist were known, only printed music from 1778 and a concert appearance during that same year. A research project conducted over the last three years has uncovered a great deal of information on this musician’s biography, a woman’s life both normal and spectacular for the age in which she lived, a life which played out – aside from at her birthplace of Turin – in Paris and French-speaking Switzerland (Neuchâtel and Lausanne). The life of Genovieffa Ravissa – her complete name – raises another theme, as well: for years, she made her living as a keyboard and singing teacher, a fact which provides us with insight on the beginnings of professional female teaching, a topic which has been received scant academic attention so far.

STEPHAN STEINER

### Protestant enclaves and hypotheses of rural enlightenment

Research interest concerning the Enlightenment most commonly focuses on great thinkers and big cities. Looking away from such perspectives, this essay proposes the existence of a rural Enlightenment quite independent of the former. Rural Enlightenment comes into being as soon as peasants and craftsmen develop a consciousness of their own, one which is ahead of its time. Kant’s definition of enlightenment as “*selbstdenken*” can be seen in peasants’ enthusiasm for

books and reading. The Carinthian domain of Paternion can serve as an example for the nexus between reading and underground protestant belief, both of which were opposed by the authorities. The content of those books was quite often rather simple-minded pietism, but what is important is not so much content as the act of reading itself. In doing so, the villagers acquired new ways of thinking, which were in opposition to the common sense propagated by church and nobility, marking an important step on the way to a new mentality. This liberation was more radical and uncompromising than the freeing of peasant holdings from all feudal obligations, which was to follow in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rural Enlightenment bore the traces of a new approach towards man, rooted in self-determination and not enforced by the sovereign or by simple necessity. The villagers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (and especially the underground Protestants, being among the most conscious) were not objects of Enlightenment, but subjects: they were doing the work of Enlightenment all by themselves.

JOZEF TANCER

### Karl Gottlieb Windisch: The Library of an Self-Educated man

The article analyses a catalogue of a private library which belonged to one of the most active and well-known scholar and adherent of the Enlightenment in Hungarian Kingdom Karl Gottlieb Windisch (1725-1793). It focuses on three main aspects that reveal Windischs reading preferences: the structure of the library according to themes, provenance as well as languages of the books. Based mainly on his correspondence, this analysis shows the importance of book ownership not only for Windischs manifold publishing activities but at the same time for his wide-spread network of contacts with leading Hungarian scholars. Dwelling in Bratislava, the contemporary centre of the intellectual life in Hungarian Kingdom, Windisch was able to create this network also thanks to his large library and good knowledge of Hungarian and German book market. Windischs library reflects personal interests of its owner. This case study, however, focuses also some general tendencies, which are typical for literary development in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Hungary.

ANTON TANTNER

### Between Arcane Knowledge and the Public Sphere: Production und Circulation of the habsburg population censuses

During the second half of the 18th century, censuses were carried out in the lands ruled by the Habsburg monarchy; the objective was to make information about

the subjects available to the authorities in Vienna. This information on the residence status, resources and property of the subjects was no longer to be restricted to the landlords; additionally, state authorities desired access to potential taxpayers and recruits without having to depend on the landlords' cooperation. Contradictory trends can be observed in how this knowledge produced by the censuses was dealt with: even if the results were circulated and the members of the local state authorities were required to review them annually, this circulation activity was restricted and monitored. Only authorized officials were permitted to copy the results, and examination by other authorities – by no means a matter of course – was met with skepticism and occasional disapproval. Particularly suspect were those census officers who tried to use their knowledge to publish “topographies” (regional guidebooks) on the book market: at least one case is documented in which the publication of a finished manuscript – a topography of Upper and Lower Austria – was forbidden. The unease regarding such publication of newly won knowledge crystallized in the belief, ascribed to by various officials, that results could get into the wrong – namely hostile – hands; they could facilitate the orientation of foreign troops, as well as afford foreign states unnecessarily deep insights into the constitution of the monarchy. Nevertheless, some results did see publication – without preceding knowledge of the authorities – in the journals of the new public sphere. The sources for this article are records produced by the authorities who carried out the census, mainly by the “*Hofkriegsrat*” (Court War Council) and the “*Hofkanzlei*” (Court Chancellery), as well as by local governments; this material is complemented by journals and statistical literature of the period.

ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH

### Between Tradition And Enlightenment: Noble Librarians in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Western Hungary

Among the nobility of the Hungarian county of Eisenburg, there were two sharply distinct classes: the minor nobility and the landed nobility. The estates of deceased minor nobles contained only the occasional book, in which case – apart from a couple of schoolbooks – they consisted of prayer books and other religious texts. Even up until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most minor nobles were unable to write, for which reason it is not surprising that books were seldom to be found in their households. Valuable, highly ornamented bibles and legal tomes would have been quite expensive for minor nobles, but less valuable books were available for a couple of kreuzers – for the price of, say, a broom or a sieve. Among the “peasant-booted nobility,” as they were called at the time, the relative neglect of books and reading was less a matter of expense than it was of the absence of a desire for knowledge. Landed nobles, on the other hand, could afford

to purchase even the most expensively produced books. Within this social class, the number and kinds of books present in a household it depended entirely on an individual's personality and his desire for personal cultivation. In this respect, the religious denomination of the nobleman was immaterial; among both Catholics and Lutherans there were many who possessed extensive libraries, while others owned only prayer books and legal texts. Alongside prints, handwritten books were also passed down from generation to generation in the noble families of the county of Eisenburg, although these volumes – containing handwritten prayers, recipes, and suggestions for medical treatment – made up only a fraction of the books in 18<sup>th</sup> century libraries. The noble households in question possessed very few books about agriculture. Instructive poems in Latin dealing with tobacco growing or falconry were more poetic works than they were specialist texts containing practical agricultural knowledge. Only the few treatises on horsebreeding and horticulture were actual agricultural texts. Noblemen were used to reading legal and historical works, while elements of agricultural knowledge remained for the most part objects of oral transfer. Only a few among the nobility in the county of Eisenburg were familiar with more learned, sophisticated literature. Among the books in this category, *St. Hilarius* by Péter Bod and works by Ferenc Faludi were the most popular. The nobility of the county of Eisenburg did not generally read periodicals. Only in the estate of the highly educated Dávid Felsobüki Nagy do we find listed several issues of the German-language periodical *Der Europäische Postilion*; these, however, were already around fifty years old. One finds not a trace of Hungarian periodicals in the lordly houses of the time. The library catalogues did not always present a reliable picture of the interests and desire to learn peculiar to their respective owners. Libraries were typically more conservative in character than those who owned them. The libraries contained many volumes inherited from ancestors, and in two cases, this author succeeded in tracing the path taken by books – which had originally belonged to a Catholic cleric and a Lutheran pastor, respectively – into the collection of a nobleman living in the county of Eisenburg. One must also consider the fact that the nobles living in country manors did not limit themselves to reading their own books. Some estate inventories contain indications of books having been lent out; from this, we see that interesting books of the deceased had been read at neighboring lordly estates. In 1781, the wife of a local official named Békássy borrowed French books from the collection of the nobleman Dávid Nagy in Torony. Nobles interested in books could be sure of managing in one way or another to gain access to high-quality reading – and it was thus that the Enlightenment found its way into the provinces.

THOMAS WALLNIG

## Monks and Scholars at the Abbey of Melk in 1700. An Essay on Contexts and Objectives of Monastic Knowledge Production

What does it mean when men of the cloth are kissed by the muses? This contribution examines the question as to which types of academic activity predominated at the Abbey of Melk around 1700, in other words just before and during the heyday of this abbey's baroque glory. The first part of this examination deals with a wide range of printed and unprinted writings in their function as the literary product of monastic everyday life. These show that, within this monastically motivated production, the distinction between "academic" and "everyday" learning is very difficult to draw. A well-founded philological and humanistic education, on the other hand, was a prerequisite for entrance into the monastery, and this education could be assumed in the case of every member. The second part shows that, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, one can ascertain a shift in the context within which monastic learning was received. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Melk was a part of various (largely closed) systems where texts and persons circulated: the South German book market and the monastic infrastructures of "brotherhood-in-prayer", congregations and education networks. The attempt of the Melk-based historian Bernhard Pez to establish a learned society within the order on the basis of these structures, on the other hand, represented a shift in meaning in the context of the European "*res publica literaria*": academic activity increasingly grew out of its original monastic framework, becoming its own independent element in the process of secular knowledge production. This development was, at the same time, accompanied by a significant transformation in the goals of learned activities, which finally gave up their claims to metaphysical justification over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At this juncture of monastic studiousness and the "republic of the learned," one can make out the roots of two significant problems of present-day academia: the difficulty of justifying the production of knowledge in a purely materialistic discourse, as well as the – closely associated – ambivalent monastic heritage of contemplation and aloofness as part of the social-psychological profile of academics.

# Knowledge, Brotherhood and Love: Georg Forster in Vienna, 1784

HUGH WEST

In 1784, Georg Forster, celebrated among German writers at the time for his account of his journey around the world with Captain Cook, spent the summer (30 July – 15 September) in Vienna on his way from a position as Professor of Natural History at Kassel to one of the same title at the University of Wilno (Vilnius) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These were perhaps the happiest six weeks of his life. By wrapping a “chain of roses” around him, he wrote, the city held him in thrall for a month and a half. Too bad it wasn’t “half my life”: “I never left a place in Germany with a heavier heart.”<sup>1</sup> Why was he so taken by Vienna? The answer, I think, highlights with particular vividness a distinctive aspect of the eighteenth-century German intellectual’s often restless, sometimes desperate search for a gratifying place to work: the persistent link between the wish for satisfactory practical support and the longing for community. Forster spent his life searching not just for the most vibrant *Ort des Wissens*, but for the warmest *Ort des Herzens*. For him Kassel hadn’t and Wilno wouldn’t provide either. The constricted courtly world of the Landgravate, Forster thought, spent more on princely show than basic science and ever exposed his social inferiority: he found refuge, soon to his regret, in meetings of the occult brotherhood of the Rosicrucians. The economically backward Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth simply did not have the financial and human resources to establish a modern university and ever exposed Forster’s foreignness: he would find refuge there, soon to his disappointment, in his marriage to Therese Heyne. But for that brief moment in Vienna, he thought he had found nourishment for both the Head and Heart: on the one hand, intimations of a real physical center for the German Republic of Letters; on the other, a world of sociability – of friendship and love – that sustained and humanized enlightened progress.

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1 See Forster to Sömmering, August 14-16, 1784; to Bertuch, December 23, 1784; to Spener, October 21, 1784; to Therese Heyne, December 13, 1784; Brigitte Leuscher (Hg.), Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe. Vol. 14: Briefe 1784-Juni 1787. Berlin (Ost) 1978, 163, 163, 254, 201, 239 [in the following LEUSCHER, AA 14]: The „chain of roses“ conceit is in the diary: August 22, 1784, Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe. 18 vols. Berlin 1959-2004: Brigitte LEUSCHER (Hg.), Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe. Vol. 12: Tagebücher. Berlin (Ost) <sup>2</sup>1993, 120 [in the following LEUSCHER, AA 12].



*Vienna: Cultural Capital?*

To think of Vienna as the capital of the German-speaking cultural and scientific world was a matter of hope. Forster himself knew that the city he entered in the mid 1780s was not at the leading edge of Enlightenment. It was more like the following edge.<sup>2</sup> Austria had joined the race to illumination late, under anomalous and ambivalent sponsorship, and, though by now it seemed to be reaching its stride, its staying power and raw talent were still very much in doubt. For centuries the defenders of the Catholic faith north of Italy, the Habsburgs did not enter the eighteenth century with a strong disposition for promoting a “progressive” agenda, and, even if they had, their power was too diffuse and the economy too stagnant to encourage one. The imperial authority stretched over myriad scattered lands and ethnic and linguistic groups and was resisted by a honeycomb of local assemblies and corporative groups; and the general growth in agricultural productivity and manufacturing and trade that Protestant Germany was to experience throughout the century were nowhere in sight. With education – and, until 1751, censorship – totally in the hands of the Jesuits, the propagation of new ideas and the development of public debate were virtually foreclosed. While from 1670-1729 the northern Germans churned out over 300 new novels, the Austrians couldn’t manage a single one; they didn’t produce their first moral weekly until 1762. There was no real publishing house in Vienna until Johann Thomas Trattner started one in 1748. And as late as 1774, well after oversight had been taken from the Jesuits, the list of prohibited books, including a healthy number from the Enlightenment canon, was longer than the Vatican’s Index.<sup>3</sup>

When something that had the look and feel of Enlightenment did come in the second half of the century, the push for it emanated from two general directions. One source – a peculiar one by English, French, and north German standards – was the Church itself. There emerged within Austrian Catholicism among the non-Jesuit orders (and even among the Jesuits themselves) a general movement of resistance to the Loyolan definition of the faith. Drawing variously on pre-Tridentine prescriptions for Catholic reform, Jansenism, and (the secular twist) Leibniz and Wolff, these clerics and their lay followers sought to recover a faith based on personal piety, rational assent, and charity rather than hierarchy, dogmatics, and ritual. In their view, a good Christian succeeded to firm belief by the independent exercise of his (maybe even her) mind and showed it by practi-

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2 For what follows I rely on Derek BEALES, *Joseph II. In the Shadow of Maria Therese 1741-1780*. Cambridge 1987, 439-491; Paul P. BERNARD, *Jesuits and Jacobins. Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria*. Urbana, Illinois 1971, 3-31; Leslie BODI, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung*. Frankfurt/Main 1977, 17-116; Ernst WANGERMANN, *The Austrian Achievement 1700-1800*. London, 1973, and „Reform Catholicism and Political Radicalism in the Austrian Enlightenment. In: Roy PORTER/Mikuláš TEICH (Hg.), *The Enlightenment in National Context*. Cambridge 1981, 127-140.

3 BERNARD, *Jesuits and Jacobins*, as note 2, 5, 22-25, 28-29.

# Aktualität der Aufklärung<sup>1</sup>

JEAN MONDOT

Vor etwa 230 Jahren beantwortete Kant für die „Berlinische Monatsschrift“ die berühmte Frage: Was ist Aufklärung? In einem Kommentar der 80er Jahre zu diesem Text stellte Michel Foucault fest, dass diese Antwort den wohl erstmaligen Versuch in der Geschichte der Philosophie darstellte, ihre historische Situation zu beurteilen, einzuschätzen.

Kant hat die Aktualität der Aufklärung nicht in Frage gestellt oder sich zumindest die Frage der Aktualität der Aufklärung nicht so unmittelbar gestellt. Es ging ihm darum, Definition und Strategie der Aufklärung deutlicher zu formulieren. Dabei war ein Urteil über die historische Situation des Zeitalters in der Perspektive des Aufklärungsprozesses unerlässlich. Der Bezug von Aufklärung und Aktualität wurde also in diesem Sinn überprüft. Die Antwort ist bekannt: man sei nicht in einem aufgeklärten Zeitalter, sondern in einem Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Mit anderen Worten, Aufklärung war schon da, aber sie war längst nicht voll verwirklicht worden. Sie war aktuell, aber sie brauchte mehr Aktualisierung. Das Aufklärungspotential war bei weitem nicht ausgeschöpft.

Man könnte natürlich für unser Zeitalter eine gleichlautende Diagnose stellen. Nur dass wir schon mehr Aufklärung erlebt haben als der Königsberger Philosoph und dass sie deswegen einen Teil ihrer Unverbrauchtheit eingebüßt hat. Aufklärung ist nicht mehr und nicht nur wie zur Zeit Kants ein Projekt, also vor uns, sie ist zugleich und zum Teil auch hinter uns. Und die Frage, die sich stellt, ist also, wie aktuell die Werte und Inhalte der Aufklärung noch sind und was man von der Aufklärung noch erwarten kann.

Eine Variation zu der Frage Kants, nicht nur „was ist Aufklärung?“, sondern „was ist sie gewesen und was kann sie heute noch sein“, eine Frage also nach dem Nutzen und Nachteil der Aufklärung bzw. der Geschichte der Aufklärung für das Leben, für unsere Gegenwart. Denn nicht nur ist die Aufklärung nicht unverbraucht, sie ist sogar für viele heute gänzlich außer Dienst. Neulich erschien bei uns ein provokantes Essay mit dem Titel „Abschied von den Philosophen, Was bleibt von der Aufklärung übrig?“ Die Aufklärung hätte also ausgespielt. Sei sie doch von Adorno und Horkheimer für die braunen und roten Gräueltaten des vorigen Jahrhunderts fast allein verantwortlich gemacht worden. Das 20. Jahrhundert wäre somit gleichsam die Manifestation ihres Scheiterns gewesen.

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<sup>1</sup> Vortrag, gehalten auf der Jahreshauptversammlung 2002 der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts.

Meine Damen und Herrn, ich muss gleich vorausschickend sagen, um einer unerträglichen Spannung vorzubeugen: dies ist nicht meine Meinung. Nicht nur, weil man nicht erwarten kann, von einem noch-Präsidenten<sup>2</sup> der französischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts, dass er die Aufklärung verurteilt. Selbstkasteiung ist außerdem nicht mein Fall. Sondern weil ich tief davon überzeugt bin, dass die Aktualität der Aufklärung ungebrochen bleibt und dass die Leiden des vorigen Jahrhunderts nicht von zuviel sondern eher von zu wenig an Aufklärung kamen.

Wir können und wollen uns aber nicht mit apodiktischen Behauptungen begnügen, und ich werde nun versuchen zu zeigen, dass Aufklärung weiterhin aktuell bleibt und nach meinem persönlichen Ermessen in welcher Form.

Ich möchte ungefähr vier Punkte berühren:

Einen für die Beweisführung etwas äußerlichen zunächst: die Lebendigkeit der Forschung, dann aber drei, die für mich konstitutiv für die Aufklärung sind und die für unsere Gegenwart an Notwendigkeit nichts verloren haben. Ich werde von Freiheit der Kommunikation sprechen, vom dem ethischen Bewusstsein und schließlich von der Vernunftkritik und der Ironie.

Über die Situation der Forschung lässt sich leicht und schnell berichten. Der Erforschung der Aufklärung geht es, soweit man sie übersehen kann, gut. Und die Schwierigkeit des Übersehens zeugt selbst von dem gesunden prosperierenden Zustand der Forschung. Zwar weiß man inzwischen, dass 18. Jahrhundert-Forschung nicht gleichzusetzen ist mit Aufklärungsforschung, aber mir ist kein Fall von einer Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts bekannt, die sich systematisch von der Aufklärungsforschung abgewendet hätte. Man spürt und sieht weder Abwendung von der Aufklärung noch Erlahmung des Interesses dafür. Was nottäte, das viel berufene Desiderat der Forschung, wären sicherlich synthetische Darstellungen, die einen klareren Überblick über das bisher Erforschte geben würden. Ich würde nicht wie kürzlich in einem von H. Deinat und W. Voßkamp edierten Band zur Aufklärungsforschung von einer „alexandrinischen Flut der Aufklärungsforschung sprechen“. Aber Synthesen wären in der Tat nützlich. Die Bilanzen, die die einzelnen Gesellschaften bei ihren jeweiligen Jubiläen manchmal aufstellen, helfen auch dabei. Dies nebenbei gesagt und nicht als indiskreter Eingriff in die Politik der österreichischen Gesellschaft. Notwendig wäre nur noch eine Bilanz der Bilanzen.

Die Internationale Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts, die jedes vierte Jahr einen Weltkongress der Aufklärung organisiert, trägt auch zu diesem Überblick bei. Sie zählt über 40 Nationalgesellschaften und insgesamt über 9.500 Mitglieder, verteilt in 70 Ländern. Man sehe sich das letzte Adressbuch an und man wird sich leicht von der Dynamik und Vielfalt dieser Forschung

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2 Jean Mondot wurde 2003 zum Präsidenten der ISECS (International Society For Eighteenth-Century Studies) gewählt.

# L'Aigle bicéphale à l'entrée du domaine des Condors – Sujets Autrichiens à Cadix, porte de l'Amérique

HUGUES JAHIER

Entre 1717 et 1778, Cadix connut l'âge d'or du monopole du commerce avec les Indes Occidentales. Le phénomène se concrétisa par l'établissement des instances juridiques (*Casa de la Contratación, Consulado*) régissant tous les aspects des échanges avec l'Amérique, par transfert depuis Séville. La capitale andalouse pâtissait de n'être port maritime qu'à la remontée fluviale d'un Guadalquivir sinueux et envasé, impropre à une flotte moderne de tonnage très alourdi.

Cet état de prospérité commerciale avait pris son grand essor dans le courant du XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle et perdura après que les autres ports de la péninsule pussent commercer librement avec les possessions américaines, tellement le volume des transactions s'était accru.<sup>1</sup>

Tels états de fait et de droit drainèrent un afflux considérable de population. Cadix passa de 41 à 71.000 habitants entre 1700 et 1786,<sup>2</sup> pour ensuite amorcer un déclin ayant pour origine les répercussions de la Révolution française sur les alliances et entraves commerciales (Traité de San Ildefonso de 1796) ; ceci allant de paire avec une suite d'épidémies (de fièvre jaune) aux effets de dispersion.

Dans ce concert de nationalités établies à Cadix, afin d'une part de faire croître et embellir les affaires de compagnies ayant leur siège et bailleurs de fonds dans un lointain étranger ; d'autre part de permettre à toute une masse de gens moins *flamboyants* (petits entrepreneurs, artisans, boutiquiers, menu peuple) de tenter sa chance afin de se faire une modeste place au soleil, les Français et les Italiens (Gênois tout d'abord) occupèrent de façon écrasante (2/3 de la population étrangère) le devant de la scène. Les premiers purent se prévaloir d'une prééminence économique sans conteste, les seconds furent ceux qui apparurent

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1 GARCIA BAQUERO GONZALEZ Antonio, *Cádiz y el Atlantico (1717-1778) – El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano*, Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1988, t.1, 569 p., p. 491. Le nombre de maisons de commerce d'étrangers continua – post-monopole – à progresser. Il passa de 386 en 1773 à 510 en 1791. PEREZ Joseph, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, Fayard, 1996, 921 p., p. 405.

2 Ibid., p. 489 – au nombre desquels approximativement 6780 étrangers en 1773.

comme les plus anciennement et mieux enracinés et répandus dans tous les secteurs d'activités d'intendance.<sup>3</sup>

Par comparaison à ces deux origines, toutes les autres furent numériquement très minoritaires, mais pas pour autant de poids dérisoire.

Pour preuve, il n'y a qu'à se référer à l'assujettissement à la *Única Contribución* en 1771.

Les Français (108 inscrits) allaient être imposés sur une moyenne de 6578 pesos/tête, les Italiens (47) sur 3187, mais la nébuleuse d'Allemands, Prussiens, Suédois et Slaves (19), à hauteur de 5605 pesos.<sup>4</sup>

### *Reconnaissance allemande*

On doit à un natif de Francfort-sur-le-Main, « ... *Etat de S.M Impériale* ... », établi en 1758, une des meilleures formulations sur l'importance de la place : « ... *Cadix, ville d'attraction universelle pour les compagnies, vit s'établir la nôtre* (Conrad Lantz & Antoine Cavaillé), *fondée sur des capitaux détenus de personnes à travers l'Europe et au delà* ... ». <sup>5</sup>

Cette prise de conscience ne se traduisit peut-être pas par l'implantation de colonies allemandes et nordiques – on dénombre de 14 à 20 chefs d'entreprises entre 1762 et 1773<sup>6</sup> – mais du moins un va-et-vient de *gens d'affaires* dut exister, justifiant la succession voire la présence simultanée de personnes investies de prérogatives consulaires. En 1765, on dénombrait officiellement quatre représentants du Royaume de Bohême, deux des états du Duc de Bavière, un « *Allemand* »<sup>7</sup>.

3 COMELLAS José Luis, *Sevilla, Cádiz y America – El trasiego y el trafico*, Edit. Arguval, 1992, 336 p., p. 300 – En 1791, on dénombrait 2507 Italiens (se retrouvant souvent comme jardiniers, aubergistes, cuisiniers, confiseurs, pâtisseries) et 1598 Français (hors les commerçants de haute volée, on y distinguait des boulangers, cafetiers, perruquiers, artisans du bâtiment, et d'innombrables domestiques).

4 *Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Sección Consulado 892-B*, « 1771 – Utilidades que anualmente resultan al comercio de la Ciudad de Cadiz para las diligencias de justificación para la Única Contribución con distinción de naciones ».

5 *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz (AHPC)*, Protocolo CA 5753, f°207-210 (testament du 11.04.1758).

6 GARCIA BAQUERO GONZALEZ, op. cit., p. 492.

7 Listas de los nacionales extranjeros y otras personas que gozan del fuero militar de guerra en esta plaza de Cádiz – año 1765, de Superior Mandato, Real Imprenta de Marina de D. Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros, opusculé impr., 22 p.

Pour le Royaume de Bohême : Francisco HIQUE, Jorge YANQUE, Juan Christoval PREISLER, Antonio PREISLER. La présence de ce dernier est attestée du moins entre 1757 et 1799. Il était originaire de Blotendorf en Bohême, tenant en 1781 avec deux associés compatriotes (Agustin PILTZ et Fernando GENTLER) 2 boutiques (Cadix et Séville) et 1 entrepôt (Cadix) de cristaux. SI YANQUE équivaut à JANCKE, la présence sous un autre prénom serait encore effective en 1790, correspondant à un commerce de cristaux tenu par un ressortissant de Jaida (?) en Bohême (*AHPC, Protocolos CA 5346*, f°236-238, *CA 3790*, f°171-178, *CA 2246*, f°391-394, *CA 2226*, f°2485-2490).

# Propaganda, Conspiracy, Persecution: Prussian Influences on Habsburg Religious Policies from Leopold I to Joseph II

REGINA PÖRTNER

## *Religion and state power in eighteenth-century Europe: some recent perspectives*

Over the past two decades, a substantial number of studies has highlighted the importance of religion as a determinant in Ancien Régime politics and society.<sup>1</sup> The religious roots of the French Revolution have been uncovered, and the connections between Enlightened thought and Reformed Christianity have been further explored. Revisionist accounts have questioned the existence of a distinct secular Enlightenment outside France, thus making the French case an exception from the general European pattern.<sup>2</sup> In a British context, the controversial concept of an English “confessional state” similar to its Catholic Central European counterparts has been developed. Though the social and political impact of religious Dissent in Britain is acknowledged, the confessional state-model cedes greater importance to the political implications of the process of reform and recovery within the eighteenth-century Anglican church. Anglican political theology, it is pointed out, contributed to the vindication of the state-church link and helped assert and perpetuate “Anglican hegemony” in response to the revolution-

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1 Earlier versions of this paper were presented at a conference on ‘Conspiracy and Conspiracy Theory in Britain and Europe’, held at Birkbeck College, London, on 13-14 July 2001, and at the Early Modern European History Seminar, Oxford, on 30 November 2001. I would like to thank the organizers, Dr. Julian Swann and Prof. Robert Evans, and the participants for stimulating discussions. Further thanks must go to Prof. Peter George Muir Dickson who has read a draft version of this paper and has offered helpful criticism. All remaining weaknesses and inaccuracies are the author’s responsibility. For an appraisal of current trends in the historiography of late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century religion see the editors’ introduction in: James E. BRADLEY/Dale K. VAN KLEY (eds.), *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*. Notre Dame. Indiana 2001, 14-15. Apart from the essays in that volume see the recent publications by William R. WARD, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789*. Cambridge 1999 and Nigel ASTON, *Christianity and revolutionary Europe, 1750-1830*. Cambridge 2002. The religious implications of early modern kingship are drawn out in Paul KLÉBER MONOD, *The Power of Kings. Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715*. New Haven – London 1999.

2 Dale K. VAN KLEY, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution. From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*. New Haven – London 1996, Nigel ASTON, *Religion and revolution in France, 1780-1804*. Basingstoke 2000; ASTON, op. cit., chapter 3, 93-133, states the revisionist case concerning the origins and intellectual make-up of the Enlightenment in France and the rest of Europe.

ary threat from Europe.<sup>3</sup> For the German-speaking lands, studies assessing the relevance of religion in eighteenth-century politics and society have on the Protestant side concentrated on the impact of Pietism especially as a factor in Prussian and Württemberg state formation. Research into eighteenth-century Austrian Catholicism, per contrast, has stressed the influence of Jansenism and Catholic Enlightened thought of German and Italian provenance.<sup>4</sup> Attention has also been drawn to the efforts of the secular authorities in the Catholic states towards the appropriation of the church's jurisdictional powers and economic resources,<sup>5</sup> illustrating how attempts to circumscribe ecclesiastical influence on civil society became an important aspect of eighteenth-century religious policy.

*Confessional politics in post-Westphalian Germany: Habsburg Imperial authority and the Protestant trias Saxony, Brandenburg-Prussia, Hanover*

In the Holy Roman Empire, religious pluralism became the legally sanctioned norm under the terms of the Westphalian Peace and the 'normal year' clause. Confessional polemic receded into the background of politics as a result of the availability of agreed legal procedures for the settlement of disputed religious issues.<sup>6</sup> In spite of these precautions, there were critical outbreaks of confessional tension in the German lands in the first half of the eighteenth century which seemed to jeopardize the settlement of 1648, so, for example, the crisis which resulted from the Counter-Reforming activities of the Catholic Elector Palatine Karl Philipp (1716-1742) in the years 1719-1724. Religion remained a divisive issue of considerable emotive appeal to the broader confessionalized populace, and continued to play an important part in the arena of politics, where it helped

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3 Jonathan C. D. CLARK, *English Society 1660-1832*. Cambridge<sup>2</sup>2000 (1985).

4 For the political role of Pietism see Richard L. GAWTHROP, *Pietism and the making of eighteenth-century Prussia*. Cambridge 1993 and the studies by James ALLEN VANN, *The Making of a state. Württemberg 1593-1793*. Ithaca-London 1984, and Mary FULBROOK, *Piety and politics. Religion and the rise of absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia*. Cambridge 1983. Most recently, the subject has been outlined by Christopher CLARK, *Piety, politics and society: Pietism in eighteenth-century Prussia*. In: Philip G. DWYER (ed.), *The Rise of Prussia 1700-1830*. Harlow et al. 2000, 68-88. The impact of Jansenism in the Habsburg Monarchy is discussed by William R. WARD, *Late Jansenism and the Habsburgs*. In: BRADLEY/VAN KLEY, *Religion and Politics*, as in note 1, 154-86; see also the by now classic study of eighteenth-century Austrian Jansenism by Peter HERSCHE, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*. Wien 1977. For the Catholic Enlightenment in the German-speaking lands see the collections of papers edited by Harm KLUETING (ed.), *Katholische Aufklärung: Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland*. Hamburg 1993 and Elisabeth KOVÁCS (ed.), *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus*. Wien 1979.

5 Peter DICKSON, *Finance and government under Maria Theresia 1740-1780*. 2 vols. Oxford 1987, vol. 1, 59-77, and ID., *Joseph II's reshaping of the Austrian Church*. In: *Historical Journal* 36/1 (1993), 89-114.

6 Martin HECKEL, *Gesammelte Schriften. Staat, Kirche, Recht, Geschichte*, ed. by Klaus SCHLAICH, vol. 1. Tübingen 1989, 106-226, vol. 2, 636-736.