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Lessons in “Good Policy” for the King’s Servants: Political and Cameral Studies in Croatia (1769-1776)**

Professional education of civil servants was one of the major goals of 18th-century educational reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy. During the reign of Maria Theresa, a range of state-controlled academies and university programmes were established in order to teach the prospective civil servants the art of “good policy” (*gute Polizei*, or *wise governance*), which comprised a theoretical knowledge of public administration, education, health, economy, and security as the main postulates for incorporating the principles of common good and prosperity in public governance. One of such programmes, namely Political and Cameral Studies (*Studium politico-camerale*), was founded in 1769 in the Croatian city of Varaždin. Focusing on that programme, this paper aims at analysing the educational policy of Maria Theresa in regard to her civil servants and at estimating the knowledge required for public service during the period of enlightened absolutism. The Varaždin programme will be compared with similar institutes in Austria and Hungary. Also, its success in Croatia, where it was supposed to function as the key institution for the educational strategies of local noblemen, will be critically assessed.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, 18th century, history of higher education, history of public service, Enlightenment, Cameralism

In the autumn of 1764, political tensions between the Court of Vienna, with Maria Theresa on the throne of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the estates of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, were at its peak. A number of administrative, fiscal, economic, and social reforms had been carried out in the western part

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of the Monarchy in the previous years, and now Maria Theresa was attempting to apply similar models to the lands of the Hungarian crown, which included Croatia and Slavonia. The Croatian counties – seats of feudal power – had just gone through significant administrative change, which challenged the traditional structures of the Kingdom. The fiscal autonomy of the Estates was questioned, and in 1755 an *Urbarium* was introduced, regulating the relations between the landowners and their serfs, and indicating the Court's intention to intervene in the essence of the feudal system as well. Furthermore, by the end of the Seven Year's War (1756-1763), the Croatian nobility was financially exhausted, and the opinion prevailed that the Croatian lands – the Military Frontier included – had sacrificed enough for the Habsburg dynasty during the Prussian wars since 1740. Moreover, from July of 1764 the Hungarian Diet was in session, and it turned out to be very dramatic because of the Court's expectations concerning the approval of a tax increase on the one side, and massive resistance from the Hungarian and Croatian estates on the other.¹ Communication between the Court of Vienna and the parliaments of the Hungarian Kingdom were permeated by their opposite understanding of the nature of governance: whereas the Court advocated in its pursuits the "necessities of the time," "public interests," or "general welfare,"² the estates safeguarded their privileges and invoked their "traditional rights" and their "grandfathers' sacrifices for the dynasty."³

That same year, however, Maria Theresa sought cooperation with the Croatian estates regarding a specific economic project: establishing a profitable trade route from the fertile plains of Banat and Slavonia to the Adriatic Sea.⁴ Along with numerous ordinances to the Croatian Parliament and the Ban (governor), which were supposed to assure that the local administrations and landowners provide necessary organisational and financial arrangements for maintaining the trade route – such as manpower, ensuring the passability of roads and rivers, and the safety of travel – the Vienna Court sent to Croatia several engineers with the task of cooperating directly with the estates and estate-controlled local administra-

¹ On the Hungarian Diet, see István Szijártó, *A Diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés 1708-1792* (Keszthely: Balaton Akadémia Kiadó, 2010); on reforms in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, see Ivana Horbec, "Političke ustanove", in: *U potrazi za mirom i blagostanjem. Hrvatske zemlje u 18. stoljeću*, ed. Lovorka Čoralić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2013), 27-52.

² Cf. *Jura Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. I, ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (Zagreb: Velocibus typis dris. Ludovici Gaj, 1862), 453-455; Croatian State Archives (hereinafter: HDA), holdings 12, series 12.1, book VIII/10, session date August 29, 1776; and Hungarian State Archives (hereinafter: MNL OL), holdings A1, 182 ex 1767.

³ Many examples in: *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, vol. VIII-IX, ed. Ivan Filipović et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 1971-1974).

⁴ On the importance of this trade route for the Court of Vienna, see Ivana Horbec and Milan Vrbanus, "Sava – poticaj i prepreka trgovini u XVIII. stoljeću", in: *Rijeka Sava u povijesti*, ed. Branko Ostajmer (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2015), 281-312.

tion. These engineers could, however, only report to the Court that full cooperation with Croatian estates was not possible and that only a few “patriots” on higher positions were willing to help. In order for the Court to achieve the goal, they therefore proposed a series of reforms that would improve Croatia’s administration, economics, and rural management, stating that with those reforms carried out, “the Croatian nation could serve as an example to the Hungarian nation, which is very slow in realizing its well-being.”⁵ However, Maria Theresa decided not to impose additional reforms on the Croatian estates. She granted additional funds from the project treasury, awarded the “patriotic” officials, ordered that all public servants in Croatia-Slavonia should be provided with “good books” in agriculture, livestock breeding, and “good policy”, and awarded royal fellowships to Croatian noblemen who were to study Political and Cameral Sciences at the University of Vienna.⁶

This ordinance is typical of Maria Theresa’s Croatian policy at the time: she responded to the proposed structural reforms by encouraging education. Such policy manifested itself primarily in promoting state-controlled education among the nobility, especially those who aspired to serve in public administration.⁷ The objective of state education was to mould citizens who would be economically independent, aware of the public interests, useful to the society, and loyal to the interests of the ruling dynasty: “Public schools are to be considered as nurseries where subjects needed in public administration are educated and formed, enabling the supreme ruler and the state to obtain suitable servants and citizens for administration and promotion of his [ruler’s] service.” – Such was the judgment of Count Christoph Niczky⁸ on the purpose of education, expressed in 1769, and it fully corresponded to the Court’s view at the time. Moreover, such opinions strongly influenced the dynamics of educational reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy: in creating the state-controlled school system, the first schools to be re-

⁵ Cf. the proposals of engineers Fremaut and Römer in: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (hereinafter: ÖStA, FHKA), Kommerz Litorale, Fasz- r. Nr. 720, fol. 1337-1347 (here fol. 1342v) and Fasz. r. Nr. 721, 231-236.

ÖStA, FHKA, Kommerz Litorale, Fasc. r. Nr. 721., fol. 231-236. Cf. Igor Karaman, “Djelatnost trgovinsko-gospodarske komisije Hrv. kralj. vijeća (1769.-1779.)”, *Historijski zbornik* 17 (1964): 187-188.

⁶ ÖStA, FHKA, Fasz. r. Nr. 720, fol. 1346.

⁷ Until 1844, in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, only members of noble families could hold public offices. On the abolition of this restriction in 1844, see the conclusion of the Hungarian Parliament Nr. 1843/44, art. 5.

⁸ Niczky was one of the most prominent advisors of Maria Theresa on Hungarian issues and the Supreme Count of the Slavonian County of Virovitica. Cf. his proposal in MNL OL, holdings A1, 439 ex 1769, published by Ernő Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Maria Theresia korában*, vol. I (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899), 388-401, here 307. Foundations for the state-controlled education system were laid in the Monarchy from the 1750s to the 1770s. On the objective of this type of education, see Ivana Horbec, “The ‘Quiet Force’: The Role of Legal Education in the Disciplining of the Hungarian and Croatian Nobility in the 1760s”, *Povijesni prilozi* 53 (2017): 81-108.

formed were the higher schools, where prospective civil servants acquired their professional education.

In this paper, I shall therefore present the efforts Maria Theresa and her political advisors made to introduce, through a school system, a new type of civil servant, qualified to cope with the requirements of the emerging state power. Still predominantly of a noble background, this servant was educated to be receptive to reforms and loyal to the interests of the Court. Above all, he had to be competent to advise the Queen on the necessary improvements in accordance with the principle of enlightened government – with special regard to economic and social issues. My research focuses on the programme of Political and Cameral Studies established in 1769 in the Croatian city of Varaždin, where it was supposed to function as the key institution for the educational strategies of local noblemen. Regarding this programme as an example of early educational policy practised by Maria Theresa in the Hungarian Kingdom, I shall critically assess its importance in the higher education of civil servants in Croatia.

The Concept

For the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, the reign of Maria Theresa was, despite the introductory example, above all associated with reforms. Significant changes in the political structures of the Kingdom, directed from the Court in Vienna, started the processes of proto-modernisation for the political, social, and economic establishments of the *Ancien Régime* and led to the creation of a stable administrative system that allowed the state, as an abstract power, to take over the initiative in progressive developments. The concepts of monarchism and absolutism were then manifested through the introduction of a strict order in administration, a tendency towards uniformity in dealing with public affairs, and a continuous control of local powers. These authoritarian measures were, nevertheless, accompanied by the social, cultural, and economic engagement of proto-modern state structures such as demanded from the monarch in accordance with the more generally accepted ideas of the Enlightenment. This resulted, for example, in state-controlled educational and health systems, as well as extensive intervention of the state administration in the domains of agriculture, transport, manufacturing, or private law. For this reason, the period politically shaped by Enlightened Absolutism – and I identify the reign of Maria Theresa as a part of it – was permeated by significant differences in understanding the nature of governance and by contradictions between “local” and “central” interests.⁹ The Court

⁹ Domokos Kosáry, *Művelődés a XVIII. századi Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980); Éva Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765-1800* (Budapest, CEU Press, 1997); for Croatian examples, see Ivana Horbec, “Razvoj uprave i javnih službi Banske Hrvatske u vrijeme vladavine Marije Terezije”, (PhD dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2009), 127f.

dealt with these conflicts primarily by seeking partners among the local nobility. The Queen encouraged them in public service by promising promotions, granting scholarships to the members of their families, or – in general – by linking their political and social status, as well as their existential means, to the Court. Since the nobility monopolized public service and held the political authority to perform it, cooperation with the local authorities in implementing the reforms was essential to Vienna. Moreover, and despite the impression that the reforms were implemented “from above”, *good advice* was regarded as a basis of reform planning – and that advice could be given only by those familiar with the local conditions.¹⁰

In that regard, the education of civil servants played a crucial role. The reformed, state-controlled schools of higher education aimed at providing the nobility, as the main aspirants for the civil service, with education that would harmonize state interests with the prerogatives of the Estates. More precisely, it served to channel their interests towards issues that were considered to be of *common good*, while justifying the monarch’s right to intervene in them. The central concept of this type of education was *Gute Polizei* – “good policy” or “wise governance.” In this expression, the German word *Polizei* was associated with a much broader meaning than today and included far more than mere maintenance of the legal order and internal security.¹¹ The concept – in terms of economic history closely connected to the *Kameralwissenschaften* (Cameral Sciences) – was a distinctive

¹⁰ Maria Theresa encouraged advising of the Court by all royal institutions, as well as by individual advisors and other bureaucrats employed in them. See, for example, an ordinance from 1769 in: *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740 bis 1780 [...]*, vol. 5, ed. J. Kropatschek (Vienna, 1786), Nr. 1150, 480-482.

¹¹ More on the concept from the European perspective, with an emphasis on the German-speaking lands, in Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1983); Raeff, “The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach”, *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975), nr. 5: 1221-1243. Cf. also Jutta Brückner, *Staatswissenschaften, Kameralismus und Naturrecht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Politischen Wissenschaft in Deutschland des späten 18. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 1976); Karl Kroeschell, “Gute Polizei”, in: *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1980), 281-293; Daniel Tilgner, *Sozialdisziplinierung und Sozialregulierung. Die Polizeyordnungen für Schleswig-Holstein von 1636 und für das Amt Bergedorf von 1623* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2000), esp. 14-55; Andrea Iseli, *Gute Polizey. Öffentliche Ordnung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 2009), esp. 115-131; Andre Wakefield: *The Disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009); the volume *A General Police System: Political Economy and Security in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. George S. Rigakos et al. (Ottawa: Red Quill Books, 2009); and the paper by Roland Axtman, “‘Police’ and the Formation of the Modern State: Legal and Ideological Assumptions on State Capacity in the Austrian Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy”, in: *Theories and Origins of the Modern Police*, ed. Clive Emsley (New York: Routledge, 2016), 131-154.

feature of the German-speaking lands.¹² The essence of *Gute Polizei* in the context of early modern state structures within the Habsburg Monarchy can best be understood through the works of Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi and Joseph von Sonnenfels, two theoreticians who authored the concept of political science in the mid-18th-century Habsburg Monarchy, and whose works on the subject served as textbooks for the political and cameral studies throughout its lands.¹³

In the preface to his textbook *Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft* (The Principles of Political Science), published in 1756, Justi stated that the purpose of *Polizei* was “to preserve and increase the property of the state by means of good inner organisation, and to provide the public (*die Respublic*) with all constitutionally available internal power and strength.” For Justi, the objective of *Polizei* was “to cultivate the Lands, to improve sustenance, and to maintain good discipline and order in the community.” *Polizei* thus contributes to achieving “general welfare,” “happiness”, and the “common good.”¹⁴ Justi’s lectures in “good policy,” intended primarily for monarchs and their officials, included general lessons in cultivating land in order to improve nourishment and advice for the economic growth of cities; measures supporting population growth, increase in foreign trade, and expansion of manufactures; measures for improving general education in order to provide all citizens with the knowledge necessary to contribute to the society; lessons in improving health conditions and hygiene, as well as a whole range of ideas for maintaining order and discipline in the public sphere. Joseph von Sonnenfels complemented the concept by adding principles aimed at preserving and improving public health, introducing a fair judicial system, or fulfilling duties related to religion or parenthood in the upbringing of “useful” citizens. He emphasized the need to acquire various statistical data from the population in order

¹² *Kameralwissenschaften* referred to the theory of political economy derived from the writings of German political thinkers Christian Wolff and Samuel Puffendorf.

¹³ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, *Staatwirtschaft oder Systematische Abhandlung aller Oeconomischen un Cameralwissenschaften, die zur Regierung eines Landes erfordert werden*, vol. I-II (Leipzig, 1758); *Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft in einem vernünftigen, auf den Endzweck der Policy gegründeten Zusammenange, und zum Gebrauch academischer Vorlesungen abgefasst* (Göttingen, 1756); *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* (Berlin, 1760). On Justi’s thought, see *The Beginnings of Political Economy*. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, ed. Jürgen Georg Backhaus (New York: Springer, 2009). On Sonnenfels, see his work *Grundsätze der Polizey- Handlungs- und Finanzwissenschaft*, vol. I-III (Vienna, 1765-1767). Selected scholarship on Sonnenfels includes the following studies: Karl-Heinz Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels und die österreichische Reformbewegung im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus. Eine Studie zum Zusammenhang von Kameralwissenschaften und Verwaltungspraxis* (Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen Verlag, 1970); *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988); Simon Karsten, *Lehrer – Schriftsteller – Staatsreformer: Die Karriere des Josephs von Sonnenfels (1733-1817)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011); László Kontler, “Polizey und Patriotism: Joseph von Sonnenfels and the Legitimacy of Enlightened Monarchy in the Gaze of Eighteenth-Century State Sciences”, in: *Monarchism and Absolutism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Cesare Cuttica and Glenn Burgess (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 75-90.

¹⁴ Justi, *Grundsätze*, preface to the first edition and p. 7.

for the ruler to be able to devise measures for improvement. He also dealt with the contemporary problems of censorship, torture, and free trade. For Sonnenfels, *Polizei* referred to “anything that concerned internal security.” He provided his students with a very popular three-volume handbook *Grundsätze in Polizey-, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft* (The Principles of the Political, Commercial and Financial Sciences), which remained in use at law schools in the Monarchy until the mid-19th century, and which focused in the education of civil servants on content that was applicable in the Monarchy’s administrative practices.

According to Justi and Sonnenfels, one of the most important tasks of the state was to implement these measures in order to achieve social *Glückseligkeit* or “happiness”: for Justi, “happiness” was “the ultimate purpose and therefore the essence of all republics,” while Sonnenfels saw the purpose of the existence of states in general welfare (*Gemeinwohl*), happiness, security, and “comfort” (*Bequemlichkeit*) for all citizens.¹⁵ Both theoreticians advocated the intervention of public administration, legitimizing the ruler’s right to intervene in issues that had hitherto been considered as private or subject to the special rights of a particular social or professional group, i.e. a matter of private interest. Justi postulated that “the welfare of the state is the highest law,” while Sonnenfels emphasized that common interest should be considered superior to private interests: “From the fact that the moral entity of the state has only one general best, it follows that private benefit can be considered only as a part of the whole; and in case it contradicts the common good in the way that they cannot be reconciled, private benefit must necessarily be subjected to the general one.”¹⁶ In short, the teaching of Justi and Sonnenfels comprised, accordingly to the enlightened ideas, the practices of “wise governance.” The monarch’s duty, and the duty of his administration, was to use all available means to ensure order, security, and happiness for his subjects, while all citizens of the state were supposed to aspire to become useful members of the society. Consequently, prospective civil servants were instructed to acknowledge the need of state intervention for the sake of achieving common good, as well as the importance of contributions by all citizens and political structures, regardless of their social origin.

The Teaching

From the mid-18th century, the courts of German-speaking lands initiated the founding of schools of higher education and specialized programmes for educating prospective public servants. The curricula of these schools took into account the new teachings on “wise governance,” and soon graduation from these

¹⁵ Justi, *Grundsätze*, 7; Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze*, I, 14.

¹⁶ Justi, *Staatswirtschaft*, I, 2¹⁷⁵⁸, 44-45; Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze*, I, 12.

schools became the sign of professional competence for public service. Political and cameral sciences were first taught at the German Protestant universities of Halle, Göttingen, Jena, and Leipzig, but they were soon introduced to several Catholic universities as well.¹⁷ In the Habsburg Monarchy, lectures in political and cameral sciences were first introduced at the *Theresianum* in Vienna, a noble academy established by Maria Theresa in 1746 with the task to convey knowledge necessary for civil and military service. It was soon to become an elite higher school for the Monarchy’s nobility, and a model to follow.¹⁸ In 1750, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi took over the chair in Political and Cameral Studies, disciplines he had learnt at the reformed universities of Halle, Jena, and Leipzig. The programme was introduced to the University in 1763, with Joseph von Sonnenfels holding the chair of Political and Cameral Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy. The nobility in all parts of the Monarchy was highly encouraged by the Court of Vienna to enrol their offspring into these programmes: to promote the new standards in the education of public servants, Maria Theresa granted scholarships and promised advantages in appointments to public offices. Moreover, political and cameral studies were soon indicated by the Court of Vienna as the most favourable educational choice for prospective civil servants, and by 1770 the programme had become conditional for admissions to all political institutions in the western part of the Monarchy.¹⁹

In trying to strengthen its influence in the eastern part of the Monarchy, where the Estates enjoyed more autonomy and controlled the administration issues,²⁰ the Court in Vienna was particularly engaged in offering reformed education to the Hungarian and Croatian nobility. The Council of State, the supreme advisory body of Maria Theresa since 1761, discussed on various occasions the importance of teaching the noblemen of the Hungarian Kingdom in political and cameral sciences. On one such occasion, in 1765, the following was pointed out as the ultimate goal of conveying the knowledge in these sciences to Hungarian (including Croatian) nobles:

¹⁷ Michael Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, vol. 1: 1600-1800 (Munich, C.H. Beck, 1988), 376.

¹⁸ On the history of initiative for establishing schools of higher education for the nobility and/or public servants in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Olga Khavanova, “Official Policies and Parental Strategies of Educating Hungarian Noblemen in the Age of Maria Theresia”, in: *Adelige Ausbildung. Die Herausforderung der Aufklärung und die Folgen*, ed. Ivo Cerman and Lubos Velek (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006), 97f. Apart from the *Theresianum*, several other schools / foundations were established in Vienna: the Savoyard Academy, the Count Löwenburg College, and the Baron Chaos Foundation.

¹⁹ *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze*, IV, Nr. 725, 254-255; V, Nr. 838, 71-72; VI, Nr. 1252, 303.

²⁰ The Hungarian Kingdom enjoyed significant autonomy on the basis of Hungarian Law, and the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom had administrative and fiscal autonomy within the Hungarian Kingdom until 1779/1790. The statute laws of Hungary were based on István Werböczy’s law code from 1517, the *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi regni Hungariae*, and on the *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, a collection of conclusions of the Hungarian Diet.

The republican principles would be destroyed, and [the Hungarian nobility] enlightened as to how to put to greater advantages these lands that God has bestowed to them with great benefits. The Hungarian and Transylvanian nations have lots of natural reason that would enable reasonable conclusions derived from the political and cameral sciences and guide them towards the ultimate goal by the fastest and the safest way possible.²¹

As a result of this discussion, the Queen established 12 annual grants for students from Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania to study Political and Cameral Sciences under Professor Sonnenfels at the University of Vienna. In the following years, a number of young men from these lands took this opportunity.²² Although earlier stimulations – as was, for example, the call for Chaos foundation in Vienna in 1753 – had not caught interest among the Croatian nobles,²³ by 1760s it had become clear to the nobility that they should adopt the new education standards in order to stay competitive for public offices, and many Croatian nobles responded by applying for royal scholarships on behalf of their sons.

It was not long until cameral studies were introduced to Hungary. The Hungarian chancellor Count Ferenc Esterházy took the initiative. In 1763, he donated his palace in Senec (Hung. Szenc; Germ. Wartburg) and established a foundation with 20,000 forints for the purpose of conveying the knowledge in practical geometry, mechanics, mining, trading, agriculture, and accounting to public officials – knowledge that was becoming increasingly necessary for the administration of counties, cities, or *dicasteria*. The Court in Vienna regarded Esterházy's donation as an act of pure patriotism.²⁴ Four years later, a noble academy was established in Vác under the name *Collegium Theresianum*, following the model

²¹ Quoted are the words of the *Staatsrat's* councillor Baron Egid Borié. The discussions have been published by Győző Ember, "Der österreichische Staatsrat und die ungarische Verfassung 1761-1768", *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* VII (1960): 167 (Nr. 1310 ex 1766, originally in German). Cf. Horbec, "The Quiet Force," 97-98.

²² The annual scholarships that Maria Theresa established for the Croatian nobility in 1764 were then incorporated in this scholarship fund. On the reception of these scholarships and the Court's educational policy towards the Hungarian youth, see the works of Olga Khavanova, "Адальберт Барич: От студента в Вене до профессора в Загребе," *Славянский Альманах* 207 (2006): 434-446; "Official Policies," as well as "Königliche Stipendien als Instrument der Sozialpolitik im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts", in: *Schulstiftungen und Studienfinanzierung. Bildungsmäzenatentum im Spannungsfeld von Konfession, Landespatritismus und frühmodernen Nationsgedanken in den böhmischen, österreichischen und ungarischen Ländern 1500-1800*, ed. J. Bahlcke and Th. Winkelbauer (Vienna: Oldenbourg-Böhlau, 2011), 351-369.

²³ HDA, holdings 1, box 34, subd. 57, 88 ex 1753.

²⁴ Esterházy's proposal and the opinion of Count Ludwig Zinzendorf are preserved in ÖStA, FKHA, Finanzarchiv, Fasz. E5, fol. 9-24; on Maria Theresa's decision, see MNL OL, holdings A1, Nr. 260 ex 1763. On the programme, see Pál Hrenkó, "A szenci Collegium Oeconomicumból és a tatai Studium Cameraticumból kikerült geometrák, hidraulák", *Hidrológiai tájékoztató* 25 (1985): 1.

of its Viennese predecessor.²⁵ Finally, in 1769, a stand-alone programme of Political and Cameral Studies was launched in the Croatian city of Varaždin, aimed at preparing the Croatian nobles for the demands of enlightened government. It is no surprise that the programme was established in Varaždin, since it was the seat of the newly established provincial government – the Croatian Royal Council – which took over a wide spectrum of public affairs from the Croatian Diet in 1767. Schooling was an important part of the Council’s agenda – according to the latter’s initiator, Baron Ferenc Koller, the councillors were supposed to care of “the education of Croatian youth and their impertinent way of thinking instilled in them, in order to show those features that are appropriate for a noble spirit.”²⁶ They also supervised the newly founded programme: Maria Theresa ordered that all examinations should be attended by the Council’s representative and the Court in Vienna regularly briefed on students’ progress and the quality of the programme.²⁷

Professorship was given to Adalbert Adam Barić, who was a former law student at the already reformed University of Vienna, and had just finished Sonnenfels’ course in political and cameral studies there, for which he had been granted a royal scholarship. Barić was recommended to the Queen by Sonnenfels himself, who pointed out the knowledge of Croatian language as an advantage that would help Barić get acquainted with the national customs, along with his “strong principles,” “astute judgment,” and “moral integrity,” which qualified him for the profession.²⁸ The fact that Barić had previously studied under Sonnenfels, and obviously excelled in his studies, reveals another important objective of royal scholarships: they served as a means to educate teachers who would spread the

²⁵ Apart from Sonnenfels’ programme, scholarships for Croatian students were also available for both aforementioned schools – the *Theresianum* in Vác and the Political and Cameral Studies in Senec. Croatian nobility proved to be very competitive there: candidates for royal scholarships in Vác included the sons of the highest civil and military officials in Croatia. Cf. HDA, holdings 32, box 3, Nr. 12 ex actis gen. congr. September 15, 1767, HDA, holdings 12, series 12.1, book VIII/1, 67, 83, 192; on the first scholarships in Senec, see ÖStA, FHKA, Camerale Ungarn, Fasc. r. Nr. 787, subd. 1: Stiftungen 1768-1770, 98 ex Jan 1769, fol. 273-277.

²⁶ On the various circumstances that led to the establishment of the Croatian Royal Council, and its tasks within the Kingdom’s school system, see Ivana Horbec, “Stvaranje jedne institucije prosvijećenog apsolutizma: Kraljevsko vijeće za Kraljevine Dalmaciju, Hrvatsku i Slavoniju”, in: *Nikola Škrlec Lomnički 1729-1799*, vol. IV, ed. Stjenko Vranjican et al. (Zagreb: HAZU etc., 2007), 47-264. On Koller’s opinion, see MNL OL, holdings A1, 182 ex 1767, fol. 63.

²⁷ Cf. Maria Theresa’s order in HDA, holdings 12, A77/1769. Similar practice existed in other higher schools of the Monarchy. See, for example, the provision from 1766 that obliged the professors at the University of Vienna to submit to the Court the list of students that excelled in their studies. *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen*, vol. V, Nr. 838, 71-72.

²⁸ On Sonnenfels’ opinion, see MNL OL, holdings A1, 362 ex 1769. On Barić, see Khavanova, “Адалберт Барич” and Ivana Horbec, “Između siromaštva i časti: profesor Adalbert Adam Barić (1742.-1813.)”, in: *Ljudi 18. stoljeća na hrvatskom prostoru. Od plemića i crkvenih dostojanstvenika do težaka i ribara*, ed. Lovorka Čoralić et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016), 422-431.

ideas acquired in Vienna among the youth throughout the Monarchy. The students were supposed to study for about two years, based on lessons from Sonnenfels' handbook *Grundsätze in Polizey-, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*, which was widely used in similar programmes.²⁹ In July 1769, the Queen encouraged the Croatian nobles to enrol into the programme by promising advantage in future appointments to public offices. Moreover, she established a scholarship fund with nine annual grants of 100, 80, or 60 forints (according to individual achievement during the studies). With these scholarships, Maria Theresa wanted to create "an incentive for competition" among the students, and to attract young men that could have otherwise not afforded higher education, thus connecting their career to the state service and state financing.³⁰

Surprisingly, the first call for applications to the Political and Cameral Studies in Varaždin did not result in any candidates. The Croatian Royal Council, which spread the news, had to inform the Queen that professor Barić had arrived, but had no one to teach. The Councillors assumed that the reason for such lack of interest was the German language requirement, since German was to be the teaching language of the programme.³¹ However, the second call, which declared Latin as the teaching language, yielded good results: by the beginning of the following year, 19 students were enrolled. A list of students who were granted Maria Theresa's first scholarships at Varaždin indicates that the programme had a good chance to gain regional importance.³² The students' profile was generally high – many of them came from prominent noble families and already had good education or were active in public service. I will name several examples: Count Josip Drašković, member of a Croatian aristocratic family and a stepson of Governor Ferenc Nádasdy, who had already studied at the *Theresianum* in Vienna; nobleman Ivan Bužan, son of the former Croatian vice-governor, who had graduated Law from the University of Trnava; Ljudevit Marić, a notary who had graduated Law from the Universities in Trnava and Eger; or Ignjat Kiss from the Veszprém County in Hungary, who had graduated Law in Eger. Among other students, nobles and citizens from several Hungarian and Croatian counties, as well as

²⁹ Cf. n. 13.

³⁰ For purposes of comparison, the lower county officials, such as the vice-notaries or the *vicejudices nobilium* (both exclusively of noble origin) earned 100 forints per year for their service. Cf. MNL OL, holdings A39, 3835 ex 1770. On Maria Theresa's decision to grant scholarships for the Varaždin programme, see ŐStA, FHKA, Camerale Ungarn, Fasc. r. Nr. 607. Subd. 2, 103 ex Jul. 1769, fol. 413r (published in Khavanova, "Адальберт Барич", 438). These grants were, however, not intended for the wealthier students: for example, the scholarship application of Count Josip Drašković was rejected although he proved to be the best student in 1769/70. Vladimir Bayer, "Osnivanje Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu (god. 1776) i njegovo definitivno uređenje (1777. god.)", in: *Pravni fakultet u Zagrebu. Prilozi za povijest katedri i biblioteke Fakulteta*, vol. I (Zagreb: Pravni fakultet, 1996), 167.

³¹ HDA, holdings 12, A77/1769.

³² HDA, holdings 12, F 46/1770.

the Republic of Venice, should be mentioned.³³ At the beginning of 1770, Ban Nádasdy could report to the Queen on the excellent progress of the programme and Professor Barić's general satisfaction.³⁴

Contrary to these enthusiastic beginnings, the profile of students was much lower in the years that followed. In 1773, Professor Barić even appealed to the Queen to move the programme to the Hungarian city of Vác, stressing that "there are few young men who are capable of mastering political sciences in all of Croatia" and that the number of students was decreasing year after year.³⁵ His proposal was only partially accepted: the programme was, quite contrary to Barić's plea, moved to the Croatian city of Zagreb, where, according to the Court's view, more candidates would be eligible due to their previous education in *humaniora*. In 1776, the programme was integrated in the Law Faculty at the Royal Academy of Zagreb, as part of a broader reform of higher education in the Hungarian Kingdom, where the Political and Cameral Sciences became one of the obligatory programmes.³⁶ In Zagreb, a significantly greater number of students were enrolled in the programme. In comparison with the first students, however, they had a far more modest educational and social background.³⁷

The later biographies of Barić's students, as far as the available sources allow us to reconstruct them, show that competence in political and cameral sciences gained in Varaždin brought obvious advantages in future careers only to a few individuals. These were mostly students who had already been appointed to Croatia's public offices and hoped to move up the ladder: for example, Ignjat Kovacsoczy and Josip Vitez, clerks of the Croatian Royal Council who later advanced to the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council or the judicial chair of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom.³⁸ Apart from the nobles who had studied at other high schools, or were already in service, only several other Barić's students occur later as public servants: one of them was Ivan Lakitić, who was in 1773 appointed scribe to the Croatian Royal Council on the grounds of his certificate from Varaždin.³⁹ The

³³ The same list of granted scholarships reveals an interesting fact: all of the mentioned students declared that they knew German. This suggests that they were able to attend lectures given in German, as was initially planned by the Court.

³⁴ MNL OL, holdings A1, 57 ex 1770.

³⁵ MNL OL, holdings A39, 4855 ex 1772.

³⁶ On the reform, see Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović, and Vlasta Švoger, "Zakonodavni okvir stvaranja modernoga školstva u Hrvatskoj (18.-19. stoljeće)", in: *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, vol. I (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 7ff.

³⁷ The educational and social background of students in the period from 1773-1776 is evident from the scholarship lists kept at HDA, holdings 12, series 12.1, book VIII/8, session dated September 9, 1774; book VIII/9, session dated September 5, 1775; MNL OL, holdings A39, 4788 ex 1776.

³⁸ ÖStA, FHKA, Camerale Ungarn, Fasz. r. Nr. 148/1, 67 ex Mart 1770, fol. 110; Fasz. r. Nr. 148/2, 86 ex Sept 1780, fol. 319-325; 142 ex Mart 1782, fol. 355-358; HDA, holdings 12, series 12.1, book VIII/4, 361.

³⁹ ÖStA, FHKA, Camerale Ungarn, Fasz. r. Nr. 148/1, 153 ex Jun 1773, fol. 296-300; 157 ex Nov 1782,

traditional patterns in appointments to public offices were still very strong at the end of the century: in practice, family or other social ties remained the main qualification for the office. The following words of Josip Voltić (Voltiggi), who graduated Law from the University in Vienna and Political and Cameral Sciences in Croatia, may serve to illustrate the challenges that the students were facing. In his *Viennese Letters*, he wrote to an imaginary Court Councillor:

As a councillor, you constantly received my applications to the monarch for whatever appointment, if only that of a scribe. I told you who I was, of what importance, what sciences I had studied, what languages learned, what experience I had. I modestly added that I was cheerful by nature, open-minded, peace-loving, strong, hardworking, and grateful; but that I did not have money, friends, or support of female affection; that I belonged to no party and that I was incapable of opening the way with sneaky flattery. You always deluded me with half-promises of your high auspices, but you never did anything.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The practice of teaching political and cameral sciences in Croatia before the integration of the programme into the University allows for several conclusions. First of all, it is questionable whether as a stand-alone programme it had brought significant advantages to its students in making a career in public service, despite the Queen's promises and numerous contemporary legal acts that regulated the matter. The described examples illustrate that Barić's students gained more advantages from their previous education, or – what ought to be considered in the period in question – from family or social ties they enjoyed at the time of their introduction into public affairs. In addition, from 1770s onwards, competition for entering public service was becoming stronger: even Sonnenfels, an agile advocator of state control over the education of civil servants, criticized the system in 1771, arguing that it focused on “the creation of offices for a multitude of students, instead on providing the administration with the required number of people.”⁴¹ In this aspect, although the Varaždin programme failed to become a regionally important centre in the higher education of civil servants, it cannot be regarded as an exception: only a few university and stand-alone programmes in the Monarchy actually guaranteed later employment in the public (or the King's) service.⁴²

fol. 542-566.

⁴⁰ Josip Voltić, *Bečka pisma. Ričoslovník*, trans. Mate Maras, ed. Josip Bratulić (Pula; Rijeka; Rovinj; Zagreb: Čakavski sabor; Otokar Keršovani; Centro di ricerche storiche; Mladost, 1981), 50-51.

⁴¹ Quoted after: Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780 bis 1848* (Vienna; Cologne; Graz: Böhlau, 1991), 93.

⁴² Thus, the students in Senec gained a more technically oriented education and were more often chosen to serve in the Hungarian Chancellery or the Counties. Cf. Hrenkó, “A szenci Collegium.”

Nevertheless, in the period of Maria Theresa’s reign, education at the reformed schools did become an important qualification for obtaining a public office. Political and cameral sciences became an integral part of legal education and, from 1774, obligatory for all officials. By the end of Maria Theresa’s reign, the principles of *Gute Polizei* were evident in the work of nobles holding public offices in Croatia: their reports and suggestions to the Court referred less to their political rights as noblemen, and more to the practice of government as such. An illustrative example is Baron Ferenc Balassa, educated at the *Theresianum* in Vienna, who later became the Ban of Croatia (1785-1790): his reports to the Court are textbook examples of Justi’s and Sonnenfels’ teaching in political and cameral sciences as a basis for administrative knowledge.⁴³ Consequently, the main subjects of concern for the local officials were now improvements in the local economy, health system, educational networks, or the general living conditions. Furthermore, the applications of candidates for the offices reveal a new approach to public service: the former references to the family merits or personal sacrifices were replaced by highlighting specific knowledge, broad interests, or experience in economy.⁴⁴ As far as educational strategies are concerned, it is evident that the Croatian nobles preferred the higher schools in Vienna – the *Theresianum* or the Faculty of Law – or the University of Pest.⁴⁵

The reign of Maria Theresa is therefore also marked by the emergence of a new officialdom, whose public activity significantly changed the social and political environment in Croatia. However, and often despite the expectations of the Court in Vienna, education in “good policy” did not necessarily imply unconditional loyalty to the Court interests. On the contrary, the Viennese students were the ones who, from the end of the 18th century, most often criticized the Habsburg rule.⁴⁶ The Queen’s reform of higher education thus indeed helped form thinking citizens, but not always obedient ones.

⁴³ Cf. for example Balassa’s annual reports from 1787 and 1788. MNL OL, holdings P-1765 (F. Balassa), box 10, fol. 256-287 and 315-358.

⁴⁴ Cf. for example MNL-OL, holdings A1, 27 ex 1768.

⁴⁵ Ivana Horbec, “Kroatische Studenten in Wien im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus,” in: *Die Kroaten an der Wiener Universität. 650 Jahre Universität Wien*, ed. Marijan Kalapurić et al. (Vienna: KAG, 2016), 153-176.

⁴⁶ For example, Nikola Škrlec Lomnički, a former Viennese student and an advocate of reforms of enlightened absolutism, levelled strong criticism at the ruler’s absolutism in the 1780s. Cf. his work in: *Nikola Škrlec Lomnički 1729-1799*, vol. I-IV (Zagreb, 1999-2007), esp. vol. I, 51, 53, 55. On the results of Maria Theresa’s educational policy among the Hungarian and Croatian noblemen, see also Horbec, “The Quiet Force.”

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Podučavanje kraljevih službenika “dobroj vladavini”: Studij političkih i kameralnih znanosti u Hrvatskoj (1769. – 1776.)

Sažetak

Tijekom vladavine Marije Terezije, uz opsežne reforme koje su vodile formiranju proto-moderne uprave u Hrvatsko-Slavonskome Kraljevstvu, oblikovana je i nova percepcija “prosvijećenog” javnog službenika. Iako još uvijek gotovo isključivo plemićkoga staleža, taj je službenik morao biti lojalan interesima bečkoga dvora i spreman provoditi reforme, ali i sposoban da vladara savjetuje o nužnim mjerama napretka u smislu vladavine prosvijećenog apsolutizma. U isto je vrijeme njegov javni autoritet morao biti prihvaćen od strane staleža kao nositelja tradicionalnih političkih struktura. Profesionalno obrazovanje javnih službenika stoga je postalo jednim od važnijih ciljeva prosvjetnih reformi 18. stoljeća: upravo je Marija Terezija osnovala niz akademija i tečajeva na kojima je nastava bila kontrolirana od strane države, a njih su pratile intenzivne reforme sveučilišnih programa – prije svega na studijima prava i filozofije. Na njima su se podučavale znanosti koje su bile praktično primjenjive u javnoj upravi ili ekonomiji, a budući javni službenici podučavali su se vještinama “dobre politike” ili “pametne vladavine” (*gute Polizei*) koje su obuhvaćale teoretska znanja javne uprave, školstva, zdravstva, gospodarstva te sigurnosti kao glavnih postulata za postizanje “javnoga dobra” ili “općega blagostanja.” Jedan od takvih programa, kao samostalni studij, osnovan je 1769. u Varaždinu. Usko povezan sa novoosnovanim Hrvatskim kraljevskim vijećem, zamišljen je kao obrazovni centar s regionalnim značajem ne samo i za buduće i za već djelatne javne službenike. Ovim se radom, pretežito na temelju arhivskih istraživanja, na primjeru Političko-kameralnog studija u Varaždinu do razdoblja njegove integracije u Kraljevsku akademiju u Zagrebu 1776. prikazuje politika Marije Terezije prema školovanju javnih službenika i definira znanje koje je za javnu službu bilo potrebno u razdoblju prosvijećenog apsolutizma, odnosno u razdoblju stvaranja protomodernih struktura državne vlasti. Studij u Varaždinu komparira se s drugim sličnim programima na području Habsburške Monarhije, a njegov se uspjeh u Hrvatskoj i na regionalnoj razini kritički propituje.

Ključne riječi: Habsburška Monarhija, 18. stoljeće, povijest visokog školstva, povijest javnih službi, prosvjetiteljstvo, kameralizam

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