

Werner Telesko

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für die Erforschung der Habsburgermonarchie und des Balkanraumes, Wien

Graphic Prints of the Josephine Period (1765/1790) and the Propaganda of 'Religious Tolerance'

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Abstract

This article aims to deliver a new and methodologically modified view of representation and propaganda strategies in the late 18th century. In the Josephine era, emphasis was placed less on the glorification of a single regent. Instead, the focus was more on complex, multi-layered propagations of a new system of governance and self-image in the context of reform efforts that were intended to permeate all areas of life. In general, the contents of prints dealing with the confessional issue range from the image of the ruler (for example, Joseph as a 'new' Diogenes) to satire. The Protestants acclaimed the monarch with demonstrations

of gratitude in words, writings and images, which ultimately made the piety of the Emperor a subject in itself. On that bases, I will try to apply a multipolar model that encapsulates the exercise of power as a system of communicative processes with many divergent participators. This view is in line with recent methodological approaches which regard communication as simultaneously a prerequisite and a function of domination. Hence the fundamental question here is how state reforms, particularly those concerning 'Religious Tolerance', could be communicated and (finally) carried out in words and images.

Keywords: *Representation and propaganda strategies, Reform efforts, Religious policy, Enlightenment, Communicative processes, Religious Tolerance*

This paper aims to deliver a new and methodologically modified view of representation and propaganda strategies in the late 18th century. In comparison to the field of historiography, art historical research lags far behind in its investigations into the era of Joseph II. This research 'gap', however, cannot be closed solely through the application of genuine art historical methodology: It necessarily requires the integration of and harmonisation with approaches used in historiography and cultural studies.

In the Josephine era, emphasis was placed less on the glorification of a *single* regent. Instead, the focus was more on complex, multi-layered propagations of a new system of governance and self-image in the context of reform efforts that were intended to permeate *all* areas of life. Secularisation and religious policy in particular have formed central themes of the literary public[s] since the late 1770s. A radical move towards Enlightenment themes can be observed in graphic prints, above all in regard to tolerance¹ and religious policy. They mark a clear break with the era of Maria Theresa and its predominantly allegorical style of representation.

In general, the contents of prints dealing with confessional issues range from images of the ruler (for example, Joseph II as a 'new' Diogenes) to sarcastic satires. Indeed, it is far from clear how prints of this type should be correctly labelled (both from a historical, as well as a contemporary perspective) – as quasi-journalistic comments, allegories, satires or propaganda sheets at the service of 'Religious Tolerance'? The Protestants, for their part, acclaimed the monarch with demonstrations of gratitude in words, writings and images, which ultimately made the piety of the Emperor a subject in itself. For example, Joseph possessed both a Catholic and a Protestant altar (!) on his Moravian estate, and his portrait hung in Lutheran prayer houses and churches.²

Here we can speak of Joseph's 'bifocal' piety.³ Yet it is slightly odd to note that this putatively restless service to the State was frequently formulated precisely through the use of religious ideas and patterns. In particular, forms of religious imagery experienced a broad revival when it came to the goal of placing unconditional faith in the State and the dynasty, or in necessary reforms.

On that multi-layered basis I will try to apply a multipolar methodological model that encapsulates the exercise of power as a system of communicative processes with many divergent participators and various scales of regional activities. This view is in line with recent approaches which regard communication as a prerequisite and a function of domination, both at the same time.⁴ Hence the fundamental question here is how state reforms, particularly those concerning 'Religious Tolerance', could be communicated and (finally) carried out in words *and* – when indicated – related images. How were the goals of Joseph's new religious policy addressed and consequently advanced within the well-tried traditions of Habsburg propaganda? Which factors led to the success and which to the failure of communication between the sovereign and the people? Which protagonists and opinion-makers specifically shaped the sphere of public communication and propaganda and in what way did Joseph II influence this?

In the case of an investigation into the iconography of Josephine policy on religious tolerance, we face a special challenge posed by a political arrangement, the famous *Patent of Toleration*, which was issued in 1781 and exists in many different textual variants.⁵ It regulated religious affairs in detail. However, the specific circumstances under which the *Patent* was able to reveal its significance in the textual and visual media are unclear. In regard to instructions for the visual arts and architecture, the Patent refers above all to the *Bethäuser* (houses of prayer) and their features, but strictly speaking it does not actually mention or even localise the role of the visual arts.

The imperial Patent makes no secret of the intended equality of religions: "Überzeugt eines Theils von der Schädlichkeit alles Gewissenzwanges, und anderer Seits von dem grossen Nutzen, der für die Religion, und dem Staat, aus einer wahren christlichen Tolleranz entspringet, haben Wir Uns bewogen gefunden den augspurgischen, und helvetischen Religions-Verwandten, dann denen nicht unirten Griechen ein ihrer Religion gemäßes Privat-Exercitium allenthalben zu gestatten, ohne Rücksicht, ob selbes jemals gebräuchlich, oder eingeführt gewesen seye, oder nicht. Der katholischen Religion allein soll der Vorzug des öffentlichen Religions-Exercitii verbleiben, denen beeden protestantischen Religionen aber so, wie der schon bestehenden nicht unirt Griechischen aller Orten, wo es nach der hierunten bemerkten Anzahl der Menschen, und nach den Facultäten der Inwohner thunlich fällt, und sie Accatholici nicht schon bereits im Besitz des öffentlichen Religions-Exercitii stehen, das Privat-Exercitium auszuüben erlaubet seyn."

Specific orders are given on the visibility of religious denominations in public space: "Erstens: denen accatholischen Unterthanen, wo hundert Familien existiren, wenn sie auch nicht im Orte des Bethhauses, oder Seelsorgers, sondern ein Theil derselben auch einige Stunden entfernt wohnen, ein eigenes Bethhaus nebst einer Schule erbauen zu dürfen, die weiter entfernten aber können sich in das nächste, jedoch immer in den k. k. Erblanden befindliche Bethhaus, so oft sie wollen, begeben, auch ihre erbländische Geistliche die Glaubens-Verwandte besuchen, und ihnen wie auch den Kranken mit den nöthigen Unterricht, Seelen- und Leibestrost beystehen, doch nie verhindern unter schwerer

Verantwortung, daß einer von einem, oder andern Kranken anverlangt katholische Geistliche beruffen werde. (...) In Ansehen des Bethhauses befehlen Wir ausdrücklich, daß, wo es nicht schon anders ist, solches kein Geläut, keine Glocken, Thürme, und keinen öffentlichen Eingang von der Gasse, so eine Kirche vorstelle, haben, sonst aber wie, und von welchen Materialien sie es bauen wollen, ihnen freystehen, auch alle Administration ihrer Sakramenten, und Ausübung des Gottesdienstes sowohl in dem Ort selbst, als auch deren Uiberbringung zu den Kranken in den dazu gehörigen Filialen, dann die öffentlichen Begräbnisse mit Begleitung ihres Geistlichen vollkommen erlaubet seyn solle."⁶

Hence what we are dealing with here is the relatively preferential treatment of Catholicism. This also opens up the question of the role which the Catholic faith and Catholic iconography played in pictorial propaganda.

The problem becomes clearer if we take a closer look at two widespread graphic prints from the year 1783, which represent only a small selection of a vast production of pertinent graphics, which have not hitherto been studied in detail. Once again, the specific question that arises here concerns the role of the print media in the communication processes of the early modern period, especially in the issue concerning the kind of content which was to be communicated in graphics in relation to, in addition to or in contrast to the aforementioned *Patent of Toleration*.

Yet the two graphic prints we shall be presenting in the following text⁷ are probably not the sort of pictorial comments about the state policy on religion which the Monarch would have wished for. Instead, they represent independent visualisations in the matter of the Enlightenment's critique of the different religions. Hence the engravings are parts of a comprehensive communication process which addresses the issue of religion in its most varied aspects. Furthermore, these two graphic prints clearly indicate that a new iconography – one which deliberately dispenses with allegories and strongly draws out the intrinsic value of the persons involved – ultimately also favoured the consideration of new content. For although these two prints formulate a main theme, on closer inspection they include numerous minor scenes, which strongly underscores the disintegrative character of the compositions. Arguments are conveyed using the traditional formulae of religious images. But they are consistently transposed here into new contexts which above all encompass contemporary issues of the relationship between the religious denominations and the State. On the basis of this conception, prominent biblical quotations may therefore be understood as part of a visually mediated religious discourse which makes assignments and condemns certain attitudes behind church policy. The new attitude behind these pictorial concepts is also revealed in the primacy of the clarity and credibility from which they proceed. Certain gestures and postures are positioned so that they appear especially prominent and eye-catching.

The famous scene in which Christ hands the Keys of Heaven to St Peter is paraphrased in a print (Fig. 1) which was signed by two anonymous artists. A member of the well-known



1. Allegory of Joseph II's ecclesiastical policy, 1783, Austrian National Library, Vienna, PORT_00047904_01
Alegorija crkvene politike Josipa II.



2. Emperor Francis II (I), Austrian National Library, Vienna, PORT_00048195_01
Car Franjo II. (I.)

Mansfeld family (Johann Ernst?) or – more probably – Johann Jakob Mettenleiter (1750–1825), acted as an engraver (*gravé a Vienne par I. M.*).⁸ The name of the publisher, Christoph Torricella (Toricella), must also be linked to both prints, which are now at the very centre of the following analysis. The idea for the first print was made by the painter Franz Xaver Palko the Younger, as Karl Möseneder conclusively demonstrated on the basis of the signature *F. S. X. P. I[unio]r inv. et pin.*⁹

It is not Christ who is the central character (as in Matthew 16:18–20). Rather, it is the Prince of the Apostles, who receives his power from the eye of the Holy Trinity and gives the Keys of Heaven to the philosopher Diogenes. The latter is characterised as a freemason and, as proof of his achievement, presents Peter with a martyr's palm (!), which completely muddies the real meaning of the biblical quotation and the iconography of papal primacy derived from it. Pivotal Catholic viewpoints, such as the power of “binding and loosing” as the origin of the authority of the papacy, and Christ's profession to be the awaited Messiah, are given a subversive treatment. They are turned into their opposite in the sense that Diogenes is referred to as the recipient of the real, new and salvific light. Hence one of the most

important foundations of Catholic iconography – one also notes the prominently featured mountain where the action takes place – undergoes a complete reinterpretation. This mountain is indeed no longer the one supposed to illustrate Peter as the “Rock” of the Church (Matthew 16:18), but a hill covered with thorny bushes, perhaps a reference to the secular *mons philosophorum*, a favourite idea of the Rosicrucians. Ultimately, it merely forms the backdrop against which another vegetal object is presented. This is also correspondingly interpreted in the inscription, which refers to the famous passage in Matthew 7:19, according to which any barren tree that does not bear good fruit should be cut down. The engraving itself only offers a snippet of the full verse, which reads as follows: *Omnis ergo arbor quae non facit fructum bonum exciditur [sic!] et in ignem mittitur*. As the picture shows, the axe is already laid to the tree; but the reference to the Last Judgement (*in ignem mittere*) is waived both in textual and figurative terms.

At this point Regent Joseph II comes into play. We see him in the pure profile and pose of a ruler as depicted in several examples that have been attributed to him¹⁰ and to his successors (Fig. 2). His right hand is pointing to the tree, but he is supporting himself at the same time with his left hand

on a pile of books. Hence Joseph II is depicted as the person responsible for the meaning of the biblical quote; indirectly, he even takes on the role of speaker of the Bible text, by appearing as it were in his pose and gesture, and with total conviction, to pronounce the words from the Gospel of Matthew. Thus, a no lesser claim is formulated, one which seems to be emphasised by the *proskynesis* of the farmer or pilgrim lying prostrate before him. Hence the central message appears as a mark of the monarch's distinction, yet with an explicitly christological claim. This may seem strange, but it is underscored by the groups of different denominations who are condemned to listen. Seen at various distances, they are intended to depict the monastic clergy, the Orthodox clergy as well as representatives of Lutheranism. In the group of monastic clergy, we can also see a net labelled *EVANGELIUM*, which is supposed to refer to the traditional role of the orders as "fishers of men". Since their net is empty, the spiritual activities of the monks are not considered to be sufficient. On the opposite side, the *Agnus Dei* is set up directly adjacent to Emperor Joseph.

Up to this point, the print could be interpreted as an educationally oriented graphic reproduction that, in a narrative way, identifies the Emperor as a new bringer of light, though one masquerading in the guise of religious iconography as a re-interpreter of the Holy Scriptures – in a sense, a complex double image of religious and political content.

However, the vignette placed in the foreground adds an additional statement at a new level. It unmistakably depicts a "wolf in sheep's clothing" (with a scene below showing a wolf killing a sheep). The phrase "wolf in sheep's clothing" comes from a sermon by Jesus in the New Testament: *Watch out for false prophets. They come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ferocious wolves. (Matthew 7:15). The true nature of false prophets is only revealed through their deeds (By their fruit you will recognise them, Matthew 7:16).* In the following centuries this saying frequently found its way into the writings of the church fathers and, at a later stage, into the literary works of European languages as well. The tradition of integrating biblical sayings into illustrations is actually a distinctive feature of Lutheranism. Following this form of argument, the level of figurative deeds is abandoned in the engraving – in favour of a powerfully effective image, which actually formulates a break in the composition, but ultimately links back to the main scene, since Matthew also mentions the "fruits" of false prophets. Hence a close connection is made between the "fruit" of the tree and the spiritual fruits. Both quotations in the engraving have their origins in the Gospel of Matthew (7:16 and 19), are immediately adjacent to each other in the narrative of his seventh chapter, and their content is closely interrelated.

Consequently, the emphatic attitude struck in the main scene (with Joseph II) comes with a cautionary undertone that cannot be gained from the picture itself, but is derived from religious discussions which were taking place at the time. At the same time, the text banner in the print formulates an interesting combination of text and image, because the passages in German and French on the sides (after Matthew



3. Allegory of Joseph II's ecclesiastical policy (*Miraculous Catch of Fish*), 1783, Vienna Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 31726

Alegorija crkvene politike Josipa II. (Čudotvorni ribolov), 1783.

7:19) must be associated directly with the central image featuring the "wolf in sheep's clothing" mentioned above.

This clearly shows that figurative prints can only be regarded as part of a complex communication process which was mainly conducted in writing. It included the monarchical position that had been formulated in the sense of the *Patent of Tolerance*, but also took into consideration contemporary discussions about the new role of the religious denominations. Here, the traditional and boastful iconography usually related to the papacy's claim to power appears well counteracted; it is redirected to the protagonists Diogenes and Joseph II, who can be grouped together in their self-empowerment as a single force for Enlightenment change, and is given a strongly worded warning at the lower end about the harmful laziness of the clergy.

The creator of the second engraving (Fig. 3), which is unsigned (but probably a member of the Mansfeld family [Johann Ernst?] or Johann Jakob Mettenleiter), also reasons along similar lines. Here, too, he draws on an (incorrectly reproduced) biblical passage which is directly connected with the most important pastoral claims of the Catholic Church: *Concluserunt (...) multitudinem copiosam disrumpelatur [sic!] autem rete eorum (...) et ait: (...) noli timere; ex hoc jam homines eris capiens.* (Luke 5:6–10). The biblical passage,



4. Allegory of Joseph II's Patent of Toleration, 1785?, Vienna Museum, inv. no. 75984
Allegorija Patenta o vjerskoj toleranciji Josipa II., 1785?

which describes the abundant fishing catches of the Apostles and the role assigned to them by Christ as “fishers of men”, is skilfully altered here to the extent that while Luke 5 takes fishing as its central theme, this reference is omitted in the engraving's accompanying text. As a result, this creates a suitable foundation for putting the aspect of the “fishing” of men into the forefront of the depiction. This claim is embodied by Emperor Joseph II, set on the top of a mountain which is also surrounded by thorns, who – endowed with the gesture of Christ and all of the Saints – points to the eye of the Trinity (in combination with the triangle, the symbol of the freemasons!) above him. Joseph's gesture is not an isolated case; it can also be found in an allegory on Joseph II's *Patent of Toleration*, which is depicted in a watercolour painting (1785?) by Johann Lederwasch in the Vienna Museum (Fig. 4).¹¹ It illustrates how the Emperor adopts the type of John of the Baptist or of Longinus (at the crucifixion of Christ).

In the print we see here, Joseph is literally the “true” fisher of men since he already has a person “caught” in the net as an “attribute”. Joseph's insistent interest in a realignment of the role of the Church is clearly documented: In one of the Emperor's 154 (!) queries during his trip to Transylvania and Galicia (1773)¹² we come across this critical question: “Wie ist der Clerus saecularis auf den Pfarreyen instruiert, leitet er das Volk zu einer mechanischen materiellen, und absurden Andacht nur an, oder werden ihnen die wahre [*sic!*] Begriffe unsrer Religion beygebracht? (...)”¹³ However, Peter, Prince of the Apostles, who is standing next to Joseph, has little more than a minor role in the engraving. Here, too, we notice the resort to traditional Christian iconography in that the souls striving towards heaven have been borrowed from the iconography of

the Resurrection of the Dead. Diogenes is once again assigned the role of “assistant” to the Emperor. Clearly characterised as a freemason, he once again brings the true light of redemption to the poor and suffering people. Yet the latter are not being instructed by the clergy, for the clergymen are focused more on the task of squirreling away sacks of money by packing them into their nets. Hence the work we see displayed here is not so much that of fishers of men (in accordance with the biblical assignment), but rather rapacious “fishers” of cash. The same also holds true for the chest depicted between the Latin and French inscription banner. It is completely filled with (useless) spiritual and devotional objects. This fact is all the more important since the *Miraculous Catch of Fish*¹⁴ in particular played a key role in the context of Catholic pulpit decorations of the 2nd half of the 18th century.¹⁵

Clearly, the second print which deals with the Josephine closing of monasteries in an allegorical manner (1782) can be compared to the first. Both engravings appear in a smaller format in a 1784 print (Fig. 5), which was designed and engraved by a certain *Molinaro*, active in Augsburg around 1780.¹⁶

Perhaps each print (Fig. 1, 3) must be understood as a conceptual and narrative unit,¹⁷ since in the first engraving the freemason kneeling before St Peter has already overcome all obstacles and is about to receive the Keys of Heaven. Both sheets are dealing with groundbreaking measures of the Josephine period (the closing of monasteries, the policy of ‘Religious Tolerance’) and both are referring to the biblical *Miraculous Catch of Fish* and the related steps towards new and enlightened evangelization. Convincing similarities can be found, especially in regard to the compositions featuring



5. Almanac print, 1784, Vienna Museum, inv. no. 91507
Grafika u Almanahu za 1784. godinu

a central mountain or hill (with thorny bushes, surmounted by the highlighted players of the two scenes [e.g. St Peter, Joseph and the freemason]), and to both main scenes which are packed with people. Similarly, both cases feature a particularly striking passage from the Bible, the interpretation of which had been the task of the (Catholic) clergy for centuries, but which is now subjected to a radical new explanation. In both cases, Emperor Joseph II is the undisputed protagonist who ostensibly carries out this reinterpretation: We notice a significant depreciation in the value of the hitherto leading role of the clergy. In these two cases, graphically contrastive images are clearly presented with the intention of confronting the light of the Enlightenment with the dull, and as the depictions here suggest, idle mass of clergy. Yet neither picture expresses a new iconography. Instead, the Enlightenment theme implants itself, as it were, in prominent traditions; it undermines them and redefines their content. Even so, the prints should not be understood solely as comments on a particular direction in church policy. Rather, the iconography of the monarch is redefined through the new role which the ruler assumes as a proactive instigator of church policy. In the first case, the type of the Emperor adopts a formula that is also frequently evident in other prints; in the second, Joseph seems to slip into the role of Christ or of a saint. The

latter case in particular shows just how brittle the traditional and centuries-long undisputed role of Christian iconography had become. Moreover, the two prints demonstrate and reflect discursive-visual disputes *about* religious practices and strategies in the Josephine period. This also means that the close connections between the members of the Habsburg family on the one hand and the specific Catholic piety (*Pietas Austriaca*) on the other were drastically reduced.¹⁸

At the same time, the biblical quotes – in contrast to earlier decades – are assigned a new role. In the two prints we see here, the significance of the quotation (from the Bible) becomes strikingly evident: It is an actual bearer of action. No longer are the Bible quotes mere elements serving an explanatory or even secondary purpose. They now determine the actual context of action and are enriched with proverbs and emblematic schemes for the purpose of creating innovative *bricolages*. Together with the crucial overall theme of the role of the Gospel, the biblical quotes begin creating a setting which can then be filled with new and all the more effective content – also on different (e.g. minor) artistic levels, as is demonstrated in a print published by the University of Vienna printer Simon Wagner (Fig. 6).¹⁹

Hence it should be clear by now that the pictorial testimony which consistently looks favourably on Emperor Joseph's role extends far beyond servile illustrations of his church policy. Nor are they one-sided exponents of homages to the monarch. To a far greater extent, they are pointed statements in the context of a complex process of discussion which ultimately boils down to questioning the relationship of the political to the ecclesiastical, and to prising open the unity of throne and altar which had been supported by the Habsburg dynasty for centuries. By virtue of the Emperor's decision to address the topic of tolerance, and by figuratively taking issue with the enlightened monarch's policy of tolerance, a previously impossible communication process arose in novel way between different social classes and lines of arguments, obviously including mentions of these prints in the manner described in the context of contemporary newspapers and journals.

Nonetheless, images do not play the role that would be assigned to them in this context today. In the wake of the increasingly growing overall importance of journalism, in the late 18th century traditional communication mechanisms of the early modern period were enriched by new conceptual and abstract forms of communication to a far greater extent. This also had an influence on the practice of visual communication, which was now increasingly supplemented and sometimes replaced by verbally discursive forms of mediation. In this context we should also examine and evaluate the overall relationship between the courtly public as a supra-regional communication space of the ruling elites and the *res publica* of the Enlightenment, as well as the increasing importance of the media public[s].

In the text of a *Circulare* dating from January 11, 1782 concerning the controversial explanation of the *Patent of Tolerance* one can read that the citizens "(...) gegen die katholische Religion einige Zudringlichkeiten theils in Reden, theils in Thätigkeiten auszuüben sich unterstanden haben (...)"²⁰



6. Allegory of Joseph II's ecclesiastical policy (*Miraculous Catch of Fish*), published by the University of Vienna printer Simon Wagner, Vienna Museum, inv. no. 96648

Alegorija crkvene politike Josipa II. (Čudotvorni ribolov), u nakladi Simona Wagnera, tiskara Bečkog sveučilišta

Subsequently the Emperor took an unequivocal stand on that issue and defended Catholicism. Therefore the *Patent of Tolerance* seems to be nothing else but the starting point for a variety of prescriptions, edicts and brochures,²¹ which had to deal with an immense multitude of interpretations of this text.²² In Bohemia, for instance, the Patent was only published in German, in order to delay its diffusion among the rural population.²³ In a *Circulare* dating from May 8, 1782 it was stated that the idea that the Emperor took an indifferent attitude towards the creed of the people was incorrect. On the contrary, here the “Aufrechterhaltung”²⁴ of the Catholicism was unambiguously defined as Joseph's duty.²⁵

We are therefore in the fortunate position of being able to refer the genesis of the second print described above to a contemporary booklet by Franz Sternl with the exhaustive title *Beschreibung und Auslegung des allegorischen Kupferstichs über die itzigen [sic!] Kirchenanstalten, oder die Entrevüé Josephs und Peters bey dem großem Fischzuge* (Vienna, 1785). Not so much the vague and extensive iconographic explanation in verse form, which presents the Emperor as a ‘new’ St Peter and secular saviour, but rather the apologetic preface seems to be of particular interest: “Der ganz außerordentliche Beyfall,

mit welchem der jüngst erschienene allegorische Kupferstich, über die itzigen Kirchenanstalten Josephs, so willkommen aufgenommen worden, und die vielen irrigen Meynungen und falschen Ausdeutungen, mit denen der größte Theil des Publikums sich itzt [sic!] noch herumträgt, waren mir [e.g. Franz Sternl] ein freudiger Anlas [sic!], die genaueste Beschreibung, und zugleich die ächte [sic!] Auslegung davon, und zwar in Versen getreulich zu entwerfen.” Sternl's poem should therefore be understood as an individual attempt to create an indispensable and normative *textual* corrective (“ächte Auslegung” in his words) for problematic or improper interpretations of the *visual* representation.

However, this publication seems to reflect only a small extract of the wider and vehemently conducted contemporary debates of the Josephine period.²⁶ A statement by the Viennese nuncio Giuseppe Garampi provides a more radical and sharpened viewpoint, since his corresponding report from March 1783 criticizes the lack of respect for the appropriated biblical quotations, the heretical focus of the iconography of the second print and its unbelievable commercial success – achieved in spite of the comparatively high price of 2,5 fl.²⁷

In conclusion, media policy (or journalism) should ultimately be regarded as a productive network that oversaw, communicated and assessed the service of the Emperor in the interests of the State.²⁸ Magazines, pamphlets and printmaking ensured the rapid distribution of contemporary ideas concerning the Enlightenment. It created an intense discursive community out of readers and authors, which frequently argued with an abundant and ceaseless production of writings and counter-writings, images and counter-images. The religious affairs were based on rational assessments by a government trained to deal with administrative challenges.

The ruler also used the existence of these communicative networks to enter into a dialogue which gradually softened up the authoritarian relationship between the state-run administration and the media public that had existed over many decades. What certainly played an important role in these developments was the easing of censorship, which was also referred to as the “institution of the Enlightenment”²⁹. In the process, enlightened journalism and its various levels of discourse appeared both networked and mixed at the same time.³⁰ Hence journalism also acted in the interests of the ruler as a vehicle for the propagation of enlightened ideas and empirical knowledge, with the emphasis on practical applicability and actual benefits. As a result, media policy regulated individual and collective behaviour in the interests of the common good, with public benefit cited as a key argument in the respective discourses. In this regard, the notion that the ruler had a statutory obligation to serve the good of the State functions as *the* leading and favourite focus of attention.

In contrast, however, various influences produced a reform agenda, which cannot be described as a coherent program. Just as many reform ideas originated from a broad spectrum of individuals with disparate goals,³¹ visualisations of reforms also reflect a wide range of viewpoints as parts of multifaceted communication processes.

Notes

* This paper is an extended and elaborated version of work presented at the conference *The Power of Media. Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, June 13–15, 2018).

- 1 See: KARL MÖSENER, Toleranz, in: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, vol. 2, (eds.) U. Fleckner, M. Warnke, H. Ziegler, Munich, 2011, 448–55; KARL MÖSENER, *Bilder der Toleranz. Von der Renaissance bis in die Gegenwart*, Regensburg, 2013.
- 2 MICHAELA SOHN-KRONTHALER, “von dem grossen Nutzen, der für die Religion und dem Staat aus einer wahren Christlichen Toleranz entspringet”. Zur Toleranzgesetzgebung unter Kaiser Joseph II. (1780–90), in: *Toleranz und Religionsfreiheit 311–2011. Internationales Symposium an der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, April 14–15*, (eds.) A. Felber, B. J. Groen and M. Sohn-Kronthaler, 2011, Hildesheim, 2012, 121–14.
- 3 THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN, *Painterly Enlightenment: the Art of Franz Anton Maulbertsch, 1724–96*, Chapel Hill, 2005, 55.
- 4 *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umrisse eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, (eds.) M. Meumann and R. Pröve, Münster, 2004.
- 5 GUSTAV W. FRANK, *Das Toleranz-Patent Kaiser Joseph II: urkundliche Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seiner Folgen*, Vienna, 1882; BETTINA DRAXLER, Das Toleranzpatent Joseph II. und seine Auswirkungen auf die österreichischen Länder, in: *Vom Glaubenszwang zur Religionsfreiheit. Ein Unterrichtsversuch*, (eds.) F. Pototschnig, P. Putzer and A. Rinnerthaler, Munich, 1993, 145–58.
- 6 Patent of Toleration for the archduchy of Austria super onasum, Linz, October 13, 1781; Peter F. Barton, Das Toleranzpatent von 1781. Edition der wichtigsten Fassungen, in: *Im Zeichen der Toleranz. Aufsätze zur Toleranzgesetzgebung des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Reichen Joseph II., ihren Voraussetzungen und ihren Folgen. Eine Festschrift*, (ed.) P. F. Barton [Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte, ser. 2, vol. 8], Vienna, 1981, 152–202, esp. 199 (cited here); Joseph Karniel, Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Josephs II, Gerlingen, 1985; English translation available in: C. A. Macartney (ed.), *The Habsburg and Hohenzollern Dynasties in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, in: *Documentary History of Western Civilization*, New York, 1970, 269–74, see also: <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document_s.cfm?document_id=3643>.
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Sažetak

Werner Telesko

Grafički listovi Jozefinskog razdoblja (1765./1790.) i propaganda "Vjerske tolerancije"

Članak donosi nov, metodološki izmijenjen pogled na strategije reprezentacije i propagande u kasnom 18. stoljeću. U usporedbi s istraživanjima u polju historiografije, povijesnoumjetnička istraživanja usmjerena na likovne medije u razdoblju vladavine Josipa II. za njima poprilično zaostaju. Taj raskorak, međutim, nije moguće premostiti samo povijesnoumjetničkom metodologijom; nužan je interdisciplinarni pristup, integracija te harmonizacija s historiografskim i kulturološkim metodama istraživanjima.

U doba jozefinizma mediji su bili manje usredotočeni na veličanje vladara kao pojedinca, a znatno više na kompleksnu i slojevit promidžbu novoga sustava vlasti i samoprezentacije u kontekstu reformi koje su trebale obuhvatiti sva područja života. Sekularizacija i vjerska politika bile su od kasnih 1770-ih za čitateljsku publiku središnje teme. Radikalni pomak ka prosvjetiteljskoj tematici moguće je primijetiti u grafičkim listovima, ponajprije s obzirom na pitanja tolerancije i vjerske politike. Te teme obilježavaju jasan prekid s erom Marije Terezije i onodobnim pretežno alegorijskim stilom prezentacije. Nasuprot tome, memorandum Josipa II. (1765.) poručuje da »služenje Bogu« nije moguće odvojiti od »služenja državi«.

Općenito gledano, sadržaj grafičkih listova koji se bave profesionalnim pitanjima varira od prikaza vladara (primjerice, Josip kao "novi" filozof Diogen) do satire. Protestanti su slavili monarha iskazima svoje zahvalnosti riječima, pisanim djelima i slikama, što je u konačnici rezultiralo time

da je Careva pobožnosti postala zasebno temom. Josip je, primjerice, na svojem imanju u Moravskoj posjedovao i katolički i protestantski (!) oltar, a njegovi su portreti visjeli u luteranskim molitvenim prostorima i crkvama, što na stanovit način govori o Josipovoj "bifokalnoj" pobožnosti. Od 1780-ih godina nadalje, Josipa su smatrali "tolerantnim carem" a njegova je politika tolerancije bila cijenjena kao simboličko postignuće.

Polazeći od tih premisa, u članku se pokušava primijeniti "multipolarni" model u kojem se obnašanje vlasti promatra kao sustav komunikacijskih procesa s mnogo raznorodnih sudionika (umjetnika, izdavača, teologa, carevih savjetnika itd.). Takav je stav u skladu s novijim metodološkim pristupima koji komunikaciju smatraju istodobno i pretpostavkom i funkcijom dominacije. Zaključuje se također da se državne reforme, osobito kada je riječ o "vjerskoj toleranciji", mogu posredovati i (naposljetku) provesti riječima i slikama na vrlo deskriptivan način. Upečatljivi odlomci iz Biblije, na primjer, podvrgnuti su radikalno novim (ponekad prosvjetiteljskim, dijelom subverzivnim) tumačenjima i interpretacijama. Stoga ovdje analizirane grafike preuzimaju sugestivnu ulogu suvremenih im pamfleta opisujući činjenice, okolnosti i mišljenja na osobito izoštren (pretjeran ili karikaturalan) način.

Ključne riječi: strategije reprezentacije i propagande, reforme, vjerska politika, prosvjetiteljstvo, komunikacijski procesi, Vjerska tolerancija

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