





## **Comune di Trieste** **Assessore alla Cultura**

Giorgio Rossi

**Direttore Area Scuola, Educazione, Cultura e Sport**  
Fabio Lorenzut

**Direttore Servizio Musei e Biblioteche**  
Laura Carlini Fanfogna

**Coordinamento**  
Stefano Bianchi, Alessia Neri, Michela Martini  
*con la partecipazione di*  
Carlotta Cesco, Lucio De Marco

**Si ringraziano**  
Nicola Bressi, Claudia Colecchia, Gabriella Di Marino, Marino Jerman, Lorella Klun, Michela Messina, Maria Cristina Piccolo, Piero Stuparich, Eleonora Venier, Mauro Vivian

**CEI – Central European Initiative**  
*Segretario Generale*  
Giovanni Caracciolo di Vietri

Consulenza redazionale  
Costanza Marini

Impaginazione  
Gabriella Clabot

© copyright Edizioni Università di Trieste, Trieste 2017.

Proprietà letteraria riservata.  
I diritti di traduzione, memorizzazione elettronica,  
di riproduzione e di adattamento totale e parziale di questa  
pubblicazione, con qualsiasi mezzo (compresi i microfilm,  
le fotocopie e altro) sono riservati per tutti i paesi.

ISBN 978-88-8303-895-2 (print)  
ISBN 978-88-8303-896-9 (online)

EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste  
via Weiss 21 – 34128 Trieste  
<http://eut.units.it>  
<https://www.facebook.com/EUTEdizioniUniversitaTrieste>



Questo volume è integralmente disponibile online a libero  
accesso nell'archivio digitale Openstarts, al link:  
<https://www.openstarts.units.it/handle/10077/15976>

**UPI**  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS ITALIANE

Opera sottoposta a *peer review* secondo  
il protocollo UPI – University Press Italiane

The Empress Cities:  
Urban Centres, Societies  
and Economies in the Age  
of Maria Theresia von Habsburg  
Daniele Andreozzi  
Luca Mocarrelli  
eds.



# Summary

DANIELE ANDREOZZI, LUCA MOCARELLI

7 *The cities, the Empress and the urban spaces: An introduction*

REMUS CÂMPEANU

15 *The Development of the Urban Communities in Transylvania Under the Reign of Maria Theresa*

PETER FEDORČÁK

33 *Košice During the Reign of Maria Theresa: The Main Reasons for Changes in the City*

EVA CHODĚJOVSKÁ

51 *The Iconography of Prague during the Reign of Maria Theresa*

ANTON TANTNER

77 *Vienna at the Time of Maria Theresa. The Panorama of the "Political Comments" from 1770/1771*

DANIELE ANDREOZZI

101 *"Comincia a prendere il nome". Growth and Urban Development in Trieste at the Time of Maria Theresa*

LUCA MOCARELLI

125 *«Building in this city has led to fanaticism». The urban changes of Milan in the Theresian period*

145 *Notes on Contributors*



# The cities, the Empress and the urban spaces: An introduction

DANIELE ANDREOZZI, LUCA MOCARELLI

In the context of crisis of the humanities and because of the difficulties experienced by history and historians in the last decades, historians have sought and proposed many solutions for their discipline<sup>1</sup>. Public History is one of these solutions and it is a new discipline that, starting from the United States, has the goal of communicating history to the general public in non-academic ways and settings. In fact, Public History aims at encouraging the use of history and at allowing easier access to the discipline, elaborating a kind of 'history for everyone'.

The project underlying this publication forced us to reflect on these issues. In the occasion of the tercentenary of the birth of Maria Theresa, it all started with the direct and constructive incentive of the Trieste city administration. Moreover, the tercentenary is, without any doubt, an event that could involve the public and the citizens more than ever. The project, therefore, had the need to tell the city and its inhabitants something about themselves. It is our attempt to provide citizens with the tools to

---

<sup>1</sup> See Andreozzi 2017.



read their own territory and understand how the city and local identities have been shaped by history and developed to what they are today.

Our path has arisen from such items. The first step was the workshop, which took place in Trieste in October 2016<sup>2</sup>. After that, through the subsequent phases of discussion and writing, we get to this book. So, the book presents itself as a self-standing work, different from the first results of the workshop. However, it is nonetheless a by-product of that first step. Unlike what it may seem, this product takes into account the debate

---

<sup>2</sup> The international convention *The empress cities: urban centres, societies and economies in the age of Maria Theresia von Habsburg* took place in Trieste, in the Sartorio Museum, on the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> of October 2016. The event was organized by the Municipality of Trieste and by the Central European Initiative with the University of Trieste and the its Department of Political and Social Sciences and under the guidance of Daniele Andreozzi e Luca Mocarelli.





around the role of Public History. In our opinion, dissemination cannot be reduced to a simplified version of history nor to the dichotomy between popular and academic history. We deemed it necessary to underline that history needs not only to become more accessible, but also to be treated with more respect. As Marc Bloch wrote in last century, such respect is based on the conscious use of the tools of the historian<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, we cannot deny that the globalized world we live in needs sophisticated tools to read its reality. Therefore, we tried to combine both levels offering a ‘research’ book for many to read. Quality and objectives are the links between the different levels.

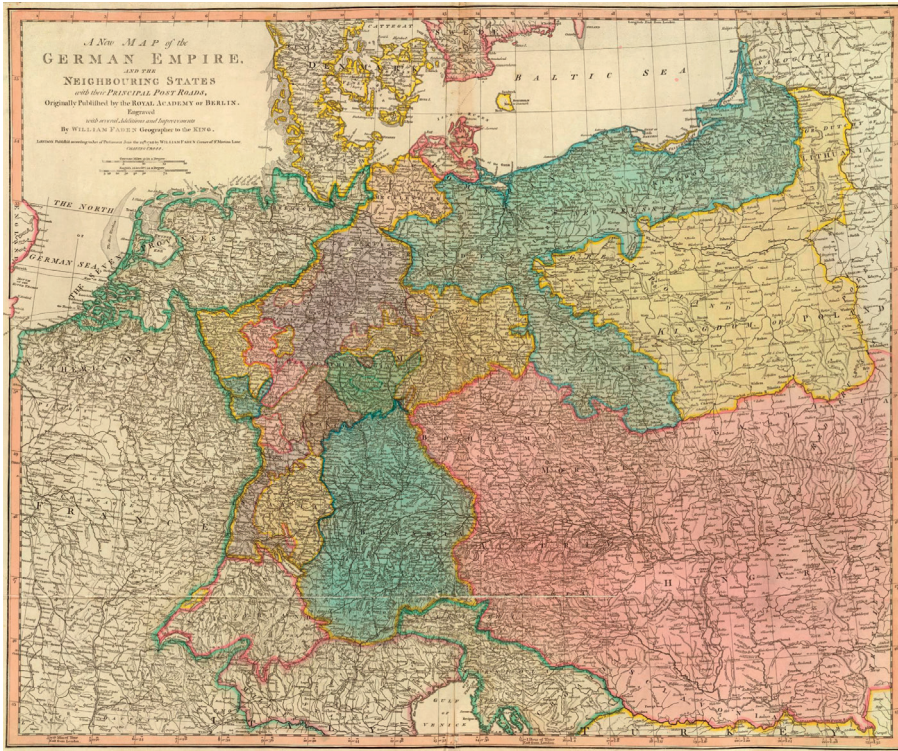
Behind this project, lies the firm belief that a thorough analysis of the urban phenomenon in the complexity of the Imperial spaces during Ther-

<sup>3</sup> Bloch 1950.

esian times will offer a new understanding of the development of both the Habsburg Empire and its cities. The tercentenary of the Empress's birth offered us the opportunity to investigate the dynamics at play in the wide spaces that were subjected to her government. However, it also gives a chance to stress that the urban phenomenon can only be understood if considering those wide spaces and the wider ecological and geographic contexts.

After all, this project was conceived in Trieste, a city whose 18<sup>th</sup>-century development can only be truly understood by taking into consideration the continental and Mediterranean networks of which the city was part and where it could play the role of centre and periphery. Resources, goods, knowledge, women and men circulated along those networks. In the past, Trieste has been known to be the hub of relationships between cities. Nowadays, the idea of editing a book capable of circulating in those same networks wants to pay homage to that time, even if only for the limited scope of our research.

From the Trieste point view, the choice to focus on urban history to talk about the era of Maria Theresa might seem obvious. During the life of the Empress, the city underwent massive economic, social and demographic growth and its population soared from around 5,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century to nearly 30,000 at the end. Trieste became one of the biggest ports on the Mediterranean Sea and a much more socially and economically structured city. For a long time, such growth has been interpreted as the direct result of Habsburg policies, which created Trieste 'artificially'. However, if we go beyond the surface of such traditional view, the urban phenomenon becomes less obvious even focusing on Trieste. In fact, the traditional view needs to be overcome by using, also in the history of Trieste, the results of the recent studies on the relationship between centre and periphery and between state and society, on the role, goals and functions of the "enlightened sovereigns", on the relationship between rulers and the other social and economic protagonists of the time, and on the cities' history. Moreover, we need to leave aside the classical framework not only because we can count on sources on 18<sup>th</sup>-century Trieste, but also because the city deserves to be considered in the geographic, economic, institutional and political context of the time. Above all, the history of Trieste deserves to be considered in the



context of networks and spaces the city was part of. The book certainly is the result of Trieste's needs. However, it glances beyond the local scope and has broader ambitions. As already mentioned before, urban phenomenon could indeed be the starting point for a deeper analysis of imperial policies and dynamics in the eighteenth century. These are among the reasons why we chose to adopt a comparative approach, which enabled us to compare the different regions of the Empire, with their many differences, both on an institutional, political, linguistic, ethnic, historical, economic and environmental level. Just by looking at the table of contents, the reader will be able to start an ideal journey through the Habsburg Empire, from the heart of the Continent to the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean. The history of each city and urban system becomes the common thread of the history of those areas, of the transformations they underwent and the relationship they had with the Empire. These cities

and urban systems were not the passive result of the policies of the Vienna Court, but active protagonists of their own history. In this way, in the context of continue negotiations with the State, they had a profound impact on the development and application of such policies. The quantitative and qualitative growth of cities and urban systems proves that they were a relevant element in determining the imperial policies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The differences in the ways of growth are a first and important element of comparison. In the Habsburg part of the Italian Peninsula, the already densely populated big cities experienced a mainly qualitative growth, whereas in the eastern and continental areas the imperial cities were characterised by a sudden quantitative growth, especially in terms of population, Trieste included. Perhaps, the growth of these cities and urban systems may be the cause of the contradictions characterizing the mythical spaces we commonly call 'Mitteleuropa', where past and present have always been in conflict<sup>4</sup>. If on one hand one may argue that in the Habsburg Empire only the Great War put an end to the Ancien Régime<sup>5</sup>, on the other Central Europe has always been the cradle of new ways of life and of cultural and social modernization. Finally, it is here that democratic and multicultural realities have faced the worst totalitarian, imperialistic and nationalistic regimes.

Because of the interweaving of levels of analysis and the complexity of these areas, we chose to opt for a 'plural approach'. In the book, each scholar analyses the urban phenomenon from his or her particular point of view. Remus Câmpeanu focused on the urban development of Transylvania from a quantitative point of view. Using the statistical data at his disposal and paying particular attention to the fiscal conscriptions, he tried to explain urbanization as a complex process avoiding interpretations based on ethnic factors. For this reason, he privileges economic, political, social, anthropological and demographic factors. Peter Fedorčák concerns himself with the 'rebirth' of the city of Košice in Theresian times. He is particularly interested in unveiling the relationships between Maria

---

<sup>4</sup> On these spaces and the clash between past and modernity and city and countryside, see Pollack 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Mayer 1981

Theresa's government, the Vienna Court policies and the growth of the city, in order to explain how Košice became an Early Eodern metropolis. Eva Chodějovská manages to analyze the transformations of Prague's urban landscape making use of cartographic and iconographic visual representations, e.g. maps (town plans) and *vedute* (town views). Ceremonies and processions reveal ways of using space. She was able to draw information on the urban spaces and its transformation from details captured in city maps, ceremonial scenes and *vedute*, as, for example, the facades of the palaces. Anton Tantner makes use of quantitative and qualitative data to portray a vivid and descriptive image of urban life in Vienna during a period of rapid demographic growth. Focusing on socio-economic, religious and cultural aspects, he manages to outline the main transformations the city underwent in the second half of the 18th century. Daniele Andreozzi deals with the demographic and infrastructural growth of Trieste in the years 1750-1764. This time span marks the most important period of growth for the city in the whole XVIII century. Last but not least, Luca Mocarelli analyses the qualitative and dimensional growth of Milan in Theresian times making use of digitalized city maps of the time. From this point of view, he explores the relationship between the Vienna Court and the social fabric of the city, paying special attention to the economic factors. The archduke Ferdinando, the Royal architect Piermarini and the local nobility were the main actors of this transformation.

We will not pass up this chance to thank the Municipality of Trieste and the Central European Initiative without whose support this book would not have been written.

## Bibliography

- D. Andreozzi (ed.), *Quantità/qualità. La storia tra sguardi micro e generalizzazioni*, Palermo, New Digital Press, Palermo, 2017.
- M. Bloch, *Apologia della storia o mestiere di storico*, Einaudi, Torino, 1950.
- A.J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime Europe to the Great War*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981
- M. Pollack, *Galizia. Viaggio nel cuore scomparso della Mitteleuropa*, Keller, Rovereto, 2017.

# The Development of the Urban Communities in Transylvania Under the Reign of Maria Theresa

REMUS CÂMPEANU \*

Historical writings about the urban network of 18th-century Transylvania are not extensive. Certainly, a lot has been written about the towns of this Principality in the Early Modern Era, but unfortunately not within the last decades. As a result, most of the analyses use descriptive and positivistic methods, without appealing to interdisciplinary research and data interpretation – according to the contemporary ways of investigation. In fact, as far as we know, we only have one scientific work referring to 18th- and 19th-century Transylvanian towns that complies with the new investigation criteria for the history of towns. The literature that covers this domain is dominated by town and city monographs and presentations of different aspects of the settlements' past. Most of these writings were published before World War II or somewhat later, in an age obsessively focused on supporting a Marxist point of view, which means insisting on economic, political and socio-cultural studies<sup>1</sup>.

---

\* Senior researcher, PhD. habil., Romanian Academy, "George Barițiu" Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca.

The recovery of Romanian historical writing on the subject is difficult. Not even the Centre of City History Studies nor the Committee of City History, founded after 1990 and editors of a very good periodical entitled “Historia Urbana”, propose useful methods for investigating the history of Transylvanian towns from the beginning of the Modern Era.

When we mentioned the only worthy study on the subject, we referred to the excellent work by Sonkoly Gábor, *Transylvanian towns in the 18. and 19. centuries*, but even that is not quite recent, considering that it was published in 2001. Anyhow, the author is a highly experienced specialist, educated in the spirit of the famous *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*. Based on his research on the subject, he sustained two PhDs, one in France and one in Hungary, so his expertise can be considered a landmark for the topic presented here<sup>2</sup>.

Sonkoly’s work is structured on a large variety of urbanization indicators that he has used for describing town networks in Transylvania. According to these urbanization items of sociological, anthropological and demographical nature and others coming from different fields, he has elaborated several definitions of Transylvanian town, paying special attention both to internal factors – specific to the Principality – and to external ones. He goes well beyond the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres used for classic analysis, interpreting the urban network as a relatively compact living organism balancing between tradition and modernism. Sonkoly proves that town growth depends not only on political and economic changes, but also on their actual functionality, on their connection with territories around them, and more distant areas – on social dynamics, on diverse cultural factors, on mentality changes, on urban attitude and behavior and on many other elements.

---

<sup>1</sup> See V. Ciobanu, J. Pál, A. Spânu (eds.), *A Historical Bibliography of Romanian Towns/ Bibliografia istorică a orașelor din România*, vol.I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy, 2008. Vol. II of the work will be published this year.

<sup>2</sup> G. Sonkoly, *Transylvanian towns in the 18th-19th century/Erdély városai a XVIII-XIX. században*, Budapest, L’Harmattan-Atelier, 2001.



The most outstanding feature of his analysis, in our opinion, is the fact that he is capable of avoiding the temptation of ethnical interpretations, which regrettably possessed many other authors. These specialists were influenced by the historical circumstances Transylvania was in, from the Middle Ages until the beginning of the Modern Era. In those centuries, the political, legal, and social system and the ethnical structure, consisting of three political and constitutional nations (Hungarians, Transylvanian Saxons, and Seklers) and four constitutionally admitted confessions (Calvinists, Catholics, Lutherans, and Unitarians), overlapped. Moreover, the privileged towns and urban markets had some specific ways of organizing their communities related to the nationality of their inhabitants. The social élite – the nobility in the case of the Hungarians and the Seklers, and the urban patriciate in the case of Transylvanian Saxons – embodied political and extremely inaccessible castes. This reality led many historians to ethnical interpretations of the Transylvanian phenomenon, although according to the 18th-century way of thinking, the idea of ethnicity meant, in fact, the awareness of belonging to a social class or legally and constitutionally determined group, and not to a nation in the modern acceptance of the term.

Sonkoly did not use the criteria of ethnical delimitation, he focused on political, legal and administrative realities of the Principality instead, obtaining a more accurate research. Basically, 18th-century statistics prove that ethnicity was a requirement for being included in a fiscal record only in extremely rare situations, and, even in such situations, it aimed at pointing out the social group or the confession of citizens, not their nationality. In this respect, for instance, mentioning an inhabitant as Romanian, meant that the person was an Orthodox or a serfpeasant.

As for urban history, to study the 18th century, Sonkoly's multidisciplinary research uses three main statistical sources: the first is the so-called Acsády conscription, partly published in 1896 by the namesake historian, which is actually a fiscal record of Transylvania made around 1720 and completed here and there with other statistics from the beginning of the 18th century; the second is the great conscription of Transylvania of 1750, and the third is the population census ordered by Emperor Joseph II, which took place between 1784 and 1786 in Hungary, and in 1786 in

Transylvania. As one can easily observe, Sonkoly has used and processed data from three statistics referring to the entire Principality: one preceding the period of Austrian reforms, the second from the first decade of Theresian reformism, and the third from the post-Theresian period. He succeeded in presenting the history of Transylvanian towns on a vertical axis of development, showing the way they evolved in time and using the most updated research methods in the study of urban population available<sup>3</sup>. His work is well-known and, therefore, we are not going to insist upon it. Nevertheless, we have to stress that this analysis draws attention to the great importance of the Transylvanian conscription of 1750, proving that the complexity of procedures, the quantity and quality of gathered information and the way of highlighting the characteristics of society in the Principality surpasses any other statistics from the middle of the 18th-century on the Continent. On the other hand, specialists preceding him (for instance, the well-known Hungarian social historian Trócsányi) had indeed noticed the pivotal historical importance of this document and stressed both its great significance and need to be published. Nowadays, thanks to the editorial effort of a group of specialists from the “George Barițiu” Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca belonging to the Romanian Academy, the two-volume conscription of 1750 is now accessible. The first volume contains two tomes<sup>4</sup>, and the second one three tomes<sup>5</sup>, meaning altogether several thousand pages. The archival material is preceded by an introductory study of over 360 pages dedicated to the interpretation of the collected data. The conscription has many of the features of a modern statistics, somewhat exceeding the way of thinking of

---

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*. Suggestive comparison of statistic sources and deduction of evolution of towns, market towns and urban categories at pages no. 50, 55, 134.

<sup>4</sup> L. Gyémánt, R. Câmpeanu, A. Dörner, F. Mureșan (eds.), *The Fiscal Conscription in Transylvania 1750/Conscripția fiscală a Transilvaniei din anul 1750*, vol. I, part I-II, *Description of conscripted settlements /Descrierea localităților conscrise*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishers, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> L. Gyémánt, R. Câmpeanu, A. Dörner, F. Mureșan (eds.), *The Fiscal Conscription in Transylvania 1750/Conscripția fiscală a Transilvaniei din anul 1750*, vol. II, part I-III, *Statistical Tables/ Tabelele statistice*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishers, 2016.

its time, and it represents the best source for investigating the economy, society and population of the Principality in Theresian times.

The publication of this work on urban data completes Sonkoly's analysis of urban history and continues his research. We can state this because, on one hand, Sonkoly made a vertical, chronological inquiry, focusing on a time-based evolution of towns in 1720, 1750 and 1786, and on the other hand, the conscription of 1750 allows a horizontal analysis, i.e. the study of the urban network in a defined moment of time, in this case in the middle of the 18th century. The horizontal approach is also useful, as it reveals details concerning the urban network of the time and its links to all Transylvanian settlements.

Briefly, the conscription contains four tables. The main table contains 24 columns listing the tax payers' details, such as their social status and properties. Three auxiliary tables contain data about the public income, public debts and deserted lands of each community and settlement. Each settlement is presented by an introductory narrative, pointing out its economic and geographical capacity, according to which the settlements are classified. The tables also give an account of the contributions paid during the two previous years, 1748 and 1749.

The space given for this study does not allow us to carry out a detailed presentation of this extremely complex document. We will only mention that it laid the foundations for a new taxation system in Transylvania (the so-called Bethlen System), which functioned for almost a century.

Naturally, as well this fiscal record has its shortcomings, but it still provides complete or partial information about 2117 settlements, that is almost 94% of all the villages, market towns and cities of the Principality, permitting an outlook on their network. There were some tax-exempt social levels or groups, such as the nobility with several plots of land, the priests representing the constitutional confessions, the monks and monasteries that possessed inherited tax-free land, the assessors (meaning those who were part of the legal system), newcomers, those from the public services, people without land properties, and others of less significance in proportion to the total population. We cannot enumerate all the criteria of classification used for the settlements and inhabitants listed in the conscription. We have to mention that they were the result of a prag-

matic and mercantile way of thinking, and reflect the long-time struggle of the imperial authorities to diminish the old privileges and the constitutional autonomy awarded to the settlements and social groups of the Principality. Usually, Transylvania was positioned against the Austrian strategies directed to promote social and political uniformity, centralization, and bureaucracy.

In fact, it is common knowledge that during the entire 18th century, Transylvania was a symbol of the struggle between a nostalgic and regressive mentality of the castes deep-rooted in medieval privileges, and the imperial way of thinking, which meant to transform and reform society by shortening the social and economic gap existing between different classes and groups. This ideological clash involved not only old and new social groups, but also the towns and market towns interested in preserving their privileged status, acquired centuries before.

Maintaining old privileges meant, naturally, placing an obstacle to the development of a new tax system and to the increase in tax payers. Since the medieval constitutional system of the Principality had been accepted by Austrian authorities at the end of the 17th century, when Transylvania became part of the Empire, it could not be changed. In this case, the proper solution found by the central authorities was a constant but incremental evasion of the system's rules. In order to defeat the resistance of medieval castles, the Empire used the strategy of slow social dilution throughout the 18th century. For instance, the traditional nobility group was weakened by massive ennobling of members belonging to various inferior social groups who, in different ways, were faithful to the Imperial Court. This phenomenon decreased the power of the old aristocracy to oppose reforms and social changes.

A well-known historian specialized in 18th century history, I. Tóth-Zoltán, asserted that at least half of the ennoblements made in Early Modern Transylvania concerned Romanians<sup>6</sup>. In this way, a competent and faithful nobility came into being, often working in administration, but with a

---

<sup>6</sup> I. Tóth-Zoltán, *The 1st century of Romanian Nationalism in Transylvania 1697-1792/Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus első százada 1697-1792*, Budapest, Athenaeum Publishing House, 1946, p. 171.

background in craftsmanship and trade. They were interested in serving the Empire without benefiting from the old medieval privileges<sup>7</sup>.

The same social changes happened in towns and market towns. Although the growth of new towns and market towns in Theresian times was mainly generated by economic dynamics, it was also stimulated by the political competition they faced from the privileged free royal towns and market settlements, whose domination over the urban network they tried to prevent.

Consequently, the urban patriciate, i.e. the traditional urban elite, ended up in competition with the councils of those new towns and market settlements interested in attracting the population into the urban dynamics more than the old local corporate administrations did. In the age of Theresian reforms, urban networks started to spread from the Saxon territories, with their medieval privileges and exclusivist patriciate, towards the Hungarian counties and Sekler chairs, where there were far fewer free royal towns and privileged market towns (see Sonkoly's maps<sup>8</sup>). It is obvious that such a policy of urbanization had as a goal not only to incorporate the Hungarian and Sekler territories, but the Saxon as well. Here, small market settlements were also encouraged to compete with old privileged settlements using different strategies involving population growth.

Starting with the first decade of Theresian regime, urban economy did not revolve merely around traditional trading centers under the supervision of the patriciate anymore. The urban network, which had been weak at the start, would get stronger and focus on multiplying the number of market towns and small towns, thus putting pressure on the gates of royal and other privileged cities, as well. Little by little, as the targets of reforms became clearer, the privileges of medieval towns, institutions and urban corporative entities were diminished.

Let's see some of the steps that defined this policy. First of all, Transylvania was colonized by new financial competitors (Armenians, merchants

---

<sup>7</sup> R. Câmpeanu, *The Romanian Elite in 18th century Transylvania/Elitele românești din Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea*, second edition, Cluj-Napoca, University Press, 2008, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> G. Sonkoly, *op. cit.*, passim.

from south of the Danube, etc.), who were given commercial and territorial privileges. Then, mining centres, as well as imperial administrative centres and military headquarters, were reinforced. After that, Romanian and Sekler border military units (regiments) were assembled, in some cases in areas under the authority of privileged towns. Next, there was a general encouragement of merchant companies (so-called Greek companies) working on the outskirts of Saxon urban centers, such as Sibiu and Braşov. Their privileges were reinforced, damaging Saxon commercial interests and monopolies as a result. Another measure consisted in appointing royal commissioners, usually officials, to supervise elections, administrative and economic activity in privileged towns. Finally, town councils were put under pressure, in order to sustain and increase Catholic representation in urban institutions.

This imperial policy of small steps to diminish medieval urban privileges, which had already been adopted in the first years of Theresian reformism, reached its peak with the administration reform under the rule of Joseph II, meaning the separation of the judicial system from the administrative one. A new decree was also issued referring to all the inhabitants of the Saxon territory, assuring them equal rights as citizens, regardless of their nationality. Those measures destroyed almost entirely the historical traditions, local particularities and medieval privileges of preexisting administrative unities, forcing urban communities to open up and break down almost all ethnical, social, and corporative barriers.

We would now like to describe the role of towns and market towns in Transylvanian society in 1750 by means of briefly processing the most important data provided by the conscription. In this aspect, we have to appeal to the somewhat obsolete, but compulsory methods of quantitative history. The gathering of information on tax payers and their listing was organized separately in four administrative and jurisdictional unities: the Hungarian counties, the Sekler chairs, the Saxon chairs and districts and the so-called taxation places, meaning areas out of the previously mentioned jurisdictions (9 free royal cities and towns, 45 market towns and oppida, 4 Armenian communities and the Greek Commercial Company from Sibiu).

Of all the listed families (170,537), 13% lived in urban areas (see conscription's tables). Taking into consideration the distribution of urban population, we can notice that almost half of it (45.3%) was settled in Saxon territories. The density of urban population in Saxon districts and chairs was so high, that at one point it reached 61,3% of the entire population. One can observe an interesting phenomenon determined by the dynamics and changes in economy, which broke the Saxon urban corporatism. The presence of hundreds of Romanian and Hungarian families, with or without properties, was reported in towns like Braşov (Kronstadt/Brassó), Bistriţa (Bistritz/Beszterce), Mediaş (Mediasch/Medgyes), Sebeş (Mühlbach/Szászsebes), in their suburbs and in other market towns such as Ocna Sibiului (Salzburg/Vizakna). There and in the other urban areas, Saxons arrived from rural spaces, as did inhabitants without private homes (mainly Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks and Jews). After destroying the preexisting privileges rooted in the Middle Ages, they were all listed as urban inhabitants.

We notice, on the traces of Sonkoly, that there are several ways of defining "towns", "cities" and "market towns". Among the indicators used to define communities of this sort, we can enumerate: population gathering, political involvement, economic, political, administrative, juridical and cultural functionality, offered services, consuming rate, capacity in absorbing population, commercial importance, specific habitat and behavior, a certain kind of attitude, a particular consciousness, mentality, a special relationship with the controlled surrounding areas and other closer or more distant territories. As for the Middle Ages, the most important aspects of the time remain economic, administrative and commercial power and population size. These features sketch the portrait of an 18th-century Transylvanian town, while the specifics of a modern city would arrive much later, sometime in the 19th century.

Even though the conscription of 1750 describes many aspects of Transylvanian society, the main role was played by economy. From this point of view, we can trace economic issues back to the respective urban groups and levels. Here are some data about them. For instance, out of the 14,462 families of craftsmen in the Principality, 44.8% were to be found in urban areas, and 52.2% in the countryside. In Saxon territories, we can find

30.6% of all Transylvanian craftsmen, representing 51.3% of this entire social group. If we divide craftsmen according to their fortune and income, we can see that only 3.1% had a good estate, while three quarters of them lived in towns, mainly in Saxon districts and chairs.

We are not going to insist upon the thousands of data and varied ways of interpretation that they can be subjected to using an interdisciplinary approach. However, we want to specify only that the statistics concerning merchant groups highlighted the importance of urban settlements, where 73% of them worked<sup>9</sup>.

We have only offered a few examples we consider outstanding of what Transylvanian urban settlements represented in the middle of the 18th century, after the first decade of Theresian regime. Far from being the main economic engine in the province, Transylvania still activated and catalyzed dynamic social categories and, as it was getting rid of medieval privileges, it absorbed more and more demographic resources, slowly gaining modern features. The development was not quick, but was accelerated by the reform policy. Urban development did not involve cities and large towns, but rather small towns, which were enlarged and fortified at a pace that would not be equaled even in the first half of the 19th century.

---

<sup>9</sup> Statistical data are taken from vol. II, part. I of *The Fiscal Conscriptio in Transylvania 1750/Conscripția fiscală a Transilvaniei din anul 1750, Statistical Tables/Tabelele statistice*.

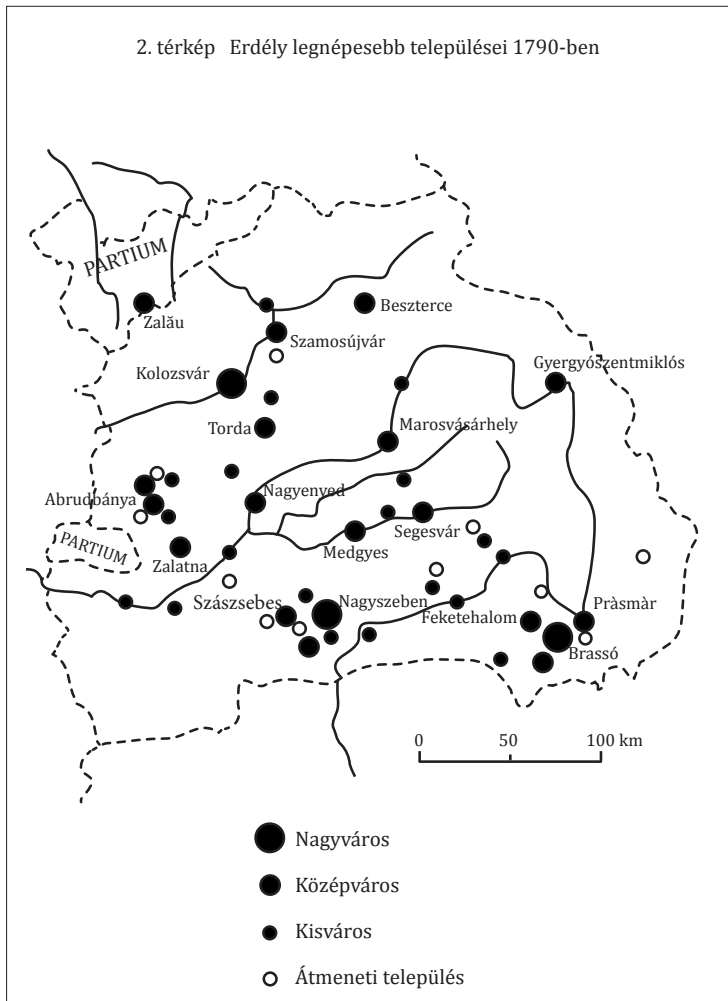


## Annexes

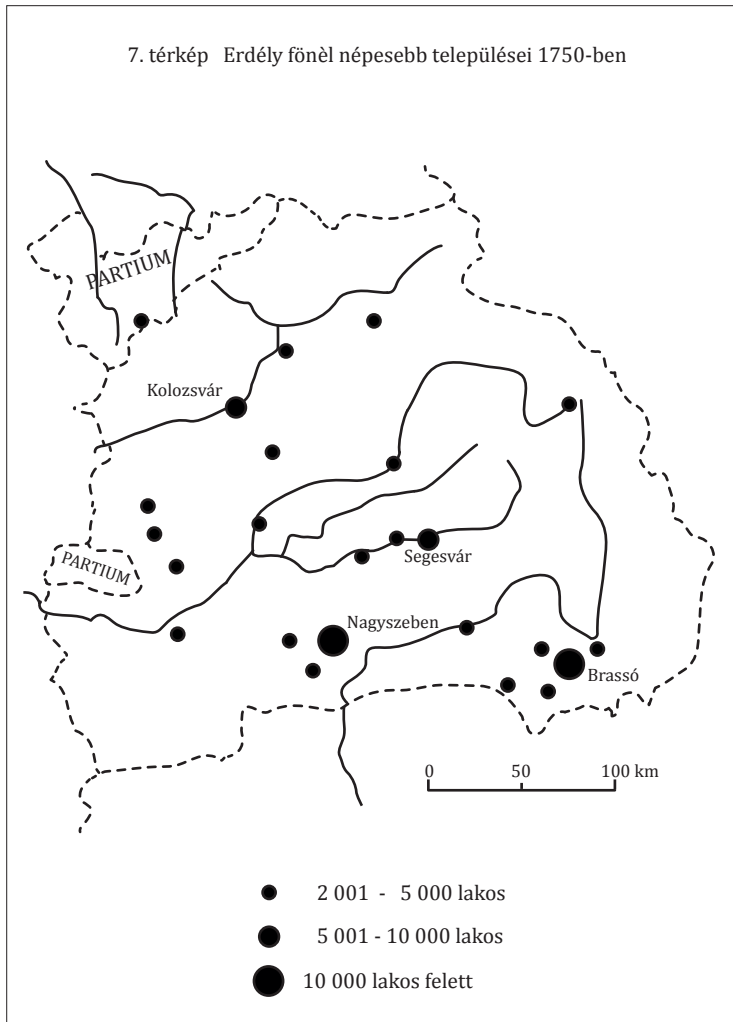
### Maps of Transylvanian market towns in the middle of the 18th century

Conformable to G. Sonkoly, *Transylvanian towns in the 18. and 19. Centuries/ Erdély városai a XVIII-XIX. században*, Budapest, L'Harmattan-Atelier Publishing House, 2001

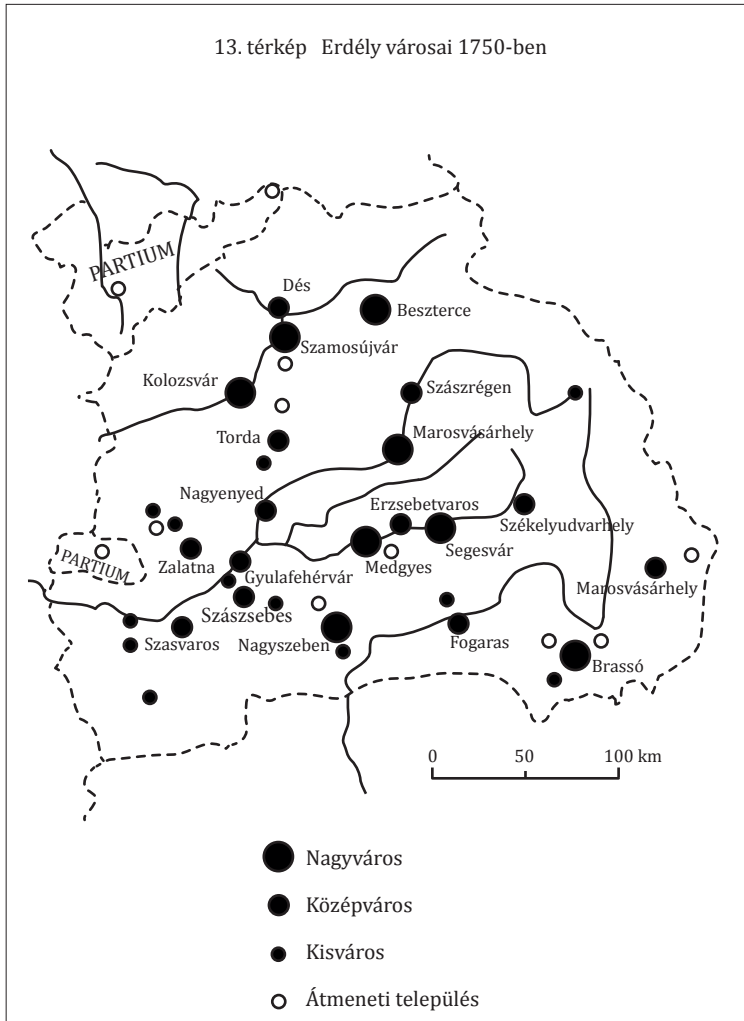
#### TRANSYLVANIA'S URBAN NETWORK AT THE MIDDLE OF 18TH CENTURY



SETTLEMENTS WITH MORE THAN 2000 INHABITANTS AT THE MIDDLE OF 18TH CENTURY



TRANSYLVANIA'S TOWNS AT THE MIDDLE OF 18TH CENTURY



## Data concerning urban and rural population of Transylvania in the middle of the 18th century

Conformable to L. Gyémánt, R. Câmpeanu, A. Dörner, F. Mureşan (eds.), *The Fiscal Conscription in Transylvania 1750/Conscripția fiscală a Transilvaniei din anul 1750*, vol.II, part I-III, *Statistical tables/Tabelele statistice*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishers, 2016

TABLE 1 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTOR FAMILIES FROM THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THE JURISDICTION IN TRANSYLVANIA

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	CONTRIBUTOR FAMILIES				TOTAL
	URBAN AREA		RURAL AREA		
	No. families	% of total number per principality	No. families	% of total number per principality	
25	22,366	13.1	148,171	86.9	170,537

TABLE 2 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTOR FAMILIES FROM TRANSYLVANIA BY JURISDICTION AND SOCIAL-LEGAL CATEGORIES

No. of jurisdictions from Transylvania	25	
SOCIAL-LEGAL CATEGORY	No.	%
Small nobles	6,901	4
Clergies	305	0.2
Townsfolk	10,444	6.1
People of free condition	34,456	20.2
Serfs	67,417	39.6
Landless peasants	34,085	20
Unsettled people	12,679	7.4
Gypsies	1,997	1.2
Others	2,253	1.3
total	170,537	100

TABLE 3 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE EXEMPTED FROM CONTRIBUTION IN THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THE JURISDICTION FROM TRANSYLVANIA

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	EXEMPTED FROM CONTRIBUTION				TOTAL
	URBAN AREA		RURAL AREA		
	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	
25	4,879	11	39,320	89	44,199

TABLE 4 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRAFTSMEN FROM THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THE JURISDICTION INCLUDED IN THE TAX CENSUS OF TRANSYLVANIA FROM 1750

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	CRAFTSMEN				TOTAL
	URBAN AREA		RURAL AREA		
	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	
25	7,369	44.8	9,093	55,2	16,462

TABLE 5 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRAFTSMEN FROM THE JURISDICTIONS OF TRANSYLVANIA ACCORDING TO OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	CIRCUMSTANCES								TOTAL
	GOOD		MEDIUM		POOR		INDETERMINABLE		
	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	
25	514	3.1	1,832	11.1	11,021	67	3,095	18.8	16,462

TABLE 6 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTOR FAMILIES FROM TRANSYLVANIA BY JURISDICTION AND SOCIAL-LEGAL CATEGORIES

No. of jurisdictions from Transylvania	25	
SOCIAL-LEGAL CATEGORY	No.	%
Small nobles	498	3
Townsfolk	4,669	28.3
People of free condition	2,283	23.9
Serfs	2,669	16.2
Landless peasants	1,483	9
Unsettled people	1,020	6.2
Foreigners	241	1.5
Gypsies	504	3.1
Undeterminable	3,095	18.8
total	16,462	100

TABLE 7 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRADERS FROM URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THE JURISDICTION INCLUDED IN THE CENSUS FROM 1750

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	TRADERS				TOTAL
	URBAN AREA		RURAL AREA		
	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	
25	862	73	319	27	1,181

TABLE 8 – THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRADERS FROM THE JURISDICTION OF TRANSYLVANIA ACCORDING TO THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES

Number of jurisdictions from Transylvania	CIRCUMSTANCES								TOTAL
	GOOD		MEDIUM		POOR		INDETERMINABLE		
	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	No.	% of total number per principality	
25	80	6.8	134	11.3	719	60.9	248	21	1,181





# Košice During the Reign of Maria Theresa: The Main Reasons for Changes in the City

PETER FEDORČÁK

When Košice (Cassovia, Kaschau, Kassa) appealed to the King in 1636 to solve its dispute with the county, people asked him for protection from «the many enemies of the town»<sup>1</sup> who were attempting to strip them of their ancient privileges. They meant especially the nobility<sup>2</sup>. However, during the following one hundred years, the most prominent enemy of Hungarian towns' autonomy was the Royal Court itself, as well as its town representatives – the Hungarian Chamber. Maria Theresa's reign represents the completion and – in the true sense of the word – the conclusion of this policy. The year 1755 is a milestone in the relationship between the Royal Court and Hungarian towns, especially Košice, since that year marked the town's complete subordination to the Court.

Košice experienced its heyday in the Middle Ages, when the town was a closed and fully autonomous community, while the 16th and 17th centuries marked its economic and political decline, characterized by the

---

<sup>1</sup> Špiesz 1983b, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Németh 2008.

struggle to preserve the original form of urban society. Maria Theresa's reign instead represented an economic rebirth. This paper wants to uncover the reasons for this positive development and clarify whether this renaissance is to be credited to Maria Theresa herself or to her court's policies. Košice has paid an involuntary price for this positive transformation in the form of loss of original identity. The town's radical change during Maria Theresa's reign is due to the fact that in Košice the interest in exploiting opportunities was stronger than in any other free royal town, the latter suffering from a lack of external stimuli and a subsequent political and economic stagnation<sup>3</sup>. However, in the case of Bratislava<sup>4</sup> and Košice, the development<sup>5</sup> of the cities was in many aspects positive and it changed both into early modern metropolises, located in what used to be northeastern Hungary<sup>6</sup>.

The influence of Maria Theresa's government in Košice was already being investigated by historians in the 19th century. Eighteenth-century Hungarian rule marked the beginning of modern and critical historiography based on the exploration of archival sources, which led to the publishing of the first positivistic works, summarising data (also) from recent history and actual topographic and geographic information about the city<sup>7</sup>. This approach did not highlight the changes appeared during the Queen's reign. Nineteenth-century authors came closer and noticed the impact of her policy on Košice's history, focusing mainly on military

---

<sup>3</sup> After two centuries of bankruptcy due to economic and political reasons, in the 18th century, Košice became the most important city among the Hungarian royal cities.

<sup>4</sup> Šedivý 2016; Federmayer 2013, 38-41; Federmayer 2015, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Špiesz 1983a, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Bratislava exploited the proximity to Vienna to its advantage, but Košice used its position and became the most important centre in Upper Hungary, thus resisting the loss of autonomy for a long time. While Bratislava lost its autonomy sooner. Špiesz 1983b, 40.

<sup>7</sup> This is especially true for medieval research, while more recent (especially eighteenth-century) authors have gathered data from autopsies and have not applied archival research consistently. Convinced that they already have an extensive knowledge of their sources, they haven't examined them. Bombardi 1718, 131-133; Turóczy 1729, 257-264; Tersztyánszky 1732; Bel 1779, 219-221; Korabinsky 1786, 284-291.

conflicts. As for their description of the history of Košice in the 18th century, it was written as a chronicler<sup>8</sup> would, since their accounts had such a form. Another characteristic feature of nineteenth-century authors is the uncritical admiration they reserved for the Queen<sup>9</sup>.

The period of Maria Theresa's reign in Košice was characterised by the following development features (outlined in four main areas): Košice became the governmental centre of the region, losing political independence on one hand, but gaining economic prosperity on the other. Economic development is tied to the changes in the city's population, i.e. immigration, the conflict with the old «many enemies» ending with the nobles' victory, the town's nationality change on the map, and the tripling of its population and social diversity. The growth of the city's economy and population led to a new urban shape. The town's development brought down the city walls, the Gothic town was destroyed and Košice turned from an urban fortress into a shantytown. The last change involves the Church and the town's cultural climate: Košice became catholic again and at the same time a university was founded, which significantly influenced the cultural development of the city.

From the Middle Ages until the middle of the 18th century, Hungarian royal cities, including Košice, enjoyed wide autonomy despite their decreasing political power in early modern times. The change in 1755 is referred to as the official end of this autonomy in its original form. By this year, the systematic process of gaining control over the cities (preceded by non-systematic and spontaneous attempts) was over. This process began in 1681 after the Diet of Hungary in Sopron<sup>10</sup>. In 1755, the time of commissioners ended and they were replaced by written supervision management. The regulation of 1755 governed the relationship between Maria Theresa's court and the cities until after the end of her reign, up to the first half of the 19th century<sup>11</sup>.

---

<sup>8</sup> Ficeri 2012; Ficeri 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Plath 1860, 186-191; Tutkó 1861, 171-173; Fedorčák 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Kowalská 2003; Kowalská 2006; Kowalská 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Kowalská 2009, 93; Špiesz 1983b, 38-40.

Unlike the western part of the Habsburg monarchy, Hungarian towns were not under direct control of the Habsburgs during the centralization process of the 17th century. In this process, the King was represented by the Hungarian Chamber or Spiš Chamber<sup>12</sup>, which was in fact responsible not only for the economic matters but first and foremost for the political ones. The share of the Chamber resulted, from the economic point of, as property of the King – *peculium sacrae coronae* –, but was administered by the Hungarian Chamber itself<sup>13</sup>.

Due to the professionalization of the city's authorities and representation – the municipality, these self-governing authorities grew distant and left the local population. This was a natural consequence of the pressure exercised by the State authorities, which, as a condition to enter the local governing bodies, required a thorough knowledge of law, languages and a university education. In Košice all senators knew Latin, unlike other smaller towns, where an educated nobility with properties in distant regions started occupying positions in the municipality. Similarly, in Bratislava, the bourgeois elite could occupy these positions without being replaced by foreign scholars and officials. In Bratislava, elections were not carried out completely according to the Chamber's rules nor in the spirit of Catholicism. In the second half of Maria Theresa's rule, to increase the attractiveness of the local authorities, the Chamber allowed a significant increase in salaries, especially in some cities – Košice included.

---

<sup>12</sup> Halaga 1958; Gusarova 2014, 264-265.

<sup>13</sup> From 1691 until about 1740, the court promoted its interests in the Hungarian towns through special commissioners from Vienna. They always arrived as King's representatives when the polls were held or some part of the city council was renovated. They had the right to nominate their own candidate in the polls. If the commissioners did not attend the elections, the report was sent in writing. The commissioners confirmed the elected members of the municipality. They represented the King, more specifically the Hungarian (Royal) Chamber. The Hungarian Chamber, as the economic office that managed the King's property in the royal towns, also interfered in political, religious and self-governing matters. The King used this office for the political agenda because he did not have another Hungarian political office under his influence. Nothing changed in the Hungarian Chamber with the establishment of the Royal Vice-Regency Council in 1723, which took control of the city until the decision of Joseph II. Špiesz 1983b, 30-31, 34.

On the other hand, remuneration in kind and by sharing the cities' in-kind income and rent was abolished. City officials started to receive only a salary and no other kind of income from business activities. Until then, this was typical only for some city employees, such as solicitors, but not for the local politicians.

In the 1730s, the Royal Court definitively took away the city's right to issue guild rules. Change was just beginning to happen during the reign of Maria Theresa. Guilds with old statutes should ask the King (in this case the Queen) for new rules. Control in the economic area came earlier than in the political and religious ones. By the end of the 17th century, the commissioners' interference and control on economic affairs were very strong. Later, they were replaced by compulsory quarterly reports. Nonetheless, the control exercised over the Hungarian cities, including Košice, wasn't tight, as opposed to the western parts of the monarchy, where royal commissioners were still present. The state authorities' efforts to reach a balanced budget were positive, enabling the cities to get quickly rid of debt despite the estate uprisings. In urban management, new concepts and practices were introduced from economics and accounting. Unlike in the western part of the monarchy, the court kept the Hungarian cities' judiciary without intervention<sup>14</sup>.

In the 17th century, we register attempts to influence both the elections and the distribution of the most significant positions in the municipality of Košice, but until the last decades of the century these attempts were not successful and the town defended its autonomy from the King. The first full-scale interference occurred in the 1670s. Despite its results being temporarily counteracted by the Hungarian estate uprisings, the trend persisted, became established, and was fully developed in the 18th century. The greatest progress was achieved during Maria Theresa's reign. In 1755, a year which is both symbolically and actually significant for the autonomy of Košice, the direct supervision over the municipality's elections and the town's finances, usually carried out by commissioners<sup>15</sup>,

---

<sup>14</sup> Kowalská 2009, 93; Špiesz 1983b, 43-45.

<sup>15</sup> Supervision management, which replaced the commissioners, also had its positive impact. The last two estate uprisings, which influenced the functioning of the city for

was replaced by regular reports on the state of the town that the municipalities had to send to court<sup>16</sup>.

Most cities had been subject to the Royal Court since the end of the 1730s. Only Košice had been an exception – it had not given up self-government until the mid-1750s. Neither the commissioners nor Maria Theresa's order of 1748 had brought them to do it. Even when Košice finally accepted the Chamber's terms, which allowed the then self-government officials to hold their office for life, they did not want to accept under any circumstances that the City Council (the higher authority) would not elect the Elected Community (a lower authority). They also refused to see former members of the city council (usually the mayor) becoming "tribunes" of the people. However, in principle, the Chamber refused to move people from higher offices to lower ones. Even though commissioners did not use to travel to cities at that time, they started to visit Košice once again. In the early 1750s, commissioners introduced drastic changes in the city's self-governing authorities, especially when they sent many people back to higher offices. In 1755, the city was complaining that there had not been a free election since 1747, and that the senator in the city council was a man elected by the Commission. The city asked the Chamber to stop interfering in the future, but the Queen and the Chamber did not change their condition. In the end, Košice surrendered. In August 1755,

---

three decades (1781-1711), paralyzed self-government. As a result, fortifications, bridges, streets and homes were neglected, nobody was willing to take over the leadership of city authorities and people were reluctant to move despite the favourable conditions. Under these circumstances, the city was thankful when the commissioner came in with the initiative. It was natural for commissioners to take advantage of the situation and maintain their position later after the situation had been consolidated. The commissioners often acted arbitrarily and the cities resisted them, especially when they were causing damage. On the other hand, also commissioners excluded Catholic senators from the city councils if they caused conflicts and problems. In the 1730s, commissioners arrived quite rarely in the Hungarian royal cities and, since 1755, they almost completely ceased to arrive. Špiesz 1983b, 18, 32, 34.

<sup>16</sup> The terms of the elections were based on tradition. During the reign of Maria Theresa and before her during the reign of her father Karol, the city received a letter every year. Approval of the elections was given in this letter. Cities were also required to send copies of the protocols to the Chamber immediately after they were made. Špiesz, 1983b, 40.

the Chamber issued a General Regulation for the Cities, which definitively conformed the royal towns to the same standard of autonomy and introduced a new procedure: the selection of city officials and responsible officials from the members of the city council. Even though centralization was approximately the same in all royal cities<sup>17</sup>, in Košice we can see evidence of the city's expropriation, a form of nationalization at the hands of the State. The town changed its purpose and became a centre where the state could fulfil its role: Košice became the administrative centre of a modern country's province.

The period of Maria Teresa's reign is clearly the period of economic growth for Košice. This was caused by political reasons, self-generated factors, economic reasons and eventually by the above-mentioned transformation of the town during Maria Theresa's reign. The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed constant military conflicts. In addition to that, in 1711, at the end of Francis II Rákóczi's uprising<sup>18</sup>, the town was even struck by an epidemic as a direct result of the uprising itself. During the following decades and during Maria Theresa's reign, the war avoided the territory of Upper Hungary and thus also Košice. But the absence of war is not a satisfactory reason to understand the significant economic growth of Košice, all the more so since other free royal towns in the same region<sup>19</sup> did not register a significant growth. A more significant reason for this growth consists in autogenetic factors, which include the productive, trading, and human potential of Košice. These factors were also the reason for significant immigration from western regions of the mon-

---

<sup>17</sup> The attempts by the Court should lead to unify municipal self-government – the same bodies, the same poll, the same term of office – according to Bratislava's model. Only a few elements from the original reform were altered for the resistance of the cities. We have a case for Košice, quite rare in Hungary (we can also point at the case from Modra in 1746 and from Pezinok in 1761), when Maria Theresa directly hit the composition of the municipality and ordered the city council to accept a specific person as member. Špiesz 1983b, 32-34.

<sup>18</sup> Duchoň 2005, 70.

<sup>19</sup> Halaga 1984, 54.

archy and from abroad. Nevertheless, the burgher rights<sup>20</sup> applications registered in the town books were not from state employees or church and military officials, but from craftsmen and traders. The third reason for Košice's economic growth were the economic circumstances, which were significantly different from the Middle Ages when the town's economy was dependent on the long-distance trade between the Baltic and the Black Sea<sup>21</sup>.

The recovery of the country's economy, however slow in comparison with Austria and the regions of the Kingdom of Bohemia (Czech Kingdom), was a significant impulse for Košice, thanks to the development of Hungary's domestic and foreign trade. In fact, the Hungarian market was expanding southwards because of the Ottoman wars, resulting in trade agreements with the Ottoman Empire. The last reason for Košice's growth was its makeover into an administrative centre. The town's society was in fact supplemented with office employees and the like, who were in the town to transform the city into a regional administrative centre.

Among other things, this resulted in the development of the town and also in the paying off of the 1711 estate uprising<sup>22</sup> debts. It was only the economic prosperity of Košice during Maria Theresa's reign that made the liquidation of this debt possible, but the new economic situation influenced the city's self-confidence and future economic development, as we can see from the careless way the town's debt would be financed in the future.

For a very long time Košice was recovering from the economic consequences of Francis II Rákóczi's uprising (1703 – 1711).<sup>23</sup> During this period and immediately afterwards, the town had to pledge 21 out of its 30 vassal villages. The debt of Košice did not increase, but was not reduced

---

<sup>20</sup> The most welcome newcomers were craftsmen and their families. In the period 1733-1790, 588 craftsmen settled in Košice, i.e. 60% of all newcomers in the city. Špiesz 1983b, 72.

<sup>21</sup> Halaga 1975, Fedorčáková 2014, 192.

<sup>22</sup> Špiesz 1961, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Halaga 1967, 49.



either, for the following three decades of the century and in 1735 it was still amounting to 43,000 forints. Košice was unable to repay this debt despite the fact that it was not too high, especially considering the town's potential during Maria Theresa's reign. However, in the time of prosperity which fell on the period after 1740, unlike other towns, Košice chose an investment strategy at the expense of immediate debt repayment. The town's representatives estimated a higher potential and increased the debt investing in municipal enterprises and in the renewal of the city's economy. In figures, that meant a debt increase of 65,000 forints in 1748 alone. That was the peak of the town's debt in 18th century, after which it was repaid in a relatively short time in installments of 10,000 forints a year. This was possible thanks to the profits from previous investments. The debt was finally liquidated in 1761 and from that moment on, that is in the second part of Maria Theresa's reign, the city's economy showed high profits which could be invested in urban development and to support art and culture. In this respect, that is as far as debt repayment is concerned, Košice became an exception in comparison with other Hungarian towns of present-day Slovakia<sup>24</sup>.

Immigration to the town caused many changes, which occurred during Maria Theresa's reign. The Hungarian town was unable to maintain the same number of inhabitants by itself and became dependent on immigration. While in other towns immigration from the countryside was significantly prevalent, Bratislava and Košice had a steady percentage of German inhabitants due to German immigration from abroad and from the German-speaking parts of Hungary<sup>25</sup>. But the relatively high percentage of Germans in Košice rapidly decreased due to the growth rate of the overall population, which peaked to 300% during Maria Theresa's reign<sup>26</sup>. The new inhabitants found employment in the production areas of the

---

<sup>24</sup> Špiesz 1983b, 18; Halaga 1967, 35-36.

<sup>25</sup> Marek 2013, 9-20.

<sup>26</sup> The number of inhabitants of Bratislava tripled during the 18th century, which was the biggest increase in Slovakia, but Košice also had a similar increase. The number of homes increased significantly from 314 in 1720 to 927 homes in 1785. Špiesz 1983b, 69-70.

town, which had just started developing at that time. Another significant part of population worked in services, most frequently in the households of middle and higher classes. Immigration influenced the nationality map of the town's population, favouring an increase in the number of Hungarian and Slovak inhabitants. Social differences were not as significant as in Western Europe, but the differentiation of the population kept increasing. A special chapter in the town's history is the conflict with the nobility, which was most intense in the 17th century<sup>27</sup> and which had already been dealt with during Maria Theresa's reign. The town became a place for self-realization in the eyes of both foreigners, nobility, officials and soldiers, while the original population was relegated to the background.<sup>28</sup>

During the period from 1740-1780, a significant development of the town occurred.<sup>29</sup> After a period of architectural and urban stagnation, the city's Gothic architecture had to change. Aristocratic palaces replaced several medieval houses and purpose-built buildings were constructed to host state and local offices, even at the expense of original Gothic burgher houses. The new urban architecture reflected the conflict, or rather the result of the conflict, between bourgeoisie and nobility, which was won by nobility and marked by the construction of palaces and county houses<sup>30</sup>, like in the case of the Abov county (Hungarian: Abaúj). The quality of artillery in the 18th century made the town walls redundant. Unlike many other towns which did not need their town walls to be demolished, the urban development of Košice made apparent that the town growth was hindered by town walls<sup>31</sup>.

For the town to grow, it was not enough to build in the suburbs at the expense of the countryside. The expansion of the inner city tore down

---

<sup>27</sup> For example, the county's administration divided the contributions for cities within the county and the ratio was disadvantageous for cities. Špiesz 1983b, 19-20; Németh 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Halaga 1967, 53-58.

<sup>29</sup> Halaga 1967, 59-60.

<sup>30</sup> Wick 1941b.

<sup>31</sup> Orosová-Žažová 2011, 66.

the town walls and proceeded towards the suburbs. In this period Košice acquired a new appearance also due to the change in its military. During the Turkish wars, it was the headquarters of Upper Hungary's captain, who led the defense of the area from the city<sup>32</sup>. Back then, Košice was surrounded by two sets of city walls and its urban fortress character was significantly strengthened. Despite the end of the Turkish wars, the military element in the town was highlighted by the construction of military barracks. After 1711, the barracks were replaced by a large military lodging house, seat of the military offices. Downtown, large buildings were constructed to house soldiers and for other military purposes. The large number of soldiers and officers had a naturally stimulating effect on the town's economy and its social life<sup>33</sup>.

Centralization and "political recatholization"<sup>34</sup> went naturally together, which brought about a significant religious change in the town. Recatholization was not achieved only through political instruments such as centralization and state control of the town<sup>35</sup>, but also thanks to missionaries, mainly Jesuits<sup>36</sup>, who carried out the actual "religious recatholization"<sup>37</sup>.

The victory of recatholization was also visually apparent (the town looked different)<sup>38</sup>. During Maria Theresa's reign, the Protestants could not build any church nor church buildings in Košice, only wooden ones without bell towers. Furthermore, Protestant buildings had to be built on

---

<sup>32</sup> Pálffy 2002, 13-14.

<sup>33</sup> Wick 1941a.

<sup>34</sup> Harčar 1942, 38-39. To integrate Catholics, commissioners placed people who did not have communal rights nor lived in the city in municipal councils. They were usually officials of the Chamber or its other offices. Commissioners had a special interest in city's notaries who could only be Catholic. Špiesz 1983b, 34-36.

<sup>35</sup> Wick 1936.

<sup>36</sup> Wick 1931a; Donnelly 2000.

<sup>37</sup> Stolárik 1995.

<sup>38</sup> Kowalská 2001, 186; Wick 1928; Wick 1931b.

the outskirts<sup>39</sup> of town, to preserve the skyline and appearance of Košice as a Catholic town representing state power.

In addition to that, during Maria Theresa's reign, the ratio between Catholics and Protestants changed drastically. In Košice, Protestants were divided into two groups<sup>40</sup>, a predominantly German-Slovak Lutheran group and a predominantly Hungarian-Slovak Calvinist group. But two thirds of the town's population, at the end of Maria Theresa's reign, had become Catholic. This was the result of the political and religious re-catholization of the time and of the immigration from the countryside and surrounding areas.

Thanks to the Jesuits<sup>41</sup> and the bishop of Eger, Košice became a university town as soon as the 17th century<sup>42</sup>, but the estate uprisings slowed down academic activities, which fully developed only in the 18th century<sup>43</sup>. During Maria Theresa's reign, university reached its peak and had the greatest influence on the town's development. In this period, Košice's role as a university town became more and more important<sup>44</sup>, with all the related impacts on society, culture and economy. In the last decade of Maria Theresa's reign, however, there was a turn in events caused by the abolition of the Jesuit order and the town's loss of its university status in 1777<sup>45</sup>. But the economic and cultural influence on the city lasted well into 19th century, because the university remained an important intellectual centre, which even influenced the political course of events at the beginning of the 1848/1849 revolution<sup>46</sup>. The university was also con-

---

<sup>39</sup> Wick 1931b, 81.

<sup>40</sup> Fedorčák 2012b.

<sup>41</sup> Fedorčák 2014b.

<sup>42</sup> Farkas 1895; Farkas 1901.

<sup>43</sup> Fedorčák 2012a.

<sup>44</sup> Fedorčák 2014a.

<sup>45</sup> Halaga 1956.

<sup>46</sup> Fedorčák 2013.

nected to the extensive activities of its printing house, which was linked to a new private press emerged during Maria Theresa's reign.

After the University of Košice and the Jesuit theatre ceased to exist, the need for a new theatre emerged and was satisfied by a new municipal theatre, built by the end of Maria Theresa's reign. Talking about theatre, it is impossible to forget the anti-government tendencies related to the municipal theatre in Košice and linked to city's new non-denominational communities. During Joseph II's reign, this was reflected in their political control<sup>47</sup>. During Maria Theresa's reign, culture in Košice experienced intense growth in all areas and was supported by economic development. It was also reflected in the architecture and decoration of buildings, which changed the town's character significantly.

In this paper, we have focused on the main reasons for the changes experienced in Košice during Maria Theresa's reign. As a natural consequence of the rapid development which the town experienced during this relatively short period, besides the prosperity and new opportunities, there were also negative consequences on the original population. Highlighting these changes and their causes was one of the goals of this publication and it is a challenge for further research on this issue.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Ferko 2013.

<sup>48</sup> The study was realised under the project VEGA No. 1/0212/15 Places of Košice Memory (people and history), and under the project APVV-16-0383: PamMap: Comprehensive memory portal and historic towns atlas of Slovakia (Bratislava and Košice).

## Bibliography

### Books

- M. Bel, *Compendium Hungariae geographicum: ad exemplar notitiae Hungariae novae historico-geographicae*, Posonium, Cassovia, Landerer, 1779.
- M. Bombardi, *Topographia Magni Regni Hungariae*, Vienna, Typis Ignatii Dominici Voigt, 1718.
- J. Duchoň, *František II. Rákoci a jeho Košice*, Košice, Interart, 2005.
- R. Farkas, *A kassai kath. főgymnasium története 1657-1895*, Kassa, Ries Lajos Könyvés Kőnyomó-Intézet, 1895.
- T. Ferko, *Divadelné letopisy mesta Cassa, Caschau, Kassa, Košice v súvislostiach dejín (1557-1945)*, Košice, Equilibria, 2013.
- O.R. Halaga, *Košice - Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom 1275-1526*. Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975.
- O.R. Halaga, *Košická administratívna oblasť za feudalizmu*, Košice, 1958.
- O.R., Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly*. Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo v Košiciach, 1992.
- O.R. Halaga, *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc*. Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo v Košiciach, 1967.
- A. Harčar, *Historický význam protireformácie v Košiciach z roku 1604*. Budapešť, Spolok svätého Vojtecha v Uhorsku, 1942.
- J.M. Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn*. Pressburg, Weber, Korabinsky, 1786.
- E. Kowalská, *Evanjelické a. v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí. Hlavné problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti*. Bratislava, VEDA, 2001.
- M. Orosová, H. Žažová, *Košická citadela*, Košice, A21, 2011.
- J.N. Plath, *Kaschauer Chronik*. Kaschau, Werfer's Buchdruckerei, 1860.
- S. Stolárik, *Humenské kolégium a traja košickí mučeníci*. Humenné, Miestny odbor MS, 1995.

- A. Špiesz, *Manufaktúrne obdobie na Slovensku 1725 - 1835*. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1961.
- A. Špiesz, *Remeslá, cechy a manufaktúry na Slovensku*. Martin, Osveta, 1983a.
- A. Špiesz, *Remeslo na Slovensku v období existencie cechov*. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1972.
- A. Špiesz, *Slobodné kráľovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680-1780*. Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1983b.
- J.B. Tersztyánszky, *Cassovia vetus, ac nova*. Cassovia, Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Frauenheim, 1732.
- L. Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regibus compendio data*. Tyrnavia, Typis Collegii Academici SJ, 1729.
- J. Tutkó, *Szabad királyi Kassa városának történelmi évkönyve*. Kassa, Werfer Károly, 1861.
- B. Wick, *A jezsuita rend története Kassán*. Bratislava, Concordia, 1931a.
- B. Wick, *A kassai Immaculata-szobor története*. Košice, Szent Erzsébet nyomda, 1928.
- B. Wick, *A kassai Szent Erzsébet dóm*. Košice, Szent Erzsébet nyomda, 1936.
- B. Wick, *Kassa régi temetői, templomi kriptái és siremlékei*. Košice, Szent Erzsébet nyomda, 1931b.
- B. Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei*. Kassa, Wiko, 1941b.

### ***Contributions in miscellanea***

- R. Farkas, *Kassa régi egyeteme*, in: "A Kassai egyetem emlékkönyv", Kassa, 1901, 33-63.
- P. Fedorčák, *Dejiny Košíc v 16.-18. storočí v slovenskej historiografii*, in: "Košice a dejiny – Dejiny Košíc", (ed. by) Š. Šutaj, Košice, Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2011, 59-68.
- P. Fedorčák, *Košická univerzita – počiatky vysokého školstva v Košiciach*, in: "Košice – inštitucionálna základňa kultúry, školstva a vedy", (ed. by) U. Ambrušová, P. Fedorčák, Košice, Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2012a, 139-144.

- P. Fedorčák, *Jezuiti v Košiciach do roku 1657*, in: "Štruktúry a fragmenty historického vývoja Košíc", (ed. by) Š. Šutaj, N. Dzurikaninová, Košice, Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2014b, 32-42.
- M. Fedorčáková, *Právne, spoločenské a hospodárske vzťahy medzi Košicami a mestami na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku*, in: "Košice v súradniciach európskych dejín", (ed. by) M. Hajduová, M. Bartoš, Košice, Mesto Košice - Archív mesta Košice, 2014, 192-198.
- T. Gusarova, *Úradníci Spišskej (Košickej) komory v 17. storočí*, in: "Košice v súradniciach európskych dejín", (ed. by) M. Hajduová, M. Bartoš, Košice, Mesto Košice-Archív mesta Košice, 2014, 260-272.
- O.R. Halaga, *Spoločenstvá miest na Slovensku*, in: "*Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*", (ed. by) R. Marsina, Martin, Vydavateľstvo Osveta, 1984, 51-67.
- P. Kónya, *Politické pomery v Uhorsku na prelome 16. a 17. storočia*, in: "Poeta laureatus Ioannes Bocatius", (ed. by) J. Amrichová, Košice, Verejná knižnica Jána Bocatia v Košiciach, 2009, 17-26.
- E. Kowalská, *Aspects of the Use of Military Force in the Process of Re-catholicisation: The Hungarian Case*, in: "Cultural Conquests 1500-2000", (ed. by) T. Kirk, L. Klusáková, Praha, Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press, 2009, 89-98.
- D. Magdoško, *Historiografia k dejinám Košíc v stredoveku (slovenská literatúra od 20. storočia)*, in: "Košice a dejiny – Dejiny Košíc", (ed. by) Š. Šutaj, Košice, Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2011, 48-58.
- J. Šedivý, *Moderná a postmoderná koncepcia urbánnych dejín na príklade Bratislavy*, in: "Jak psát dějiny velkých měst?", (ed. by) R. Červená, T. Dvořák, A. Vyskočil, Brno, Archiv města Brna, 2016, 51-72.
- B. Wick, *Kassa története*, in: "Kassa", (ed. by) E. Buczkó, Kassa, Kassai Kazinczy Társaság, 1941a, 9-21.

### **Articles in journals**

- J. Donnelly, *Antonio Possevino, S.J. as Papal Mediator between Emperor Rudolf II and King Stephan Bathory*, in: "Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu" 69/137, 2000, 3-60.
- F. Federmayer, *Genealógia prešporského rodu Rosspeidtner*, in: "Mesto a dejiny" 4/1, 2015, 15-29.



- F. Federmayer, *Marek Walticher (1603-1655) a jeho rodina. Kariéra prešporského meštána v kráľovských a palatínskych službách*, in: "Mesto a dejiny" 2/2, 2013, 38-62.
- P. Fedorčák, *Continuity and University Tradition in Košice in the Period 1777-1922*, in: "Studia Historyczne" 56/4, 2013, 579-586.
- P. Fedorčák, *Jesuit Mission in Košice and Circumstances of the Foundation of the University of Košice*, in: "Mesto a dejiny" 3/1, 2014a, 49-55.
- P. Fedorčák, *Religious Issue and the Initial Period of the Reformation in Košice*, in: "Mesto a dejiny", 1/1-2, 2012b, 34-38.
- O. Ficeri, *Etnický obraz Košíc v slovenskej historiografii od jej počiatkov do roku 1918*, in: "Mesto a dejiny", 3/1, 2014, 94-113.
- O. Ficeri, *Význam Plathovej kroniky pre dejiny mesta Košice*, in: "Historica Carpatica", 43, 2012, 35-64.
- O.R. Halaga, *Z dejín Košickej univerzity*, in: "Historický časopis", 4/4, 1956, 521-535.
- E. Kowalská, *Der habsburgische Staat und die protestantischen Kirchen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, in: "Annales Universitatis Apulensis - Series Historica", 7, 2003, 25-34.
- E. Kowalská, *Obnova cirkevného života evanjelikov a. v. v Uhorsku po roku 1681. Problémy a formy ich riešenia*, in: "Historický časopis", 54/4, 2006, 653-664.
- M. Marek, *Vplyv prisťahovalectva na etnické pomery stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, in: "Mesto a dejiny", 2/1, 2013, 6-24.
- I.H. Németh, *Šľachta v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?*, in: "Forum Historiae", 2/1, 2008.
- M. Ostrolucká, *Správa mestského hospodárstva v Košiciach v 16. a 17. storočí*, in: "Mesto a dejiny", 2/1, 2013, 53-58.
- G. Pálffy, *Košická kráľovská zbrojnica v druhej polovici 16. storočia (Príspevok k vojensko-hospodárskym stykom Habsburskej ríše s protitureckou sústavou hraničných hradov)*, in: "Historica Carpatica", 33, 2002, 7-25.



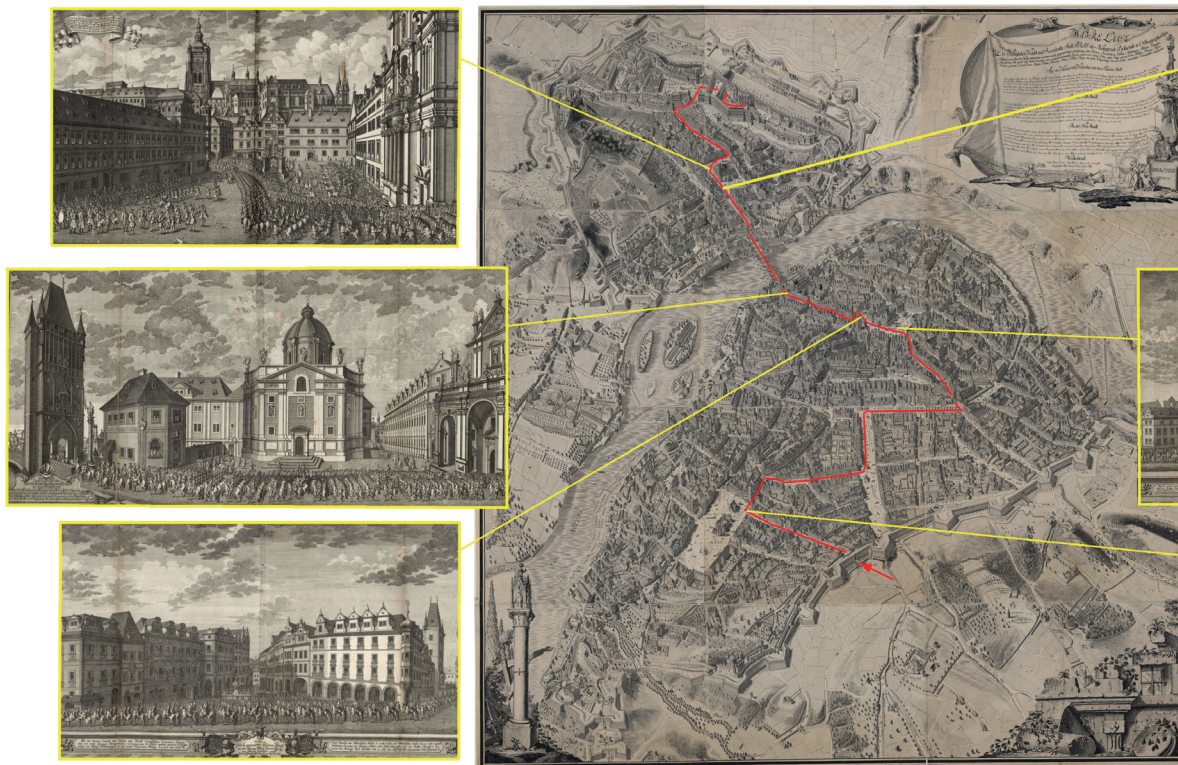
# The Iconography of Prague during the Reign of Maria Theresa

EVA CHODĚJOVSKÁ

In mid-eighteenth century, Prague – although neither capital nor royal residence – was depicted in various ‘images’. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘image’ includes both cartographic and iconographic visual representations, e.g. maps (town plans) and *vedute* (town views). Not all of them were available to contemporaries. As the purposes of their origin differed, some of them were kept secret. But this does not prevent us from using them today as visual historical sources to learn more about Prague in the Early Modern era.

Until 1784, Prague consisted of four autonomous municipalities (Old Town, New Town, Lesser Town and Hradčany), which together – from an urbanistic point of view – formed a unique, densely populated townscape situated on both banks of the Vltava, enclosed in the massive city walls with the Vyšehrad fortress and surrounded by a cultural landscape: small settlements, gardens, villas, farms, villages, etc.

In 1713, Prague consisted of 2,527 houses and was inhabited by ca. 44,000 people, mostly Czech speaking or German speaking. After the Jews (mostly German speaking), Italians were the most visible minority.



Prague can therefore be considered one of the smallest European metropolises of the time.<sup>1</sup>

The question this paper will focus on is what Prague looked like during the reign of Maria Theresa. I have decided to concentrate on two of the above-mentioned visual sources. I will start with a description of Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen's ceremonial entrance to the city as Queen and King of Bohemia and proceed with an account of the coronation ceremony. After that, I will analyse the large 'panoramic' town plan of Prague by Joseph Daniel Huber (1769), in order to obtain a detailed and lifelike image of Prague during the reign of Maria Theresa.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pešek-Ledvinka 2000; Pešek 2004, pp. 135-150, and other papers in this volume provided with a summary in English.



Figure 1  
*Mid-18th-century Prague.*  
*The route taken by Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen of Lorraine on the day of their ceremonial entry into Prague, described by Ramhofs ký and Dietzler, plot against the plan of the city by Joseph Daniel Huber (1769). (ÖNB, Vienna, sign. K II 92/ Huber's'plan/; Moravian Library, Brno, sign. ST3-0447.280 / the vedute – the same source for the figs. 2-7/)*

The Bohemian coronation of Maria Theresa and her husband Francis Stephen of Lorraine consisted of the ceremonial entry into Prague, followed by the Bohemian estates' paying of homage to the ruler and finally the coronation itself in St. Vitus Cathedral inside the Castle.

This all took place in the spring of 1743<sup>2</sup> and was described in detail in a record commissioned to Jan Jindřich Ramhofs ký, the registrar of the Landtafel Office, one of the most important offices in the Kingdom of Bohemia, which recorded the ownership of hereditary estates.<sup>3</sup> The book was published in Prague in the same year in parallel Czech and German

<sup>2</sup> For the context, see Maur 2003; Hrbek 2010.

<sup>3</sup> The ceremonial entry took place on April 29th, the paying of homage by the estates on May 11th, and the coronation itself on May 12th.



version, identical in content, and was entitled *Trojí popsání/ Drei Beschreibungen (Three Descriptions)*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The German title is: *Drei Beschreibungen, Erstens: Des königlichen Einzugs [...], andertens Der Erb-Huldigung [...], drittens [...] Ihro königlichen-Böhmischen Crönung*. Studied copies: National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, sign. 54 B 1 (Czech); sign. L A 38, 22 A 7 (German); sign. 65 B 90 (Czech and German bounded); Strahovská knihovna, Prague, sign. AZ XI 9 (Czech and German bounded); Moravian Library, Brno,



Figure 2  
*The procession captured while passing through today's Charles Square in New Town. Prospect des Plazes bey dem Neustädter Rath-hauß oder sogenandte Vieh-Marckts, allwo die Fürst-Caraffische Arriere-Garde bey der auf diesen Plaz zu Gewöhr gestandene[n] Neustädter Bürgerschafft vorbey marchirte*

Ramhofs ký, the author of the text, worked together with Jan Josef Dietzler (1694/1710-1744), one of the most prominent surveyors and cartographers working in Prague in the first half of the 18th century and author of the famous *vedute*. He was a colleague of Ramhofs ký in the Landtafel Office and surveying was his principal job. He worked both for

---

sign. ST3-0447.280. Besides these, separate sheets have been preserved in various public collections in Prague.

the Landtafel Office and the nobility and collaborated to the mapping of Jewish settlements in Bohemian and Moravian towns between 1727 and 1729 as well as to the mapping of the Bavarian border. He made his mark on the city thanks to his famous *vedute* and he is the author of at least two plans of the whole Prague agglomeration.<sup>5</sup> Nine of his *vedute*, which are included in Ramhofskeý's record, can be divided into exteriors and interiors. The interiors of St. Vitus Cathedral and of the Vladislav Hall in Prague Castle were engraved by the Czech engraver Michael Jindřich Rentz, while the exteriors were entrusted to the German engravers Johann Andreas Pfeffel and Martin Tyroff. We have two stylistically different groups of illustrations, which are tied together by the introductory engraving made by Johann Daniel Hertz.<sup>6</sup> It depicts an allegorical scene, where, with the assistance of Virtue, Čechie – a mythical figure symbolizing Bohemia – kneels in front of the glorified Maria Theresa and hands over the Bohemian royal crown to her. In the centre of the sheet there is a view of Charles Bridge from the left bank of the Vltava. It is a neutral scene which is strictly compliant with the main subject of the book. A more appropriate alternative for illustrating the atmosphere in which the Prague coronation of Maria Theresa took place would be yet another print by M. J. Rentz. An allegorical scene, most likely created with some delay, celebrates Maria Theresa, who, with the assistance of the Hungarians, liberated 'double-dealing' Prague from the French army, thus defeating the enemy.<sup>7</sup> The Bohemian estates, who in December 1741 paid homage to the Bavarian prince-electors Karl Albert as the new Bohemian king, together with the representatives of the university and other public officials were among the active participants in the festivities of April and May 1743 and were all waiting with bated breath to see how the ruler would treat them in the end.

---

<sup>5</sup> On the plans of Prague by J. J. Dietzler see Chodějovská, forthcoming 2017.

<sup>6</sup> *Johann Daniel Herz invent. delin. et sculps. Aug. Vind.* For J. D. Herz and Augsburg as a centre of print cfr. Gier-Janota (eds.) 1997, pp. 479-516, 588-590; Paas (ed.) 2001.

<sup>7</sup> *Ewiger Gedächtniss würdiges Danck- und Denckmahl [...] Rentz inv. del. et sculpsit.* Šerých 2007, pp. 99-103, 344-347.



Occasional prints documenting festivities in a number of European cities were quite common throughout the whole of the Early Modern age. We can identify two types of prints. The first were broadsheets with the purpose of briefly informing people about which event had taken place where.<sup>8</sup> They were either single sheets with only one scene dominated by a long stylised procession, while the place was sufficiently characterised either by an associative image of the town (this could be a stylised perfunctory depiction or an older, often rather outdated, one) or by a sequence of individual 'universal' scenes, which frequently betrayed the author, who had not been present at the event and had only vague reports of what had actually happened and of the locations where it took place.<sup>9</sup> The second type were prints documenting and preserving the transient

---

<sup>8</sup> For the latest theoretical summary of the subject see: Hubková 2010, pp. 29-64 and the works quoted there, mainly Schilling 2012 (published for the first time 1990).

<sup>9</sup> There are many images of this type, for example, for the Prague coronation celebrations of Charles VI and Elisabeth Christine, in the summer of 1723. Maria Theresa took part in the event as a child. The first group includes a broadsheet of the coronation, *Prospect der weit-berühmten königl. Haupt Statt Prag in Böhmen wie solche jetziger Zeit anzusehen ist*, which is by no means a contemporary view of Prague. It is rather a more-than-a-hundred-years-earlier engraving by Philipp van den Bossche (engraved by Conrad Wechter) – the so-called Sadeler's panorama adopted in 1712 by Christoph Friedrich Krieger for the panorama in *Das Jetzt-lebende Königreich Böhmen* by Mauritius Vogt, 'updated' only in the left bottom section. The author depicted a highly-stylised procession with carriages bringing Charles VI and his family to Prague in the equally stylised landscape of Smíchov. In reality, the Emperor entered Prague from the east and in the meantime the city had undergone substantial changes in infrastructure (modern fortifications, large Baroque palaces mostly in the Lesser Town, etc.). The aim was to use a sufficiently associative depiction of the city to make it clear that the festivities took place in Prague. (Prague Municipal Museum, MMP, sign. 16461, reproduced most recently in Lukás-Přikrylová 2017, no. 317, with a comment by Vlnas *et al.* 2009, pp. 427-428.) A number of surviving broadsheets by various publishers capture the different phases of the coronation celebrations in a series of scenes. (They always show interiors. Vlnas *et al.* 2009, pp. 432-433.) The broadsheet published by Peter Schenk set the individual scenes from the coronation festivities in quite fancy interiors as well as exteriors. (Lukás-Přikrylová 2017, nos. 318-319.) Among the few publications which have survived, most probably none were commissioned by the main persons involved (see the bibliography of old prints in: Vlnas *et al.* 2009, pp. 484-489). On the images of the festivities and coronation ceremonies in Prague see: Hlavsa 1971, pp. 178-179; Hlavsa 1975, pp. 56-61.



spectacle of the festivities for posterity: the ephemeral architecture, music, scents, lights and fireworks, decoration made of easily damageable materials, etc. But the prints were also meant to spread the overall meaning and main idea behind the event. Consequently, it was usually the festive event's director or creator who was the author of these small prints. In some cases, the prints were made following an official order by the main participant. In this way, he or she could improve his/her image and spread his/her fame in an 'unbiased' way, exactly as wanted. This is the case of the analysed Prague book and of similar records commissioned by Francis Stephen, for example of his ceremonial entry into Florence, when he took over the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in January 1739, or of his visit to Milan during the same journey through the Peninsula.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See the text on the ceremonial entry into Florence which took place in January 1739: *Relazione dell'ingresso fatto in Firenze dalle Altezze Reali del Serenissimo Francesco*



Figure 3  
*The most important vedute of the whole book – Maria Theresa and her husband while driving through Old Town Square (Staroměstské náměstí).  
 Prächtiger Einzug der Allerdürlechtigste[n] Großmächtigsten Frauen Frauen Mariae Theresiae die Hungarn und Böhheim Königin wie solcher neben den Altstädter Rath-hauß und Fischmarckt vorbeý gezogen ist. Prospect des Alt Städter großen Ring oder Marckts wie selbiger auszusehen als der königl[lichen] Zug aus der Zeltner Gassen gegen kleine[n] Ringel gegangen 29. April A[nn]o 1743*

However, on the occasion of the Bohemian coronation of the Imperial couple, Prague was captured in a different way – through a commissioned book, but in terms of images rendered in an original and faithful manner. Rather than a stylised picture of the city, we can rely on documentation in the true sense of the word. Dietzler kept to the traditional ceremonial processions and cavalcades<sup>11</sup> depictions in the sense that his *vedute* were related exclusively to the ‘main event’ – in this case, the procession and,

---

*III. duca di Lorena, e di Bar, ec. ec., granduca di Toscana, e della Serenissima Maria Teresa, arciduchessa d’Austria, e granduchessa di Toscana: il dì 20. gennaio 1738, or to Milan (later that year): Relazione della venuta e dimora in Milano delle Altezze reali Maria Teresa [...] e del serenissimo Francesco III, duca di Lorena nel mese di Maggio dell’Anno 1739 e loro viaggio per gli stati di Mantova, Parma e Piacenza [...]* In *Milano 1739*.

<sup>11</sup> On further depictions of the coronation of Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen, on the broadsheet with several commented scenes arranged in panels showing the individual phases of the ceremony cfr. Lukáš-Přikrylová 2017, no. 364.

most of all, the people in it or those greeting it. But Dietzler innovatively replaced the schematic skyline of the city and the older panorama: he invited the spectators inside the city, he divided the procession and set it into different public spaces. We can even find traces of a certain hierarchical logic behind the location choice and the section of the procession depicted there: for instance, Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen of Lorraine are pictured in a carriage passing through the Old Town Square, the most important square in Prague. It is the largest and most elaborate *veduta* which, given the text attached to it, could be the front page of the whole set (cfr. fig. 3). The reader embarked on a tour of the city disguised as a *vedute* album and obtained an overall idea of the city by putting all the pictures together. But most importantly, at each *veduta* we can say: «We catch up with the procession at the moment when...». The authors drew up an elaborate report without compromising on the appropriate accolades and a lively image of the city. As a professional cartographer and experienced *vedutist*, Dietzler paid special attention to the 'optional' background setting of the ceremony. He drew in detail the staffage, which corresponds to what is written in the text (people at the back of Malostranské Square ran to get a better view), but he also took great pains to draw the buildings: we learn a lot about small architecture in squares – fountains, columns, guard booths, house signs, inscriptions on statues and houses (cfr. fig. 6). He created an animated theatre stage at the forefront for the festival taking place, which is, at the same time, a credible document about Prague in 1743.

The procession of the 29th April 1743 for the coronation festivities took a route which became the official one during the Habsburg rule on the Bohemian throne as the first part of the coronation festivities. This followed the course of *Via Regia* (Prague *Via Magna*), starting at the Powder Tower (King's Court) via Old Town to the bridge and up Lesser Town to Hradčany and Saint Vitus Cathedral within the precinct of Prague Castle.<sup>12</sup> It was an important symbolic act when the ruler passed through all

---

<sup>12</sup> This course of the coronation procession, which was taken for the first time by Albert II of Habsburg in 1438, became the fixed route of ceremonial entries after 1526. Pešek-Zilynskyj-Všetečka 1988. For the European context, see Tenfelde 1982, pp. 45-120; Chrościcki 1998, pp. 191-216.



Figure 4  
*The procession on Little Square (Malé náměstí) close to Old Town Square, just about to enter Husova Street. Prospect des so genannten Kleinen Ringl in der königl[ichen] Alten Stadt Prag, wie selbiger anzusehen ware bey de[m] königl[ichen] Einzug de[n] 29. April 1743*

of the four towns within the Prague urban area. Maria Theresa entered Prague through the New Gate in New Town and Dietzler was thus able, for the first time, to capture the procession at the New Town Hall in today's Charles Square (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> Continuing along the *Via Regia*, the procession proceeded through the Old Town Square (leaving the Town Hall and the Týn Church on the right, fig. 3), the Malé Square (fig. 4), the Square of the Knights of the Cross (overlooked by the Church of the Knights of the

<sup>13</sup> The route differed in the New Town: Leopold II in 1791, for example, entered through the Poříčská Gate. The procession then reached the Powder Tower (Prašná brána) and King's Court (Králov dvůr), the starting point of *Via Magna*. For Leopold II entering the Poříčská Gate captured on a broadsheet, see Prague Municipal Archives (AMP), Graphics Collection, sign. G 1718.



Cross) through the Old Town Bridge Tower (fig. 5) and the lower and upper section of the Lesser Town Square (figs. 6, 7).

With his six *vedute*, Jan Josef Dietzler endowed Prague's images with views later borrowed by a number of other authors, which became the most frequently depicted urban areas in 18th- and 19th-century Prague. This becomes quite clear when we compare Dietzler's *vedute* with the pictorial documentation of Leopold II and Maria Louisa's 1791 Prague coronation.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The court secretary Johann Debrois described the ceremony connected with coronation of the Bohemian king and queen of Leopold II and Maria Louisa in 1791 in two



Figure 5  
*The procession entering the  
 bridge, passing by the Jesuit's  
 Salvator Church and the Church  
 of the Knights of the Cross  
 (St. Francisus).  
 Prospect des Platzes bey den  
 Creutz Herren an der Brücken  
 in der Altstadt.*

If we plot the route taken by Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen of Lorraine on the day of their ceremonial entry to Prague as described by Ramhofsčký and Dietzler and we compare it with the contemporary town plans of the city, we get a realistic idea of the setting where the ceremony took

---

books: *Aktenmaesige Kroenungs-Geschichte des Koenigs von Böhmen*, which was published in Prague in 1792, and *Urkunde über die vollzogene Krönung [...] des Königs von Böhmen Leopold des Zweiten und [...] der Gemahlin des Königs Marie Louise*, which appeared for the first time in 1808. The latter contains 12 *vedute*, among them 8 outdoor scenes. Strahov Library, Prague, sign. AO VII 75 (1792) and sign. AO XI 23 (first edition of the second book, 1808, and second edition, 1818), National Library, Prague, sign. 65 B 85 (the second book in first edition dating back to 1808).

Figure 6

*The procession on the Lower Square (the eastern part of Lesser Town Square, Malostranské náměstí).*

*Prospect des so genandten Klein-Seiter Rings in der königl[ichen] Kleinern Stadt, wie die Klein-Seiter u[nd] Neu-Städter Bürgere zu Pferd, und auf diesen Plaz paradierende Klen-Seiter Bürgerschafft vorbey pašieret*



Figure 7

*The procession on the upper part of Lesser Town Square (Malostranské náměstí, back then called the „Square of the Italians“ due to the neighborhood inhabited by this minority) heading to Hradčany and the Castle.*

*Prospect des so genannten Wallischen Platzes in der königl[ichen] Klein Stadt Prag*





place, and hence of 18th-century Prague. To achieve this, the most suitable option we have is the 'perspective plan' by Joseph Daniel Huber dating back to 1769.<sup>15</sup> It is a unique combination of an artistic interpretation of a city view, perspective geometry and a planimetric base. It provides a detailed and compact image of the four densely inhabited and urbanised Prague towns within the city walls and the surrounding areas (villages in the suburbs, such as Smíchov, Bubny, etc., and the area of today Karlín, Žižkov, Vinohrady and other neighbourhoods). The abundance of detail and the high quality of execution testify to the draughtsman's skills and sense of detail. The façades of the buildings and the attached backyards and gardens are rendered in the utmost detail. The plan is north-west oriented. All the featured buildings cast shadows according to southern (south-western) light exposure and so does the terrain, depicted using hatching, where darker drawings in the northern (north-eastern) slopes evoke an effect of southern (south-western) light exposure. The drawer most probably sketched the city from different church towers, as for example Jacopo Barbari did when drawing his view of Venice. This was confirmed by Jan Hofman,<sup>16</sup> whose analyses were based on depictions of several buildings. A calligraphic Latin script was used; all the texts, both those in the index and on the map face, are in German. The map index was compiled very systematically and includes a list of significant church buildings (solely Christian ones), divided according to town.

Joseph Daniel Huber von Hubenthal (1730-1788) was a member of the staff of the Austrian Army Quartermaster General (*Generalquartiermeisterstab*). He was one of the surveyors who participated in the First Military Survey of Bohemia (1763-1767), carried out at the request of Maria Theresa, who acted on advice by Leopold von Daun and others af-

---

<sup>15</sup> WAHRE LAAGE Der Königlichen Haupt und Residentz Statt PRAG des Königreich Böhme in Orthographischen Aufzug von Osten bis Westenanzusehen [...] aufgenommen u[nd] gezeichnet im Jahr 1769 [...] Josepus Daniel v[on] Huber. Obrist-Wacht[meister] v[on] Grossen General-feld Staab. Coloured drawing, graphic scale [1:1700], total dimensions 224 × 239 cm, 12 sheets digitally matched together. Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Vienna, sign. K II 92. Online accessible on the web map portal: <http://towns.hiu.cas.cz/huber>. Link still working on the 19th September 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Hofman 1944.

ter the defeat in the War of the Austrian Succession.<sup>17</sup> Huber is documented to be present in Prague on 4th May 1763 and he probably stayed in the city until 1769.<sup>18</sup> When the manuscript, surveyed by Huber himself in his spare time and drawn by Gottfried Kurz, was ready, Huber presented it to the Empress Maria Theresa, asking her for the permission to print it. However, in spite of the intercession of Huber's general, Moritz Lacy, she refused, as she was well aware that Prague was a strategic point in her Empire and its city walls and topography had to be strictly confidential. This is why the detailed plan of Prague was not approved for printing. Maria Theresa nevertheless purchased the plan for her imperial collections, granted Huber an amount from her private treasury and charged the skilled cartographer and his draughtsman with surveying Vienna. The city plan of the capital was published in 1778.<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, Prague's plan remained unknown to contemporaries and amazed its audience only many years later.<sup>20</sup>

At this point, let us summarise which other *visual representations* projected the *image* of Prague during the reign of Maria Theresa. For the public, Prague's image was mediated first and foremost by printed panoramic *vedute* derived from works by 17th-century artists: inter alia, Aegidius Sadeler (Philip van den Bossche and Conrad Wechter), Karel Škréta and Václav Hollar, and the court painter of Emperor Leopold I, Folpert Ouden

---

<sup>17</sup> For the map, published online by Arcanum, Budapest, see: [www.mapire.eu](http://www.mapire.eu); on the First Military Survey of Bohemia currently Chodějovská-Pacina 2014, pp. 683-690. Link still working on the 19th September 2017.

<sup>18</sup> In March 1768, Huber applied for a two-month vacation, probably in order to complete Prague's plan – as in March of the following year, he wrote a letter to the office of the Bohemian Governor (*České gubernium*), asking for financial support to publish it. Having received a negative response, in April 1769 he submitted the freshly-completed plan, along with a plea to publish and sell it, to Maria Theresa.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript version was completed in 1773, and the *Scenographie oder geometrische Perspect[ivische] Abbildung der Kay[serlich-] König[lichen] Haupt und Residenzstadt Wien* was printed five years later.

<sup>20</sup> For the rather unfortunate story regarding the effort to publish Prague's city plan, see Chodějovská-Krejčí 2014. For Huber in general, see Mokre 1990 and Mokre, forthcoming 2017.

Allen, who created panoramas of Prague and Vienna in the 1680s.<sup>21</sup> He was the last one who realized large panoramic views of Prague, which back then were to be found, for example, on the front pages of calendars.<sup>22</sup> In the second third of the 18th century, *vedute* were replaced by the increasingly popular collections of individual buildings drawings and open public areas views.<sup>23</sup> The most important albums were those by Friedrich Bernhard Werner<sup>24</sup> and, at the end of the century, the album by Filip Heger and his son František Antonín Jindřich made between 1792-1796, which consisted of twenty-eight sheets<sup>25</sup> and a set of twenty-four *vedute* published between 1793-1794 by Jan Jiří Balzer Sr. and based on the original drawings by Josef Antonín Scotti de Cassano and Leopold Paukert, with French and German texts.<sup>26</sup> The *vedute* from these albums and some of the sections from the above-mentioned panoramas were later taken as the basis for occasional prints of several festivities which took place in

---

<sup>21</sup> On Prague's images, see the catalogues: Lukas-Lazarová 2002 for the 16th and 17th century, and Lukas-Přikrylová 2017 for the 18th century.

<sup>22</sup> See Blažková 2002; Bártová-Baďurová 2008.

<sup>23</sup> As for those buildings and open public spaces which used to be depicted by vedutists, their focus of attention soon turned to the area outside the city walls, cfr. Chodějovská 2014, chap. "Coronation albums from the glorious years 1743 and 1791", pp. 261-265 and compare Dietzler's vedute with pictorial documentation of the coronation of Leopold II in 1791, as shown in Tab. VI.2: Exteriors in publications on the coronation of Maria Theresa and Leopold II, Fig. VI.1: The route of the ceremonial entry of Maria Theresa into Prague on 29th April 1743, plotted in Prague's plan by Joseph Daniel Huber from 1769, with marked spots to show where Jan Josef Dietzler drew his *vedute* from, and VI.2: *Vedute* engraved by Kašpar Pluth after Filip Heger and František Antonín Jindřich Heger documented the ceremonial entry of Leopold II on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1791. The route of the entry was plotted into a bird's-eye view by Johann Christoph Winkler, and further chap. Principal sets of partial *vedute* documenting Prague at the turn of the 18th century – changes of selected locations, pp. 273-279, in particular Tab. VI.3: Albums by Jan Jiří Balzer Sr., Filip Heger – František Antonín Jindřich Heger and Antonín Pucherna – Ludvík Buquoy with an album by Friedrich Bernhard Werner.

<sup>24</sup> On the works of F. B. Werner: Marsch 2010.

<sup>25</sup> The town views were engraved by Kašpar Pluth, Josef Koch, Josef Gregory and Jan Berka.

<sup>26</sup> Brožková 1968.

Prague during the 18th century. In the second third of the century, these festivities were mainly related to the canonisation of Saint John Nepomucene. As for the prints, an important role there was played by the bridge which today goes under the name of Charles Bridge. In this context, it is important not to forget mentioning the *vedute* in the parerga and frames of the maps of Bohemia, in particular those pertaining the map of Bohemia by Johann Christoph Müller (1720) and its derivations.<sup>27</sup>

Jan Joseph Dietzler himself was very likely the first author whose drawings – namely four views of Prague squares – were spread as table-top prints, the so-called *vue d'optique* prints.<sup>28</sup> Images of Prague during the great flood of 1784 were instilled into the conscience of Europeans in the same way, since the *Académie Impériale d'Empire des Arts liberaux* responded to this calamity by publishing a sheet documenting the roaring waters at Charles Bridge.<sup>29</sup>

The top view of the Prague towns which kept circulating around Europe can be traced back to what is probably the original depiction by Martin Zeiller printed in *Topographia Regni Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae* and published by Matthäus Merian in 1650.<sup>30</sup> It was adopted in a simplified version by Gabriel Bodenehr, a publisher and engraver in Augsburg, and included in an album of 200 views of European cities (around 1720).<sup>31</sup> In the same German publishing centre, roughly 20 years later, the same

---

<sup>27</sup> Chodějovská, forthcoming 2018.

<sup>28</sup> *Collection des Prospects*. Augsburg 1743, edited by the Académie Impériale d'Empire des Arts libéraux, Joseph Christoph Nabholz (AMP, Graphics Collection, sign. G 3743, 159a-b, 161 /Old Town square/; AMP, Graphics Collection, sign. G 160 /Lesser Town square/; AMP, Graphics Collection, sign. G 158a-b /Charles square = New Town square/).

<sup>29</sup> AMP, Graphics Collection, sign. G1909; MMP, Prague, sign. H 8258 (lately Lukas-Přikrylová 2017, no. 371) and broadsheets on the same occurrence Lukas-Přikrylová 2017, nos. 370-375.

<sup>30</sup> *Eigentlicher Grundtriss der königlichen Statt Prag*, published in Martin Zeiller, *Topographie...* Frankfurt am Main: Matthäus Merian, 1650. (AMP, Map Collection, sign. MAP P 1 A/5a, inv. no. 5a, P 1/5).

<sup>31</sup> *Praag in Curiosos Staats und Kriegs Theatrvm*, edited by Gabriel Bodenehr in Augsburg s. d., p. 146. (National Library, Prague, sign. Sd 1895), no. 146.

plan was issued as a single sheet in combination with an imitation of Václav Hollar's perspective view of Prague by Matthäus Seutter<sup>32</sup> and, even before that, the same plan was included in an important topographical book about Bohemia entitled *Das jetzt-lebende Königreich Böhmen* by Mauritius Vogt, which was published by Johann Zieger.<sup>33</sup> All of the four variants of this 'image of Prague' have been preserved in dozens of copies both in Czech and foreign collections.

The least topographically accurate but highly associative sources are *armée journals*, broadsheets primarily providing information on war events taking place in Prague and its surroundings in the 1740s, 1750s and 1760s. From a cartographical point of view, these broadsheets, meant to inform the general public, are called *environs maps*.<sup>34</sup> Several dozens of them are related to Prague, which was affected by both the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. So far, these broadsheets have not been satisfactorily listed or analysed. In drawing the city and its environs, the authors applied two scales and a different degree of generalisation. In terms of cartography and map language, they are far from being perfect, but their means of expression were adapted to the target group of readers.

The remaining plans of 18th-century Prague known to us survive in the form of manuscripts. We are mainly talking about military topographic maps and maps of Prague's city walls made by students and graduates from the Military Academy from Wiener Neustadt as part of the operations of the Military Court Council, or, from 1760s, of the *Generalquartiermeisterstab* of the Austrian Army. Their authors were trained cartographers. Establishing the origin of the often anonymous and mostly undated plans kept in the Austrian National Library and in the Austrian

---

<sup>32</sup> *Praga celeberrima et maxima totius Bohemiae metropoli set universitas florentissima ad Muldam Fl.* edited by Matthäus Seutter in Augsburg s.d. (Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Map Collection, sign. MAP B 774).

<sup>33</sup> *Eigentlicher Grundriss der königlichen Statt Prag* in Mauritius Vogt. *Das Jetzt-lebende Königreich Böhmen*, published by Johann Zieger in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig 1712, fig. no. H. (AMP, Map Collection, sign. MAP P 1 A/5b, inv. no. 5b, P 1/5).

<sup>34</sup> Mokre 1997, pp. 90-103.

State Archives, is very difficult. They are characterised by careful rendering and can be considered true *city plans* – top view images of the cityscape made for practical use<sup>35</sup> – meant to preserve the memory of how a given military action was carried out, of what the state of Prague fortifications was and – in the case of copying older model maps – of how they were used by students to practice thematic map drawing.

There is great uncertainty regarding the existence of a comprehensive city plan of Prague serving as master survey for occasional partial plans of the city, whose authors were sworn surveyors (geodesists). They often worked as sworn land surveyors for the Landtafel Office, or alternatively for the Royal Chamber and individual clients from the nobility.<sup>36</sup> Scholars continue to uphold the opinion that a detailed plan of Prague was made at the beginning of the 17th century by the surveyor Šimon Podolský of Podolí, was known and used for some time as master plan for partial plans of Prague.<sup>37</sup> However, the plan has not been preserved and the first overall survey of Prague we know of was carried out to assess the practical needs of non-military offices and dates back to the beginning of the 1790s.<sup>38</sup>

To sum up the main topic of this paper, the book about the festivities accompanying the Prague coronation of Maria Theresa in 1743 is much more than reports or commissioned propaganda pamphlets. Both authors, and especially the drawer of the *vedute*, demonstrated

---

<sup>35</sup> On the definitions of visual representations of townscape (town plan, town view, environ map, etc.) in the context of Prague see Chodějovská, forthcoming 2018.

<sup>36</sup> On the geodesists recently Bílková 2003 (especially the bibliography).

<sup>37</sup> Summarized recently by Chodějovská, forthcoming 2017.

<sup>38</sup> The so called Herget's plan of Prague was surveyed by Johann Oppelt and Karl Lutz and supervised by building director general and director of the Prague Estates Engineering School František Linhart Herget. It was ready in 1791 and has been preserved in at least four copies: *Grundris Der Kay. König. Haupt Stadt Prag Im Königreich Böhheim [...] Unter Der Direction Dero Ober Bau Director und Ingenieur Professor Franz Leonard Herget. Aufgenommen Von Seinen gewesten Schüllern [...] Gezeichnet von Ioh. Oppelt, Ing. und Karl Lutz, Ing.* Colour drawing, [ca. 1:1730], 278×229 cm. AMP, Map Collection, sign. MAP P 1 B/1, inv. no. 1, P 1/1 (and ÖNB, sign. FKB C.60.1, ÖNB, sign. FKB C.61.1, and so called 'Chotek plan' preserved in the National Museum of Agriculture in Kačina Castle). For the facsimile see Pokorný (ed.) 1980.

their excellent knowledge of Prague and managed to describe the celebrations in vivid colours – while naturally adhering to the appropriate celebratory style – and to provide a topographically accurate, perfectly rendered, original and artistically impressive description of the city. The printed book faithfully reflected this Baroque spectacle and combined it with exquisite craftsmanship and knowledge of the city. In addition, with his *vedute*, which were also distributed independently, Dietzler influenced the way Prague was seen by his contemporaries for many years afterwards. On the contrary, Huber's plan of Prague, though rendered with equally meticulous care, expertise and knowledge of the city, was unknown to his contemporaries. An orientation plan was missing in 18th-century Prague until 1787, when the *Grundriss der kais. königl. Hauptstadt Prag in Königreich Böhmen* was published as part of the book by Johann Ferdinand Opitz *Vollständige Beschreibung der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag*.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> *Grundriss der kais. königl. Hauptstadt Prag in Königreich Böhmen*, [1787], Jan Berka (engraver), [ca. 1:10 000]. AMP, Map Collection, inv. no. 26a, sign. MAP P 1 B/26a (P 1/29a). Published as part of Johann Ferdinand Opitz. *Vollständige Beschreibung der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag von den ältesten bis auf die ieszige Zeiten. Besonders für Fremde und Reisende bearbeitet. Nebst einem Anhang von 24 Kupfern und einem Plane*, Prague-Vienna, Schönfeld Printing House, 1787.



## Bibliography

### **Books**

- L. Bártová, A. Baďurová, *Vyobrazení měst a jiných lokalit v tiscích 16.-18. století (se vztahem k území České republiky), II. Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemikálních tisků z let 1501-1800*, Prague, Knihovna Akademie věd České republiky (+ CD ROM), 2008.
- L. Blažková, *Vyobrazení měst a jiných lokalit v tiscích 16.-18. století (se vztahem k území České republiky), I. Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století*, Prague, Knihovna Akademie věd České republiky, 2002.
- L. Brožková, *Jan a Antonín Balzer*, Prague, Národní galerie, 1968.
- H. Gier, J. Janota (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1997.
- J. Hofman, *Obrázek barokní Prahy: plán Josepha Daniela Hubera 1769*, Prague, Grafie, 1944.
- J. Hrbek, *České barokní korunovace*, Prague, NLN, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010.
- J. Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky: letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619-1632*, Prague, Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, 2010.
- J. Lukas, M. Lazarová, *Praha. Obrázek města v 16. a 17. století. Soupis grafických pohledů*, Prague, Argo – Schola ludus, Pragensia, 2002.

- J. Lukas, M. Přikrylová, *Pražské veduty 18. století*, Prague, Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2017.
- A. Marsch, *Friedrich Bernhard Werner 1690-1776. Corpus seiner europäischen Städteansichten, illustrierten Reisemanuskripte und der Topographien von Schlesien und Böhmen Mähren*, Weißenhorn, Anton H. Konrad, 2010.
- E. Maur, *12. 5. 1743 – korunovace na usmířenou: Marie Terezie*, Prague, Havran, 2003.
- J. R. Paas (ed.), *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, Augsburg, Wißner, 2001.
- J. Pešek, V. Ledvinka, *Prag*, Prague, NLN, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000.
- J. Pešek, B. Zilynskyj, J. Všetečka, *Královská cesta*, Prague, Panorama, 1988.
- O. Pokorný (ed.), *Plán Prahy z roku 1791*, Prague, Kartografie, 1980.
- M. Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin/Boston, De Gruyter, 2012.
- J. Šerých, *Michael Rentz fecit. Michael Jindřich Rentz, dvorní rytec hraběte Šporka*, Prague, Karolinum, 2007.
- V. Vlnas et al., *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna: česká korunovace 1723*, Prague, Paseka, 2009.

### **Chapters in a book**

- E. Chodějovská, J. Krejčí, «Eighteenth-Century Prague. Joseph Daniel Huber's «images» of the Capital City of Bohemia», in: K. Lichtert, M. P. J. Martens, J. Dumolyn (eds.), *Portraits of the city. Representing urban space in later medieval and early modern Europe*, Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 49-66 (= „Studies in European Urban History“ (1100-1800) 31), 2014.
- J. Chrościcki, «Ceremonial Space», in: *Iconography, Propaganda and Legitimation*, A. Ellenius (ed.), Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 191-216, 1998.

### **Contributions in miscellanea**

- E. Chodějovská, J. Pacina, J. Popelka, «Information system for easy access of the First Military Survey», in: *14th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference, SGEM 2014, Conference Proceedings. Book 2, Volume III*. Sofia: STEF92 Technology: pp. 683-690 (= 14th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference, SGEM 2014, Albena). 2014.

- J. Pešek, «Praha a Vídeň v baroku-centrum a periferie v proměnách barokní kultury?», in: *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740: proceedings from the conference held in Prague, 24.-27. 9. 2001*, Prague, Scriptorium, pp. 135-150, 2004.

### **Articles in journals:**

- E. Bílková [= Chodějovská], *Samuel Globic z Bučina a zeměměřičství v Čechách v 2. polovině 17. století*, in: „Historická geografie“ 32, pp. 31-61, 2003.
- V. Hlavsa, *Praha a její život do poloviny 17. století v grafických listech*, in: „Pražský sborník historický“ 6, pp. 145-183, 1971.
- V. Hlavsa, *Pražská barokní veduta. Tvář a život města Prahy 1650-1750*, in: „Pražský sborník historický“ 9, pp. 19-77, 1975.
- E. Chodějovská, forthcoming 2017: *Návraty Josefa Daniela Hubera aneb nepublikované plány Prahy z roku 1769 mezi klasickou a digitální edicí*, in: „Pražský sborník historický“.
- E. Chodějovská, forthcoming 2018: *‘Obraz’ Prahy mezi mapou, vedutou a plánem*, in: “Documenta Pragensia“ 36.
- J. Mokre, *The Environs Map: Vienna and Its Surroundings c.1650-c.1850*, in: „Imago mundi“ 49, pp. 90-103, 1997.
- J. Mokre, forthcoming 2017: *Über Jan Daniel von Huber (1730/31-1788) und seine kartographischen Werke unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der perspectivische Pläne von Prag und Wien*, in “Pražský sborník historický”.
- K. Tenfelde, *Adventus. Zur historischen Ikonologie des Festzugs*, in: „Historische Zeitschrift“ 7, pp. 45-120, 1982.

### **Unpublished theses**

- E. Chodějovská, *Obraz Prahy v raném novověku. Ikonografie evropského města*. An unpublished doctoral thesis. Pardubice, Faculty of Arts of Pardubice University, 2014.
- J. Mokre, *Joseph Daniel von Huber. Leben und Werk eines österreichischen Militärkartographen des 18. Jahrhunderts basierend auf Forschungen in Wiener Archiven und Sammlungen*. Unpublished diploma thesis. Vienna, Geisteswissenschaftliche Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1990.



# Vienna at the Time of Maria Theresa. The Panorama of the «Political Comments» from 1770/1771\*

ANTON TANTNER

## INTRODUCTION

A source on the history of Vienna during Maria Theresa's reign that has only rarely been considered is the description of the social and economic situation in the capital in the so-called *Politische Anmerkungen* (*Political Comments*) of the *Hofkriegsrat* (Aulic War Council) from 1771. These «political comments» were compiled during the so-called «conscription of souls» of 1770-71.<sup>1</sup> The latter was a huge enlistment campaign, a population census combined with a numbering of houses. This campaign was implemented in the other Western provinces of the Monarchy at the same time; it constituted the preparatory steps to a new system of recruitment.<sup>2</sup>

The house numbers, assigned to the houses to facilitate the implementation of the campaign, were thus not primarily introduced in order

---

\* Translated by Brita Pohl; [www.bricolangue.at](http://www.bricolangue.at).

<sup>1</sup> *Political comments*, Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.), 2005.

<sup>2</sup> On this «conscription of souls» see: Tantner 2007a.



Figure 1 – *Conscription Number 1343, Vienna, today Ballgasse 8 (Anton Tantner)*

to help the population find their directions in everyday life, nor to assist travellers in finding an address, but their main motivation was military. Incidentally, the method of choice was numbering all the houses in Vienna, from number 1 – Hofburg Palace – up to number 1343, which can still be seen on the façade of Ballgasse 8, in today's first district.<sup>3</sup>

What, then, are these *Political Comments* about? They consist of reports regarding the condition of the population in the conscripted lands,

---

<sup>3</sup> In Trieste, by the way, houses had already been numbered in 1754 as a police measure. *Minuta di rapporto*, 6.4.1754, cited by Montanelli 1905, 105. At length, on the history of house numbering in Vienna: Tantner 2016. On the whole of Europe: Tantner 2015 (enlarged and revised version of: Tantner 2007b).

which fell under the responsibility of the military members of each conscription commission. The population's political representatives, who also had a part in these conscription commissions, were not supposed to know anything about this measure, because they were too close to the local population.

In the regions they travelled through, military officers were supposed to proceed according to a predetermined questionnaire to explore how the *volck*, the common people, reacted to conscription and whether local clerks were willing to cooperate. They focussed on finding adequate accommodation for future military billeting, possible diseases in the populace, inheritance laws, the situation of trade and commerce, emigration, the peasants' willingness to work and the breeding of draught cattle; beyond that, the officers were required to report whether they had come across fallow fields in the course of conscription.

The *Political Comments* may therefore be regarded as a kind of qualitative addition to the quantitative results of conscription. The answers to these questions were summarized in country reports and presented to Maria Theresa or Joseph; they provided the Empress and her co-regent with a comprehensive scenario of the conditions in the Monarchy from a military perspective, which, in some cases, became the starting point for political measures. These reports may be considered to be an early form of socio-scientific survey; the officers travelled through villages and towns, questioning peasants – possibly women, too – from an ethnological point of view, and writing down their observations, no matter whether they concerned eating habits, the sanitary situation, the parish system, or an alleged disease like the *Wichtelzopf*, the «pixy or Polish plait» – *Plica Polonica* – prevalent in Silesia.<sup>4</sup>

The compilation of these reports had not been part of the initial plan; it seems that the military leaders in Vienna only realised in the course of the conscription that this mechanism, once put into motion, offered the possibility to establish information channels from the borders to the capital which had not existed until then. The voice of the peasant could thus ar-

---

<sup>4</sup> On the issue of the *plica polonica* see: Tantner 2008. For an overview on the history of the military at the time of Maria Theresa, most recently: Hochedlinger 2017.

rive directly to the ear of the Empress, and in particular of her co-regent, without corporative or manorial interference hindering communication.

*Political Comments* were written down for Silesia, Gorizia and Gradisca, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Bohemia, Upper Austria, the Salzkammergut, Lower Austria, and Moravia.<sup>5</sup> According to the social structure prevalent at the time, their main focus was the situation of the rural population; indeed, they recorded many complaints about manorial oppression. The report on Lower Austria, presented in October 1771, also contains some paragraphs on Vienna; the aim of this contribution is to prove the wealth of information hidden in this source: The military perspective that was applied by the officers did not prevent them from perceiving the deep division of society, although in some cases the report has to be read against the grain and to be checked with other sources so that it can be used as a starting point to introduce some of the main characteristics and developments of this city in the second half of the 18th century. .

## THE PANORAMA OF THE *POLITICAL COMMENTS*

### THE LIMITS OF THE CITY

One of the first entries concerning Vienna in the *Political Comments* for Lower Austria – «Austria below the river Enns» – runs as follows:

Master craftsmen in the City of Vienna proper have sufficient earnings so, provided they are willing to work, they can gain their living, whereas in the *Vorstädte*, the outskirts, tradesmen lack work. Even industrious men, however much they strive, cannot find subsistence for themselves and their own families.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> A comparable report on the situation in Tyrolia in 1786 has been edited by Michael Hochedlinger (2003).

<sup>6</sup> *In der Stadt Wienn selbsten haben zwar die Handwerksmeistere so viellen Verdienst, daß [sie], wenn sie arbeiten wollen, sich ihren Unterhalt verschaffen können. In denen Vorstädten hingegen gebricht es denen Professionisten an Arbeit. Es können folgbahr auch*



Apart from the comment on the situation of craftsmen<sup>7</sup>, this passage emphasises the differentiation between the City proper and the *Vorstädte*, the outskirts. An important urban planning determinant for Vienna in the 18th century was the double ring of fortifications that surrounded the city: first the city walls around the City proper, today's first district, and second the so-called Line Wall (*Linienwall*), which encircled the *Vorstädte* and had been built in 1703.<sup>8</sup> Whoever wanted to enter Vienna therefore had to pass through two border posts, where toll and customs taxes had to be paid, where in times of pestilence health checks were conducted, and where travellers not only had to prove their identity but also had to submit their luggage for inspection, especially if they carried suspicious books. The fortifications were only demolished in the second half of the 19th century, but they continue to define the urban development and the socio-spatial structure of Vienna today.<sup>9</sup>

Within the city walls, 1,340 houses were numbered in 1770; in the *Vorstädte*, there were nearly three times as many buildings, namely 3,615.<sup>10</sup> The population of the city and its outskirts grew by roughly a third from the beginning to the end of Maria Theresa's reign: during the first census in 1754, around 50,000 inhabitants were registered in the City and around 120,000 in the outskirts, for a total of 170,000. At the end of the 1780s, instead, Vienna proper counted around 230,000 inhabitants, while Greater Vienna – i.e. including the *Vororte*, the «suburbs» or villages outside the Line Wall – counted around a quarter of a million inhabitants.<sup>11</sup>

---

*fleissige Leute, so gerne sie auch wolten, sich und die Ihrige nicht auskommentlich nähren.*  
Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 102.

<sup>7</sup> On Viennese craftsmen, see: Steidl 2003.

<sup>8</sup> On the Viennese city walls see recently: „Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege“, 64.2010, issue 1/2; on the line wall: Buchmann 1974; Buchmann 1976; Buchmann 1978; Mader, Gaisbauer, Chmelar 2012.

<sup>9</sup> On entering early modern cities through the city gates: Jütte 2014; on defortification: Mintzker 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2015, 101.

<sup>11</sup> Weigl 2000, 82–90, Weigl, 2003a.

Throughout the 18th century, Vienna was therefore not only the largest German-speaking city in Europe, well ahead of Hamburg or Berlin, but also the fourth-largest city in the Continent – only London, Paris and Naples had more inhabitants.

#### CITY OF THE COURT, CITY OF PLEBEIANS

The following passage from the *Political Comments* provides an inkling of the social conflicts within the city:

In Vienna proper and on its outskirts [*Vorstädte*], the abominable upbringing of the youth is obvious to all, to our shame in the eyes of foreigners. Boys aged 5 to 10 and 12 run about in the streets with whips, especially on the outskirts, and not only insult without regard anyone they come across on foot, in carriages or on horseback, but also throw stones or dirt, and the grown-ups witnessing this sometimes even encourage them in this behaviour by showing their appreciation. Such ill manners show that the common people in general are very coarse and make it their main sport to insult civilized people in the most shocking ways.<sup>12</sup>

This passage raises questions about the actual level of education of children and young people – general obligatory schooling was introduced shortly after, in 1774.<sup>13</sup> In addition to that, the extract underlines the social inequality at issue: the «common people» on the one hand, the «civi-

---

<sup>12</sup> *In der Stadt Wienn selbst und in denen Vorstädten leichtet die üble Erziehung der Jugend zur Schande vor Fremden jederman ein. Buben von 5 bis 10 und 12 Jahren laufen besonders in allen Vorstädten auf denen Gassen häufig mit Peitschen herum, beschimpfen nicht nur ohne Ansehen, wer ihnen zu Fuß, in Waagen oder zu Pferde vorkommet, sondern werfen auch darnach mit Steinen oder Koth, und die darneben stehende erwachsene Leuthe munteren sie durch das darüber bezeugende Wohlgefallen dazu zuweillen noch an. Aus dieser Ungezogenheit erfolget, daß alsdann das gemeine Volck überhaupt sehr grob werde und sich ein vorzügliches Vergnügen daraus mache, auf denen Gassen und in denen Kirchen der gesitteten Gattung Leuten auf die unanständigste Art zu begegnen.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 104.

<sup>13</sup> On the history of Austrian schools and education see: Engelbrecht 1983; Lauggas 2000; Denk 2003.

lized people» on the other. Of course, the encounter and close coexistence of different social classes is a characteristic feature of many cities, not only in the 18th century; but Vienna in particular, during that time, was a royal city, where court and nobility, bourgeoisie and plebeians coexisted.

In addition to its role as centre of the great Central European Empire, which the Habsburg Monarchy had become in the course of the 18th century following decades of war and conquest against the no less aggressive Ottoman Empire, Vienna was also the seat of a huge royal household. Still a medieval city of burghers at the beginning of the early modern period, it had become a baroque royal city, a city of the court and of the nobility. Since the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, it had become apparent that Vienna was to become the Habsburgs' permanent seat, as was also epitomized by its architectural features, in particular after the Second Turkish Siege of 1683. According to estimates, in the first half of the 18th century, the royal household counted roughly 10,000 people, including family members, i.e. around 7-10 % of the population at the time.<sup>14</sup> Under Maria Theresa's reign, the number of court officials increased, but due to the general growth of the population, its share of the total population decreased.<sup>15</sup>

Space within the Hofburg palace had long been insufficient for accommodating the royal household and the growth of the latter contributed to exacerbating the general housing shortage in Vienna. To accommodate the court servants, the so-called *Hofquartierspflicht* (obligation to give accommodation to court employees) had already been introduced in the 16th century, obliging especially the bourgeoisie to provide quarters for members of the court. In particular, after the Second Turkish Siege, this practice contributed to the relegation of craftsmen on the city's outskirts. Nobility and clergy were of course exempt from the *Hofquartierspflicht*. This burden still existed at the time of Maria Theresa and was only abolished shortly after her death.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Vocelka 2012, 2166; Scheutz 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Weigl 2003a, 122.

<sup>16</sup> Kallbrunner 1925; Maurer 2013. Only recently, a city map dated 1748 was discovered in the collections of the Wien Museum, which was made for the purposes of the quartermasters' office. It shows the houses numbered, although the numbers correspond

Concerning the living conditions in Vienna's homes, the *Political Comments* provide the following information:

In some houses within the Vienna proper, where the owner does not live himself and nobody is charged with supervising the house, much uncleanliness and disorder is said to be the rule, in some rooms it was even said to be impossible to bear the uncleanliness and the stench while writing the report. On the outskirts, it is said that the practice of moving into newly-built houses too early led to illness.<sup>17</sup>

This passage provides a contribution to the "history of the senses", which has become a topic of research for historians over the last years, namely the sense of smell.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps we better skirt the question whether the sketched representation is true, or whether the bourgeois noses of the conscription commissioners expressed their displeasure when confronted with plebeian housing conditions. Instead, we shall emphasise another marginal aspect concerning the living conditions in Theresian Vienna: i.e. the fact that, due to urban growth, an increasing number of *Zinshäuser* (tenements) were being built, and social relations became increasingly anonymous. In the year following Maria Theresa's death, a famous traveller, the Northern German publicist, author and Enlightenment philosopher Friedrich Nicolai visited Vienna and proffered the following opinion in the account of his journey: «Who indeed is looking for someone in a large house only needs to ask for the concierge, who will know all tenants,

---

neither to the numbers of 1770 nor with numbers used in other registers. Békési, Doppler (eds.), 156f.

<sup>17</sup> *In der Stadt Wienn selbst solle in manchen Häußern, wo der Eigenthumer nicht wohnet und niemand über die Aufsicht des Hauß bestellet ist, vielle Unsauberkeit und Unordnung angetroffen worden, ja in manchen Zimern wegen der Unreinlichkeit und des Gestank {sic!} während der Beschreibung kaum auszuhalten gewesen seyn. In denen Vorstädten solle zu mehreren Krankheiten Anlaß geben, daß die neugebaute Häußler zu frühe bewohnt wurden.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 101.

<sup>18</sup> Following the example of Corbin's famous study *The Foul and the Fragrant*, Peter Payer published a study on Vienna (1997).

who often do not know each other.»<sup>19</sup> At a time when there were no doorbell nameplates at the main door, the concierge was the person who knew all the tenants in the buildings he took care of, sometimes more than they would have liked. Often, he knew everything about the fortune and situation of a family even before they moved in. The concierges also took on tasks from the authorities, they not only cooperated with the landlords, but also with the police. It is therefore hardly surprising that quite a few people had little good to say about these spying associates of the authorities. One of them was the author Josef Richter, who, in his *Wiener Musterkarte (Patterns of Vienna)* published in 1785, called the concierges a regular «plague of houses»: «Concierges are the most unbearable and coarse individuals, who act as friends, advisors and spies of house inspectors and administrators...»<sup>20</sup>.

#### CITY OF CONSUMPTION

Another passage from the *Political Comments* takes us into the world of traffic – and traffic jams:

Although orders are in place that streets always have to be kept open, their execution is nowhere to be seen, and there will always be beer and flour carts, rented carriages and empty carts, too, in the narrowest of lanes. So hardly a day passes without the passage being blocked here and there, for hours on end, and without people wrangling to get ahead.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> *Wer also in einem grossen Haus jemand zu suchen hat, muß nur nach dem Hausmeister fragen, welcher alle Miethsleute kennet, die sich oft untereinander nicht kennen.* Nicolai 1994, 143.

<sup>20</sup> *Am unerträglichsten und gröbsten sind die Hausmeister, die zugleich Freunde, Rathgeber und Spione der Hausinspektoren und Administratoren sind . . .* [Richter] 1785, 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Es bestehen zwar Befehle, daß die Gassen immer offen gehalten werden sollen, doch siehet man auf deren Vollzug nicht, und es stehen immer Bier- und Mehlwägen, Lehenkutscher und auch lere Wägen in denen engsten Gassen, wodurch fast kein Tag vergehet, [ohne] daß hier und da die Passagen durch manche Stunden gesperrt seyen und um das Weiterkommen gezanket werde.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 105.

Such scenes are typical for most cities in the early modern period. As for Vienna, the reference to «beer and flour carts» is reminiscent of the fact that the Imperial residence was particularly notorious as a city of consumption. According to a widespread cliché, since the 15th century, Vienna had been a «City of Phaeacians» devouring the produce of the surrounding land.<sup>22</sup> Incidentally, a contemporary report states that the main import goods were «countless herds of oxen» from Hungary, «venison and pheasants» from Bohemia and Moravia, «cheese and silks» from Milan, and «oysters and turtles» from Trieste.<sup>23</sup> The enormous increase in consumption mirrored the growth of the nobility and of the royal household with their demand for luxury goods. In the 18th century, the per capita consumption of meat and beer rose in the rest of the population as well and reached comparatively high levels. At the beginning of Maria Theresa's reign, the annual per capita consumption of meat, poultry and fish is estimated at 70 kg, around 1784 at 86 kg.<sup>24</sup>

#### CITY OF POVERTY, CITY OF DEPORTATION

Another observation made by the conscription commissioners is the following:

While students are forbidden to sing at night and begging in general is prohibited, it nevertheless happens without the least timidity, mostly in houses, and it is said that it is mostly the wives, children and relatives of the day watchmen or whoever receives their protection who beg in the lanes and churches.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Melichar 1996; Bruckmüller 2003, 117-119.

<sup>23</sup> Pezzl 1923, 346.

<sup>24</sup> Weigl 2003b, 138f.

<sup>25</sup> *Das Singen der Studenten zur Nachtzeit und das Betteln überhaupt ist zwar verboten. Es beschihet aber dennoch forderist in Häußern gantz ungescheuet, und heist es, daß meistens die Weiber, Kinder und Anverwandte der Tagwächteren, oder weme diese sonsten dazu die Protection geben, am Tage auf denen Gassen und in denen Kirchen betleten.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.), 2005, 105.

The brutal persecution of beggars is characteristic for the early modern period; in Vienna, most such measures are recorded during the 16th and 17th centuries. In particular, foreign beggars were fought, while local beggars were accepted and deemed «worthy»; even begging insignia were introduced. From the 1660s, beggars' visitations were regular occurrences, and in the 1690s, the Great Poorhouse opened its doors: Joseph II would convert it into the General Hospital in 1784; today, it accommodates part of the University.<sup>26</sup>

At the time of Maria Theresa, however, a particularly cruel measure was introduced in Vienna, namely the so-called *Temesvarer Wasserschub* (Timișoara water deportation).

In this water deportation, undesirables were shipped from Vienna to Temesvar (Timișoara) in today Romania via the Danube (to be exact via the Tisza and the Bega channels, hence the toponym), a journey of 20 days ending with incarceration or forced settlement in the Banat region. The first known such campaign took place in 1744, and initially, it only concerned women; we have no information about the precise charges that led to their deportation from Vienna, but this measure targeted *liederliche Weibspersonen* (wanton women) in general, who clashed with the rigid moral concepts of the authorities, and of Maria Theresa in particular.

In the following years, men, too, were handed sentences of water deportation. The reasons for this judgement varied. In 1746, for example, three «state prisoners» were deported, an affair so secret that not even their names are on record. Otherwise, charges of indecency and sexual offences, theft, blasphemy, tobacco smuggling, procuring, or desertion could lead to this sentence. In the case of a student, it was due to his «criminal speeches». Those deported were mostly members of the lower classes: a bankrupted tradesman who had caught the attention of the authorities as a troublemaker, and an alchemist remained exceptions to the rule. In the case of Roma, it was simply the affiliation to this group that provided sufficient grounds for deportation. A separate category were poachers and their families: the authorities seemed to have considered *wildpräd-*

---

<sup>26</sup> Fischer-Martin, Fischer 1994; Just, Pils 1997; Pichlkastner 2013.

*schützen* (poachers of venison) morally and physically suitable to settle in the Banat; all the more so as they were allowed to hunt there. Infants, too, suffered water deportation: in autumn 1766, even two babies, one six months old, the other only eleven weeks, were not spared and were deported alongside their mothers.

Deportations usually took place twice a year, in spring and in autumn, and involved roughly 100 individuals. The deportees were mostly apprehended in Vienna, Lower or Upper Austria, and sometimes Hungary, and were incarcerated in Viennese penitentiaries and workhouses before being imprisoned in the fortress of Temesvar in terrible conditions, often without clothing and subject to illnesses. The mortality rate was exorbitant and even those accompanying the prisoners were in danger: once, a priest, a feldsher and several guards fell ill and died.

It did not escape the attention of the central authorities in Vienna that the deportation via Danube often equalled a death sentence, and soon they realised that the demographic goals it was supposed to serve were far from being reached. However, authorities changed policy only a quarter of a century later, in particular after the co-regent Joseph II had travelled to the Banat in 1768 and called the results of the deportations a «great misery» (*grosse miserie*). In October 1768, after one more «water deportation» had been sent off from Vienna, the «longest institutionalized deportation measure [...] ever to have taken place in Central Europe», according to Stephan Steiner, was abolished: overall, it had affected more than 3,000 individuals.<sup>27</sup>

Therefore, we can state that the Vienna of Maria Theresa was not only a city of poverty, but also a city of deportation.

---

<sup>27</sup> Steiner 2008, citation 218; Steiner 2014.



## CITY OF FEASTS AND BLOOD SPORT

Shooting and fireworks are prohibited; nevertheless, it still happens a lot in the *Vorstädte*, and in gardens, people not only shoot at birds with shotguns, but also at targets with rifles.<sup>28</sup>

Cruel leisure activities were common in Maria Theresa's Vienna: apart from shooting at birds, which was mentioned in the previous passage, animal-baiting was one of the most popular forms of entertainment, at least until it was criticised by some enlightened observers. In 1755, Carl Defraigne had opened the *k.k. privil. Hetzamphitheater* (imperial and royal baiting amphitheatre), a round building with an open roof in which all sorts of animals – bears, hyenas, lions, wolves, horses and pigs – were set at each other's throats or hunted down by men or hounds to entertain audiences of up to 3,000 people. This bloodthirsty spectacle was embedded into theatre-like forms, and in fact, the imperial court's theatre director was responsible for it. Moreover, this extremely lucrative enterprise fed on the pockets of the poor. After a destructive fire in 1796, animal-baiting was finally prohibited.<sup>29</sup>

While animal-baiting channelled the anger of the poorer classes, nobility was able to channel their murderous instincts hunting in the surroundings of Vienna. However, some hunting grounds were sold under Maria Theresa, and other areas that had so far been reserved for the use of the court, like Augarten and Prater, were opened to the public, which is why in 1772 in the woods surrounding Vienna, a *Saugarten* (boar garden) was built especially for boar hunting. The garden was originally surrounded by a wooden palisade, but under Joseph II a wall was built around the area, which later was known as the *Lainzer Tiergarten*.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> *Das Schiessen und die Feuerwerke sind zwar verboten, es geschihet aber dennoch in denen Vorstädten vielfältig, und es werd [!] in Garten nicht nur mit Schrotten auf Vögel, sondern auch mit Kugeln ausgezogenen Röhren nach der Scheiben geschossen.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 105.

<sup>29</sup> Tanzer 1992, 148-160, Feigl, Heindl 2005; a compilation of printed sources is: Walk 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Gergely 1993; Prossinagg 2005.

Less bloody, but all the more ostentatious, were the great court festivities, which sometimes hosted several thousand people for dancing, carousels, sleigh rides and masquerades. In particular, on the occasion of Habsburg wedding celebrations, no cost was spared: the wedding between the successor Joseph and Isabella of Parma was accompanied by festivities lasting several days, a pompous carriage parade and sumptuous dinners which ignored the fact that the monarchy was in the midst of the Seven Years' War. However, after the death of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I, such festivities were drastically reduced, Joseph II not having much interest in such amusements.<sup>31</sup>

Concerning the forbidden fireworks mentioned in the quoted passage of the *Political Comments*, these were legalised in the form of mass spectacles around the same time: fireworks took place at the Prater, which had been opened to the public in 1766. From 1771 on, firework-makers like Pietro Paolo Girandolini, Johann Georg Stuver and Giuseppe Mellina demonstrated their skills to audiences of as many as 40,000 spectators. Connoisseurs could marvel at fireworks shows with poetic titles like «The Spanish Wall in the Chinese Taste» or «The Temple of Peace», and debated which fireworks were the best, whether the «German» or the *welsch* (Italian). The knowledgeable audience was disgusted when a certain Tobias Heim showed them a Chinese *lustfeuerwerk* (amusement fireworks) which, in their eyes, was supremely «miserable».<sup>32</sup>

## CITY OF COUNTER-REFORMATION

No account of baroque Vienna would be complete without addressing the religious situation:

In the churches, people are not considerate enough to keep out the dogs, which is a particular nuisance and distraction from worship. Often, you will

---

<sup>31</sup> Vocelka 2001, 184-195; Grossegger 1987; Iby 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Pemmer, Lackner 1974, 50-72; Barth 1982, 2-8; on the history of fireworks before Maria Theresa's reign: Bastl 1996, 205-216; Salge 2007, 400-411.

meet a number of dogs, because not only are they allowed in, but many people take not only their small lapdogs with them, but also large and atrocious hunting dogs or poodles, which will then start to bark and fight in the Lord's house, not mentioning other inconveniences they cause to people. It would also be good if underage children were not allowed into churches, since they cause considerable distraction during the devotions with their skittish behaviour, running around and screaming.<sup>33</sup>

This amusing passage refers to the religious life of the city, and to the fact that the Vienna of Maria Theresa was also a city of religion, namely of baroque Catholicism and Counter-Reformation. In Vienna, Reformation had been extremely successful, and the city had even boasted a Protestant mayor in the mid-16th century. However, in the 17th century during Counter-Reformation, religious orders continually increased the number of their followers, new churches and monasteries were built, pilgrimages and processions had become characteristic features of the city's daily life and interrupted the normal hustle of the streets.<sup>34</sup> Whoever passed by one of the nearly daily processions in a carriage and did not stop to get down and kneel, still risked being dragged from the carriage and forced to kneel by a fanatic crowd in Maria Theresa's time.<sup>35</sup> Enlightenment spread slowly, and moral arguments were put forward for a limitation of religious holidays and pilgrimages; the Jesuit Order was abolished in 1773,

---

<sup>33</sup> *In denen Kirchen ist es absonderlich zur Ergernuß und Verhinderung vom Gottesdienst, daß man nicht bedacht seye, aus selben die Hunde hindanzuhalten, deren oft eine gantze Menge darinnen angetroffen werden, weil man solche nicht nur hineinläst, sondern vielle die Gewohnheit haben, nicht nur ihre kleine Schoßhündlein, sondern wohl auch große fürchterliche Fang- und Jagdhunde oder Budln mit sich zu nehmen, die hernach in denen Gotteshäußern zu bellen und zu rauffen anfangen, ohne die sonstigen Ungelegenheiten zu gedenken, die sie denen Leuten verursachen. Es wäre auch gut, wenn die unmündige Kinder in die Gotteshäußer nicht gelassen wurden, die durch ihre Ungebörden, Herumlauffen und Schreyen in denen Andachtsübungen nicht wenig Zerstreung veranlassen.* Hochedlinger, Tantner (eds.) 2005, 105.

<sup>34</sup> On the history of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Vienna see recently: Leeb et al. 2017; Vocelka 2003.

<sup>35</sup> Sander 1783-1784, vol. 2, 575.

following a European trend. The actual struggle against religious orders and popular religious feeling came out only under Joseph II.

## CITY OF MIGRATION

The snapshot of the *Political Comments* keeps silent on an important aspect of Vienna's urban history at the time of Maria Theresa, i.e. migration. The marked growth of Vienna at the time was indeed caused by immigrants. Vienna already was a city of migration then, this is not only true since the 19th century or since the end of the 20th century.<sup>36</sup>

Its main attraction was first of all the central role of the city. In fact, since the victories over the Ottoman troops and the conquest of Hungary, Vienna no longer laid at the Eastern limits of Christian Europe. In addition to that, it was residence of a royal household and seat of an imperial court, whose byproducts could benefit craftsmen, servants and beggars. As for the geographic origins of the immigrants at the time of Maria Theresa, in the first place, they came from the regions surrounding Vienna and from Southern German territories, as well as from the German- and Czech-speaking regions of Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>37</sup>

Contemporary observers saw Vienna as a multi-cultural city. The city topographer Pezzl described the situation in the 1780s, shortly after Maria Theresa's death, using these words, which will also serve as a conclusion to this contribution:

Concerning the less noticeable differences among the inhabitants of Vienna, it is true that no family can trace its local descent for more than three generations. Hungarians, Bohemians, Moravians, Transylvanians, Styrians, Tyroleans, Dutch, Italians, French, Bavarians, Swabians, Silesians, Rhinelanders, Swiss, Westphalians, Lotharingians etc., they incessantly arrive in Vienna to find some happiness. Sometimes they succeed and become naturalized. The original Viennese have disappeared.

---

<sup>36</sup> John, Lichtblau 1990; Steidl 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Weigl 2003a, 122-126.

It is this mixture of so many nations which produces the endless confusion of languages that makes Vienna stand out in the crowd of European cities.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> *Was die innere unmerkbarere Verschiedenheit der Bewohner Wiens betrifft, in dieser Rücksicht ist es wahr, daß keine Familie ihre einheimische Abstammung mehr bis in die dritte Generation hinaufführen kann. Ungarn, Böhmen, Mährer, Siebenbürger, Steiermärker, Tiroler, Niederländer, Italiener, Franzosen, Bayern, Schwaben, Sachsen, Schlesier, Rheinländer, Schweizer, Westfäler, Lothringer usw. usw. wandern unaufhörlich in Menge nach Wien, suchen dort ihr Glück, finden es zum Teil und naturalisieren sich. Die originalen Wiener sind verschwunden. [Absatz] Eben diese Mischung so vieler Nationen erzeugt hier jene unendliche Sprachenverwirrung, die Wien vor allen europäischen Plätzen auszeichnet.* Peztl 1923, 22.

## Bibliography

- G. Barth, *Feuerwerk und Spektakel im alten Wien*, (=Wechselausstellung der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek; 195), Wien, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, 1982.
- B. Bastl, *Feuerwerk und Schlittenfahrt. Ordnungen zwischen Ritual und Zeremoniell*, in: „Wiener Geschichtsblätter“, 51, 1996, 197-229.
- S. Békési, E. Doppler, (eds.) *Wien von Oben. Die Stadt auf einem Blick*, Wien, Metroverlag, 2017.
- E. Bruckmüller, *The Austrian Nation. Cultural Consciousness and Socio-political Processes*, Riverside, Ariadne Press, 2003.
- B.-M. Buchmann, *Der Wiener Linienwall. Geschichte und Bedeutung*. Dissertation an der Universität Wien, 1974.
- B.-M. Buchmann, *Der Wiener Linienwall. Entstehung und strategische Bedeutung*, in: „Wiener Geschichtsblätter“, 31, 1976, 45-55.
- B.-M. Buchmann, *Der Wiener Linienwall und die Linienämter*, in: „Wiener Geschichtsblätter“, 33, 1978, 65-76.
- U. Denk, «Schulwesen und Universität», in: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*. Ed. by P. Csendes, F. Opll, Vol. 2, *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*. Ed. by K. Vocelka, A. Traninger, Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2003, 365-421, 445-452.
- H. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Vol 3: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*, Wien, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983.

- M. Feigl, G. Heindl, «Schaufenster der Natur. Tierschaustellungen in und um Wien», in: *Umwelt Stadt. Geschichte des Natur- und Lebensraumes Wien*, Ed. by K. Brunner, P. Schneider, Wien, Böhlau, 2005, 424-432.
- N. Fischer-Martin, G. Fischer (eds.), *Die Blumen des Bösen. Eine Geschichte der Armut in Wien, Prag, Budapest und Triest in den Jahren 1693 bis 1873. Vol 2.* Wien, Daedalus, 1994.
- T. Gergely et al., *Vom Saugarten des Kaisers zum Tiergarten der Wiener. Die Geschichte des Lainzer Tiergartens – entdeckt in einem vergessenen Archiv*, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 1993.
- E. Grossegger, *Theater, Feste und Feiern zur Zeit Maria Theresias 1742-1776. Nach den Tagebucheintragungen des Fürsten Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch, Obersthofmeister der Kaiserin. Eine Dokumentation.* (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte; 476; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Publikumsforschung; 12), Wien, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987.
- M. Hochedlinger, A. Tantner (eds.), «... der größte Teil der Untertanen lebt elend und mühselig». *Die Berichte des Hofkriegsrates zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Lage der Habsburgermonarchie 1770-1771.* (=Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs; Sonderband 8), Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen, Studienverlag, 2005.
- M. Hochedlinger, *Ein militärischer Bericht über die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage Tirols im Jahr 1786. Zum Versuch der "militärischen Gleichschaltung" Tirols unter Joseph II. (1784-1790)*, in: „Tiroler Heimat“, 67, 2003, 221-259.
- M. Hochedlinger, «Die Schöne Armee. Maria Theresia und die bewaffnete Macht», in: *Maria Theresia 1717-1780. Strategin Mutter Reformerin*, Ed by E. Iby et al., Wien, Amalthea, 2017, 112-121.
- E. Iby, *Die Vermählung der Häuser Habsburg und Bourbon – eine erfolgreiche diplomatische Mission*, in: „Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts“, 30, 2015, 33-40.
- M. John, A. Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien – Zuwanderung einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten. Aufsätze, Quellen, Kommentare*, Wien, Köln, Böhlau, 1990.
- T. Just, S. Pils, *Die Entstehung der Unbarmherzigkeit. Randgruppen und Außenseiter in Wien vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (=Wiener Geschichtsblätter: Beiheft; 1), Wien, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 1997.

- D. Jütte, *Entering a city: on a lost early modern practice*, in: "Urban History", 41, 2014, 204-227.
- J. Kallbrunner, *Das Wiener Hofquartierwesen und die Maßnahmen gegen die Quartiersnot im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: „Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien“, 5, 1925, 24-36
- M. Lauggas, *Mädchenbildung bildet Mädchen. Eine Geschichte des Begriffs und der Konstruktionen*, Wien, Milena, 2000.
- R. Leeb, et al. (eds.) *Brennen für den Glauben. Wien nach Luther. 413. Sonderausstellung des Wien Museums*, Wien, Residenz, 2017.
- I. Mader, I. Gaisbauer, W. Chmelar, *Der Wiener Linienwall. Vom Schutzbau zur Steuergrenze*, in: „Wien Archäologisch“, 9, Wien, Phoibos, 2012.
- M. Maurer, *Das Hofquartierwesen am Wiener Hof in der Frühen Neuzeit. Diplomarbeit an der Universität Wien*, 2013. Open Access: <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/25538/>>; <<https://resolver.obvsg.at/resolver?identifier=urn:nbn:at:at-ubw:1-29877.17215.556363-3>>. Both links working as for the 29th August 2017.
- P. Melichar, «Phäakisch – Intellektuell. Zum Verhältnis von sinnlichem Genuß und Kopfarbeit», in: *Ostarrîchi Österreich. 996-1996. Menschen Mythen Meilenssteine. Österreichische Länderausstellung*, ed. by E. Bruckmüller, P. Urbanitsch, Horn, Berger, 1996, 545-555.
- Y. Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*, Cambridge et al., Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- P. Montanelli, *Il movimento storico della popolazione di Trieste*, Trieste, Balestra, 1905.
- F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781*, Berlin/Stettin, 1783, ND Hildesheim u.a., Olms, 1994 (=Gesammelte Werke; 16. ed. by B. Fabian, M.-L. Spieckermann).
- Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 2010, 64, issue 1/2.
- P. Payer, *Der Gestank von Wien. Über Kanalgase, Totendünste und andere üble Geruchskulissen*, Wien, Döcker Verlag, 1997.
- H. Pemmer, N. Lackner, *Der Prater. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Wien, München, Jugend & Volk, 1974.
- J. Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien. Ein Kultur- und Sittenbild aus der josephinischen Zeit*, ed. by G. Gugitz, A. Schlossar, Graz, Leykam, 1923.



- S. Pichlkastner, «Das Ende der Wiener StadtzeichnerInnen. Die Einführung des generellen Bettelverbotes sowie der Beginn des Großarmenhauses 1692/93», in: *Frühneuzeitforschung in der Habsburgermonarchie: Adel und Wiener Hof – Konfessionalisierung – Siebenbürgen*. (=Publikationen der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien; 7), ed. by I. Fazekas, et al. Wien, Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien, 2013, 451-471.
- H. Prossinagg, «Wilde Tiere. Wild und Jagd im Wienerwald», in: *Umwelt Stadt. Geschichte des Natur- und Lebensraumes Wien*, ed. by K. Brunner, P. Schneider, Wien, Böhlau, 2005, 418-423.
- [J. Richter] *Wienerische Musterkarte ein Beytrag zur Schilderung Wiens*, 6, Stück, Wien, 1785.
- C. Salge, *Studien zur Wiener Festkultur im Spätbarock. Feuerwerk und Illumination*, in: „Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte“, 55/56, 2007, 401-418.
- H. Sander, *Heinrich Sanders (...) Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlande, Holland, Deutschland und Italien; in Beziehung auf Menschenkenntnis, Industrie, Litteratur und Naturkunde insonderheit*, 2 Teile, Leipzig, Friedrich Gotthold Jacobäer und Sohn, 1783-1784.
- M. Scheutz, «Enge Verflechtungen. Der Wiener Hof und die Stadt Wien um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts», in: *Maria Theresia. Habsburgs mächtigste Frau*, ed. by M. Pfundner, G. Mauthe, Wien, Metroverlag, 2017, 88-99.
- A. Steidl, *Auf nach Wien! Die Mobilität des mitteleuropäischen Handwerks im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Haupt- und Residenzstadt*. (=Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien; 30), München, Oldenbourg, 2003.
- A. Steidl, «Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt für Zuwanderer aus ganz Europa. Wanderungsmuster nach Wien, 1740-2010», in: *Sozialgeschichte Wiens 1740-2010*, ed. by A. Weigl, P. Eigner, E. G. Eder, Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen, Studienverlag, 2015, 375-434.
- S. Steiner, «Wien – Temesvar und retour. Der Wasserschub unter Maria Theresia», in: *Wien und seine WienerInnen. Ein historischer Streifzug durch Wien über die Jahrhunderte. Festschrift für Karl Vocelka zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Scheutz, V. Valeš, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2008, 203-219.
- S. Steiner, *Rückkehr Unerwünscht. Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext*, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2014, DOI 10.7767/boehlau.9783205793014.

- A. Tantner, *Ordnung der Häuser, Beschreibung der Seelen. Hausnummerierung und Seelenkonstruktion in der Habsburgermonarchie*. (=Wiener Schriften zur Geschichte der Neuzeit; 4), Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen, Studienverlag, 2007a. Open Access: <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/28/>>. Link working as for the 29th August 2017.
- A. Tantner, *Die Hausnummer. Eine Geschichte von Ordnung und Unordnung*, Marburg, Jonas Verlag, 2007b. Open Access: <<https://usolar.univie.ac.at/view/o:422099>>, DOI: 11353/10.422099. Link working as for the 29th August 2017.
- A. Tantner, «Wahrheitsproduktion durch „Auskampelung“. Zum Kampf gegen den Wichtelzopf», in: *Wien und seine WienerInnen. Ein historischer Streifzug durch Wien über die Jahrhunderte. Festschrift für Karl Vocelka zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Scheutz, V. Valeš. Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2008, 221-233. Open Access: <<http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:105523>>, DOI: 11353/10.105523.
- A. Tantner, *House Numbers. Pictures of a Forgotten History*, London, Reaktion Books, 2015.
- A. Tantner, *Die Hausnummern von Wien. Der Ordnung getreue Zahlen*, (=Enzyklopädie des Wiener Wissens; XXIV), Weitra, Bibliothek der Provinz, 2016.
- G. Tanzer, *Spectacle müssen seyn. Die Freizeit der Wiener im 18. Jahrhundert*. (=Kulturstudien; 21), Wien, Böhlau, 1992.
- K. Vocelka, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt. Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat. (=Österreichische Geschichte 1699-1815)*, Wien, Ueberreuter, 2001.
- K. Vocelka, «Kirchengeschichte», in: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, ed. by P. Csendes, F. Opll, Vol. 2, Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert), ed. by K. Vocelka, A. Traninger, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2003, 311-363.
- K. Vocelka, «Wien», in: *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit. Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum*, ed. by W. Adam et al. Berlin, De Gruyter, 2012, 2161-2200.
- A. Walk, *Das k. k. privilegierte Hetzamphitheater unter den Weissgerbern. Eine traurige Tierquälerei im alten Wien des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Alfred Walk, 2012.
- A. Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien* (=Kommentare zum Historischen Atlas der Stadt Wien; 1), Wien, Pichler, 2000.

- A. Weigl, «Frühneuzeitliches Bevölkerungswachstum», in: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, ed. by P. Csendes, F. Opll, Vol. 2, Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert), ed. by K. Vocelka, A. Traninger, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2003a, 109-131.
- A. Weigl, «Die Haupt- und Residenzstadt als Konsumtionsstadt», in: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, ed. by P. Csendes, F. Opll, Vol. 2, Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert), ed. by K. Vocelka, A. Traninger, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2003b, 137-141.



# “Comincia a prendere il nome”. Growth and Urban Development in Trieste at the Time of Maria Theresa

DANIELE ANDREOZZI

## 1. PRELUDE

At the turn of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth, a redefinition of quantitative and qualitative hierarchies of commercial sea routes took place in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. . Especially in the Adriatic, coasting trade became central to define economic areas. At the time, heavy and cheap goods – such as olive oil, cereal, timber, raw metal, iron and copper manufactures, rough textile fabrics, fruit, vegetables, cheese, salted fish – were the bulk of trade. Venice’s predominance over the sea seemed to be seriously compromised by the actions of many mercantile “marine” fleets from small and medium ports on the Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas. These settlements gave birth to a very thick trade network that could connect coasts and ports on those seas with the subsequent emerging of old lines of smugglers and “minor” routes. Exchanges and relations, favoured by goods, were not restricted to economy, but involved wider social and cultural spheres. Moreover, sea routes were characterized by an extreme mobility of men and women<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> On this, for a wider bibliography and more extensive archival indications see Andreozzi 2005, 153-201 e 2005, 113-139.

In such “Adriatic” context, at the start of the eighteenth century, Emperor Charles VI of Habsburg, father of Maria Theresa, was convinced that sea power was fundamental to have an important role among the European superpowers, i.e. «to be properly respected by England, Spain, Holland and Russia»<sup>2</sup>. The Emperor and his court believed that the development of sea trade could support an imperial merchant fleet and that merchant ships could in turn provide the military fleet with everything necessary, especially money, men, knowledge, expertise and tools.

As for Maria Theresa, she was born on May 13th 1717 in Vienna. In June of the same year, her father, the Emperor, declared the freedom of navigation in the Adriatic Sea. In 1718, he signed the Peace of Passarowitz and reached a commercial agreement with the Ottoman Empire. In 1719, the cities of Trieste and Rijeka were declared free ports<sup>3</sup>.

There is a traditional narrative in Trieste, which considers the creation of the free port by Charles VI as the “mythical” starting point of the city’s growth and sees Trieste as the result of the centralistic and modern approach of the Emperor. Without forgetting the role of the Habsburg, however, it is possible to tell the story of Trieste by taking other hypotheses, players, paths and stories into consideration. This interpretation increases the role of Trieste in shaping its history and the importance of local forces, making them protagonists of their fate. Moreover, it places the growth of Trieste in the network of the sea routes crossing the Mediterranean.

At that time, Trieste had approximately 5.000 inhabitants and had almost no manufacturing sector. The local merchants were few and played no relevant role, and the city was ruled by an ‘original’ patriciate focused on making the urban and port spaces available to the foreign merchants counting on profits coming, above all, from the taxes imposed on mercantile traffic and the tenancy of city offices. This patriciate was weak and possessed little wealth, but from the eighteenth century on Trieste expe-

---

<sup>2</sup> State Archives, Venice (SAV), Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia (Savi), II, 7/3, 31 December 1729.

<sup>3</sup> Andreozzi 2015. On the history of Trieste see Finzi, Panjek 2001; Finzi, Panariti, Panjek 2003; Andreozzi, 2011, 13-38.

rienced a rapid growth becoming one of the largest ports on the Adriatic Sea. The city rapidly developed into a large commercial, industrial, financial and multicultural centre. The 5,000-7,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the eighteenth century became almost 10,000 towards the half of the century and then increased up to 30,000 by the beginning of the nineteenth century<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. YOUTH AND BEGINNINGS

Maria Theresa never visited Trieste. As a child, she had the opportunity in 1728 when her father, «eager to [get to] know the coastline», decided to visit the city and the port<sup>5</sup>. However, the Emperor's health was terrible and gout and bloodletting confined him to his bed. Moreover, the high travel costs – 500.000 florins – were discouraging, since Charles did not have enough money. Nonetheless, the Emperor decided to leave because doctors suggested a 'change of air', but he opted, along with his councilors, for a low-cost solution, reducing the number of aristocrats and courtiers who would follow him on his voyage. For reasons of etiquette, his children also had to stay in Vienna. Maria Theresa insisted to accompany her mother on the journey, but it was useless<sup>6</sup>. In any case the years of her youth were those of the city's first stage of growth. One of the first ships built in Trieste – a frigate with twenty cannons suitable «for corsair activity and for trade» – was named Theresa<sup>7</sup>.

At that time, in the Twenties and Thirties, in Trieste, in the context of the free port privileges, there were three hypotheses concerning the construction and control of the urban spaces and economic and social growth of the city. Such hypotheses were not exclusive, but rather predominant.

---

<sup>4</sup> Breschi, Kalc, Navarra 2001, 73 -95. Gatti 2005, 35-72.

<sup>5</sup> SAV, Senato, Dispacci di ambasciatori e Residenti, Germania (Germania) 221, 17th and 31th January 1728.

<sup>6</sup> SAV, Germania, 221, 14th and 28th February 1728, 6th and 20th March 1728.

<sup>7</sup> SAV, Inquisitori di Stato (Inquisitori), Dispacci da Palma, 317, 4th August 1727.

The Emperor, the Court, and the Habsburg aristocracy and bureaucracy developed them fighting and interacting with the local actors' practices. These three hypotheses were:

- 1717-1729: the 'privileged' Oriental Company («Compagnia Orientale»);
- 1729-1733: the free fair;
- 1733-1748: the military role.

In 1719, Charles VI gave the task of developing Trieste to a privileged company, the Oriental Company, of which the Emperor himself was among the main stockholders, along with many aristocrats. The Company had the task of developing trade between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire by exploiting the sea routes between Trieste and the Levant, as well as the fluvial routes – particularly the Danube – linking Vienna to the Black Sea. The Company soon became the pivot of the Habsburg strategies and enjoying large monopolies in the commercial and manufacturing sectors. Moreover, during the Twenties, the Company represented the Emperor in Trieste, thus assuming a 'public' role. It was responsible for the economic and social growth of the city and for its government, along with some new extraordinary magistrates who were direct emanations from Vienna. The Company, active in Trieste for about ten years, was closely interwoven with these and their staffs were not clearly separated. However, its strategies were characterized by constant inefficiencies and by ongoing conflicts between the official goals of the Habsburg bureaucracy and the interests of its local agents and of its investors. Basically, the Company was unable to perform the tasks it was assigned. Starting in 1728, it was weighed down by the insufficient development of its mercantile activities, which should have instead favoured growth. First its headquarters moved to Rijeka and then the Company slowly went bankrupt<sup>8</sup>.

From the urban point of view, the most important aspect of the Company's business was the start of the draining of salt basins. In 1720, the

---

<sup>8</sup> On the "Oriental Company" see Bussolin 1882, 29-164; Babudieri 1978; Andreozzi, 2017, 65-87; Andreozzi 2009, 119 – 130; Andreozzi, Panariti 2011, 220-223. On the urban growth of Trieste see also Andreozzi, Marin, Panariti 2013



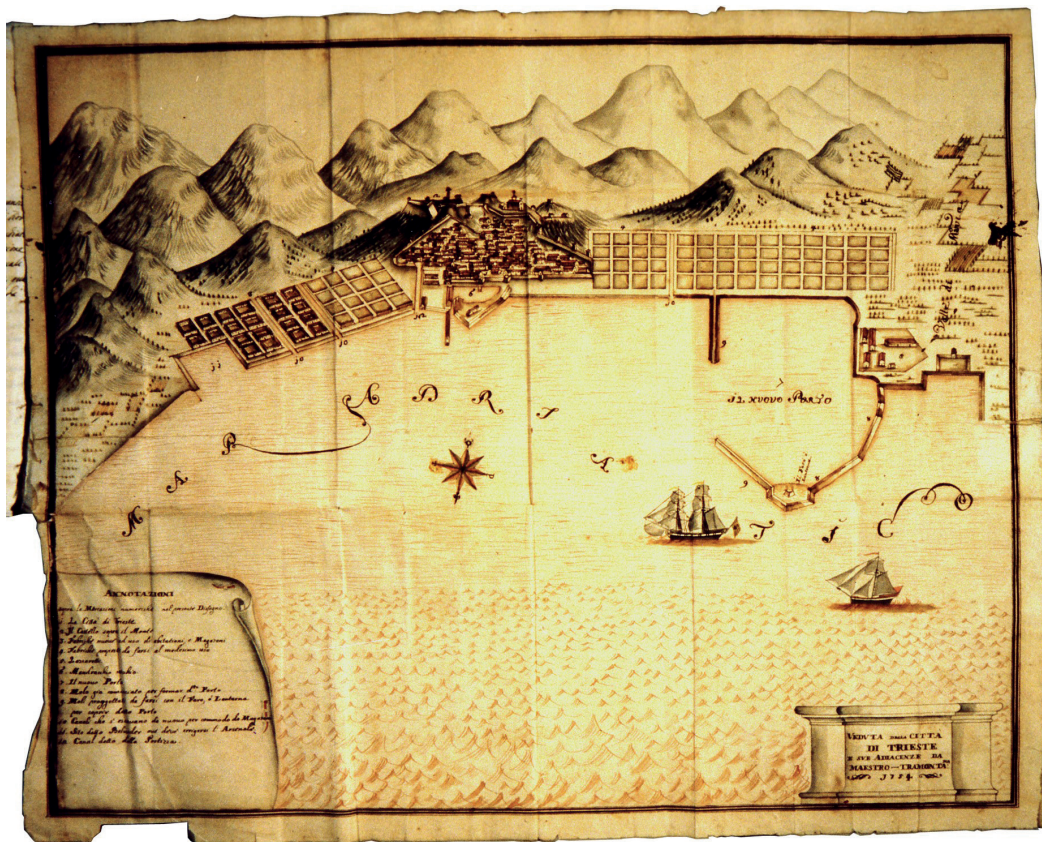


Figura 1

“Veduta della città di Trieste da Maestro a Tramontana”, 1754

(source P. Di Biagi, V. Fasoli, A. Marin, *Dalla città moderna alla città contemporanea.*

*Piani e progetti per Trieste*, Udine, 2002)

Company was discussing with the city, the «Public», the conditions of its settling in Trieste. It had, in fact, to establish the conditions of its stay and to obtain a space in order to locate a dockyard to start the construction of its fleet. The city allowed the Company to use the land outside «the door of Riborgo», along the city walls and all the way to the port. This was the site where the «Snel» saltpans were once located, which had been abandoned twenty years previously. Here the company started building ships. Harmony, however, was only apparent and soon a fierce conflict broke out. The imperial bureaucracy, fearing that the quarrel could become an obstacle to the «increase of commerce», found itself mediating between the two parties. However, the agreement was impossible to reach. The decision made in Graz in 1723 by the Habsburg bureaucracy to impose the company's point of view did not put an end to the dispute, which ceased only after the failure of the Company towards the end of the 1720s<sup>9</sup>.

Meanwhile, the idea of buying the saltpans next to the city and converting them to a different use had been gaining popularity in Vienna since at least 1729. The idea was to drain them both for sanitary reasons, since they caused fever and unpleasant smells and some merchants who had come for the first fair had even complained about the risk of malaria, and economic reasons. They were not highly productive. The idea of using them to build warehouses «and make profit through merchants» was entertained by many, especially in order to allow in «merchants and foreigners» that would have come to the city looking for adequate spaces to locate activities and living quarters. In fact, in January 1730, «deeming necessary for the public benefit the acquisition of the saltpans next to Riborgo», Charles VI gave the order to purchase the saltpans via a «regulated contract». The negotiation turned out to be neither brief nor easy. However, when evaluated according to the Ancient Regime's criteria, the transaction was not particularly complex or time-consuming and,

---

<sup>9</sup> On the agreements and the disputes relating to the saltpans of Snel see Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana, As 730, Gospostvo Dol, book 158, pp. 728-740 (1720-1723). Bussolin 1882, pp. 29-164. For a wider bibliography and more extensive archival indications, see Andreozzi 2012, 137-157.

in between September 14th and 15th, the contracts of purchase were drawn up<sup>10</sup>.

Moreover, because of the failure of the Company, at the end of the Twenties the Court of Vienna changed strategy, choosing a development plan based on projects internal to the circuits of the Adriatic trade. This fair system was designed by the 'fixer' Fortunato Cervelli, a merchant and entrepreneur from Ferrara. The strategy devised by Cervelli was based on the creation of a system of fairs able to connect Europe, the Padan Plain, Trieste and the Levant. If these plans seemed in line with the imperial goals, they also hid other interests rooted in the Adriatic commercial networks. The fair of Trieste was located on the same site where for the dockyards had been for a few years, on the old salt basins. It was a short-term attempt. The only fair that actually opened was in Trieste and lasted for four years (each August, from 1730 until 1733)<sup>11</sup>.

After this attempt, the outbreak of the Polish Succession War (1733-1738) and the Austrian Succession War (1740-1748) caught the attention of Vienna, who lost interest in what was happening in Trieste. In the eyes of the Habsburg government, the city became a strategic hub in the context of the European wars, to be used for mobility and the quartering of troops and supplies for the armies. As a member of the Venetian government, Alvise Forcarini, wrote: «officers and soldiers, with their families, settled in Trieste; the war was in Italy; so Aleman troops were constantly passing and they made a stop at Trieste, where large quantities of supplies flowed»<sup>12</sup>. However, the food and supply streams were a great opportunity for the merchants living in Trieste. They sent provisions to the battlefields mainly by connecting Trieste to the mouth of the Po river. In such context, the most important urban and infrastructural outcomes of

---

<sup>10</sup> On the events concerning the saltpans of Riborgo see State Archives, Trieste (SAT), Intendenza commerciale (Intendenza), 183, Saline, cc. 1r-47r (1730-1733) and 43, «Contrati seguiti con li fondali e consorti delle saline appresso Riborgo e in Valle de Rivo comprate in esecutioni delle clementissime cesaree resolutioni di sua sacra cesarea cattolica real Maestà», cc. 1r-49r (1731).

<sup>11</sup> Caracciolo 1962; Andreozzi 2009, 113-139.

<sup>12</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 843, 2 April 1754. Gatti 2005, 55-58.

the period 1719-1748) in Trieste were: the construction of the lazaretto in 1730, the draining of the salt basins, the excavation of the seabed in the port, and the construction of some warehouses, shops, taverns, and small craft workshops and manufacturing factories<sup>13</sup>.

### 3. «THE FREE PORT OF TRIESTE STARTS TO TAKE THE NAME»

Between 1719 and 1748, following the partial failure of the Habsburg policies, small business initiatives thrived in Trieste for a while, fluid and discontinuous, sometimes failing and when successful controlled by the commercial capital. In fact, this network created by medium and small ports was characterized by an extreme mobility of men and women. Being the result of individual economic strategies and of the influence of family, kinship, community and clientelistic relationships, such a mobility lead to the gathering of men and women at the 'junctions' of the Adriatic routes. These men and women – with their own share of knowledge, relations, skills and capitals – were very important for the economical, demographical and social development of the Adriatic ports. In Trieste, all that had peculiar repercussions because of the scarce economic and social weight of the local patriciate and the small demographic consistency of the city<sup>14</sup>. 'Local' inhabitants were joined by a «crowd» of foreigners, of 'floaters', «somewhat smaller, equal or bigger, depending on cases, but always in a comparable quantity»<sup>15</sup>. Those people became protagonists of Trieste's growth and of the development of its economy and a group of merchants with a sufficient level of stability began to emerge in the city. It was made up of people coming from different places (Italian Peninsula, Habsburg Empire, Balkans, Levant, Western Europe) and with different beliefs (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Orthodox). They arrived in town

---

<sup>13</sup> Ruaro Loseri 1980, 112-127; Andreozzi 2003a 541-547 e 2011, 13-16.

<sup>14</sup> Andreozzi 2005a and 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Gatti 2005, 37-38. As an example, two estimates of Venetian informers: in 1752-4,000 locals and 6,000 'foreigners', in 1754 – 5,000 locals, 5,000 foreigners and 2,000 'not [...] stable'.



Figura 2

*“Plans de la ville de Trieste et de ses environs”, 1765,*

*(source P. Di Biagi, V. Fasoli, A. Marin, Dalla città moderna alla città contemporanea.*

*Piani e progetti per Trieste, Udine, 2002)*

for various reasons (working for the oriental Company, on the sea routes and so on) and won the fight against the local patriciate, positioning themselves as a leading group representing the city. It was a cosmopolitan type of social class held together by common interests and a shared heritage of early rudimentary myths, ideals and behaviours. They were able to assimilate external contributions as long as they stayed within the established context without competing with it. Between the Twenties and the Forties, these people sustained the commerce of Trieste and were the protagonists of the development of the secondary sector too. In this context, the mechanisms of interchange between Adriatic, Levant, Central and Continental Europe and the Po Valley were the central element of the mercantile circuits revolving around Trieste, which sustained the commerce in Trieste between the 1720s and the 1750s<sup>16</sup>.

When Maria Theresa of Habsburg consolidated her power and the European situation calmed down, the Court of Vienna again picked up interest in Trieste's economic development. In the early '50s, Venetian observers and spies wrote that «the free port of Trieste starts to take the name» and that the growth of Trieste was an «unquestionable reality»<sup>17</sup>. The Habsburg authorities took note of this partially spontaneous growth and chose the mercantile class as their main interlocutor for the governance of the entire city, assigning part of the tasks to the 'nations' (cultural, ethnic and religious communities). The prominent members of the 'nations' were an integral part of the mercantile class. The foundation of the stock exchange deputation (the 'Borsa'), in 1755, symbolized that choice<sup>18</sup>.

Moreover, the mercantile class was capable of using all forms of resources coming from the centre to achieve its own goals and its connections with certain branches of the imperial bureaucracy helped it along; connections strengthened by the common interest in the development of the city and the many ways opportunities for personal enrichment they insured. In this way, the peripheral branches of the Imperial bureaucracy

---

<sup>16</sup> Andreozzi 2005a, 153-168 and 2009, 113-139.

<sup>17</sup> SAV, Savi, 843, 20 April 1754.

<sup>18</sup> Gatti 2001; Andreozzi 2003b 191-199.

became important allies of the protagonists of the informal economies, in the circumvention and transgression of the rules, too. In fact, on the one hand they pledged themselves to hide, defend and camouflage these practices, and on the other they became guarantors of the continuity of the flow of investments from the centre of the Empire. Imperial magistrates residing in Trieste were hiding, for instance, the real condition of the city and were sending Vienna false information. They were writing false reports about profits and costs of various investments, they were coming up with schemes, sometimes very ambitious, aiming at the economic development of the city, so to keep the imperial goals in play; they were hiding and protecting the actual policies adopted by the mercantile class, like smuggling, for example; they were supporting certain activities instead of others, justifying the granting of monopolies, patents, financial aids or, vice versa, their denial with wide-ranging strategies, when the actual motivation was tied to the interest of local merchants<sup>19</sup>. With regard to such practices, in the 1750's Marco Monti, Venetian consul in Trieste, wrote that half of the state investments in Trieste had already been «eaten». However, the situation was not perceived as a problem because «enriching the Emperor treasury was a private thought, but enriching the State was an object fit for a Prince»<sup>20</sup>.

#### 4. IMAGINE AND BUILD

In the early '50s, Trieste's "Old Town" was surrounded by walls and counted 535 houses<sup>21</sup>. Due to the growing population, rents and housing density were very high<sup>22</sup>. So, the issues to be dealt with were infrastruc-

---

<sup>19</sup> Andreozzi 2005b and 2012.

<sup>20</sup> SAV, Savi, 753, 28th October and 5th November 1769.

<sup>21</sup> SAV, Savi, 843, 28th March 1754.

<sup>22</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 618, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1754. In Trieste, Part of the population lived «in small warehouses and shacks» (SAV, Savi 843, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1754). On the demographic growth of Trieste Gatti 2005 and Breschi, Kalc, Navarra 2001.

tures, especially trade and port infrastructures, and the lack of housing supply. The Vienna Court decided to create a 'technical organ' charged with the oversight of the planning and execution of the public works, the «Imperial royal factories Committee». Such organ was subordinated to the Commercial Intendence (*Intendenza Commerciale*), the office which the city government had been entrusted with during the Thirties<sup>23</sup>.

However, after five years, only a new pier and a custom had been built. The pier was actually built taking advantage of the Roman harbor ruins, of a rock that was there, the so called 'Zucco', and the custom, which was also home to the Intendence, had been built in the 'Large Square' (*Piazza grande*) along with a fountain to supply the port and the new town area with water. The shore was little more than a beach and was exposed to winds from the Levant, Bora and Tramontana. There was only a small '*mandracchio*' in the middle<sup>24</sup>. The new pier had cost a lot, but had been built without considering the dominant wind directions. So, when the winds blew impetuously, the waves threatened the ships<sup>25</sup>. Accidents and shipwrecks were frequent. For example, in February 1754, because of the Bora, many ships were heavily damaged and four of them sank in the harbor including a large Dutch sailing ship. Five sailors died. The captains demanded compensation for damage, arguing that the Empress was responsible because of the insecure pier, and threatened to avoid the port of Trieste<sup>26</sup>.

In attempting to resolve the issue, the count Rodolfo Chotek came to the city. He was a «knight of great birth», Minister of Finance and President of the Trade Directory, the office that was responsible for the development of Trieste. Moreover, he had personal economic interests in the growth of the port and its trade<sup>27</sup>. On April 1754, the Count arrived in Trieste. He immediately ordered to pull down the walls dividing the Old

---

<sup>23</sup> On the Commercial Intendence see Faber 2003, 25-26 and 28-33.

<sup>24</sup> On the port see Comune di Trieste 1980; Andreozzi 2011.

<sup>25</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 618, 1st June 1754.

<sup>26</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 618, 9th February 1754.

<sup>27</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 1265, 14th March 1750.



Town from the New Town, to fill in the Canal collecting drainage water from the Karst and the Old Town, to build two new warehouses and demolish two houses to enlarge the square. Then, along with the captains, he decided to build a new pier where the wreck of the San Carlo ship was. The new pier would be added to the project of a canal designed to shelter ships, which had been approved a few months before. To demonstrate the seriousness of the Empress's intentions, he brought to Trieste a hundred bags with 1000 'Ungari' gold coins each. The imminent arrival of the Empress required to carry out works quickly and for this reason Chotek wanted all the houses in the city to be whitewashed<sup>28</sup>.

In 1754, the Old Town and New Town were united under one jurisdiction. The New Town, where building rights were granted free of charge for ten years, was just sketched. There, the building hosting the customs and the seat of Intendence had the «appearance of a palace» and it was located where a square had been made for the parking of trade carts. The public weigh station for goods was at entrance of the square. There were some low-cost houses built in a botched way and without a precise plan. Some houses were tall, others short, the ground was not even and the water stagnated and formed puddles. Moreover, there were three taverns, a soap and a rosin factory belonging to the entrepreneur and merchant Giacomo Balletti, the houses and workshops of two blacksmiths, a merchant and a rope maker. Another house and office destined to the port captain were under construction<sup>29</sup>. In 1754, the Imperial royal factories

---

<sup>28</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 618, 11th May 1754 and 616, 12th July 1754. Beyond the two main piers, there were other wooden piers (Sat, Intendenza, 21, 23 July 1757). A feast was scheduled for Maria Teresa's arrival with «Illuminated machines, virtuous music of instruments, opera in music and a wonderful shipracing» (SAV, Inquisitori 903, 9th November 1754). In December 1754 the project of Maria Teresa's visit was suspended (SAV, Inquisitori, 619, 14th December 1745).

<sup>29</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 903, *Descrizione di Trieste*, 1754 and 618, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1754. This time, between 1754 and 1755, in the New City about 50 houses, stores and shops were under construction. By order of the Commercial Intendence, 17 of these houses formed a «*contrada*» (SAV, Inquisitori 619, 8th August 1755 and SAT, Intendenza, 14, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1755). In May 1755 the Commercial Intendence ordered all the house owners to bleach the facades (SAT, Intendenza, 14, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1755). On 'building practice' in New Town see also Caputo 1982.

Committee actually started to work. The Intendence member Count Philip Zinzendorf was the president, Lieutenant Francis Bonomo was the director and Captain Joseph Conti and Lieutenant John Conrad Gerhard were among the other members. The latter had just come from Vienna and soon assumed the leadership of the Office<sup>30</sup>.

Mattio Pirona was another protagonist of public works during those years. He was about 35, short, black-haired and recognized as a «great speaker»<sup>31</sup>. He arrived in July 1754 coming from Venice, where he had worked as «*cavafango*» for the 'Magistrate of the Waters', the Venetian office responsible for the lagoon. An expert in channel digging, he fled from Venice because of debts and conflicts at work and hoped for a new career in Trieste. His technical knowledge was unique in Trieste. So, Pirona became the main referent of the Vienna court, Commercial Intendence and Imperial royal factories Committee<sup>32</sup> in the field of public works.

Initially, on the basis of negotiations which began when Mattio was still in Venice, the Habsburg authorities entrusted Pirona with the digging of a Canal according to «the use and manner of Venice», to provide a safe port for the ships. The agreement provided that the State would have paid 13,300 ducats and the Venetian would have taken care of all the costs<sup>33</sup>. During the works, Pirona supervised and directed hundreds of workers<sup>34</sup>, while, fearing for his safety or not trusting him, the Habsburg authorities guarded and protected him with armed guards. Venice, for its part, feared that Pirona's knowledge could be a strategic resource for the growth of the rival Trieste and spied Mattio carefully, even going so far as to plan his assassination<sup>35</sup>. However, while the construction of the new dock proceeded slowly, by spring 1755 the canal was ready to be opened despite the Venetian threats. So, after the construction of the Lazaretto, the Grand

---

<sup>30</sup> Dorsi 1985, 75-76. On the public works in Trieste see also Visintini 2001, 239-260.

<sup>31</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 618, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1754.

<sup>32</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 255, 28th August 1754.

<sup>33</sup> SAT, Intendenza, 12, 19th July 1754 and SAV, Inquisitori, 616, 18th August 1754.

<sup>34</sup> Most diggers at his service were «Friulians» (SAV, Inquisitori, 618, 20th July 1754).

<sup>35</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 616, 19th February 1755.

Canal was the first port infrastructure work in Trieste that the Hapsburg authorities managed to complete quickly, with reasonable costs and good results<sup>36</sup>.

This success gave great prestige to Pirona, who had the favour of Maria There. She promised Mattio «bread for all his life»<sup>37</sup>. The court of Vienna, Commercial Intendence and Imperial royal factories Committee virtually entrusted him with every public work to be done in Trieste: the dredging of the port seabed, the construction of walls on the port banks after the example of Venice, the construction of fortified cannon batteries, a draw-bridge on the Grand Canal, the so called «red bridge», and the paving of the streets of the New Town<sup>38</sup>.

In such context, on September 18th, 1756, a thunderstorm arrived in Trieste. A violent outburst of rain, lightning and thunder fell on the city for five hours. The water «coming down from the mountains» formed a «river» that swept away everything it encountered in the New Town. Many people lost their lives and their corpses were never found. Even animals, carts and goods were overwhelmed by water and washed into the sea. The area was submerged by nearly two meters of water. Houses, craft workshops, manufactures, and warehouses sustained damages estimated at approximately 300.000 florins. Moreover, the wall built along the shore between the Grand Canal and the new dock fell down and mud and debris poured into the canal, raising its level and compromising its functionality. The inhabitants of New Town were frightened, «shocked by the fatal accident», and regretted the decision of moving from Old Town. They accused

---

<sup>36</sup> Just opened to the ships, the canal suffered serious damages. The main causes of these damages were: the excessive number of boats damaging the canal shores, the custom to throw «human excrements and other garbage» in the canal, the carelessness of the boats carrying the stones for the construction. When the rocks were unloaded, the sailors dropped a lot of them on the bottom of the canal (SAT, Intendence, 14, 8th March 1755). The problem of waste was particularly felt in New Town. In 1756 The Commercial Intendence forbade house owners from building underground culverts for the drainage of the dirt. The culverts obstructed the channels for rainwater drainage (SAT, Intendenza, 20, 2 January 1757).

<sup>37</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 616, 19th February 1754.

<sup>38</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 619, 12th April and 8th August 1755 and 255, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1755.

the «engineers» of not having listened to anyone and having done a bad job. Above all, they had not thought about an urban drainage system and had built New Town at too low a level. For these reasons, merchants and entrepreneurs turned to the court asking for funds and immediate measures<sup>39</sup>.

Pirona immediately carried out emergency works and in October the Habsburg authorities planned to start a new phase of infrastructural works to secure New Town from rainwater and from the sea. So, without taking the costs into account, Pirona's plan was accepted. Such project envisaged the restoration of the Grand Canal, the digging of a new smaller canal for the drainage of rainwater, the reconstruction of the fallen walls, and the placement of a double row of poles in front of the waterfront to break the force of the sea, taking as a model the bank near the Venetian Arsenal<sup>40</sup>. 12.500 florins were allocated for the two canals only. Moreover, fearing an English or French attack on the port, John Conrad Gerhard planned the construction of three cannon batteries – another work entrusted to Mattio<sup>41</sup>.

By that time, Pirona's career had indeed reached its apogee. He was the protagonist of public works, he had close links both with merchants from Trieste and Habsburg officials, he expanded his business to the most profitable trade branches, he had the monopoly of cooking and selling bread in Trieste: in short, he was one of the wealthiest men in town and had close relations with the court of Vienna and the Empress. However, just by the same time, his star began to decline. The first difficulties appeared when the construction of the cannon battery became a complex affair fraught with accusations of malpractice and inefficiency<sup>42</sup>. In Trieste, there were many rumors about Pirona<sup>43</sup>.

---

<sup>39</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 903, 25th September 1756.

<sup>40</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 616, 17th October 1756, 1<sup>st</sup> January and 4th June 1757.

<sup>41</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 619, 6th August 1757.

<sup>42</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 619, 10th September 1757.

<sup>43</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 255, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1755 and 619, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1759 and 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1760; SAT, Intendenza, 209, 4th February 1758.

In this context, two clientelistic and entrepreneurial groups linked to the courts of Vienna and Trieste started to fight for the control of the main sources of income: trade, the urban and infrastructural growth of Trieste and, above all, the construction of the port and waterfront. The protagonists of this conflict were both members of the court and of the Habsburg bureaucracy, such as the Earl Chotek, the Earl Ramon Frederic of Vilana-Perlas, the Marquis of Rialp and the Earl Gian Gottofredo of Heister, State Councilor and Councilor of the Royal Chamber in Carinthia, but also the 'peripheral' imperial bureaucracy, the Community town and merchants. In Trieste, the leaders of the two groups were, on one side, Pasquale Ricci, born in Leghorn, member of the Commercial Intendance and President of the Commission for Police and Public Safety; Francesco Antonio de Raab, member of the Commercial-Intendance; Giulio Cesare Porta, vicar and judge of 'malefici' (criminal court); Francesco Giuseppe Gabbiatti, born in Koper, lawyer and actuary at the stock exchange; and the merchants Giacomo Balletti and Ernesto Bonomo. On the other side, we find Pirona; the Baron Francesco de Fin, member of the Commercial-Intendance, vice-captain and vice military commander of Trieste; the Earl Nicolò Hamilton, president of the Commercial-Intendance, captain and military commander of the city and castle of Trieste, intimate Councilor of State and Golden Key Cavalier; the Flemish architect Johan Conrad de Gerhard; the Admiral of the Lazaretto Giacomo Dini; the merchant and financier from Vienna Fortunato Heller; the captain of the militias in Temswar Teodoro Scheley; the director of the commercial and financial company "Brentani Cimaroli and Venino" Giosuè Bianchi; and the Swiss merchant Marco Blanchenai<sup>44</sup>.

Therefore, most of Trieste ruling class was involved in the dispute when in April 1760 Chotek financed with 20,000 florins the digging of a new larger canal, after the example of the Grand Canal. The new canal was part of a larger project which de Gerhard had designed. The project included: drainage of the salt basins, ground preparation to make the area suitable for building new houses and trade infrastructures, digging

---

<sup>44</sup> Archivio Diplomatico, Trieste, 21 c 57. On Pirona's story and the growth of Trieste in the Fifties and Sixties see Andreozzi forthcoming.

a canal all around the New Town which would collect drainage and rain waters, digging two larger canals to give shelter to ships, dredging the port seabed and repairing the banks. The contract provided that the contractors would have to bear all the costs. In return, they would receive a compensation of 145,000 florins, that the imperial government would pay in copper and mercury. The trade in such goods was reserved to the Empres who had the monopoly<sup>45</sup>.

The two groups competed for the contract presenting two different projects and fought with no holds barred<sup>46</sup>. In 1762, Pirona died under mysterious circumstances while he was imprisoned in the castle jails. Many of his allies were tried and condemned for fraud against the Empress. For example, the Baron de Fin was exiled to Bohemia and Gerhard escaped from prison avoiding being exposed to public opinion «on a pole»<sup>47</sup>.

However, Pirona's technical knowledge was not easily replaceable and, in the following years, Public works slowed down in Trieste. The construction of the port infrastructure, which started in the 50's and of which the main elements were the Grand Canal and the new docks, ended in 1764 in conjunction with the construction of the new Lazaretto<sup>48</sup>.

The urban design planning phase ended as well and the subsequent development of the city continued in the context of the guidelines laid during that time span. In the following years, Trieste's landscape mostly changed because of the increase in the number of houses, warehouses and manufactures located in the New Town. Houses slowly occupied the area previously occupied by the salt basins, a process that became more and more massive after the 80's<sup>49</sup>.

---

<sup>45</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 616, 30th April 1760. SAT, Intendenza, 24, 15th May and 12th June 1761.

<sup>46</sup> SAV, Inquisitori 255, 16th January 1762 and 619, 20th December 1760.

<sup>47</sup> SAV, Savi 752, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1761, 9th January 1762 and 25th June 1763.

<sup>48</sup> The idea of a new lazaretto was born between the 1759 and 1760 and the Commercial Intendence had thought to entrust the construction to Pirona (SAV, Inquisitori, 5th January 1760). The lazaretto was located on the opposite side of the existing one, out of the New City, closing it to the west.

<sup>49</sup> Panjek 2003, 671-676.

Maria Theresa died on 29th November 1780, but the growth of the New Town continued and accompanied the economic and social development of the city, its port and trades.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, merchants from Trieste designed new routes and trades, integrating flows and demands coming from the West, the Levant and from across the Alps and supplying merchandise now considered «more interesting» (sugar, Eastern and Western coffee, tea, cocoa, cinnamon, nutmeg and mace, cloves, pepper, saffron, tobacco and cotton) along with traditional goods, like oil, rosolio, raisins, almonds, walnuts, citrus fruits, candied sweets, manna, soap, liquors, vintage wines and silk<sup>50</sup>. In such circuits, a wide range of products was traded, from cereals (wheat and coarse wheat) to metals, from timber to ordinary textiles.

In this way, Trieste assumed its emporium-like role. By the middle of the 1790s, the city was actually described as the «most essential hub between the East and the West, between Italy, Germany and the other Northern European kingdoms». Switzerland and Hungary, for instance, were supplied with merchandise and products coming from «the Levant, Italy, America and the Indies» only «through Trieste» and, in turn, shipped «their own natural and handmade products via the same route»<sup>51</sup>. In 1782, Trieste was receiving merchandise from the Ottoman Empire, Venetian ports, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, other Habsburg ports, China, France, Lombardy via the Po river, ports of the Papal State, Genoa, Hamburg, Leghorn, Dubrovnik, Holland, Denmark, Malta and North Africa. Along that same route, more merchandise was shipped to England, the Flanders, the Venetian and the Papal State, the Po Valley, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Levant, Genoa, Leghorn, Austria, Hamburg, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Malta, North Africa and Dubrovnik. As for the value of products shipped to Trieste, the Ottoman Empire came in first with almost 2 million florins per year, China was number five, sending tea and silk for a total of 850.000 florins per year. England and the Flanders

---

<sup>50</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 903, 1754 e 1758.

<sup>51</sup> Il mentore 1797.

were the largest exporters for a total of over 2.700.000 florins per year, with top items such as oil, spices from the Levant, silk, tea, porcelain and raisins; exports to the Venetian ports approached 2.500.000 florins, with goods like coffee, cinnamon, oil, silk, tea and tobacco.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> SAV, Inquisitori, 183, Stato di commercio di Trieste, 1782.



## Bibliography

- D. Andreozzi, "Gli 'urti necessari'. Dalla manifattura all'industria (1718-1914)", in: R. Finzi, L. Panariti, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. II, *La città dei traffici, 1719-1918*, Lint, Trieste, 2003, pp. 541-547.
- D. Andreozzi, "L'organizzazione degli interessi a Trieste (1719-1914)", in: R. Finzi, L. Panariti, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. 2, *La città dei traffici 1719-1918*, Lint, Trieste, 2003, pp. 191-231.
- D. Andreozzi, "Tra Trieste, Ancona, Venezia e Bologna. La canapa e il commercio nell'Adriatico del '700", in: D. Andreozzi, C. Gatti (eds.), *Trieste e l'Adriatico. Uomini, merci, conflitti*, Edizioni Università di Trieste, Trieste, 2005a, pp. 153-201.
- D. Andreozzi, "Tra centro e periferia. Pasquale Ricci e la Commissione sulle manifatture e fabbriche del Litorale (1763-1776)", in: D. Andreozzi, C. Gatti (eds.), *Trieste e l'Adriatico. Uomini, merci, conflitti*, Edizioni Università di Trieste, Trieste, 2005b, pp. 123-151.
- D. Andreozzi, "«Qual generazione di fiera si pensi introdurre». Spazi dei commerci e pratiche dei mercanti a Trieste e nel Litorale austriaco nei primi decenni del Settecento", in: D. Andreozzi, L. Panariti, C. Zaccaria (eds.), *Acque, terre e spazi dei mercanti. Istituzioni, gerarchie, conflitti e pratiche dello scambio dall'età antica alla modernità*, Editreg, Trieste, 2009, pp. 113-139.
- D. Andreozzi, "Centro e confine. Porto, spazi e strategie portuali a Trieste tra XVIII e XXI secolo", in: G. Garzella et alii (eds.), *I porti della penisola italiana. Due mari a confronto tra storia e sviluppo futuro*, Pacini, Pisa, 2011, pp. 13-24.

- D. Andreozzi, "Il peso delle parole. Linguaggi di esclusione e linguaggi di inclusione nella storia di Trieste", in: R. Scarciglia (ed.), *Trieste multicultural. Comunità e linguaggi di integrazione*, Bologna, 2011, pp. 13-38.
- D. Andreozzi, "Croissance et économie licite, illicite et informelle à Trieste au XVIIIe siècle", in: *Territoires de l'illicite: ports et îles. De la fraude au contrôle (XVIe-XXe s.)*, M. Figeac-Monthus et C. Lastécouères (eds.), Armand Colin, Paris, 2012, pp. 173-187.
- D. Andreozzi, "For the service of the most August and of the Public. Expropriations and the building of the mercantile spaces in Trieste in the XVIII century", in: L. Lorenzetti, M. Barbot, L. Mocarelli (eds.), *Property rights and their violations. Expropriations and confiscations 16th-20th century*, Peter Lang, Bern, 2012, pp. 137-157.
- D. Andreozzi, "«La gloria di un dilatato commercio». L'intrico delle politiche e lo sviluppo di Trieste nell'Adriatico centro-settentrionale (1700-1730)", in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, 2015, pp. 127-1.
- D. Andreozzi, "From the Black Sea to the Americas. The trading companies of Trieste and the global commercial network (18th century)", in: D. Andreozzi (ed.), *Mediterranean doubts. Trading Companies, Conflicts and Strategies in the Global Spaces. XIV-XIX Centuries*, New Digital Press, Palermo, 2017, pp. 65-87.
- D. Andreozzi, «Cosa è?». *Intrecci di vite e razionalità economiche nella Trieste del Settecento*, forthcoming.
- D. Andreozzi, L. Panariti, «Trieste and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century», in: B. Schmidt-Haberkamp (ed.), *Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, Bonn, V&R- Bonn University Press, 2011, pp. 220-223.
- D. Andreozzi, A. Marin, L. Panariti, *Trieste tra spazio e mito*, in: "Citta e storia", anno VIII, n. 2, 2013, pp. 275 – 302.
- F. Babudieri, *L'espansione mercantile austriaca nei territori d'oltremare nel XVIII secolo e i suoi riflessi politici ed economici*, Giuffrè, Milano, 1978.
- M. Breschi, A. Kalc, E. Navarra, "La nascita di una città. Storia minima della popolazione di Trieste, secc. XVIII-XIX", in: R. Finzi, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. I, *La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*, Trieste, 2001, pp. 69-237.
- G. Bussolin, *Della imperiale privilegiata compagnia orientale nel secolo scorso e del Lloyd austro-ungarico nel secolo presente. Studio storico*, Trieste, 1882.

- F. Caputo, «Posto» e casa. *Il controllo sulla pratica edilizia nel Borgo Teresiano e nella cittadella durante il XVIII secolo*, in: "Quaderni Giuliani di Storia", 2, 1982, pp. 49-72.
- A. Caracciolo, *Fortunato Cervelli ferrarese "neofita" e la politica commerciale dell'Impero*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1962.
- Comune di Trieste (ed.) *Maria Teresa, Trieste e il porto*, Fagagna, 1980.
- P. Dorsi, *Archivi cartografici e storia regionale. L'«Archivio piani» della direzione delle fabbriche del Litorale (1754 -18639)*, in: "Quaderni giuliani di storia", 1, 1985, pp. 71-101.
- E. Faber, "Territorio e amministrazione", in: R. Finzi, L. Panariti, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. 2, *La città dei traffici 1719-1918*, Lint, Trieste, 2003, pp. 21-53.
- R. Finzi, L. Panariti, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. II, *La città dei traffici*, LINT, Trieste, 2003.
- R. Finzi, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. I, *La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*, Lint, Trieste, 2001.
- C. Gatti, "Uomini e politiche nella Trieste del Settecento", in: R. Finzi, I. Panjek (eds.), in: *Storia economica e sociali di Trieste*, vol. 1, *La città dei Gruppi 1719-1918*, Lint, 2001, pp. 359-380.
- C. Gatti, "Numeri, forse uomini. Riflessioni quantitative sulla Trieste di metà Settecento", in: D. Andreozzi, C. Gatti (eds.), *Trieste e l'Adriatico. Uomini, merci, conflitti*, Edizioni Università di Trieste, Trieste, 2005, pp. 35-72.
- Il mentore perfetto de' negozianti ovvero guida sicura de medesimi*, t. V, Trieste, 1797.
- A. Panjek, "Chi costruì Trieste. Edilizia, infrastrutture, mercato immobiliare e servizi tra pubblico e privato (1719-1918)", in: R. Finzi, L. Panariti, I. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. II, *La città dei traffici*, LINT, Trieste, 2003, pp. 643-758.
- L. Ruaro Loseri, *Il porto prima di Maria Teresa*, in *Maria Teresa, Trieste e il porto*, Comune di Trieste (ed.), Fagagna, 1980, pp. 112-127.
- Visintini, C., (2001), "La crescita urbana", in Finzi, R., Panjek, G. (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*, vol. I, *La città dei gruppi, 1719-1918*, I, Trieste, pp. 239-269.



# «Building in this city has led to fanaticism». The urban changes of Milan in the Theresian period

LUCA MOCARELLI

This paper deals with the remarkable changes that Milan underwent in his *forma urbis* during the Theresian age. The first part presents shortly the urbanistic and economic situation of Milan in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The second part refers to the urbanistic changes of Milan in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and to the main actors of this transformation: the archduke Ferdinando and the Royal architect Piermarini, on one side, and the local nobility, on the other. The final part considers the economic consequences of such interventions.

At the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, Milan was still one of the largest European cities, counting more than 120,000 inhabitants, and remained among the fifteen most populated cities in the Continent until the end of the eighteenth century, when it counted 135,000 inhabitants. The Theresian urban cadastre, realized in 1751, clearly shows that nobility, clergy and charities were the most relevant owners of buildings in the city. While the nobility accounted for 41% of the *scutato* (the estimated buildings' value), the persistent importance of clergy and charities (which owned almost 30% of the *scutato*) was a legacy of the past. As a matter of fact, Milan had been a “holy” city since the Middle Ages, espe-

cially since the Borromean period, when Carlo and Federico had strengthened its role and tried to build a city around religion<sup>1</sup>.

Another important legacy of the past is the radial conformation of the city, progressively grown from the round-shaped Mediolanum, which reached its maximum extension in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, until medieval walls were added in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and then the Spanish ones in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see figure n. 1).

Figure 1) Maps of urban Development (source Cogné, forthcoming). The city centre was originally circumscribed by the Navigli circle, an artificial waterway realized thanks to the digging of the Naviglio grande and of the Martesana canal, but it continued to grow in a larger area of about 500 hectares, between the canals and the Spanish walls. Outside the walls there was Corpi Santi, a rural settlement of about 6,379 hectares, strictly linked to urban life through the main gates of the city<sup>2</sup>, in particular porta Ticinese and porta Romana, on the south side, and porta Orientale and porta Comasina, on the north side (see figure n. 2).

In the city centre, about 264 hectares, there was a great concentration of people: about 2/3 of the population lived there, and about 3/4 of the total amount of buildings was there<sup>3</sup>. This part of the city housed the main public buildings (ducal palace, cathedral, city hall, “Ca granda” hospital, and so on) together with manufacturing and commercial activities. The high population density brought higher prices on the real estate market compared to those in the other parts of the city<sup>4</sup> (see figure n. 3).

---

<sup>1</sup> The noblemen owned 24.4% of the urban areas and 41% of the *scutato*, the clergy respectively 37.4% and 17% and charities 6.3% and 10%. The built-up area was about 589 hectares, the *scutato* amounted to 4,393,563 scudi, divided by 2,315 owners and 5,927 houses and flats, 4,576 of which rented out (77.2%) and only 900 inhabited by the owners (15.2%). For additional data see Albane Cogné’s doctoral thesis (Cogné, forthcoming). A special thanks to Albane for her kindness and for allowing me to consult her thesis and include her data in this contribution.

<sup>2</sup> See Mocrelli 2006, 285-295.

<sup>3</sup> See Pillepich 2001, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Beltrami 1891, in particular pp. 881-882, with Cogné, forthcoming. According to Albane’s thesis (p. 137), the most expensive lots on Piazza Duomo were

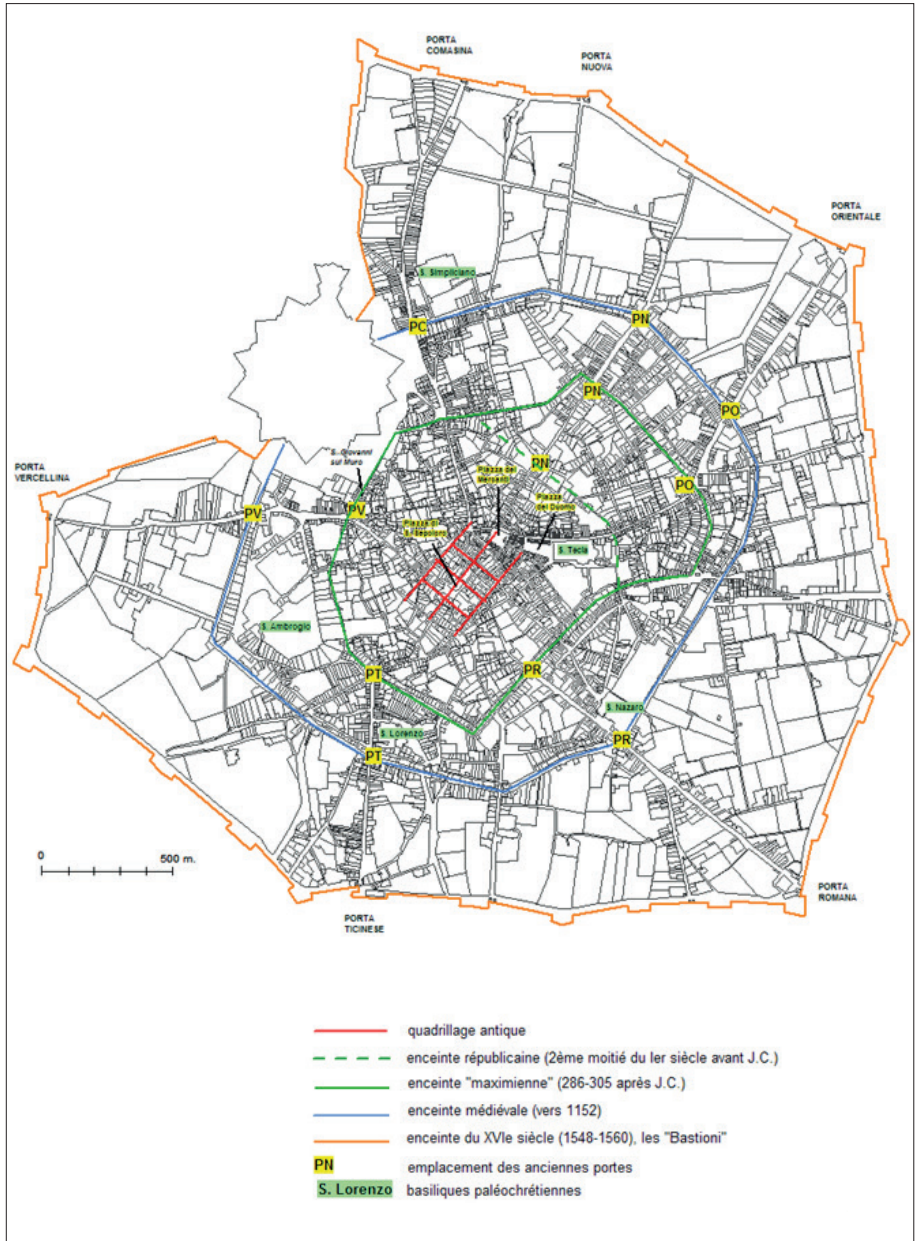


Figure 1 – *Maps of urban Development*  
(Cogné, forthcoming)



Figure 2 - The main road axes  
(Cogné, forthcoming)



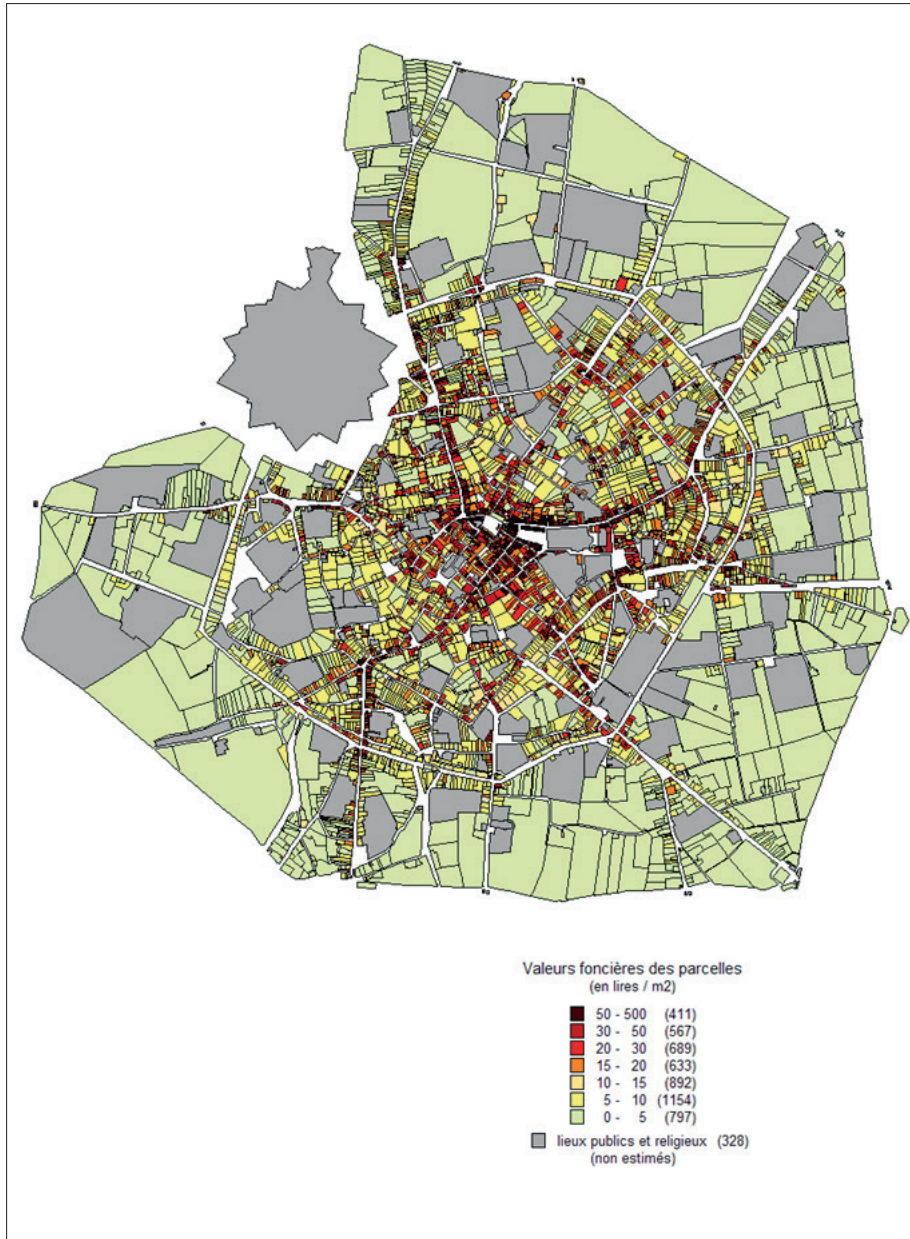


Figure 3 – *Land values*  
(Cogné, *forthcoming*)

The fact that Milan continued to be the most populated and important city in Lombardy even in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century depended mainly upon its economic relevance. As a matter of fact, while it continued to be an important centre for manufacturing, and not exclusively in the predominant textile sector, it was also gaining a growing importance as trade centre thanks to the silk boom of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In that period, Lombardy became one of the most important silk yarn producers in Europe and Milan became the gate for the export of Lombard silk on the international market<sup>5</sup>.

However, it is worthy of note that the service sector in Milan, as in all the most populated cities in Early Modern Europe, was a structural feature. Already at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, more than half of Milan's work force was employed in the services (see table n. 1). At the same time, it is important to stress the presence of many other manufacturing activities besides the textile sector, such as the leather industry, jewellery, carpentry and building sector.

When the Hapsburgs reconquered Western Lombardy at the end of the War of Austrian Succession, in Milan there were all the necessary conditions for a strong urban growth, in particular from the 1760s onwards. The activation of a new cadastre encouraged land and infrastructure improvements; a long period of peace brought a consequent reduction of military expenses; the growing prices of food and silk favoured landowners and their spending; many monasteries and religious orders were suppressed; taxation became efficient and the State was able to fund public expenditure; big contractors started to be contracted with to carry out public infrastructural works<sup>6</sup>.

A pivotal role in the urban renewal of Milan was played by Maria Theresa's son Ferdinand, who became governor of the State of Milan in 1771. Ferdinand was by all means a controversial figure. According to Gorani, he was a capable speculator who invested in different sectors, from wheat trade

---

worth 474 lire per square meter, while the cheapest ones outside the Navigli circle only one lira.

<sup>5</sup> I dealt with these issues Mocarelli 2001.

<sup>6</sup> An excellent synthesis of the history of this period is Capra 1987.

Table 1 – *Employment in Milan by sector of activity*

SECTOR OF ACTIVITY	YEAR		
	1610	1784	1795
Services	45,36	47,75	46,84
Textile	19,64	11,98	11,86
Groceries	3,50	8,21	8,88
Leather goods	4,13	6,94	6,56
Jewellery	5,64	6,10	5,62
Carpentry	1,86	5,43	5,34
Building	1,55	5,04	3,59
Merchants	2,73	3,65	4,13
Paper and glass makers	–	1,78	1,90
Food service	–	1,28	1,75
Workers and shop boys	9,96	0,73	2,04
Agriculture	1,36	0,67	0,68
Other	4,27	0,44	0,81
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Mocrelli 2001, 219

to construction. He chose Piermarini as his Royal architect for he wanted «a crooked man supporting his business», a man who eventually allowed him to earn more than one million lire speculating on the renovation of the Royal Palace in Milan and the building of the Villa Reale in Monza<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See Gorani 1989, 141.

Surely, his mother had been too indulgent towards her beloved son. Suffice it to say that in 1777, when she authorized the building of a «country house» for Ferdinand, she instructed the royal chamber (Regia Camera) to provide his son with one million lire, without any public control and with the recommendation to put such amount outside the balance sheet<sup>8</sup>. This situation totally changed when his brother Joseph II became Holy Roman Emperor after their mother's death, since he decided that public finances had to pay only for «necessary (buildings) [...] of public interest»<sup>9</sup>.

The other great protagonist of the construction boom in the enlightened Milan was certainly Francesco Piermarini, who became Royal architect in 1769, urban construction supervisor in 1775 and Architecture teacher in Brera in 1776. His activity, strengthened by his close relationship with the main contractor of the time, namely the Fé family from Ticino (who built La Scala Opera House, the Paderno canal and much more)<sup>10</sup>, really changed the shape and the face of Milan, as a short list of his main public interventions clearly shows <sup>11</sup>.

A first cluster of interventions was aimed at providing Ferdinando with residences suitable to his position as Governor. The renovation of the Royal Palace next to the Cathedral lasted more than fifteen years and entailed the demolition of a part of the old building, together with 42 shops, resulting in an expense of more than 2.6 million lire between 1771 and 1787<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>8</sup> The Empress's dispatch, in which she allowed the exemption from custom duties for all materials to be used for the Villa, is in the State Archive of Milan (SAM), Fondi camerali, p.a., c. 311.

<sup>9</sup> His decision was cited by Wilzeck in a letter written on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1788 dealing with the works carried out back then on the Corso di Porta Orientale, which is to be found in the Civic Historical Archive Milan (CHAM), Località milanesi, c. 275.

<sup>10</sup> On the Fé family, which was in charge also of the lucrative activity of road maintenance, see Bobbi 2006.

<sup>11</sup> About Piermarini's activity in Milan see at least Brizio 1977, 361-407 and Piermarini 1983.

<sup>12</sup> For these expenses see «Epilogo di quanto costano alla Regia Camera le in appresso distinte regie fabbriche dall'epoca che furono incominciate giusta le seguenti distinzioni»,

At the same time, between 1776 and 1782, Piermarini spent 150.000 lire to build the adjacent Piazza Fontana (fountain square), in order to reinforce the secular character of the most important square in Milan<sup>13</sup>. The construction of the aforementioned «country house» for Ferdinando, the Villa Reale in Monza, was conversely faster, only three years of works between 1777 and 1780, but equally expensive, about 1.5 million lire<sup>14</sup>.

Another cluster of interventions resulted from the administrative reorganization carried out by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. It was a really huge effort concerning the most varied sectors, making a total renovation all the more difficult. If we consider only the main interventions, we already get a particularly rich list: the renovation of the Omodeo Palace, of Brera (after the suppression of the Jesuit order), of the Swiss college (which became the new seat of the Milanese senate) and of the new courts in the market square; the construction of the new Royal Mint, of the new Post Office, of the tobacco factory, of the new pawn shop and of the seat of the newly founded bank Monte di Santa Teresa; the renovation of the Trivulzio Palace; the construction of the new orphanages and of the cemeteries. Finally, in order to build a modern city, Piermarini put a lot of effort in the so-called «pubblico decoro», i.e. in planning and realizing beautiful and useful projects, such as the abovementioned Piazza Fontana and the largest public garden in Milan, «I Giardini di porta orientale», which changed the appearance of the north-eastern part of the city<sup>15</sup>.

Public intervention in infrastructures was just as important. Suffice it to remember the digging of the Paderno Canal, realized between 1773 and 1776 with an expenditure of almost two million lire, and that of the Redefossi, a drainage canal built a decade later with an expense of more than 1.5 million lire. The project of strengthening the network of provin-

---

in: SAM, Rogiti camerali, c. 718 and the documents in CHAM, Località milanesi, c. 255.

<sup>13</sup> On the project, which aimed at creating a more regular square in the centre of the city, see Firmian's letter written on 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1776, in SAM, Catasto, c. 2493.

<sup>14</sup> The exact amount was 1,413,024 lire as shown in the «Bilancio delle entrate e delle uscite per la fabbrica della casa di campagna di SAR a Monza da 1777 al 1780», in SAM, Fondi camerali, p.a., c. 311.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding all these interventions, let me quote Mocalelli 2008, 90-99.

cial roads, starting with the one leading to Mantua, annexed to Lombardy in 1786, was also very expensive and entailed investments for almost four million lire. But very expensive was also the maintenance of all the buildings, roads, rivers and waterways, which had a cost of more than seven million lire in the period 1760-1796 (see table n. 2).

However, if the State had a great role to play in transforming the shape of Milan, private owners did as well. On one hand, they could exploit investment opportunities created by the purchase of public sources of income sold in the previous centuries, which gave back millions to privates who benefited also from the decrease in interest rates in this period<sup>16</sup>. On the other, the strengthening of State power caused also the suppression of many religious orders and the subsequent sale of dozens of buildings, most of them in the city centre<sup>17</sup>. At the same time, the presence of Ferdinand and his Court in Milan encouraged private owners to improve and embellish their palaces<sup>18</sup>.

Naturally, it is more difficult to reconstruct the building activities of private owners than public ones, but we can provide a sufficiently clear picture. Firstly, a certain number of palaces were built from scratch: this is the case of Villa Belgioioso and of the Anguissola, Greppi, Greppi Brentani, Fagnani Ronzoni, Moriggia, Diotti, Bovara and Pertusati Palaces. Secondly, many other buildings underwent drastic transformations, as in the case of the Serbelloni Palace, or even more important, as in the case of the Archinto, Bigli, Crivelli, Cusani, Durini, Isimbardi, Litta, Mellerio, Melzi, Monti, Resta, Stampa, Trivulzio and Verri Palaces<sup>19</sup>. Thirdly, buildings underwent also a great number of micro-interventions, which we can re-

---

<sup>16</sup> These financial interventions entailed the return to the private investors of more than 30 million lire between 1768 and 1765 as reconstructed in Zaninelli 1986, 334-356.

<sup>17</sup> Only in the period between 1783 and 1789, the suppressions were 98 (see «Elenco delle chiese che sono state soppresse e profanate nella città di Milano dal 1783» written in 1789 by the councilor Vismara, in: SAM, Fondi camerale, p.a., c. 182). See also Vismara Chiappa 1982, 481-500.

<sup>18</sup> On this issue, see the remarks of the famous interior decorator Giocondo Albertolli (Albertolli 1796, 50).

<sup>19</sup> I dealt with private owners building activity in Mocarelli 2008, 121-132.

Table 2 – *Public expenses in the building sector in Milan (1760-1796)*

INTERVENTION	PERIOD	EXPENSES (LIRE)
Workhouse	1763-67, 86-87	480,000
Jail	1769-72	180,000
Royal Palace	1773-87	3,000,000
Brera	1773-86	450,000
Omodeo Palace	1772, 82, 91	350,000
Fontana Square	1776-82	150,000
Theatres	1776-79	1.000,000
Villa Reale in Monza	1777-80	1,400,000
Swiss college	1778-80, 86-94	250,000
Royal Mint	1778-80, 88-90	260,000
Prison	1781-87	300,000
Post Office	1781, 85-86	210,000
Tobacco factory	1781, 1791	100,000
Charities	1782-85	70,000
Monte Santa Teresa	1782-83	275,000
Giardini Porta Orientale	1782-94	400,000
Pawnshop	1783-86	70,000
Courthouses	1786-1788	110,000
Trivulzio Palace	1786-87	110,000
Castle and walls	1760-96	500,000
Paderno Canal	1773-76	1,900,000
Redefossi Canal	1783-86	1,600,000
Urban streets	1760-96	400,000
Provincial roads	1760-96	3,700,000
Buildings maintenance	1760-96	400,000
Waters maintenance	1760-96	4.200,000
Roads maintenance	1760-96	2.500,000
Total	1760-1796	24,375,000

Source: Mocrelli 2008, 243-245.

contract thanks to the permissions they required, conserved in the Civic Historical Archive of Milan (see Table n. 3 and figure n. 4).

Moreover, the Milanese nobility supported a great collective intervention: the reconstruction of a city theatre after the fire which destroyed the Royal Palace theatre. The worldwide famous Teatro alla Scala, together with the smaller Cannobiana theatre, were built between 1776 and 1778, thanks to almost a million lire collected by those, mainly noblemen, who wished to own a box seat in the two theatres<sup>20</sup>.

If we take into account also the building interventions carried out by the Milanese church<sup>21</sup>, it is apparent that Milan underwent a true make-over in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There are many available sources which witness an actual increase in the demand for construction works in this period. This was mainly due to an unprecedented commitment of the public and to a renewed private activism, beginning with the nobles, while the Ambrosian church was progressively losing importance. However, as it can easily be seen from the timing of the interventions, the growth in demand was not steady over time. In fact, the Fifties and Sixties were followed by a very strong development phase two decades later, before a physiological slowdown in the 1790s (see table n. 4).

---

<sup>20</sup> The documents about the construction of La Scala and Cannobiana theatres are in SAM, Spettacoli pubblici, p.a., c. 38.

<sup>21</sup> See Mocarrelli 2008, 132-135.



Table 3 – Permissions required for interventions on buildings (1757-1795)

KIND OF INTERVENTION	PORTA ORIENTALE	PORTA ROMANA	PORTA TICINESE	PORTA VERCELLINA	PORTA COMASINA	PORTA NUOVA	TOTAL
Balconies	121	44	46	43	35	55	344
Doors	72	37	41	31	31	29	241
Shops	36	18	29	17	25	15	140
Renovation	25	12	12	11	9	14	83
Sanitary and water supply	21	11	12	8	10	10	72
Facade	19	10	9	10	8	13	69
Windows	15	7	9	7	8	8	54
Decorations	8	5	4	4	3	6	30
Other	13	10	11	7	6	7	54
Total	330	154	173	138	135	157	1,087

Source: Civic Historical Archive Milan, *Località milanesi*, cc. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 67, 79, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 107, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 137, 139, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 184, 185, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 201, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 215, 226, 231, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 254, 260, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 278, 279, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 293, 298, 299, 302, 304, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316, 319, 323, 327, 331, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 344, 346, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 366, 367, 369, 372, 373, 374, 376, 379, 380, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 391, 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 402, 412, 413, 416, 417, 420, 421, 423, 427, 428, 441, 444, 445, 447, 448, 453, 454, 457, 459, 460.

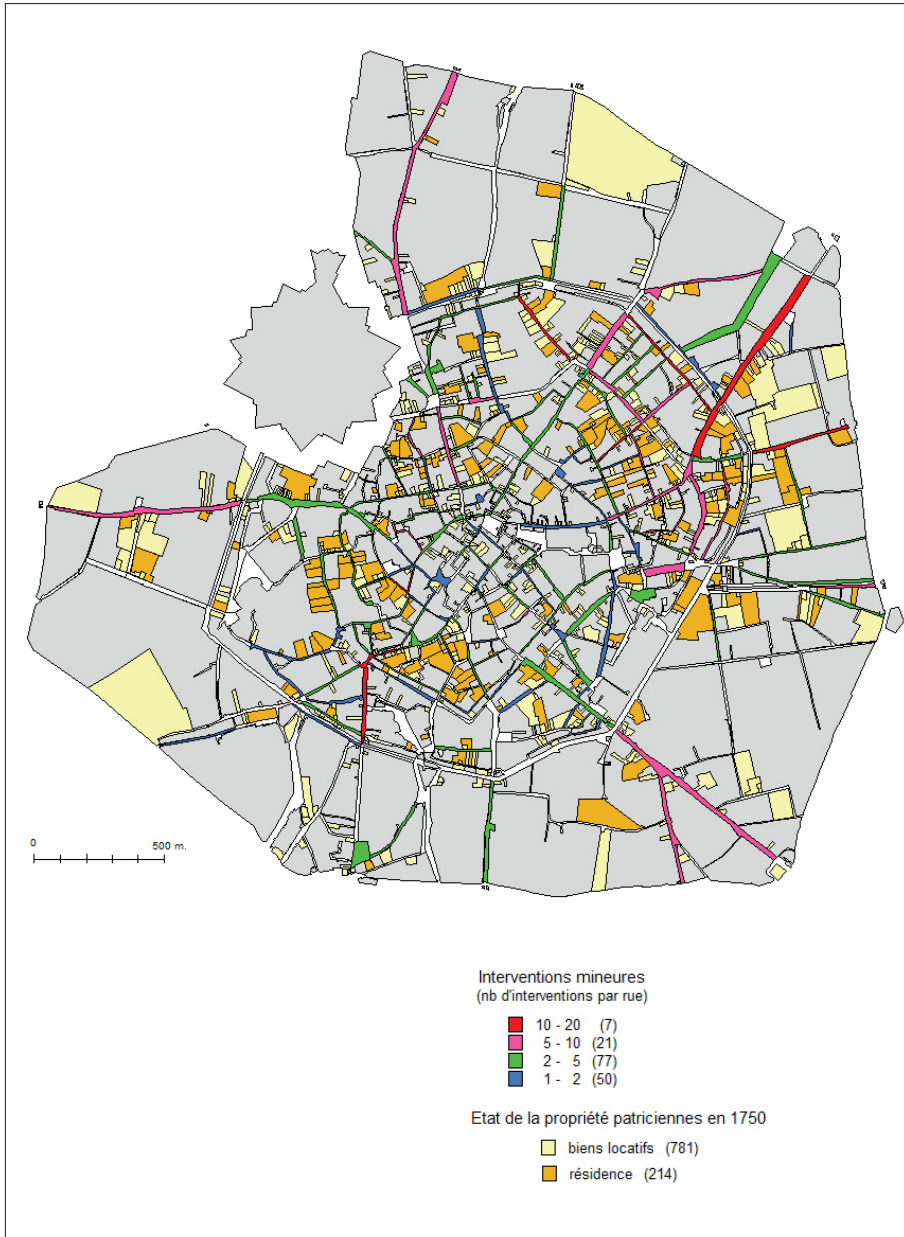


Figure 4 – Places of minor building interventions of the patriziate (Cogné, forthcoming)

Finally, it seems worthwhile trying to estimate the economic impact of such huge activity in the building sector. With regards to public intervention, it is rather plausible to estimate an investment of almost 30 million lire, since the amount presented in table n. 2 takes into account only the main interventions and not those carried out in the Fifties. An evaluation of private investments in construction works is surely more difficult to give since it requires an estimate of the number of new buildings, renovations and small interventions, together with their value. For sure, the investment was higher than the public one. In a previous work, I suggested a sum of more than 55 million lire. If we add another six or seven million lire from the Church of Milan, the total amount goes well beyond 90 million lire, that is about two million lire a year in the period 1760-1796<sup>22</sup>.

It is a relevant amount if we consider that, in the same period, the main revenue of the Lombard economy, that is the silk export, amounted to about 15 million lire a year<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, we have to consider that, while silk production refers to the entire State, the estimates of construction costs refer only to Milan. If we could add the estimates of construction works throughout Austrian Lombardy, we would probably reach more than five million lire a year. Having said that, it is easy to understand the huge economic impact of construction works, an activity that changed the shape of Milan, gave work to thousands of people and, at the same time, made it easier to get a rent and have access to credit.

---

<sup>22</sup> Mocarrelli 2008, 246-249.

<sup>23</sup> According to Angelo Moioli (1981, 96), the Lombard silk export fluctuated between 14 and 18 million lire a year.

Table 4 – Main building and infrastructural interventions between 1763 and 1794

INTERVENTION	63	4	5	6	7	8	9	70	1	2	3	4	5
Workhouse	■	■	■	■	■								
Jail							■	■	■	■			
Ducal palace		■	■			■					■	■	■
Villa reale													
Brera		■	■								■	■	■
Serbelloni pal.										■	■	■	■
Omodeo pal.										■	■		
Greppi pal.											■	■	■
Paderno canal											■	■	■
Belgioioso pal.												■	■
Anguissola pal.													■
Fontana square													
Theatres													
Diotti pal.													
Swiss college													
Royal mint													
Prison													
Post Office													
Tobacco factory													
Monte S. Teresa													
Gardens p.o.													
Charities pal.													
Redefossi canal													
Bovara pal.													
Courthouses													
Trivulzio pal.													
Belgioioso pal.													

6	7	8	9	80	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	90	1	2	3	4
		█								█	█							
█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█							
	█	█	█	█														
		█	█															
								█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
						█								█	█	█		
█	█	█																
█																		
█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█											
█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█											
█	█	█	█															
		█	█	█														
		█	█	█						█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
		█	█	█														
					█	█	█	█	█	█	█							
					█				█	█								
					█													
						█	█											
						█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
							█	█	█									
									█	█								
										█	█							
										█	█							
														█	█	█	█	

## Bibliography

- Aa. Vv, *Piermarini e il suo tempo*, Electa, Milano, 1983.
- G. Albertoli, *Miscellanea per i giovani studiosi del disegno*, presso Giocondo Albertoli, Milano, 1796.
- L. Beltrami, *Sul valore dei terreni in Milano al principio del 1500*, in: "Archivio storico lombardo", 8, n. 41, 1891.
- S. Bobbi, *La Milano dei Fé. Appalti e opera pubbliche nel Settecento*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2006.
- A.M. Brizio, "Il rinnovamento urbanistico di Milano nella seconda metà del Settecento", in: *Nuove idee e nuova arte nel Settecento italiano*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1977.
- C. Capra, *La Lombardia austriaca nell'età delle riforme, 1706-1796*, UTET, Torino, 1987.
- A. Cogné, *Patriciat et propriétés urbaines à Milan, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle*, Ecole Française de Rome, Rome, forthcoming.
- G. Gorani, *Storia di Milano 1700-1796*, A. Tarchetti (ed.), Milano-Roma-Bari, Cariplo-Laterza, 1989, p. 141. L. Mocarrelli, I «corpi santi» di Milano tra XVIII et XIX secolo: trasformazioni istituzionali e assetti economici, in «Società e Storia», 29, 2006, n. 112, pp. 285-295.
- L. Mocarrelli, *Una realtà produttiva urbana nel secolo dei lumi: Milano città-atelier*, C.L.U.B., Brescia, 2001.
- L. Mocarrelli, *Costruire la città. Edilizia e vita economica nella Milano del secondo Settecento*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2008.

- A. Moioli, *La gelsibachicoltura nelle campagne lombarde dal Seicento alla prima metà dell'Ottocento*, Libera Università degli studi di Trento, Trento, 1981.
- A. Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne, 1800-1814*, Paris, Lettrage, Paris, 2001.
- P. Vismara Chiappa, "La soppressione dei conventi e dei monasteri in Lombardia in età teresiana", in: A. De Maddalena, E. Rotelli, G. Barbarisi (eds), *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*, vol. III, *Istituzioni e società*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1982.
- S. Zaninelli, "Un capitolo centrale nel riordino dei tributi indiretti dello Stato di Milano nella seconda metà del '700: la 'redenzione delle regalie'", in: *Studi in onore di Antonio Petino*, vol. I, *Momenti e problemi di storia economica*, Università degli Studi di Catania, Catania, 1986.





# Notes on Contributors

DANIELE ANDREOZZI is an associate Professor of Economic History at the University of Trieste. His recent research interests focus on growth and crisis in economic systems as well as on the relationship between trade mechanisms, social practices, norms, institutions and economic systems. His most recent publications include *Respectabilité et confiance au travers de la norme et de la fraude. Le cas de Trieste au XVIIIe siècle*, in “Rives Méditerranéennes”, 49, 2014, pp. 81-98; “I cavalieri dell’Apocalisse e le scarsità relative. Penurie, risorse, crisi e crescita nelle economie a energia limitata: il caso di Cremona (XVII secolo)”, in M. L. Ferrari, M. Vaquero Piñero (a cura di), «Moia la carestia», La scarsità alimentare in età moderna, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2015, pp. 175-192 and Daniele Andreozzi, “Senza rete. Crisi sistemica globale, lavoro e potere nel XXI secolo”, in L. Salmieri, A Verrocchio (a cura di), *Di condizione precaria. Sguardi trasversali tra genere, lavoro e non lavoro*, Trieste, EUT, 2015, pp. 81-103. He has recently edited (with Sara Tonolo), *La cittadinanza molteplice. Ipotesi e comparazioni*, EUT, Trieste 2016 and *Mediterranean doubts: Trading Companies, Conflicts and Strategies in the Global Spaces (XV- XIX Centuries)*, New Digital Press, 2017.

REMUS CÂMPEANU holds a PhD in European history. He is head of the Department of Modern History and senior researcher at the „George Barițiu” Institute of History of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca. He is also an associate professor at the „1st of December 1918” University in Alba Iulia. Fields of interest: 18th-century Central European history, confessional history of modern Transylvania, history of socio-political and cultural movements in modern Central Europe, history of Romanian élites in Transylvania. Publications record: 4 books as single author, 5 books as co-author, 3 books as editor, 74 studies. Winner of the Romanian Academy Prize for the first edition of the book *Romanian élites in 18th-century Transylvania*, Cluj-Napoca University Press, 2000.

EVA CHODĚJOVSKÁ is specialized in urban history, historical cartography, geography and topography, history of traveling and cultural history of early modern Europe. She studied in Prague, Pardubice, Bologna and Rome. She was a member of the historical geography working group in the Czech Academy of Sciences (editor of the Historic Towns Atlas of the Czech republic), assistant of the director of the Czech Historical Institute in Rome and currently works as a researcher and map collection keeper in the Library of Moravia in Brno. She is a co-editor of the two-volume critical edition of Heřman Jakub Černín’s travelogue (1678-1682) published in 2014 and an editor of four volumes of the Historic Towns Atlas of the Czech republic.

PETER FEDORČÁK is an Assistant Professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, Slovakia. He holds a PhD in History from the Trnava University. His research interests are Reformation and Recatholization in Hungary, Jesuits in Early Modern Hungary and the history of the University of Košice in the same timeframe. He is currently working on a research project focusing on the history of Košice from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century and on its cultural, architectural and urban development. He has participated in several team projects related to these topics.

LUCA MOCARELLI is a full Professor of Economic History at the University Milano-Bicocca. His current research deals with labour history in the Early Modern period, alpine history, urban history, grain markets and famines. He is president of the International Association for Alpine History and vice president of the Italian Association for Urban History.

ANTON TANTNER is since 2012 “Privatdozent” for Modern History at University of Vienna, Austria. Homepage with “Gallery of House Numbers” and list of publications: <http://tantner.net>  
Weblogs: <http://adresscomptoir.twoday.net>, <http://nummer.hypotheses.org>; Twitter: @adresscomptoir

Finito di stampare nel mese di novembre 2017

Geca – Industrie Grafiche