

THE INFLUENCE OF CAMERALISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT UPON THE SANITARY POLICY PROMOTED BY THE HABSBURGS IN TRANSYLVANIA (1740-1800)

Daniela SECHEL

For the Habsburg Monarchy, the 18th century meant an enlargement of its territories and authority and also was marked by important developments. After the peace of Karlowitz, 1699, the advance of the Turks in Europe was definitively stopped, the center of Hungary was re-conquered and the principality of Transylvania entered under the sphere of the Habsburg authority, which was consolidated through by peace of Satu Mare (1711) and by the victories obtained later by Eugeniu of Savoy. In the Austrian-Turkish war (1716-1718), by the peace of Passarowitz the Habsburgs gained other territories such as Banat of Timișoara, Oltenia and parts from Serbia. The victories were followed by other numerous wars which led to territorial losses and economic crisis. All these circumstances were conducive to the implementation of a series of reforms to reorganize state institutions, the administrative system and the local governments in the whole Monarchy.

As mentioned, for the Habsburg Monarchy the 18th century opened with a series of new circumstances that were conducive to the drawing and implementation of domestic reforms. The economic crisis, the numerous wars, new provinces acquired, the opposition of the conservative provincial estates, the need for security, and not ultimately the epidemics shaped up the policy of Emperors and led to significant achievements in the domestic program. The new policies were inspired by the changes in the realm of philosophy, economic theories and the new medical discoveries that brought up a lot of changes to the society in the early modern times in Europe, therefore in the Habsburg Monarchy. The spread of the Enlightened and Cameralist principles among the most influential of the bureaucrats created the precedents for the reforming movement initiated by the emperors. The reforms were imposed from above and both the rulers and the politicians (bureaucrats) collaborated among them, the emperors were searching for the solutions to the kingdom's problems and the politicians were searching for an authority, who would implement their ideas.

An important domain in which these were reforms rapidly and efficiently implemented was the sanitary field. This was linked especially to the new province of the Monarchy, Transylvania, because of its geographical position within the Habsburg Monarchy (the vicinity to the Ottoman Empire) and of the great number of epidemics that the province had to face. Between there 1700-1830 were twelve destructive epidemics of plague, besides small pox, scurvy and cholera and endemic syphilis. Challenged by these epidemics the Habsburg authorities promoted reforms, in order to increase the number of the population and to create a healthy, educated and happy subject that could pay taxes and contribute to the welfare of the state.

This was the case of the sanitary reforms, which were initiated as a response to the epidemiological circumstances. It is difficult to establish which were the first and the main causes of the sanitary reforms. This led me to argue that although, the reasons of the reforms were a combination of simultaneous actions of various 'factors' (such as epidemic outbursts, mortality and fear and anxiety that followed any epidemic, natural calamities (floods and draught) followed by the shortage of food and other economic problems), which influenced the rulers and politicians/theorists, the solutions adopted by them were similar. This similarity was a result of the same health discourse existent in all German-speaking lands¹ and Habsburgs' territories² due to the circulation of the ideas promoted by German Universities. In this field the Enlightened and Cameralist

¹ Through the German speaking lands I understand territories belonging to the Holy Roman Empire and

² Habsburg Monarchy's domains were populated with German and non German speaking population such as Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Galicia, Transylvania, Bucovina, parts of Poland etc.

theories helped to shape up a coherent sanitary policy, which followed to the idea, that wealthy, healthy and happy (happy as content) subjects contribute to the prosperity and welfare of the state.

In this essay I would like to point out that the Cameralist conceptions encouraged the implementation of the reforms and assured a legislative uniformity in the sanitary field due to the spread and circulation of the ideas throughout all the German lands, including Habsburg provinces. I would start by analyzing two main topics. The first one allows me to look over the discourse about health promoted by the representatives of the above mentioned movements (Enlightenment and Cameralist Sciences) in German – especially the ideas related to health care - and the way in which their ideas influenced the policy promoted by the Habsburg rulers (mainly Maria Theresa and Joseph II). These aspects were analyzed by German historians preoccupied with the study of reforms in the sanitary field or with the study official documents such as ordinances, and decrees emitted by German and Habsburg rulers in different other fields (administrative, economic, fiscal etc.) than health.³ The second one enables me to look upon the way in which these doctrines are to be found in all the reforms and sanitary ordinances emitted by the Habsburg emperors and in the two projects of law elaborated by the Transylvanian officials (*Opinio de Securitate Publica et Privata*, the ordinance attached to it and *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*). A comparative analysis reflects an amazing circulation of ideas, which led to the implementation of the same measures in all German-speaking lands and in all the provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. It is also noticeable that Transylvanian elites were influenced in their administrative, economic and sanitary decisions by this amalgam of political, religious and economic theories born out of Cameralist and Enlightened ideas.

Cameralism is considered to be a form of Enlightenment with economic and social features, part of German Aufklärung. As an economic doctrine it is considered to be a peculiar form of mercantilism, specific to German territories. This economic doctrine owes its name to the Kammer (ministers)⁴. Keith Tribe⁵ analyzing Europe's economical doctrines mentions that it is improper to consider cameralism as a territorial form of mercantilism.⁶ He mentions that the cameralism can be defined as set of discourses related to government techniques available to the 18th century rulers. It dealt with management of domestic affairs, whose target was to promote common good and happiness of the people. The interior order essential for these domestic activities is maintained through the activity of *Polizei*, which appeared as a consequence of the development of the centralized state and of the necessity to secure power through the creation of an apparatus of control and administration.⁷ "This 'system of police' was based on the particular conception of government and social order founded in Natural law" theories.⁸

Besides the theories related to the government and economy, the philosophers and cameralist theorists built up a health discourse based on the Natural law theories. This discourse had been promoted since the second half of the 17th century and spread out in all German territories – including the Habsburg Monarchy- due to influential Universities that assured a good circulation of ideas. The main target was to promote a policy that would ensure the growth of the population in a state. Frederic the Second's statement that the power of

³ The main authors used in this essay are: Erna Leski, Christian Barthel, Johannes Wimmer and Marc Raeff etc.

⁴ Backhaus *The German Economic tradition*..., p. 343. He states that Cameralists distinguished parts of their discipline.. The private economy, including agriculture forestry, technology and commerce; 2. public administration (*Polizeiwissenschaft*); 3. Cameralism narrowly defined or public finance; 4. Statistics; 5. Accounting; The practice of cameralism or public sector management.

⁵ K. Tribe, *Governing Economy. The Reformation of German Economic Discourse*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 66.

⁶ Tribe analyzing the strategies of economic order and commenting different understanding of the term points out the main German theoreticians of cameralism in the 17th and 18th century and explains that S. P. Gasser and J. C. Dithmar understood through cameralist sciences the "means of rising revenues for the Landes-Fürst their general improvement and utilization in the maintenance of the common weal (*gemeinen Wesens*) so that every year a surplus remains." Dithmar in his book *Einleitung in die Oeconomische Polizei und Cameralwissenschaft* understand *Oeconomische* as the promotion of individual happiness and *Polizei* (seen as 'gute Polizei') as general happiness, both of them merge under the term *Cameralwissenschaft*.⁸ Consequently the promotion of a good order and hap Tribe defines *Polizei* as a nonjuridical program of total regulation which maintain a good order and safety of population; *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

⁷ Tribe defines *Polizei* as a nonjuridical program of total regulation which maintain a good order and safety of population; *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

⁸ Tribe, *Governing Economy*, p. 66.

the state resides not in its lands but in the wealth and number of its inhabitants⁹ reflected the direction of the policy promoted afterwards by the German rulers. In this context health and illness were perceived as political problems by the state and determined the promotion of reforms and new sanitary laws. This populationism dealt not only with the number but also with the quality of humans. Morality, education, professional training and the health of that population were the target of theoreticians and of rulers.

All German states, aiming at implementing this populationist policy – especially the Habsburgs whose lands were continuously threatened by epidemics of plague – developed a machinery that supervised all epidemics and other contagious diseases. In order to maintain health or to detect causes and prevent the epidemics the build up the inland quarantines. In these institutions, with the help of the army, everything was controlled: the traffic of people and merchandise. It was also a controlled on the cleanliness of the streets (or lack of it) and houses, rivers¹⁰, food, burials etc. In all German lands were created a system of ‘sanitary police’ who had as attribution to supervise and control the entire social body.

The idea of a medical police belonged, besides doctors, to philosophers such as Leibnitz and Christian Wolff etc, and other cameralists such as Johann G. von Justi and Joseph von Sonnenfels who were influential in the Habsburg lands.

Leibnitz – known primarily as a scientist and philosopher- was involved in efforts to improve the productive powers of labor, through education, and developing technology and science so the population could be lifted out of their backwardness. His ideas about health care and public health were presented in a proposal remained in manuscript *Directiones ad rem medicam pertinentes* (1671-72)¹¹ which represents a project aimed at state sanitary police and administration. Medicine and hygiene played an important role in Leibnitz’ scientific and pedagogic Christianity where the enlightened and reformed citizens would ‘function’ in a space where religion, virtue and knowledge were part of a life which was regulated in order to make man virtuous and capable of knowing God. The control of ‘bodies’ through medical science and hygiene aimed at controlling the social body. Doctors and sanitary network played a role as important as the administrators in the control and coordination of daily life. Leibnitz mentions:

These are the ones who apply the discovered wonders of nature and art to medicine, to mechanics, to the comfort of life, to materials for work and sustenance of the poor, to keeping people from idleness and vice, to the operations of justice, and to reward and punishment, to preservation of the common peace, to the increase and welfare of the fatherland, to the elimination of times of shortage, disease, and war (insofar as it is in our power and is our responsibility), to the propagation of true religion and fear of God, indeed, to the happiness of the human race; and who endeavor to imitate in their domain what God has done in the world.¹²

Johann Christian Wolff – seen as a follower of Leibnitz – although not an economist, approached economics through the perspective of natural laws. He developed a theory of political economy or *Staatswissenschaft* as a science of welfare of state, which was taught in Universities with the purpose of training individuals who could apply their knowledge in practical work.¹³ Wolff definition of state is a state whose activity is limited to take any measures that support the activities of citizens, activities that are conducive to common welfare. The aim of the state is, for him, the self-sufficiency of individual households. The individual is neglected in the favor of household. This seems to go against the classical economic theory, which focuses on smaller unit (the individual), as well as against continental and promoted *Nationalökonomie*, which focuses on the state. This focus on the individual household allows him to develop a unique and particularly useful model of welfare

⁹ Christian Barthel, *Medizinische Polizey und medizinische Auklärung: Aspekte des öffentlichen Gesundheitsdiskurses im 18 Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, Campus Verlag 1989), p. 27-34.

¹⁰ Documents found in the State Archives from Sfântu Gheorghe present the way in which the Seklers border regiments were involved in imposing the hygienic measure in the area designated for their supervision.

¹¹ Barthel, *Medizinische Polizey*, p. 70.

¹² Spannaus, Nancy, *The Roots of the American System. From Cameralism to the American System of Economics*, printed in *American Almanac*, 1996, p. 9.

¹³ Jürgen. G. Backhaus, “The German Economic Tradition from Cameralism to the Verein für Sozialpolitik”, in *Political Economy and National Realities. Papers presented at the Conference held at Luigi Einaudi Foundation (Palazzo d’Azeglio, Turin, September, 10-12, 1992)*, edited by Manuela Albertone and Alberto Masoero, (Torino: fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 1994), pp. 339-340.

of the state, including a sophisticated approach to subsidiarity. Therefore the duty of the state and the public policy that it promotes is to support the household and their ability to take care of themselves, increasing, in this way, the revenues of the state. The raising of the revenues were dependent on the subjects well being and health; therefore in Wolff's opinion they had to be under the governmental care. The monarch must care for his subject as a father cares for his children. This conception influenced the Austrian cameralists: Justi, Sonnenfels¹⁴ and also the Empress Maria Theresa, her son, Joseph II and their councilors in health problems (Gerhard van Swieten and Johann Peter Frank¹⁵) liked to be regarded as a mother by her subjects. The purpose of the social and political thought of the German and 'Austrian' Cameralist was to install a modern legislation with a rational character. This led to a continuous appeal to the theories of the natural rights and Cameralist sciences.

Their theoretical principles mentions that the existence of the state is a result of the natural order of men, that is in the families. The science that presents the way in which the state can gain sufficient/enough revenues to welfare and common good is called *Staatswissenschaft*.¹⁶ "Justi describes the science relevant to 'government and the great economy of the state' as politics (*Staatskunst*), *Polizei*, commerce, mines, Cameralism and finance, together with the art of house holding and or *oeconomy*"¹⁷ The ultimate purpose of the every 'empire or republic' is to assure happiness of the state". The happiness of the state has to be promoted both by the ruler and by his subjects. The ruler promotes happiness through assurance of the security and welfare of his subjects. The subject contributes to this is through obedience toward the state/ruler. Security is divided into inner and outer security. The *Polizei* maintains the internal order of a state, which was an instrument that secured moral and social order through a system of rules inspired from religion, education and science. *Polizei* surveyed the life and the religion of the subjects, the security of roads and oversaw the industry and food supplies.¹⁸ Therefore these theoreticians considered that the state, in order to prosper, was obliged to promote common good both for individuals and for the community. The set of regulations was be permanently constructed and aimed at obtaining the happiness and welfare of subjects which were simultaneously free and subdue to the social duties and to dictates of common good. The fight against frequent epidemics leads to the creation of a medical police. Consequently, the duties of *Polizei* were extended -as a result of these cameralist and Enlightened concepts of common good and welfare of the state - in the field of sanitation. Ann La Berge mentions:

The concept of medical police, the public health administration of an enlightened despot, had its basis in the mercantilist (cameralist) notion that public health was of central concern to enlightened despots, since health of the state was its wealth.¹⁹

The cameralists, such as J. von Sonnenfels, were concerned with the individual and the communities. Sonnenfels argues that the state must promote, for safety of the individual, regulatory measures that assure, beside the growth of the population, the "safety of public places, regulation of health, the control of food and drinks, and the general care of the poor."²⁰ In his opinion, the increase of civil society is directly linked to the number of population and their capacity to work, as a leading principle of *Staatwissenschaft*²¹. Ability to work is related to health status of the inhabitants. Health is the natural state of human beings and disease is an accident that shortens the natural flow of life. All diseases have causes that can be detected, therefore people can be protected of these dangers. Consequently a well-ordered state would take the necessary measures to protect the life of the inhabitants from diseases.²²

¹⁴ Joseph von Sonnenfels' book *Grundsätze der Polizei, Handlung, und Finanz* published in Vienna and run until 1819 several editions.

¹⁵ Johan Peter Frank (1745-1821) was the most important theoretician of the Medical Police and a pioneer of social medicine in the Habsburg Monarchy, also he established hygiene as a science; his book *A system of complete medical police*, published in Vienna by the end of the 18th century, has six volumes and run several editions.

¹⁶ Keith Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order. German Economic Discourse, 1750-1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 22-24.

¹⁷ Justi, *Gutachten*, p. 2 apud, Tribe, *Governing*, p. 61.

¹⁸ Tribe, *Governing*, p. 61.

¹⁹ Ann La Berge, p. 9-15.

²⁰ Tribe, *Strategies...*, p. 23.

²¹ *Ibid* p. 87.

²² Josheph v. Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizei-, Handlungs- und Finanywissenschaft* (Wienn 1777) apud Johannes Wimmer, *Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Fallstudien aus den habsburgischen Erbländern*, Wienn; Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1991 p. 31-34.

This way, the theoreticians of cameralist sciences generated debates that resulted in the promotion of new reforming measures in the sanitary field. Sonnenfels argued that the role of Polizei is to maintain a good order and security among the population in order to promote such activities as: trade, commerce, agriculture and industry that will lead to the possibility, for the citizens to satisfy their own needs²³. The purpose of security and order is the safety and comfort of the life of the inhabitants. A wise state policy will promote security of the inhabitants through the creation of such institution destined to fight diseases. Sonnenfels defines those institutions which assure health as: institutions which prescribes medicine, the faculty of Medicine, quarantines and elderly asylum. In addition, he mentions the doctors, surgeons, midwives, barbers and pharmacists as 'instruments' that protect health.²⁴

His ideas related to public health and medical organization have their roots both in this Cameralist conception of common good and natural law and in the Enlightenment thought, that influenced the whole Europe (the emphasis on progress, rational reforms, education, orderliness, empiricism and humanitarianism). The promotion of public health includes preventive medicine because the idea that health – as the natural state of humans – should be preserved through a wise state's policy with the help of medical knowledge and medical institutions. The emergency measures in case of the epidemics were an ongoing practice aimed at reducing mortality and morbidity and improving quality of life.²⁵

This health discourse had in German and Habsburg lands three types of promoters: the state, the townsfolk and the doctors. The interest for health initiated by the state was embodied in severe social discipline with aspects of sanitary policy. On the other side the townsfolk promoted a culture of the body in which 'health' – not the social discipline – was the main purpose of all regulatory measures, that were beneficial for the entire population. A special position between the two (the state and the community) was taken by the doctors who played the role of the intermediary between them because they (at the same time) participated in and initiated this health discourse.²⁶

In the Habsburg territories, the state was represented by the Emperor and by the local authorities. Each of them had a different interest. The emperors were interested in the growth of population. Individual was not seen as Kantian end but as an object of the administration capable to pay taxes and to be faithful to the state.²⁷ This was the reason why Maria Theresa – deeply rooted in her catholic faith – felt responsible before God for the spiritual and material welfare of the subjects. She promoted sanitary reforms out of her position of a steward and protector of the Monarchy's inhabitants.²⁸ She issued them in her '*maternam nostram sollicitudinem*' in order to preserve '*subditorum populorum sanitatem*'.²⁹ This faith was combined with more pragmatic ideas promoted by her advisers in health care matters (as well as educational and religious matters) such as Gerhard van Swieten. With this comprehensive sense of responsibility in mind, Maria Theresa decided to strengthen the Austrian Cordon Sanitaire and build quarantine stations on the borders with the Turkish provinces – considered a reservoir of plague – in order to stop the epidemics of plague and consequently decrease the rate of mortality. Many of the sanitary reforms had economic reasons, and the mortality subsequent to epidemics only worsened the economic problems of the province because Transylvania had a small population (over 800 000 people) and Banat was almost depopulated after the Turkish retreat in 1718. In this sense the cameralist principles, emphasized by cameralist discourse aimed at the growth of the population in the Monarchy. The goal was to increase the number of individuals that lead to the growth of state military power, security, wealth, and labor force. These populationist principles led to sanitary measures, which reduced mortality and eradicated diseases, which could alter the physical condition of the individual.

²³ Tribe, *Governing*, p. 88

²⁴ Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze*, apud Wimmer, p. 35-36.

²⁵ Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze*, apud Wimmer p. 31-35.

²⁶ Barthel, *Medizinische Polizey*, pp. 34-47.

²⁷ Robertson, "Joseph Rohere and the Bureaucratic Enlightenment", in *The Austrian Enlightenment and its aftermaths*. Ed by R. Robertson, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1991.

²⁸ For '*causa salutis publici in affinis Mari Provinciis ... & ex illa parte*' a series of sanitary laws were promulgated. The most important laws that initiated and consolidated the sanitary reforms were *Planum Regulationis in Re Sanitatis* (1755) and *Normativum Generale in Re Sanitatis* (1770).

²⁹ Adam Chenot, in *De Peste* a book published in Vienna in 1789 and dedicated to Maria Theresa mentioned in the preface this maternal attitude that the empress had toward her subjects/ or she considered having toward them.

Unlike the Empress, her son - Joseph II - was compelled to promote reforms out of the enlightened idea that the monarch is the first servant of the state. The same influence of enlightenment and rationalism of the epoch motivated Joseph II and in his brother Leopold II to conduct the reforms. Joseph II considers himself as a servant of the state, whose duty is ceaseless devotion to his subjects. Since he was denied personal and family happiness he became entirely absorbed by his work... He foresaw had time for the Habsburgs and tried to anticipate them by his reforms: the abolition of social inequalities, the improvement of popular education, the general health and the level of general welfare and a standardization achieved through a centralized administration.³⁰

Joseph II's zeal for the problems of the state is to be seen in the sanitary ordinances elaborated during his reign. Unlike his mother, Maria Theresa, he was preoccupied not only with the measures against epidemics, but also with the overall collective behavior that can lead to the spread of these diseases. His policy was much more radical, interested in each small detail concerning the problem of the communities' health and the individual. He appointed Adam Chenot as *protomedicus* of Transylvania in 1774, entrusting him with the reorganization of the inland quarantines in the Monarchy. In the context of the quarantine issue, he accepted the proposal made by Adam Chenot to reduce the quarantine period, in spite of opposition by the Viennese board of doctors.

Joseph II was concerned not only with medical education in the university, but also with medical education on a lower level. He supported Gerhard van Swieten's efforts to organize a faculty of Medicine at Vienna and to establish a chair in surgery led by Ferdinand Lehr. He was concerned with the medical education of the nurses. An ordinance issued by him gave the right for Jewish nurses to be trained in school. This reflects his attitude toward education and his religious tolerance. Regarding the care for individuals, he ordered that all priests should offer prayers for the sick persons and freely give them the Eucharist. He interdicted the bringing of the sick persons inside the churches to avoid contagion. This active intervention of the state in the sanitary problems (especially when public health was threatened) led to a progressive replacement of the old fatalistic belief that diseases are a punishment of God with a more rational attitude in understanding the diseases. Joseph II's decrees involved not only the medical personnel but also the priests. In an ordinance from 1784 he entrusted Romanian priests with the task to destroy the superstition related to warlocks and vampires, and other superstitions related to the belief that a disease can be caused by supernatural forces.³¹ In his attempt to replace the rule of ignorance with the rule of reason, Joseph II involved all categories of subjects in the service of state. His ideas were carried on by a small number of bureaucrats who were trained in German or Austrian universities.

Cameralist principles and pragmatic reasons are to be seen in all the regulations and ordinances emitted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II that dealt with quarantines and public health, which were issued out of concern to promote the common good, welfare and security of the population, in cases of epidemics. This was the reason why in the regions where economic interests were greater, the Habsburgs developed a stronger and more efficient sanitary organization. An analysis of the sanitary system in the mining regions of Apuseni Mountains, from Transylvania, showed that in this region, which was rich in gold, silver, mercury, lead, iron, coal, salt etc., the sanitary organization was stronger,³² than in the other parts of Principality.

The second type of promoters: urban inhabitants were influenced by the discourse (promoted by the state and cameralist theoreticians) related to health, because health was in the 18th century a political problem. The humanitarian and social measures promoted by them directed their attention toward the creation of clean urban environment and public health. The municipalities were preoccupied to respect cleanliness of the streets, the safety of the traffic, to prevent injuries, accidents and fire hazards in the city. Marc Raeff mentions a series of ordinances emitted by the central authorities and also by the municipalities who mention that the rules of public and environmental urban health applies to everyone, and all inhabitants were put under the

³⁰ A. Wandruszka., *The House of Habsburgs. Six Hundred Years of European Dynasty*, (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964), p. 157.

³¹ The text of this ordinance was mentioned by A. Raduțiu and L. Gyémánt in their repertoire of Romanian documents; see also Brătescu *Grija pentru Sănătate. Primele tipărituri de interes medical in limba română (1581-1820)*. (*The care for health. First Romanian printings on sanitary topic (1581-1820)*). Selection, transliteration and comments by G. Bratescu, (Bucharest: Minerva, 1983), p. 25.

³² Gabriela Rusu, *The expansion of sanitary network in the mines region from Transylvania*, in *Moments from the history of medicine...* pp. 225-231.

jurisdiction of a *Polizeimeister*. Health and cleanliness were combined with aesthetic requirements such as broad streets, healthy and proportionate houses and this made it easy to control the diseases.³³ The urban inhabitants were not simply subjects but an active category in the implementation of common good by being involved in these activities.

The third category of promoters: the physicians - also an active part of the urban inhabitants - had in German lands and Habsburg Monarchy a vague social position. Christian Barthel mentions that they had no identity of their own inside of an absolutist state because they were not in the classical patterns of the normative society. During the entire 18th century they will fought for recognition through philanthropic activities that improved the life standards and through the care for the need of people. These goals were followed by publication of books, - dedicated to the rulers, imperial bureaucrats, towns municipalities and other members of the medical police - through which they influenced the public opinion. The medical treatises written by the promoters of the medical enlightenment were motivated by patriotism, love for the truth, and common good etc. The sanitary patriotism is represented as a virtue characterized by altruism, understanding, justice, etc. The patriotism was necessary in order to implement common good and to transform the subject in a citizen. Consequently the physicians will acted as collaborators of the state and municipalities as the only authorities that could implement their ideas and promote public health. According to the natural law theories and Rousseau theories, in which every man had rights, duties and obligations, the rulers were also men with the same right duties and obligations. This is why the doctors turned to enlightened rulers to implement new sanitary rules. In their vision the state was the last authority, which could improve the health situation of the inhabitants and also could legitimate doctors as administrators of health.³⁴

These three categories were present also in all German speaking territories and Habsburg Monarchy. There is one peculiarity comparing the Monarchy with 'Germanies', that the state had two representatives. On one side there were the Viennese authorities³⁵ and on the other side the elites (bureaucratic and administrative) that governed the other states of the Monarchy. (I will call them local authorities). In Transylvania, these bureaucrats, educated in German schools, were indoctrinated with Enlightened and Cameralist teachings were part of the new class of enlightened bureaucrats formed in schools as a result of the reforms in education promoted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II The local authorities carried on the josephinist principles (after the death of the emperor). Politicians, lawyers, teachers, priests, and not ultimately physicians played a significant role in the fervent activities that aimed at the modernization of the province.

The participation in the modernization of the province and the way in which local authorities were influenced by the Europe's political and health discourse are revealed by the ideas founded in the law projects elaborated by the Transylvanian elites that regarding health care, public and private security: *Opinio in Re Sanitatis* (1793) and *Opinio de Securitate Publica et Privata* (1793-96??) and the ordinance attached to it (1796). All these documents - which are the object of my analysis - are a reflection of the influence that the Cameralist and Enlightened ideas and values had on the elites that governed the province. All the three documents had the same goal: a better legislation in order to modernize the Principality. The difference between them is that while *Opinio in Re Sanitatis* was dealt with medical aspects, the other two texts were dealt with the safety of life, goods and not ultimately with measures concerning public health.

Opinio de securitate has a title inspired from a Leibnitzian project entitled *De securitate externa et interna* and incorporates natural laws and cameralist theories and traces from Rousseau's contractualist theories, well spread in Transylvania through Christian Wolff, Rousseau, Sonnenfels and Frank's books. The external security is not the concern of the project because it was a duty of the Habsburgs to protect the province, as previously it was the duty of the Hungarian crown and later on of the Principality of Transylvania. The entire project is deals with internal security mainly, public and private security. According to the Transylvanian elites the men are naturally free so they are entitled to the right to live safely and in liberty they ones inherit from the nature. The project *Opinio de Securitate* begins with the statement: people, living in their in the natural state, realized

³³ Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State. Social and Institutional Change Through La in Germanies and Russia 1600-1800*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1982, pp.123-124.

³⁴ Barthel, *Medizinische Polizey*, pp. 41-45.

³⁵ Here I include the person of the empress/emperor and the counselors in the problem of health such as Gerhard van Swieten, J. P. Frank etc.

that they can not be able to protect themselves, to organize their life and to ensure a good living, therefore they associated in small units. In the first phase of organization they emphasize the need for security and the necessity to protect the life and people revenues (estates/goods). Through abuses, some people stole property from others and wars and inequality were born. The need for security made individuals and small communities surrender a part of their natural rights to the State in exchange for their protection.³⁶ Therefore in a civil society each member should give up part of his natural rights to a social body and there should exist a supreme authority who commands to all members, gives laws and punished those who refuse to obey, in order to ensure citizens' public and private security.³⁷

This concern for the security of the individual and for the promotion of the *commune bonum* (common good) was linked to a more pragmatic action that aimed at disciplining and organizing the society. The state and the local authority had the duty to set up a program- under the paternal care of the emperor – for economic development, for promoting the common good of the citizens. Consequently the enlightened idea of progress was linked, in their vision, with a desire for uniformity and discipline.

Transylvanian officials influenced by Leibnitz, Wolff and cameralist ideas promoted by Justi, Sonnenfels and Frank- stated that it was the duty of the ensure employment, good wages, education and promote morality and religious principles, also to create the necessary conditions for the citizens to prosper and to live safely. Citizens' safety includes the protection of life and goods against murderers, thieves, injury, epidemics and diseases etc. This required actions initiated by the authorities to ensure safety through a severe social discipline that aimed at creating a new type of subject/ citizen according to the enlightenment ideal (*homo oeconomicus*) and cameralist thought (a healthy, happy and wealthy subject). The project *Opinio de Securitate* stipulates that the means to achieve these goals are strong religious principles, the education regarding the duty of citizens and the creation of the 'human' *institutio*, which promotes these values through the schools. The belief in the power of education to improve humans represents one of the goals of the Enlightenment. The impulse given by the reforms in the education promoted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II – led to a proposal to establish schools not only for the children of the wealthy citizens but also for the poor children and orphans. Education has multiple goals mainly the formation a new man: moral/virtuous, religious, industrious, skillful and healthy, to destruction of bad habits and superstitions present to daily life and implement new (sanitary and behavioral) patterns according to the principles about health, circulating in the epoch. These goals were accomplished through the promotion of laws and police measures that control education and health, abortions, abandon of children, crimes, and poisoning etc. These principles are to be found as a major part of *Opinio de Securitate*. Additionally the publication of the agricultural books, moralizing pamphlets and medical brochures served these goals.

These brochures, although having as a topic agriculture (rural economy), science or medicine (such as preventing the plague, vaccination against the small pox, and the treatment of syphilis), responded to the most stringent needs of society. Their publication was supported and initiated by the authorities that ordered the translation and adaptation of the Latin, and German books, into all languages of the Principality. The authorities supported financially the publishing houses from Sibiu, Cluj, Blaj, Braşov, Oradea, but also from Buda and Vienna, in order to print agricultural, didactic, religious, moralizing, and medical books. The effects of this 'state literature' were strengthened by the numerous ordinances also by Episcopal letters and sermons dedicated to the problem of fighting plague and promote vaccination. Usually both the ordinances issued by the authorities and the brochures were sent to priests and pastors or to the Greek Catholic or Orthodox Episcopate (for the Romanian inhabitants). Their duty was to 'translate' the texts into a language familiar to rural inhabitants. The Episcopal letters contained many scriptural explanations besides the ordinance text in order to gain the peasants' trust and to implement the authorities' orders. The priests were only intermediary, between the authorities and the inhabitants. They (especially higher clergy) worked in collaboration with

³⁶ *Opinio de securitate publica et privata* (BAR Cluj, Unitarian Ordinances, call number 348) states *Hominis in Statu naturali constituti cum vitam seu tuandam, sibi soli relictis se impares cernerent, cum, primis de vitae, fortunarumque securitate solliciti in Societate...*, p.1 r.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 2v. *Securitas interna publica Consistit in ea Status interni tranquillitate quam Legum fundamentalium quibus ipsa Republique legalis Constituto innitur, Custodia & Officiorum, qua hominess diverso inter se ad commune Reipublicae felicitatem procurandum nexu junctis invicem Statu publico et Principi debent obervantis parit...*

the doctors, especially the *protomedicus* and *physicus* from Transylvania to elaborate a discourse which would convince the peasants to respect the sanitary rules. In spite books' lack of originality and lack of new information (as mentioned they were translations, adaptations and compilations), their value was given by their goal: the education of the entire population. They reflect the Cameralist and Enlightened ideas of the epoch, which aimed at securing the general welfare (seen not only as material welfare but also as spiritual welfare) and happiness through education and culture. It was a plan derived from Joseph Sonnenfels' principles that stipulate that the raising of economic and cultural standards in a state are dependent on the well being of its subjects.³⁸

The Habsburgs, following the examples of the German states and France, attempted to increase the state resources by applying the new economic and administrative principles, because they realized that healthy, and happy subjects work harder and are more productively. Consequently, the cameralists were interested in promoting people's living standards, spiritual and psychological well-being, and overall happiness.³⁹

The new determination of the authorities to impose new standards in the field of public health was the result of the knowledge and conceptions about causes of the diseases. Sonnenfels and Frank sustained that "poverty is the mother of diseases"⁴⁰. Influenced by them, Transylvanian authorities had argued that poverty, shortage of food, natural calamities (draught/flood) were the main causes of the diseases. Consequently, the protection of the population involved measures for social protection. The construction of barns with cereals which will assure food in periods of famine, measures against air and water's pollution, poor drink and food quality, spoiled food, intoxication with gases, street dogs, and other animals incriminated as the main factors that endangered public health were measures proposed by the authors of the law project.⁴¹ In the opinion of the authors, the state had the obligation to supervise all the aspects related to the health of the population/ especially active population.

The law projects (*Opinio de Securitate* and *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*) were extremely important, in spite of the facts that none of the proposals were implemented. They illustrate the results of the reform in education promoted by the Habsburg emperors. The Cameralist sciences and new medical discoveries taught in German Universities, at *Collegium Theresianum* and University of Vienna resulted in the preparation of bureaucrats that could adapt and implement state vision/policy to local realities, in order to modernize and make efficient the provincial administrative apparatus. This is to be seen by the fact that until 1790s, the Empress/Emperor had the legislative initiative and imposed the decisions through the Transylvanian Gubernium, which was responsible for their implementation. According to this, the physicians elaborated and supported the sanitary reforms initiated by the state. I consider that, a third phase⁴² in the political life of the Province began with

³⁸ Éva H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765 – 1800. An experiment in Enlightened Absolutism.*, translated by Tim Wilkerson, (Budapest: CEU University Press, 1999), p. 80.

³⁹ Ch. Ingrao, "The smaller German States". In *Enlightened Absolutism...*, p. 227.

⁴⁰ *A system of complete Medical Police*. Selections from J. P. Frank, Edited. with an Introduction by E. Leski. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. xii.

⁴¹ *Opinio de Securitate* § 12.

⁴² The rhythm of the sanitary reforms was due to / imposed by the circumstances – epidemiological and economical etc. – with the Monarchy is confronted to. For the period of my research and for Transylvania, there were three main phases in the elaboration of these reforms can be detected. First one was from 1740-1770, the second was from 1770s-1790 and the third one was from 1790s –and the first half of 19th century. The criteria for my division have in mind the authorities that initiated and elaborated the sanitary legislation and the territory that was regarded. The preambles of the ordinances identify that the authority that issued a law or an ordinance. In the first period that I called the Viennese phase/period the legislative initiatives belonged to the Empress (and her counselors) who imposed new sanitary rules in concordance with the epidemiological circumstances of the entire Monarchy. The rules were applied in all provinces of the Monarchy especially on those situated on the Turkish border and on the maritime shores. In the second period - the mixed phase - because of the collaboration between the Transylvanian Gubernium (through the activity of the Sanitary Commission) with the Habsburg authorities the laws and ordinances became more targeted. They responded to the epidemiological circumstances of the provinces. The activity of the Transylvanian *protomedicus* (the chief of the Sanitary Commission) determines the initiation of sanitary reforms that were applied not only in the principality but also in the Monarchy. The third phase - the Transylvanian phase - was characterized by an intense reforming/ legislative initiative of the Gubernium and its *protomedicus*. All ordinances were issued by the Gubernium in the name of the Emperor represented a continuation and an extension of the reforms initiated by the Habsburg authorities, but with a local peculiarity. This period is marked by a politic of health according to which the state was responsible for the

1790s (period I called the Transylvanian phase). From now on the Transylvanian Gubernium, especially the Sanitary Commission and its *protomedicus*, started to have the initiative in the field of sanitary legislation. They attempted to elaborate laws that applied particularly to the province according to the epidemiological circumstances. The prophylactic measures and epidemic control led to an interest in public hygiene. This period was also characterized by intense activities that regulated the entire sanitary field, organized the local health care network and defined the status of medical personnel and through immense effort to promote the new medical discoveries among doctors, surgeons and pharmacists.⁴³ Additionally, a large number of medical books and brochures, as well as didactic and pedagogical literature was published with the support of the authorities. Their target was the peasants and urban inhabitants of the province. All representatives of the Transylvanian intelligentsia, Hungarian, German and Romanian doctors, priests and teachers, etc. were engaged in this action.

The doctors – as everywhere in the German speaking lands and Habsburg Monarchy – played an important role in initiating the legislation and adapting it to local realities. This was the case of the first Transylvanian *protomedicus* Adam Chenot who determined the change of the legislation related to the inland quarantine. *Normativum Generale in Re Sanitatis*⁴⁴ was the result of his proposals and ideas related to the nature of plague and its transmission. This sanitary project was sustained by a second project designated to reorganize the entire health system and to protect Transylvania against the scourge of epidemics. The author was another Transylvanian *protomedicus*: Michael Neustädter. He elaborated, in 1793, the sanitary law project known as *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*. The project was never accepted. It represented more than a simple synthesis of the main laws and ordinances initiated by the Habsburgs. The Cameralist principles. The project reflects the way in which leading physicians viewed the health problems of the province, the social status of the physicians, surgeons, pharmacists and midwives, and also reflects a transition towards a modern mentality because the project was not a response only to the epidemiological circumstances but it espoused as a plan for preventive medicine. The project *Opinio in Re Sanitatis* contains in its introduction the populationist and public health principles promoted by Frank. It stipulates that:

“the state's interest is to have as many healthy subjects as possible, both from a physical and a psychological point of view. If they are strong, they will not be taken from the society by a premature death and will be useful for the society, or will not become a burden for the others and will not have a sad, miserable life”⁴⁵

The concept of preventive medicine contributed to the birth of public health in Transylvania. The physicians who studied in Universities from German and Austrian space brought this broader European phenomenon into the province. In the first chapter, *De Cura Sanitatis hominum*, the author presents the main diseases and their causes. The factors that generated the diseases were: the pollution of the air and water, poor drink and food quality (especially bread and drinks made from unclean wheat), spoiled food, intoxication produced by the different gases (smoke, carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide). An important cause of some diseases were – in the author's opinion – the street dogs and other animals that can cause rabies or which carry fleas responsible for recurrent fevers and typhus. It was the first project (in Transylvania) that took into consideration the public health and the hygienic rules promoted by J. P. Frank. This way the Transylvania Sanitary Commission became the advocate of public health measures and worked hand in hand with the authorities in order to implement disciplinary measures. The eradication of pollution through drainage of marshes and swamps, the cleaning of lakes and ponds, streets and squares – especially in towns –, the regulation of the burials and the problem of dead animals' bodies, the prevention of infecting water springs and tanks. These ‘citizen’ activities had two

health of its inhabitants. The ordinances responded to the epidemiological circumstances and also elaborate plans to prevent diseases. This division is arbitrary, but it helps to describe the progress achieved by the authority in the deals with sanitary problems and also the goals they had. The progress is seen not only in the way in which the new scientific developments were applied in the cure of the diseases but also in the machinery developed to implement these measures.

⁴³ *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*, Sectio II, p. 6 v. – 11r.

⁴⁴ *Normativum Generale in Re sanitatis* was issued by Maria Theresa in 1770 and represented the main sanitary legislation applied in Transylvania and other Habsburg domains, especially situated on the border with Ottoman Empire, in the 18th century. It concerned with the measures concerning the organization and function of the inland quarantines. The document is found in Library of Romanian Academy – Cluj Napoca Department.

⁴⁵ *Opinio In Re sanitatis*, p 1 r.

purposes. The first one was the control over 'disease'. The second one - if we consider Foucault theories of power - was the doctors' position and influence in the society.

The medical personnel were a marginalized category of professionals in Transylvania. The profession was regarded as a less 'noble'⁴⁶ than others. They aimed at raising the social and material status, prestige and professional education. Consequently the law project stipulates the education required, their salaries, obligations and rights.⁴⁷ The goal was to make out of medical personnel a category of public servants trained accordingly with European standards and paid regularly by the state. In order to achieve these goals they involved themselves in the fight to improve living standards (of the individual and environment), in the literary and publicist campaigns (inside of the cultural associations such as *Transylvanian Association for the Hungarian Language' Cultivation/Development*) and philanthropic activities (especially inside of the Freemasonry lodges).

As everywhere in Europe the Enlightenment ideas were present in the Transylvanian physicians' writings. The doctors - as persons who belonged to the Enlightened intelligentsia - will try to involve themselves in the activities that aimed at raising of the living standards of the population and eradication of the diseases. Their patriotism, the belief in science, rationalism and progress were revealed by their publications and by implications in the public activities through which they wanted to influence the rulers to implement new reforms.

Conclusions

The study of each policy reveals patterns and reasons for its implementation. The reforms were a result of a plan initiated by the Empress Maria Theresa and her son and councilors in order to centralize, modernize and give a cohesion to the Monarchy who was seriously affected by numberless wars and economic crisis.

The rulers initiated these reforms out of a responsibility toward their subjects and state. The reason of these reforms were not only pragmatic (the danger of epidemics and the welfare of a state who needed money for its army and security) but the ideals and ideas of the Enlightened intellectuals of the epoch. A comparative analysis of the and primary sources (ordinances, law projects, sanitary brochures and pamphlets) and secondary literature in the health discourse elaborated in Austrian, German and Transylvanian territories lead us to the conclusion that 18th century was marked by the unity in the health discourse. In all German speaking lands and Habsburg domains the Enlightenment ideals of rationalism, progress, education, freedom coexisted with the cameralist theories that aimed at promoting new strategies of government to increase the welfare of the state and with a severe social discipline.

The extent in which the theoretical approaches were put into practice, requires another type of sources than ordinances law projects or sanitary brochures. This type of sources reflects the circulation of ideas and the existence of the same type of health discourse conceived for the same purposes: a populationist policy and eradication of epidemics (such as plague, small pox etc.) disease and a program of public health. Also reveal a systematic intervention of the state in public and private life in order to increase revenues. The idea behind this intervention was the fact that healthy, happy and wealthy subjects represent the richness of the state. The sanitary laws were sometimes brutally imposed, but most of the time they were implemented due to the collaboration between the authorities (Viennese and local), doctors and clergy. This interventionist policy strengthened, on the one hand, the authority and the prestige of Habsburgs and on the other hand forced the epidemics to retreat.

⁴⁶ Barthel. *Medizinische Polizey* p. 45-47; Spielmann, I., *Restituiri istorico-medicele. Studii de istoria stiintei si culturii.* (Medical and Historical Restitution. Studies of Science's History and Culture) București: Editura Kriterion, 1980, p. 306.

⁴⁷ *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*, Sectio II comprises a description of the education, duties, rights and salaries for doctors, surgeons, midwives and pharmacists, pp. 4 v -15 r.

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