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**THE POLITICS OF THE JOSEPHINE REFORMISM AND
THE EMANCIPATION PROCESS OF THE ROMANIANS
FROM TRANSYLVANIA (1765-1790)**

Abstract

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Introduction

The approach to the Enlightenment Century and, moreover, to Joseph II, the dominant figure of the last decades of the 18th century, who spread his popularity beyond the limits of his time, thus offering to historiography the motivation of a constant and extremely varied exercise, entails a few ideas both on the fields and analysing directions aimed at in this thesis and on the instruments that supply support to our efforts of interpretation.

The complexity of the century of change, of the consistency of reforming measures associated to the House of Habsburg, as well as the political influence on Joseph II as a governor in the areas of power and decision of the Empire, brought us a series of punctual clarifications on the objectives that the present PHD thesis is aiming at: *The politics of the Josephine reformism and the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania (1765-1790)*.

The political programme stipulated by Joseph II, doubled by the propagation of the generous principles of the Enlightenment, constituted a wide area which generated, supported and shaped the collective knowledge. Within this context, the Romanians from Transylvania became for the first time an object of the state politics in a process that inaugurated and cultivated the emancipation of this ethnical segment in agreement with the desideratum, one monarch, one nation, one language.

The approach of the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania in the 18th century is not a first time event. The Romanian historiographical exercise around the Habsburg reformism has been a varied and consistent one, as we can notice. We consider that the novelty of the present PHD project is based on investigating and presenting, in a unitary, autonomous formula, the reform programme, aiming at emphasizing and relationing the important centers that fundamented the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania. Associated to the concepts of “uplifting”, “evolution” or “change”, the Transylvanian Romanians’

process of emancipation implies in its essence all those elements with a political, social, economic, religious, mental character or the ones that caused the transformation of the Romanian society into the dawn of modernity. Within this context, our intercession is focused on the priority analysis of those fields we call the pylons of emancipation – the church, the school, printing – without neglecting direction such as administration, justice, the socio-economic sphere, outside of which the understanding of the dimensions and of the finalities of the reformist process associated to the emperor Joseph II cannot be fully achieved. Considering these coordinates, we are aiming at the genesis of the legislation, the inspiration sources and the instruments that oriented and influenced Joseph II's politics towards “the uplifting” of the those obedient to the Empire, of the Romanians from Transylvania in particular, the contents and the particularities of the state politics for Transylvania.

The most important aspect of Joseph II's politics is claimed by “the decade of the great emperor”, the years 1780-1790 becoming known through the number and especially through the radicalism of the promoted reforms. A careful analysis of the Habsburg reformism, Joseph II's in particular, cannot be done by merely separating the periods of exclusive rule. The genesis and the evolution of the trends, ideologies or political priorities take place during a long period of time, in a complex process which assimilates internal and external influences of thinking or context. That is why we considered as necessary the expansion of the chronological limit, aiming at the Josephine reformism from the moment the access to the structures of a political power was opened to Joseph II, the year 1765, which hallmarks his designation as a governor, aiming at a better perception of the reform act within its natural evolving dimension. The structure, and especially the position of Transylvania, within the Habsburg Empire constituted a new element that influenced the analysis of the subject at the methodological level, determining the option for a bipolar formula that is aiming at the political act by relating it to the Centre – Boundaries relationship.

We organized the results obtained throughout this project into chapters that would allow a coherent understanding of the subject,

from the general frames to the regulations connected directly with Transylvania and which contributed to the emancipation process of the Romanians from Transylvania.

Chapter 1. The Habsburgs in the evolution of state and dynasty during the 18th century

The understanding of the manner in which the Habsburg reformist theory and practice in Transylvania, or the Josephine one in particular evolved, depends on knowing the general circumstances that hallmarked the affirmation of the Empire in the European area. Thus, a mis-en-scene of the key moments and actors – the monarchs – becomes necessary. They, through their internal and external actions, contributed to defining the identity and role of the Habsburg Empire. We are trying to briefly underline the fact that the Josephine reformism is, up to a point, the sum of the previous political experiences, Joseph being, within this logic, a pursuer of the line of reformers during the 18th century, preoccupied with ensuring the cohesion and stability of the state. Thus, we can notice the problems that the Habsburg dynasty was confronted with during this period, the solutions that every monarch found and “the historical legacy” inherited from Joseph II, an important element in the genesis of the governing act, according to which we can observe the continuity or, on the contrary, the abandonement of a political orientation. This chapter has been organized in a few subchapters, relevant for the political evolution of the Habsburg Empire until the exclusive rule of Joseph II:

The presence of the Habsburg power in Europe. From Leopold I (1657-1705) to Maria Theresa (1740-1780), The Habsburg Empire between reformism and conservatism. The internal measures of consolidating the central authority (1700-1740), The dawn of modernity. The Habsburg Empire during Maria Theresa (1740-1765) and under the sign of change. The period of government in the Habsburg Empire (1765-1780).

Starting from these premises, the first chapter of the paper, *The Habsburgs in the evolution of state and dynasty during the 18th*

century, is meant to achieve the familiarization and the placement of the approached topic within the frames it belongs to: The Habsburg Empire. “The decade of the good emperor”, the segment with the greatest visibility and impact regarding Joseph II’s reformist politics is in essence the result of a long road of research, options and priorities, the names of Leopold I, Charles VI and especially Maria Theresa were connected to, in their attempt to make the name and the territories of the House of Habsburg important on the political stage of Europe.

Chapter 2. Joseph II – the good emperor

When approaching the topic, we cannot avoid the historiographical references related to the role and long time involvements associated to Joseph II, reflected at the level of the collective Romanian sensitivity in the myth of the good emperor. Thus, Chapter II, *Joseph II – the good emperor*, suggests the tracing of the most important features related to the topic: first of all, a historiographic balancesheet and then the brief dealing of the myth of the good emperor in the Romanian society in Transylvania. We tried this way to capture the dimensions and the manner in which the emperor’s personality and politics were mirrored in the pages of historiography from the contemporary time till nowadays, and, at the same time, to identify the most important elements that played an important part in the genesis of the radical reforming act, leading to a popularity without precedent in the epoch: the trips through the Empire as an accessory of the governing act.

The faith in the good emperor became popular mythology for the last part of the 18th century, through the politics of the Austrian state, a personal one of the emperor Joseph II in the fading of the social disparities and the harmonization of the peoples of the empire. The retrieve of the topic regarding Joseph II’s trips through Transylvania, as one of the main sources of the crystallization of the myth of the good emperor, but also as a base of the governing act, allowed the breakthrough into the deep springs of the thoughts of one

of the greatest reformers of his time and the familiarization with the leading principles that lay at the basis of the actions of ordering the world and orienting it towards modernity.

The trips to Transylvania were under the sign of the political pragmatism of German inspiration, of the need to solve the problems by only one authority. This pragmatism, inspired from the Prussian and French experiences, had as goal the creation of a uniform, hypercentralised Austrian state. In this political programme, we are witnessing for the first time the focus on the lower layers of society, on the unknown nations, maintained out of the political system but which, by their numerous consistence, could offer a solid base, a new type, to these centralising visions of the emperor. In the Romanian case, we deal for the first time with the phenomenon of the transformation of this segment into a concrete object of the activity and state methodology, with long time implications in the genesis of the national identity.

Chapter 3. From the Centre to the Boundaries – Transylvania during the Habsburg Empire

The process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania reached the climax of the century between 1780 and 1790. Its genesis and evolution belong to the long period of the 18th century, being hallmarked by changes in different fields, which influenced, even if it was in a different rhythm and with a different impact, the general evolution of the Romanian society administration, justice, religion, education, economy, based on the state politics of finding out the solutions that can offer cohesion and stability to the multinational Empire.

In this regard, in Chapter II, *From the Centre to the Boundaries – Transylvania during the Habsburg Empire*, we tried to create a clear position and role of Transylvania in this conglomerate type of structure, to create a clearer image of the mechanisms and institutions that ensured its functioning, as well as to present the general picture of the states of fact that imperatively reclaimed for

the need of change in the second half of the 18th century. Great interest was given in this chapter to Joseph II's *Report*, written during his journey in Transylvania in 1773, as a key moment with deep implications in the process of radicalizing the political act of government. *The Report* is not just a balancesheet of a state of fact; through it, the political programme that the future emperor intended for the whole Transylvania is better emphasized. His personal conclusions regarding the Romanian segment are clear: *it cannot stay the same way it is now*.

The process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania, from the status of excluded from the constitutional system and up to the conscience of getting a new identity inside the Empire, constituted a complex process in which efforts and politics oriented towards a variety of the fields reunited. We must not forget the fact that this process was the more remarkable the more the emperor himself noted the skepticism of this nation that had gone through such hard times. In order that the reformatory programme could work in a divided and conservatory society, the emperor understood that the simple person had to be attracted to his projects not as a subject, but as a citizen. The communication between the central power and the individual had to be direct, participating and, if it was possible, without intermediaries that would modify the sent message. The first steps within the process aimed at the recovery of this segment for the benefit of the state, through the integrating measures where the administrative reform played a very important part, by bringing the provincial clerk among the central administration and by subordinating the whole Transylvanian bureaucratic machine to the emperor's will in order to impose the aimed at political programme. The quick need to implement the reforms forced the emperor to appeal to the already existing power structures in the different areas of the Empire, conservatory structures in most cases, which opposed the imperial reforms, which needed, first, reformation and restructuring. Because of this, it was necessary to co-opt it within the administrative act of the Church, which, through priests, had become "a parallel administration" and a very direct and efficient communication channel. In order to succeed

in sending and imposing the new political message to all the layers of the society, the Romanian one in particular, Joseph II used two important levers, which, through their function, became the pylons of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania: the Church, the School, and Printing.

The Church, through the spiritual power and the subordination to the state, was about to show through the power of the example the new pattern of citizen within the parameters of the enlightenment values and the universal christian moral concepts. The School, through a wide literacy programme, was shaping the new generation towards the direction of imposing the political objectives that were aiming at the transformation of the obedient subjects of the state into good highly qualified citizens, soldiers, farmers. Printing was offering in its turn to the politics of the Josephine reformism the necessary environment and ways of manifestation by publishing essential books at accessible prices: textbooks, books with of a civic interest. Moreover, by publishing the whole law books and the “flyers”, it established a direct line of communication between the citizen and the emperor since the second half of the 18th century.

Chapter 4. The pylons of emancipation. The politics of the Josephine reformism in the religious field

Within the context of excluding the Romanians from the political system of Transylvania, the Church constituted for them the representative institution around which the first projects, which were aiming at “uplifting”, emancipating from the humble condition of tolerated people, had gathered even since the beginning of the 18th century. The religious politics of the Habsburg reformism, of the Josephine one in particular, constitutes a highly complex subject due to the complicated circumstances and interests that shaped the options and the objectives of the representatives of Vienna in this field. The radical measures of the 80s in the religious area have a

past full of long research and attempts incarnated into legal acts or establishment of some speciality organizations called to administrate the transformation that the Court from Vienna was thinking about in this field, in order to impose the interests of the state. That is why we considered necessary and desirable to open this chapter with the general evolution of the state-church relationship during Maria Theresa in order to capture the difficulty of reforming a system preoccupied with the pope-monarch duality in a multiconfessional construct with fragile balances. Joseph II is known in the historiography pages for his tolerance politics promoted among his people. In this regard, special attention was given first to the genesis of Joseph II's concept of tolerance in order to emphasize the finality and especially the meaning that the monarch gave to his politics in this field. The emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania started through the Church. Starting from this idea, the analysis included the synthetical presentation of the religious coordinates of Transylvania until 1781 in order to show the evolution of the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the institutions inside and around which the projects of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania started. One of the representative acts of the Josephine reformism was certainly constituted by *The tolerance Edict* (1781), act that was born due to political reasons, and not religious ones, which officially opened a new, integrating perspective to the Orthodox segment. One of the great merits of this measure with a revolutionary character for that period was that it trained under a psychological, political and judicial aspect, the premises of the Romanians' uplifting and integration at the level of the other peoples of the monarchy.

Chapter 5. The school reform and the beginnings of modernization of the Romanian society

In order to achieve the new type of citizen devoted to and useful for the state, the politics of the Court of Vienna regarded education as a major field, where investments started ever since

Maria Theresa. In this regard, Chapter V, *The school reform and the beginnings of modernization of the Romanian society*, aims at – in the first part – education as a priority of the Habsburg Empire (1760-1780) and the situation of the school system in Transylvania until 1773. In the second part of the chapter, the analysis was focused on the detailed analysis of the most important reforming measures, known as *Ratio Educationis* and *Norma Regia*, without avoiding the provincial political acts either, which emphasize the adjustment of the Josephine reformism to the particularities of the province.

The field of education, of culture overall, constituted during Joseph II an important segment, representing, in the imperial point of view, a binding able to offer cohesion to the multinational Empire. In this regard, Joseph II's politics continued the orientations opened by Maria Theresa, but at a more dynamic and more radical level, the essence of the reforming measures being given by the objective of achieving a uniform education system, subordinated to the state and to its objectives.

The legal acts representative of the 18th century, *Ratio Educationis* and *Norma regia*, doubled by a series of measures with a procedural character (*Regulamente*), according to the specific of the regions, reflects the same utilitarian principles of the state politics and the priority given to elementary education, as a basis for construction and promotion of the new type of citizen of the Empire: educated, disciplined, obedient and a good Christian. Joseph II's politics towards this direction was a mass politics, a uniformization one, which completed the elimination of the old constitutional traditions. In the case of Transylvania, just like in the whole Empire, its measures, which had come unexpectedly among the marginalized ones, created a positive state and a high receptivity, more noticeable in the case of Romanians, maintained outside the official systems for a long time. The principles of tolerance, doubled by the concrete measures in education, extremely favourable for the united and orthodox Romanians (building schools, making elementary education compulsory, creating teachers, editing the textbooks in the national languages) encouraged the freedom of speech, noticeable first at the level of elites, the united ones, formed in the great European centres,

by supporting The United Church, and then among the Orthodox ones. The building of schools was followed by a similarly important process of supplying working instruments (textbooks, correct grammar books, “the uplifting literature”), which supported the spreading of knowledge and which are the result of the beneficial intervention of the elites, from the officially institutionalized clerks to bishops, priests, nobles, tradesmen, which were responsible for these actions of spreading the Enlightenment.

The effort of the United and Orthodox Romanian elites, the support of the directions open towards the integrating, civilizing politics of the Josephine reformism, even after the emperor’s death, shows that in Transylvania there was a Romanian civic spirit, which, through the offered levers, laid the basis to the emancipation process, opening the way to political acknowledgement. In this process, the introduction of the new school system constituted one of the basic stones. The politics of the Josephine reformism aimed at a controlled state school system, which had to shape the young generation according to the new centralizing ideals.

Chapter 6. The politics of the Josephine reformism and the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania: the development of the pattern and of the freedom of speech

The emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania through education meant, beyond the theoretical letter of the political norm, a considerable quantitative and qualitative effort as well of achieving the instruments that would support this process. Due to this, Chapter VI, *The politics of the Josephine reformism and the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania: the development of the pattern and of the freedom of speech*, wanted a natural follow-up that would complete the perception on directions, dimensions and long time consequences of the political act of reform claimed by Joseph II. The chapter focuses on the Josephine reformism through the regulations that aimed at the development of

the printing institution, called in the 18th century to fulfill two major functions: to ensure the spreading of the imperial norms incarnated in laws, edicts, patents, regulations and to support the implementation and development of the education system projected to offer the new type of citizen, mainly by editing the school textbooks. We particularly focused on the printing houses from Blaj and Buda, representative institutions that answered the emperor's reforming message and from which the most Romanian cultural programmes were spread during the century of change.

Conclusions

The 18th century remains in the conscience of Europe and in the pages of speciality literature as the period of the great reforms which led to new directions of development according to the principles of the Enlightenment promoted by the reforming monarchs. The new type of monarch, convinced by the values of the ideals of the Enlightenment and aware of his own power, started an ample process of the modernizing the society he was ruling. Taking this perspective into account, Joseph II's reign is not an exception, but we can notice that the Austrian emperor's effort in a multilayered and traditionalist empire was more difficult than in the other European countries. Due to this, the Josephine reformist politics enjoyed special attention from the European and national historiography. The theme itself opened to several research directions allowing some of the most varied approaches and leading to daring results and interpretations.

The process of forming the nations enjoyed the same attention from the historians. Romanian historiography dedicated an extensive number of pages to the analysis of the shaping of the national feeling for the Romanians from Transylvania. Analysing the different cultural, ideological and social influences, the historians succeeded in re-creating in detail the stages of the shaping of the Romanian nation decisively emphasizing the period during which

this process started to become clearer. Through a long scientific effort, it was possible to identify and describe the Romanian intellectual and institutional context that brought its decisive contribution to the shaping of the national values. The complexity of the phenomenon of shaping the Romanian nation could not be supported only through a one-direction effort from the elite and the Romanian institutions in Transylvania. It had gone through a few important stages and had as a starting point the reformist politics of the Habsburg Empire which offered, through Joseph II, the decisive impulse. The reformer emperor wanted to organize the Empire based on some new social, political, administrative and economic principles. Due to this, the first great change aimed at the judicial frame of the Austrian state, which offered the Romanians the possibility of collective emancipation in the new shape projected by the emperor. Joseph II's reigning period represented for the Romanians an essential moment in defining their own identity, emphasizing, under a psychological, political and judicial aspect, the Romanians' uprising and integration together with the other peoples of the monarchy in the Austrian state.

Choosing the year 1765 as a starting point for the investigation was not at random. Joseph II became the leader that year and, although until his debut as emperor, in 1780, the period was dominated by Maria Theresa, his contribution to the running of the Empire was essential. Even if the emperess' beliefs did not always coincide with the values of the Enlightenment, the external factors and her own ability to adjust to all these determined her to surround herself with a series of capable counselors with the help of whom she started the reforming programme of the Empire. The governing period meant, from this perspective, a mutual exchange of ideas between the two rulers who, according to the circumstances, brought their contribution to the numerous decisions that emphasized this type of great changes.

Joseph II's trip in 1773 to Transylvania constituted a decisive moment for the Romanians. The emperor directly perceived the constitutional and administrative reality of the Great Principality and became aware of the Romanians' incredibly hard socio-economical

situation in this area of the Empire. In his personal writings elaborated during this period, he accurately identified the reasons for which this population, the most numerous one in the province, was politically and socially maintained by the privileged states at the tolerated stage. In addition, which is more important for the Romanians, the emperor could notice the severe economic and cultural consequences for them that came out of perpetuating a traditionalist and impervious constitutional system for Transylvania. Joseph II accurately identified the elements that contributed to the perpetuation of the regime of the privileged states in the Great Principality. The evolution of the relationships between the centre and the province depended on a series of factors: the politics during his predecessors' time, the governors sent by Vienna, the opposition of the privileged states, the external wars, and the border province state of Transylvania.

The reforming project was aiming at the complete integration of the Great Principality into the political-administrative structures of the Empire, the periphery being about to emancipate in its turn in a close correlation with the evolution of the centre. The emperor's sensitivity to the Romanian issue was mainly the result of his own physiocratic and mercantile ideas based on which he wanted to reform the Austrian state. Joseph II was aware that a poor population lacking political rights had no way of manifesting a sincere attachment towards the Empire and especially be useful to the state. The emancipation he was stipulating was about to be done individually starting with redefining each individual's social role, the political nation and the ethnicity becoming secondary aspects in his projects. According to the Prussian and French pattern, he was calling on the idea of a centralized state, and at this level, a new cohesion pattern based on new affection principles, but also on mutual indebtedness among the members of the society was offered.

In order to succeed in the effort of restructuring the state, according to the idea of putting the available resources to good use, the emperor was aware that he had to get important mutations at the mental and cultural level of the Romanians from Transylvania. We must not forget that it was even more remarkable the way he

consigned the skepticism of this nation that had been through such rough times. In order that the reforming programme should succeed in a divided and conservative society, the emperor understood that the simple man needs to be attracted to his projects not as an obeying person, but as a citizen. The communication between the central power and the individual needed to be direct, participating and, if possible, with no intermediaries that would modify the sent message. The direct relationship between the Josephine reformism and the emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania can be expressed through three major directions that had as a result the transformation of the Romanians from an amorphous mass into a social and ethnical piece aware of its own value: ***recovering, uprising and redefining***.

In a first stage, through a concentrated ensemble of measures that had aimed at the constitutional system, *the recovery* of the Romanians from the political stage of tolerated ones in the province to their *integration* in it with political rights equal to the ones of the privileged nations. By the administrative and legal reform, by the decisions of the concivility and tolerance edicts, the demolition of the existing consitutional system and its replacement with modern relating principles among the inhabitants of the province among which ethnicity and religion did not constitute the decisive elements anymore, was successful. Thus, the Romanians were becoming for the first time an object of the state politics, in a process that opened and propagated the emancipation of this ethnical segment according to the desideratum of only one monarch, one nation, one language.

The second stage aimed at the cultural *uplifting*, the modernization of the Romanian society through a vast programme of *litteracy* initiated during Maria Theresa and expanded by Joseph II. For the first time as well, the Romanians were called by the authorities in an ample project of education the aim of which was their tranformation from simple peasants into good farmers, with minimum economic knowledge, tax payers for the state that offered the necessary protection against the nobles' abuses. From this direction we ca depict the third stage of the Josephine reformism in relationship with the process of emancipation of the Romanians from Transylvania, the one characterized by *redefining* this segment by

equating the obeying Romanians to the new citizen pattern the Empire needed so much. According to the Prussian pattern, they were looking for the transformation of all the people into good soldiers that were rationally and emotionally aware of their attachment to the new community. The new citizen was participative, integrated into the constitutional system and informed about the major elements that were going on inside the Empire. Maybe the emperor's desideratum was the hardest to achieve in a traditionalist society and that was exactly why they took many measures aiming at restructuring the church and the school – on principles based on the importance of the state - , as pylon institutions called to support the emperor's projects. Joseph II understood that the success of his reforms can be obtained only by controlling and including the society in his redefining programme based on the new Enlightenment ideas of three important institutions, organically linked to the individual and the society: the church, the school and printing.

Despite the short period of absolute governing, the reformism promoted by Joseph II had important consequences on the Romanians' perception of themselves. Thus, the Romanians regained their respect as individuals, started to become aware of the social and ethnical value related to the local authorities and could redefine their position as citizens in a multiethnic and multireligious state. The emperor's death in 1790 radically changed the political situation in Transylvania. The rebellions of the Hungarian nobles and the issues in the Austrian Southern Countries made the new emperor Leopold II (1790-1792) call the Transylvania Diet. A revegeful and demolishing spirit led to the remaking of the old constitutional system in which the Romanians were taken back to the stage of tolerated nation. Within this context, the Romanian political effort went to maintaining the social and political status earned during the Josephine period. For the first time, the Romanians started actions on behalf of the nation, the *Suplex* movement becoming the most important Romanian political action at the end of the 18th century. Of course, the different Christian religions, and especially the opposition between the Orthodox and the Eastern Catholic religions, represented extra tension frontiers. Nevertheless, the borders did not

prove to be uncrossable, which was true especially in the case of the coexistence and cooperation among the Eastern Catholics (Uniates) and the Orthodox in Transylvania, where being a Romanian was the main connection element. The coordinated action of the two Romanian churches is, up to a point, a result of the Josephine reform. Included in a vast project, both churches had become real dialogue and co-operation partners with the provincial and central authorities. Even if the tensions among the Eastern Catholics and the Orthodox persisted during the 19th century, the political and cultural co-operation represents a constant thing of the elites. The coming back to the tolerated status produced in the Romanians' minds that connection synaps necessary for shaping the modern nation. Between the thinking plan and the doing plan the distances are not that large. Generally, we can notice the emphasis of the contradictions inside the Principality, as a result of the crisis started after the emperor's death, took place together with the cristalization of the spirit of general regeneration when a picture of the society built on the new social and national ideals was shaped. It was natural that the new approaches at the level of the Romanian elite from Transylvania deepen the mediation on some fundamental notions in the modern restructuring of the conscience. Under their impulse, the notion of nation got a wider social meaning, capable to include the whole Romanian population from Transylvania. The restauration had severe consequences during the long period of the evolution of the Empire. The political system reaffirmed a strongly layered social structure. The contradictions that hallmarked the system were the deeper the more focused on those aspects that coincided with the national and ethnical differences. The social forces belonging to the middle class, whether rural or urban, were not so numerous and finacially incapable to support a capitalist type modern growth.

Joseph II's reforms finally led to creating new dimensions of the social, political and cultural life in Transylvania. Especially at a cultural level, the reformism succeeded in increasing the human personality of the individual also enreaching the dialogue with his peers and, last but not least, with history and the whole community.

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