

itself, was, however, less dramatic than it sounded. Only personal serfdom was annulled, not the economic obligations of *robotna* labour service. The Alpine provinces claimed that their peasants had never been serfs (*Leibigenen*) anyway, but *Erbuntertane* (hereditarily subject) with already guaranteed freedom of marriage. Moreover, the Styrian and Galician versions of the Patent granted freedom of movement only to peasants who found a replacement to work their plot. Peasants liable to military conscription still required permission from the state authorities to travel. In the Monarchy's more backward lands, however, there could be no doubt about the innovative impact of the reforms, which helps explain the caution in delaying a corresponding patent for Hungary till 1785.

The 1781 Patents are best seen as steps in a pro-peasant policy begun in the 1750s, whose ultimate effect was to enhance peasants' personal status and security of tenure and to integrate landlords' patrimonial jurisdiction into a developing network of local administration. Thus requirements for legal training for patrimonial officials led to the amalgamation of many patrimonial courts. The Josephinist vision of the future on the land was that already implemented on a small scale for Maria Theresa by her adviser Raab: the replacement of the *robotna* system by the division of landed estates (including the demesne) among rent-paying tenants. In 1783 Joseph ordered the extension of Raab's scheme to all cameral estates in Bohemia and Moravia. The ultimate implication of this policy was the emergence of a legally homogenous peasantry in place of the old distinctions between domical and rustic peasants, 'bought-in' and less secure 'non-bought-in' tenures and the like. It pointed to new principles of social organisation, as did the extension of official supervision to private forests in 1784, anticipating commercial forestry's importance to the Alpine noble economy of the next century. But systemic changes are always easier to see in hindsight, and Joseph left his noble commissioners free to implement the Raab reform in a fairly conservative and pro-landlord spirit.

Indeed, there were important points of detail on which the Josephinist agrarian regime was uncertain or ineffective. Should a peasant's plot be divided among all his children, in line with theories linking demographic and economic growth, or should primogeniture be favoured, because land-holding peasants were exempt from military service? The 1786 Civil Code affirmed the first alternative but an edict of 1787 inclined to primogeniture. Should the village common lands be divided up? Repeated Josephinian edicts were in favour of

this, following the original ordinance of 1768, but their reiteration suggests the prescription was largely ignored.

In religious matters, too, Joseph capitalised on an existing momentum for change. The toleration granted in 1781 had been strongly urged by Kaunitz on Maria Theresa. It applied only to specified denominations and did not permit non-Catholic places of worship to have bells or a prominent site. Prospective converts to Protestantism could only apply singly, not *en masse*, and had to submit to a course of instruction by a Catholic priest before confirming their intent. The newly formed Protestant consistories were supervised by Catholics and Catholic priests retained the right to fees from Protestant baptisms and marriages. Much of this testified to a fear of widespread underground Protestantism which was hardly borne out in the event; by 1785 some 151,000 had registered as Protestants in the non-Hungarian lands. Within its limitations, however, the reform was carried out with all Joseph's principled thoroughness. The Governor of Bohemia lost his post because of his obstructive attitude and a Protestant was appointed head of the Vienna teachers' training college. Too much has been made of Joseph's practical motives in introducing toleration to encourage non-Catholic businessmen. His mother had already felt free to enoble a Swiss Calvinist banker, Johann Pries. But whereas, with individual exceptions, she espoused religious uniformity as a key interest of the state — 'I speak politically, not as a Christian' — Joseph already had a different vision of the state interest, in which a confessionally even-handed policy asked only for civility from its citizens and was strengthened by the gratitude of religious minorities. In this essentially modern concept faith became a matter between man and God in which the state need not intervene.

This approach underlay Joseph's policy to the Jews, responsive though it was initially to the Court Chancellery's cautious instincts. The Patent of 1782 repealed dress restrictions on Jews and widened the range of professions they could follow, but did not imply a willingness to see an increase in the number and size of Jewish urban settlements. Nor did it apply to the Monarchy's most Jewish province, Galicia. There decrees of 1785 and 1789 went further, abolishing the Jewish Directory or separate administration which Maria Theresa had hoped would keep Jews and Christians apart and requiring Jews to perform military service (initially in the transport corps); henceforth they could marry only on proof that they had attended a German school to Jose what Joseph called their 'repellent Jewish characteristics'. For many Jews this was the unacceptable face of integration.