

## Z dejín národného hospodárstva a ekonomickej myslenia na Slovensku

### Gregorius Berzeviczy and the Evolution of Economic Thought in Slovakia

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An important event in development of economic thought in Central Europe is the beginning of teaching theory of economy at university level. As Joseph Alois Schumpeter demonstrated in (C24), it was-connected with rise and expansion of cameral sciences (cameralism) in Germany and Austria. The first chair of cameralism on the University of Frankfurt an Oder was brought into existence in 1721 and on University of Halle in 1727. In Austria the first chair of this science on the Teresianum (an academy for education of administrators, founded by Marie Theresa) in 1752 for Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717–1771) was established. In 1763 Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733–1813) became professor on the new chair of cameral sciences of the Vienna University.

Joseph von Sonnenfels was perhaps the best known representative of late cameralism. His book (B8) *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanz*, published in 1765–1769 was an almost official textbook of economic theory and policy, influencing this domain till the late middle of the 18th century, acting some times even as barrier of progress in economic theory.

On the University of Trnava (Germ. Tyrnau, Hung. Nagyszombat) a chair of political-cameral sciences in 1769 was founded. The known professors of this short lasting institution are Gaspar Pál von Ehrenfels till 1771 and Ferenc Xaver Gyurkovics (Ďurkovič) (?–1793). In 1777 the University of Trnava to Buda and finally in 1784 to Pest (Offen) was removed. Ferenc X. Ďurkovič remained professor to his death. Lessons in cameral sciences were held in German, not in Latin.

As far as G. Pál is concerned, Kosáry (in C13, p. 640) quotes his work *Sätze aus der allgemeinen Einleitung zu der Polizey und Handlungswissenschaft* (Theses from General Introduction to Science of Policy and Business), published in 1771 without facts about place of publishing. Perhaps it was the first title on economy, published on the territory of Slovakia.

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Another subject, lectured on the University of Trnava, oriented to economy was statistics.

As first school of university degree in 1763 the Collegium scientiarum politico oeconomico cameralium (College of political, economic and cameral sciences) in Senec, near Bratislava, was established. It was designated for education of specialists in administration with technical and managerial knowledge. Five subjects were thought: (1) economics, oriented more to agriculture, agricultural technology, geodesy and civil engineering; (2) mathematics („mathesis“); (3) bookkeeping, both single entry („cameral“) and double entry („mercantile“) – double entry bookkeeping was thought in framework of mathematics; (4) official correspondence (written communication) – stylus curialis et scriptura; (5) cameral sciences, included originally in economics, from 1770 thought as independent course.

The college was managed by pietist monks in German language. Five professors thought 20 students every year. The study was lasting three years. The director, Jacob Valero, was specialist in geometry.

After a short period of thirteen years in 1776 the college ceased to exist. Direct reason of its decline was fire. As its successor, after shift to other place (Tata in Hungary) fell into decay too, the main reason was maybe a problematic goal of education. For comparison, the Academy of Mining, established in the same year (1763) in Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz) ceased to exist only in 1918 after the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's decline.

Without regard to its short time of existence this college was the first university type school in economy both in Slovakia and in the historical Hungary (Uhorsko). Its significance evaluated for example P. S. Wandycz (see C31, p. 116).

Marie Theresa's reform of education with her *Ratio Educationis* in 1777 introduced teaching of philosophy and law even on some secondary schools. In the same time on the territory of present Slovakia two catholic academies, in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony, Posonium) and Košice (Kaschau, Kassa) giving courses in philosophy and in law. A similar education was granted by the Lutheran college in Prešov. An important subject, introduced in 1777 was „policy, business and finance“ (*Politia, commercium et rei aerariae*).

The year 1777 is remarkable from another point of view. Prior to this year cameral sciences were thought as part of philosophy. Later, cameral sciences, and economics in general, became part of lawyers education. In Slovakia this situation concluded only in 1940, when the School of Commerce at Bratislava was founded.

The evolution of university education in economics denotes one line of economic thoughts development, which began in the second half of the eighteenth century. The end of this century is the term when first writings on economics of authors, not schools professors, appeared.

An important event of development in economics was publishing of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations* in 1766, and the following spread of classical liberal economics ideas.

In the historical Hungary several papers, concerning primarily assessment of this country's economic power, appeared in this period. As to the time of publishing, they all originate from the end of the eighteenth century. The first of these documents is a writing from 1791 *Dissertatio statistica de industria nationali Hungarorum* (The Industry of the Hungarian Nation) the authorship of which is ascribed to the little known author Jozef Benčík (?–1827).

Incomparably more is known about Nikolaus (Miklós) Skerlecz de Lomnicza (Nikola Škrlec Lomnički) (1731–1799). This Lomnica is a village near Zagreb, Croatia. Skerlecz was economist and administrator, Croatian by birth, who wrote in 1783, published in 1802, *Descriptio physicopoliticae situationis Regni Hungariae relate ad Commercium* (B5), and in 1826 published *Projectum Legum motivatum in objecto Oeconomiae publicae et Commercii preferendum* (B6).

Another less known author of this epoch is Jozef Podmaniczky with his pamphlet *Principii vectigalis tricesimalis* (B3).

The most important economist of this period is Gregorius Franziscus von Berzeviczy (1763–1822). He was born and he died in Velká Lomnica (Germ. Grosslomnitz, Hung. Nagy Lomnic or Kakas Lomnic) in Slovakia. Coming from noble family, which has its origin in Tyrol, immigrated in the 13th century. The first known member of the family was Rüdiger (Rutger), acting as earl of the county of Spiš (Zips). His grandson Gallus (Kokoš – the cock) enlarged the possession so, that besides manors in Spiš, they owned that in Šariš. The village Brezovica (Hung. Berzevicze) in the county of Šariš gave the family name Berzevici (Berzeviczy, Brezovický). Later the family divided to a Lutheran branch, living in the German surroundings of Spiš, and a Catholic one, the barons branch, living in mostly Slovak environment.

Gregorius Berzeviczy grow up in Lomnica, where he received basic school education. Up to 1778 he continued in his studies on the lyceum in the neighbouring town of Kežmarok (Käsmark). The Lutheran lyceum of Kežmarok was one of these colleges, which rendered basic education in philosophy (professor Adam Podkonický, 1750–1820) and in law (professor Jozef Bencúr, 1728–1784). (Compare Lipták, 1933, C14, and Lipták, 1957, C15.)

After finishing the lyceum in 1781 he begun praxis, this time obligatory for adepts of advocacy. The place of praxis was in Hungarian (Magyar) surroundings of Debrecen. In 1783 he passed the obligatory examinations and begun to work on a court of justice.

The routine work of the court did not satisfy him and therefore his decision was to continue in studies on the famous University of Göttingen. In he first year law and commerce, later, economy, technology, statistics and cameral sciences were subjects of his study. He was influenced by the famous professor of statistics August Ludwig Schlözer and professor of cameral sciences Johann Beckmann.

After finishing his study in Germany in 1786 he undertook several journeys to France, Belgium and England. The last country made particularly great impression upon him. The year 1787 brought his journeys end. Returning home he asked privately the emperor Joseph II for position in state government, adequate to his abilities and ambition. Not being successful he returned to Lomnica. After short employment with the Spiš county in Levoča, G. F. Berzeviczy in 1788 became civil commissioner with the army and in 1792 employee of the Governors commission (*Consilium locumtenentiale*) in Buda. In 1794 the process with „Hungarian Jacobeans“ took place. Berzeviczy was not immediately concerned, but their process itself and the general, milieu forced him to leave in 1795 Buda and to return definitely to Lomnica.

The short, but very intensive period of life in Buda before 1795 is linked with Berzeviczys activity joined to the session of parliament (diet) 1790–1792. Nine commissions were established for solving most important issues of that time Hungary. Members of Commission for commerce were the mentioned M. Skerlecz, J. Podmaniczky and Berzeviczy's uncle, I. Horváth-Stančić. Both quoted reports of Skerlecz are connected with this diet.

Another characteristic activity of this period of time is his participation in work of readers society (circle) a society (*societas eruditorum*), oriented to study of actual literature and spreading of modern ideas. Gregorius Berzeviczy took part on establishment and activity of such a society in Buda.

In the same time Berzeviczy was active in freemasons movement. This movement was spreading in historical Hungary accompanying enlightenment. The first lodge came to pass in Prešov in 1769, than followed lodges in Bratislava, Banská Štiavnica, Banská Bystrica and in Buda. Berzeviczy was member of lodge in Buda (Balázs, C2, p. 279). His name is on the first places in masons list. In 1789 he even wrote a paper *Bemerkungen über die Maurerey* (Notices on Masonry) (Balázs, C1, p. 315).

His domain of complementary activity in Lomnica period of life after 1795 was the Lutheran church. In 1801 being elected for district inspector of the church and ecclesiastic schools, he took over this office in Prešov in 1804 and remained in this position twenty years. Several documents, written by Berzeviczy, deal with problems of Lutherans.

Coming home in 1795, Berzeviczy's main sense of life was study and writing. Only shorter trips in fatherland and two journeys to Poland were exceptions.

Gregorius Berzeviczy died in 1822 and was buried in the family crypt. The crypt was damaged in Word war II. It is on the picture in (Unčovský, C27). In the seventies urbanistic reasons made necessary to abrogate the old cemetery. The rests of Gregorius Berzeviczy were then buried in a grave on the new cemetery of Veľká Lomnica.

Principal works of Gregorius F. Berzeviczy are shown in the part A of Bibliography. Some of them appeared in the time of his life or shortly after. Other were published only in 1902 or 1975, part of them merely translated from German or Latin to Hungarian (Magyar). Some works remained still unpublished. Berzeviczy's writings are preserved in the Hungarian national archives (Budapest). Probably some of his writings are lost and remained unknown.

The most important unpublished work is possibly a statistical paper *Panorama of Hungary*.

The broadness of Berzeviczy's interests is evident in relation to his written heritage. These main fields of interest are impressing: (1) state and evolution of society; (2) economic situation of the historical Hungary; (3) situation and evolution of his near homeland – the region; (4) theory of economics.

Obviously, it is difficult to separate the suggested fields. Berzeviczy's general methodology is to analyse phenomena primarily from the economist's point of view, using results of economic theory and statistics, which in this time were available. Therefore all his writings are in a high degree mixtures of problem analyses and economic reasoning.

The societies evolution's problem is mostly emphasised in *De conditione et insole rusticorum in Hungaria* (About condition and nature of peasants in Hungary) written in 1804 (A2).

Censorship made legal publishing impossible and therefore it appeared illegally later (1806) in Levoča. In 1816 a shorter version in German translation come into view in Vienna.

The problem of peasants in Hungary of 18th century's end and 19th century's begin was first of all the problem of still prevailing feudalism. In spite of Marie Theresa's and Joseph's II reforms (before all the Urbarial Patent in 1767) the situation of peasants had been as bad as Berzeviczy describes. Other reasons of backwardness were obsolesce of agricultural technology and changes in demand. for agricultural products.

Some authors of the 18th century's end tried to help with better know-how of agricultural technology. A literature about agricultural technology and economy, „re rustica“, emerged Samuel Tešedík (1742–1820) with writing *Der Landmann*

in Ungarn, was er ist und was er sein könnte, nebst einem Plane von einem regulierten Dorf (B4) working chiefly among Slovak colonists in Southern Hungary, is an important representative of this direction. The Catholic priest Juraj Fándly (1750–1811) wrote a book about agriculture in Slovak.

Other writers tried to find explanation by the inferior social structure and remedy by radical reforms. Perhaps the most important representative was Adam František Kollár (1718–1783) who wrote in 1764 *De originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis legislatoriaae circa sacra apostolicorum regnum Ungariae libellus singularis* (B2), requesting principal reforms, abolishing of serfdom and taxation of nobles.

Berzeviczy's writing concentrates to social reasons of peasants backwardness. Nevertheless, he does not quote neither Tešedík, nor Kollár. It is result of his own analysis and thinking.

The author states the ground for choosing this issue for his paper's topic. It is before peasantry represents „the majority of inhabitants, which supports entire public burden and is core of country from political viewpoint and especially because the Kingdom of Hungary is an agricultural country“ (Gaál, C5 II, p. 111).

He demonstrated situation of peasants constructing, using his knowledge of statistical methodology and date, „a peasant's balance sheet of incomes and expenses“, for a household, considered as typical. Resulting expenses of 255 guilders and incomes of 180 guilders showed the difference of 75 guilders, covered by additional labour. The situation of peasants was performing as barrier of social progress. The major part of population was not interested to work and earn more. As Berzeviczy wrote: „The most diligent man becomes lazy, seeing that his effort is in vain“ (Gaál, C5 II, p. 149).

The related issue, examined in the same writing is the problem of taxation. Gentry did not pay taxes in this period and the burden of taxation was carried chiefly by peasants. Gregorius F. Berzeviczy demonstrated by exact data, that on the end of the 18th century from the 7 million inhabitants only 1/20 (4.66 per cent) were noblemen. On the other hand, approximately 16/20 of the land was owned by the aristocracy. Tax was paid by 19/20 of inhabitants. So 1/20 of inhabitants, which owned 16/20 of land, did not pay taxes at all, but 19/20 of population having owned 4/20 of land carried the entire tax burden. Outmoded and complicated was the revenue system, design and collection of taxes. Berzeviczy created in form of three tables the statistics of taxation for 1791 concerning 49 counties of the historical Hungary. This was Berzeviczy's second important achievement in the field of statistics. As his attitude to key problems of this time Hungary, in spite of noble birth, he was steadily for reforms of feudal relations.

The problems of peasantry's analysis connects Berzeviczy with inquiry of agriculture as branch of economy. In this field he presented itself as adherent of agriculture's leading position. This attitude shows apparently physiocrat influence: „Agriculture is the strongest foundation of life and welfare“ (Gaál, C5 II, p. 24). So he was even against industrialisation, because „people, leaving the certain road of agriculture, stumble on the way of industry and commerce...“ (Gaál, C5 II, p. 29), and industry. He found agriculture of this time Hungary as obsolete and emphasised necessity of its innovation. Knowing advantages of great manors as to new methods, though he preferred small farms. He understood impact of Austrian export policy, but remained in opposition against state interventions in foreign trade as well.

Wrong distribution of lands ownership was further reason of decay. This problem was to be solved by evolutionary reforms.

The second main barrier of progress and development towards market economy in the eighteen century's Hungary was the economic policy of Habsburgs. It was against development of Hungarian industry and its economic growth. It had to deliver raw material and food to the Austrian part of the empire. On the other hand Hungary had to be a sure market of the Austrian industry. Even the agrarian production of Hungary suffered under Austrian competition. So Hungarian wine could be exported only in the same quantity as Austrian one. This policies' important instrument was the customs system, the „thirtieth custom“. Berzeviczy saw these and other features of Austrian policy directed against Hungary. Perhaps he was the first, who called this policy as „colonial“.

In his work (A1) on commerce and industry he investigated both branches. This investigation was not limited only to a geographic or statistical description, but was connected with economic analysis of selected problems. Having condemned protectionism in favour of home industry he was in the same time against autarchy (Gaál, C5 II, p. 36).

On the same place Berzeviczy demonstrated his assumption of international commerce's importance, which can be considered as forerunner of comparative advantages theory. On boots manufacturing's example shows that it is better to buy it from the shoemaker and produce „more advantageous things, from the yield of which is then possible to obtain boot easier and in better quality“.

Berzeviczy was an follower of liberal economic policy. This was the point of view with regards to development of industry. He indicates, that in Hungary from 242 inhabitants only one is craftsman (e. g. 0.41 per cent), (Gaál, C5 II, p. 193). The number of factories in this time was 11 (5 of them on the territory of actual Slovakia). As reason for underdevelopment he indicated competition of Austrian industry and orientation of home demand to imported luxury products.

As he wrote, this demand is satisfied by Austrian factories, producing only for this need. His arguments proved by „Hungary's balance of trade“ as annual averages for the period 1777–1786 (values in Rhine guilders).

The „statistics of import“ for some important goods values were following (all in Rhine guilders): furniture 229 361; fine linen 1 042 046; linen and woollen stuffs 849 823; cloth 787 113; knitwear 477 432; silk goods 585 443; leather and leatherware 261 116; ironwork 77 388; nuremberg goods, e. g. fine ironware 30 000. The annual value of import was 4,339.723 Rhine guilders. About 92 per cent was the participation of textile industry in spite of the fact, that textile was the main product of manufactories in Hungary.

Berzeviczy's opinion on international trade is based on two assumptions: (1) inevitability of international division of labour and (2) necessity of free exchange of goods. He investigated foreign trade of historical Hungary by the means of balance of trade for the mentioned period. It was active with surplus of 2,588.504 Rhine guilders. In the same time he corrected this result using another balance, now in the actual terminology called balance of payment. To payments for goods he added: (1) incomes from mining and seignorage; (2) returns of salt mines, cameral institutions and of lotto; (3) interests and amortisation of debts; (4) payments for documents; (5) transfers for expenses by journeys to Vienna; (6) transfers of rich Hungarians, living in Vienna. Calculating these transfers, the difference becomes negative. The first item itself represented the sum of 3 million Rhine guilders.

It is perhaps important to add, that these data concerning balance of trade had used Skerlez in (B5), quoted by L. Horváth (C11, p. 8).

Problems of commerce are possibly the most examined topic in Berzeviczy's writing on economics. He attributed to commerce crucial capabilities. „... without trade mankind would decline...“ Having analysed home and foreign trades situation of historical Hungary his principal attention concentration to foreign trade.

Having described history of foreign trade he originates from the state, when cereals and wine constituted chief articles of export in historical Hungary. Export of cereals was performed throughout all centres of export to the west, but export of wine had northern orientation, chiefly by way of Spiš, Berzeviczy's closer homeland. The decline of this trade as result of Austrian policy had bad consequences especially for this region. In longer range however decrease of Northern trade was a longer time acting process, connected with European trade routs general translocation away from Central Europe, changes in production, etc. The result was a strong decay of Slovak towns commerce and their wealth. Berzeviczy wrote (see Gaál, C5 II, p. 232) about elder peoples stories, remembering the past wealth of these towns and theirs citizen.

Commerce was very closely connected with logistics, first of all with transport. In the affected period two means of transportation could be used, carload and water transport. A particular chapter of Berzeviczy's *De commercio et industria Hungariae* (A1) describes roads and navigation in historical Hungary of eighteen's centuries ending. He paid particularly great attention to inland waterways and to existing or intended channels.

Gregorius Berzeviczy did not only analyse these processes, but he tried change situation renewing past welfare. His attention was concentrated mainly on northern trade renewal and to improvement of existing transport routes necessary for it.

Two separate writings of Berzeviczy tackle these problems, the booklet (A4) and the proposal to the Vienna congress in 1814 (A5). He found as favourable time the era of continental blockade, when the volume of western trade decreased. The proposals core was to import commodities from Russia, but throughout this country from other Asian countries via Austrian empire. He ignored the costs and problems of such a change.

An organically part of this proposal was the creation or renewal of the waterway, connecting Adriatic with the Baltic. In the Spiš region the river Poprad flows near Lomnica northwards running into Dunajec which is tributary of Vistula river emptying into the Baltic Sea. On the other side the river Hornád is connected through the Tisa with the Danube. Berzeviczy intended connect by the means of new channels and roads, improving navigability of existing rivers both Seas. He neglected the difficulties and technical problems of the project and the fact, that communication on the great part of mentioned rivers was possible only for rafts. For demonstrating the possibility of his proposal he undertook two trips via Vistula to Gdańsk using mostly a raft (Berzeviczy, A1 and A12). The logistic problems of Berzeviczy's proposal were solved by invention and building of railroads. Nevertheless he can be considered as forerunner of the still planned channel connecting the Danube with the Vistula, but utilising the Morava river.

As predominantly theoretical work, the *De oeconomia publico politica* is to be remarked. Written in 1819 in Latin, censorship made impossible publishing at his lifetime. This was done by the Hungarian economist J. Gaál (C5) in 1902 in Hungarian (Magyar) translation (*A közgazdaságról*).

An other problem of Berzeviczy's theoretical opinions' appraisal is the fact, that he intended this writing as popular: „I do not want to talk on political economy systematically in details, analysing all its parts, but fragmentary and popular...“ (Gaál, C5 II, p. 6). He wanted popularise economy among the aristocracy: „.... As nobleman have the duty to deal with the object popular...“ (ibid.). His intention was to write a handbook of economy for noblemen, engaged in this field.

Possibly interesting is his opinion on practical usage of economics for solving particular problems: „Economic theory may be reduced to some basic principles, from which however immense number of corollaries result. To apply these corollaries for particular cases would be, as enumerate drops in ocean“ (ibid., p. 6). He knows problems of economics' use: „... because in no other domain is egoism, one-sidedness and injustice so heavily present“ (ibid., p. 6).

*De oeconomia publico politica* has 70 pages and consists of 16 chapters. They examine main conceptions of economics: wealth and capital, interest, value and price, agriculture, population, industry and customs, towns, commerce, money, banks and credit, public finance, luxury, taxation, jurisprudence. The last two chapters *Reflections* and *Repetition* involve remarks both to new problems and to those, previously revealed.

Some ideas of Berzeviczy are outstanding. He investigated the problems of luxury, the purpose of government, problems of corruption (in connection with customs and jurisprudence) etc. Several of these issues have become object of study only nowadays.

Berzeviczy was follower of liberalism and of Smith's ideas at all. He knew new Smith's theory. Explicite quotations of his work are nevertheless exceptional (A4, in Gaál, C5 II, p. 294). On the other end, they are known cases from this time, when liberal ideas were connected with an anticameralist attitude. In *Hospodářsky a měnový vývoj našich zemí* (C20) J. Nožička described the case of Heinrich J. Watteroth who had to leave his chair at Theresianum for views against teaching of Sonnenfels. Such attitudes are not known with Berzeviczy.

Gregorius Franziscus Berzeviczy was the most outstanding representative of economists, working in the period of 1750–1850 in historical Hungary. It was a period, when literature and theory was developed by authors appertaining to different nations, connected by common literary languages, Latin and German. The same languages were used in universities and colleges.

After this period, the period of nationalism and use of national languages has begun. For the non-Magyar nations however it became nearly impossible to use their languages at universities and in official publications.

The non-academic literature in economics of this period consists mostly of politicians writings in newspapers, journals, in few cases even books describing their views on economy and economic policy. As Slovak politicians are concerned, they are articles concentrated on their opinions on these problems. (Compare Heretik, C7 and Petričová, C23.)

University and college education on territory of present-day Slovakia, after taking of the University of Trnava, represented the Royal Academies in Bratislava and Košice and the Lutheran College of Prešov. Royal academies have

their source in Catholic universities. Philosophy and law faculties were their main parts. In 1850 they transformed to academies of law, with time of study lasting until 1850 two years, from this year till 1874 three, after it four years. The purpose of academies of law from the beginning was „to educate good administrators for king and government“. One of basic subjects was „policia, commercium and res aerariae (policy, commerce and finance)“ studied according the text of Joseph von Sonnenfels.

In 1807 the textbook of Wolfgang Beke (?–1838) (B1) appeared. It was in fact a translation of Sonnenfels *Grundsätze* and remained in use until 1840.

On academies of law economics and finance (national economy and financial science) as well as statistics were thought. As non compulsory object „cameral“ (public) bookkeeping was studied.

Statistics as subject was oriented chiefly to description of particular countries economy and was thought as *Statistics of Hungary* already in Trnava. The most important statistician of that period was Martin Schwartner (1759–1823) born at Kežmarok, who published in 1798 *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn*.

After 1867 teaching was in Hungarian (Magyar) language and the overwhelming majority of students were of Magyar nationality. So in 1871 from 671 students of these academies of law only 36, i. e. 5.3 per cent of students were Slovak. Foundation of a Slovak academy of law was Slovak nations requirements part in the sixties, without any result. This was one of the reason, why in 1910 in Slovakia from 6,185 employees in administration (!) only 154, i. e. 2.49 per cent (Lipták, C17), and from 1,664 higher officials only 24, i. e. 1.44 per cent were Slovaks (Urban, C30, p. 225).

In this situation Slovak economic science could develop only after 1918. In 1919 the Comenius University was founded as first Slovak university at all. On its Faculty of law teaching started in 1921. First professor of national economy was Cyril Čechrák (1890–1874) invited in 1926 from Prague. The first Slovak professor of economics was Imrich A. Karvaš (1903–1981), graduate of this faculty.

In 1940 in Bratislava the Slovak School of Commerce (Vysoká škola obchodná) was established. This date can be interpreted as economies modern university education's beginning in Slovakia.

Gregorius Franciscus Berzeviczy is an outstanding economist and social thinker, who will be for ever a part of Slovak history, first of all that of economic thought's.

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## GREGOR BERZEVICZY A VÝVOJ EKONOMICKÉHO MYSLENIA NA SLOVENSKU

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Významným medzníkom vo vývoji ekonomickej myslenia v strednej Európe je začiatok vyučovania ekonomických predmetov na Slovensku. Na univerzite v Trnave bola založená stolica politicko-kamerálnych vied v roku 1769. Prvým známym profesorom bol do roku 1771 Gašpar Pál z Ehrenfelsu, potom do svojej smrti František Giurkowitz (Ďurkovič) (?–1779). V roku 1777 sa univerzita prestúpila do Budína, neskôr do Pešti.

V roku 1763 ako prvá vysokoškolská inštitúcia vzniklo v Senci Kolégium vied politicko-ekonomickej-kamerálnych. Trojročné štúdium zahŕňalo päť predmetov. Študoval sa súbor vedomostí zo zememeračstva, mapovania, staviteľstva, poľnohospodárskej technológie, ekonómie a financií, zahrnutých do ekonómie, resp. matematiky. Ďalej sa študovalo účtovníctvo (kamerálne a „merkantilné“), kameralistika a „štýl a písanie“. Prednášky na oboch školách boli v nemčine. Kolégium však už v roku 1763 zaniklo.

Rok 1777 je významný aj z toho hľadiska, že kým dovtedy sa kamerálne vedy študovali na filozofii, odvtedy sa táto veda, a neskôr ekonómia pestovali na právnických akadémiah a fakultách, až do vzniku Vysokej školy obchodnej v Bratislave roku 1940. (Bližšie pozri [C29].)

Koncom 18. storočia okrem vzniku akademickej línie rozvoja ekonomickej myslenia je dôležitá aj skutočnosť, že sa objavujú prvé spisy z oblasti ekonómie. Kým v rámci kameralistiky prevládal vplyv J. von Sonnenfelsa (1733–1813), na týchto autorov vplýval už aj Adam Smith. Ako prvý autor vystupuje málo známy Jozef Benčík so svojím spisom z roku 1792.

Podstatne známejším autorom je Mikuláš Skerlecz (Nikola Škrlec Lomnički) (1731–1799) (prídomok „Lomnički“ sa vzťahuje na Lomnicu ležiacu pri Záhirebe), autor prác *Descriptio physicopoliticae situationis Regni Hungariae relate ad Commercium* [B5] a *Projectum Legium motivatum in objecto Oeconomiae publicae et Commercii preferendum* [B6].

Ďalším menej známym autorom je Jozef Podmaniczky so spisom *Principii vectigalis tricesimalis* [B3], písanom v roku 1791.

Najznámejším ekonómom tohto obdobia je Gregor František Berzeviczy (1763–1822), ktorý sa narodil vo Veľkej Lomnici. Od roku 1778 študoval na lýceu v Kežmarku, ktoré v tom čase poskytovalo aj „nadstavbové“ vyšše filozofické a právnické vzdelenie (pozri [C14; C15]). V Kežmarku učil v nemeckom jazyku filozofiu profesor Podkonický a právo profesor Jozef Bencúr. Po skončení lýcea v roku 1781 G. F. Berzeviczy nastúpil prax, v tom čase povinnú pre kandidátov advokácie. V roku 1783 zložil predpísané skúšky a nastúpil na kráľovský súd v Pešti. Po krátkom pôsobení na súde pokračoval v štúdiach v zahraničí na univerzite v Göttingene. Zapísal sa ako študent kameralistiky. Silne na neho pôsobil profesor štatistiky August Ludwig Schlözer a profesor kamerálnej vedy Johann Beckmann. Po skončení študijného pobytu v Nemecku Berzeviczy podnikol v roku 1786 ďalšie cesty, a to do Francúzska, Belgicka a Anglicka. Po návrate sa márne snažil o miesto v štátnej správe, čo ho viedlo k návratu do Lomnice. Krátko pracoval na stoličnom úrade v Levoči ako tajomník urbáriálnej komisie. Od roku 1788 pôsobil ako civilný komisár pri armáde a od roku 1792 na Miestodržiteľskej rade v Budíne.

S týmto obdobím je späťa aj jeho činnosť v súvislosti so snemom v rokoch 1790–1792. Tento snem ustanovil 9 komisií. Jedna z nich bola Komisia pre obchod. Pôsobil v nej aj Jozef Podmaniczky. Zásadnú úlohu v práci komisie zohral Mikuláš Skerlecz. Berzeviczy z jeho diela čerpal a vyslovene sa na neho odvoláva (pozri [C5 II, s. 207]).

Osudy Berzeviczyho zásadne ovplyvnili proces s uhorskými jakobínmí v roku 1794. Hoci neboli priamym účastníkom, proces i celková situácia ho viedli v roku 1795 k vystúpeniu zo štátnych služieb a k definitívному návratu domov, do Lomnice. Do konca života sa tu venoval verejnej činnosti a bádateľskej práci, prerušovanej len kratšími cesťami do Poľska a po Uhorsku.

Berzeviczy zomrel v roku 1822. Bol pochovaný v rodinnej hrobke. Táto hrobka bola vo vojne poškodená a v sedemdesiatych rokoch pri likvidácii starého cintorína odstránená. Ostatky Gregora Berzeviczyho boli znova pochované v hrobe na novom cintoríne.

Prvá významnejšia práca Berzeviczyho *De commercio et industria Hungariae* [A1] vychádzala v Levoči v roku 1787. K práciam o stave a rozvoji obchodu a priemyslu patria aj v roku 1808 v Budíne vydané práce *Ansicht des asiatisch-europäischen Welthandels nach dem jetzigen Zeitbedürfniss betrachtet* [A4] a *Die Erweiterung des nordischen Handels* [A5].

Analýza stavu priemyslu Uhorska, koncentrovaná predovšetkým do uvedenej *De commercio et industria Hungariae*, je doplnená úvahami o priemysle v ďalšom diele *De oeconomia publico politica* [A3] a v menších článkoch, venovaných ľažbe rašelin. Ide o články *Ueber den Torf in Ungarn* [A8] a *Ueber die Steinkohlen und den Torf in Zipser-Komitat* [A9].

Z hľadiska dejín ekonomickej teórie najvýznamnejšiu prácu G. Berzeviczyho predstavuje práca *De oeconomia publico politica* [A3]. Rukopis (spolu s ďalším listinným materiálom) získal J. Gaál, ktorý publikoval jeho knihu *Die Erweiterung des nordischen Handels* [A5]. V knihe uverejnili aj 5 základných, najmä ekonomických, prác v maďarskom preklade z nemčiny, resp. z latinčiny. Prácu o politickej ekonómii preložil a prvýkrát uverejnili viac než osemesť rokov po dokončení.

Problematika naliehavosti spoločenských a ekonomických reforiem v Uhorsku sa azda najviac prejavuje v práci *De conditione et indole rusticorum in Hungaria* [A2]. Ani táto pomerne útla sedemdesiatstránková kniha sa nemohla uverejniť kvôli zásahu cenzúry po dokončení v roku 1804. Jej časti kolovali aj vo forme „samizdatových“ publikácií. V roku 1806 bola časť práce uverejnená v Göttingene. V ďalších rokoch bola práca ilegálne vytlačená v plnom rozsahu v Levoči. V roku 1816 skrátený nemecký preklad *Über den Zustand der Bauern in Ungarn* (O postavení sedliakov v Uhorsku) vo viedenskom časopise *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, herausgegeben vom Freiherr Hormayr zu Horten (skrátene Hormayrov Archiv).

Ďalšiu oblasť hospodárstva vtedajšieho Uhorska, ktorá bola predmetom odborného záujmu Berzeviczyho, predstavovali finančie a peňažníctvo. Roku 1806 napísal *O bankocetlach a cenách plodín a mäsa* [A6]. Otázke vývoja cien venoval Berzeviczy pozornosť aj na iných miestach. Špeciálne sa zaoberal problémom vývoja ceny mäsa. V roku 1816 uverejnili príspevok *Über Fleischpreise in Ungarn* [A10].

Obraz života a diela Berzeviczyho dopĺňa jeho činnosť ako funkcionára evanjelickej cirkvi. Táto činnosť vyplnila veľkú časť jeho života vo Veľkej Lomnici po roku 1800. V roku 1801 bol zvolený za inšpektora cirkví a cirkevných škôl potiského dištriktu. Napísal aj práce venované problému postavenia evanjelikov v Uhorsku *Nachrichten über den jetzigen Zustand der Evangelischen in Ungarn* [A11].

Okruh záujmov Berzeviczyho dokresľuje aj jeho pôsobenie v slobodomurárskom hnutí, ktoré sa šírilo v Uhorsku ako sprievodný jav osvietenstva. Prvá lóža v Uhorsku vznikla v roku 1769 v Prešove, potom nasledovali lóže v Bratislave, v Banskej Štiavnici, v Banskej Bystrici a v Budíne. Berzeviczy bol členom lóže v Budíne [C2, s. 279]. Jeho meno vystupuje na poprednom mieste zoznamu uhorských slobodomurárov. Problematike slobodomurárstva venoval príspevok *Bemerkungen über die Maurerey* z roku 1789 [C1, s. 315].

So životom a dielom Gregora Berzeviczyho sa zaoberali predovšetkým maďarskí autori. Jeho prínos k ekonomickému myslению vysoko hodnotil G. Kautz v diele *A nemzetgazdasági eszmék fejlődési története és befolyása a közviszonyokra Magyarországon* [C12], ktorý ho už v tom čase, pred vydaním práce J. Gaála *De oeconomia publico politica*, hodnotil ako ekonóma európskeho významu. Hodnoteniu ekonomickej diela G. Berzeviczyho sú venované práce Róberta Horvátha Berzeviczy *Gergely közigazdasági és népeségi tanai* [C8], *A közigazdasági elemzés Berzeviczy Gergely műveiben* [C9] a *A statisztikai módszer és elmélet kérdései Berzeviczy Gergely műveiben* [C10].

V roku 1967 historička Éva H. Balázsová publikovala knihu *Berzeviczy Gergely a reformpolitikus 1763–1795* [C1], ktorá obsahuje podrobny životopis Berzeviczyho za uvedené obdobie (1763–1795) a dovtedy nepublikované písomnosti, hlavne ním napísané vlastné životopisy, osobnú korešpondenciu a dva rukopisy. Roku 1997 opäť É. H. Balázsová uverejnila knihu *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765–1800* [C2]. Ide o preklad staršej práce, v ktorej venuje veľkú pozornosť Berzeviczymu. Avizuje aj vydanie jeho korešpondencie a rukopisov po roku 1795. V slovenskej literatúre bol o G. Berzeviczym uverejnený článok *Ekonomicke a sociálne názory G. Berzeviczyho* [C26] a kniha *G. Berzeviczy* [C27].

Život a dielo Gregora Berzeviczyho ho charakterizujú ako mnohostrannú osobnosť. Predovšetkým vošiel do dejín ako ekonóm. Širšie sa ho snaží posudzovať É. H. Balázsová, ktorá ho charakterizuje ako „reformátora“. V citovanej práci [C2] predstavuje Berzeviczyho ako popredného predstaviteľa jozefinizmu v Uhorsku.

Pri posudzovaní Berzeviczyho diela treba uviesť, že najširšie sú koncipované jeho názory na situáciu spoločnosti vo vtedajšom Uhorsku. Ide o stav spoločnosti v súvislosti s pretrvávajúcimi feudálnymi vzťahmi, predovšetkým o postavenie roľníkov, problému, ktorému venoval už spomínanú prácu *De conditione et indole rusticorum in Hungaria*.

Berzeviczyho práca o roľníctve (sedliactive) si zasluhuje pozornosť nielen aktuálnošťou výberu témy, ale aj spôsobom analýzy. Druhú veľkú ľarchu roľníkov v Uhorsku tvoril feudálny daňový systém, založený na nezdanieľnosti šľachty, uvaľujúci prevážnu časť daňového zaťaženia na roľníkov. Analýzu problematiky postavenia roľníctva logicky spája s rozborom odvetvia poľnohospodárstva. Tvrdí, že: „Poľnohospodárstvo je najpevnejší základ života a blahobytu štátu“ (pozri [C5 II, s. 24]). Je za konzervovanie priority poľnohospodárstva, je proti industrializácii pohraničia.

Berzeviczy sa vo svojej prvej práci *De commercio et industria Hungariae* [A1] venoval predovšetkým odvetviu priemyslu a obchodu. Nešlo mu však len o geograficky orientovaný opis, ale najmä o rozbor ekonomických problémov. Ostro vystupoval aj proti merkantilistickej ochranárskej politike, zameranej na rozvoj priemyslu. Zároveň odsudzoval aj snahu o autarkiu. Ako dôsledný prívrženec liberálnej politiky uplatňoval toto hľadisko aj na vnútrostátnne pomery vzhľadom na rozvoj priemyslu. Za hlavnú príčinu nedostatočného rozvoja priemyslu považuje Berzeviczy nie nedostatok snahy, ale predovšetkým orientáciu vnútornej spotreby na dovážané luxusné výrobky.

Názory na obchod vychádzajú z dvoch základných téz: a) z nevyhnutnosti medzinárodnej del'by práce; b) z potreby slobodnej medzinárodnej výmeny tovarov. Bol proti ochranárskej politike v protiklade k merkantilistickým názorom, ktoré doznievali v tom čase aj v učení kameralistov.

Okrem aplikácie všeobecných zásad používa Berzeviczy na analýzu obchodu Uhorska aj nástroje, ktoré možno označiť za moderné. Napríklad možnosti obchodu a priemyslu odvodzuje z bohatstva a stavu ekonomiky. Publikuje však aj obchodnú bilanciu Uhorska. Vykazované aktívne saldo obchodnej bilancie považuje však predovšetkým za zámienku

pre obchodnú politiku, zameranú proti vývozu z Uhorska. Z ďalšej argumentácie vyplýva, že považuje za potrebné porovnať aj peňažné toky, teda používať platobnú bilanciu.

Podrobne skúma už spomínaný systém tridsiatkových ciel, ktoré ho vedú k poznatku, že Viedeň považuje Uhorsko za kolóniu. Za panovania Márie Terézie došlo sice k zmenám, ale nešlo o skutočnú systémovú reformu.

Dôležitú úlohu pri náhľadoch Berzeviczyho na ekonomiku Uhorska má úpadok, spôsobený presunom obchodných ciest zo strednej Európy. Ide tu jednak o príčinu úpadku Uhorska ako celku, jednak o úpadok prosperity užšej vlasti Berzeviczyho – Spiša.

Problematika logistiky, najmä dopravy sa tešila veľkému záujmu Berzeviczyho v nadväznosti na problematiku obchodu a možnosti jeho revitalizácie či rozšírenia. Zlý stav dopravy považoval za jednu z najväčších prekážok rozvoja obchodu. Možnostiam zlepšenia dopravy venoval preto nielen podstatnú časť svojich prác o obchode a priemysle, ale kvôli overeniu navrhovaných možností vykonal aj spomínane dve cesty do Poľska.

Berzeviczyho teoretické názory sú obsiahnuté predovšetkým v *De oeconomia publico politica* (pozri [C5 II]). Určitý problém spôsobuje skutočnosť, že toto dielo autor vedome koncipoval ako popularizačné, resp. ako príručku.

Po stránke metodickej Berzeviczy bol za uplatňovanie historickej a empirickej metódy štúdia ekonomických javov. „Ekonomickú vedu možno redukovať na niekoľko základných zásad, z ktorých však vyplývajú nespočetné koroláriá. Tieto koroláriá doviesť až na jednotlivé prípady by bolo také, ako spočítať kvapky v mori“ [C5 II, s. 7]. Pozná však aj ťažkosti pri uplatnení poznatkov ekonómie „lebo nikde sa neuplatňuje tak silne sebectvo, jednostrannosť a nespravodlivosť ako tuná“ [C5 II, s. 6]. Dielo *De oeconomia publico politica* obsahuje 16 oddielov, venovaných hlavným pojmom a vzťahom ekonómie.

V Göttingene sa Berzeviczy zoznámil s učením A. Smitha a zásady liberálnej ekonómie Smitha sa stali základom jeho ekonomických názorov. V tom zmysle sa často považuje za prvého zástancu a propagátora klasickej ekonómie v Uhorsku.

V čase života Berzeviczyho sú známe prípady, ked' propagácia klasickej ekonómie A. Smitha je spojená s bojom proti názorom J. von Sonnenfelsa, ktorý vystupoval často ako oficiálny ideológ. Ide najmä o prípad H. Watterotha, ktorý bol pre svoj liberalizmus preložený z Tereziánskej akadémie. Išlo o odporcu Sonnenfelsa a propagátora liberalizmu A. Smitha. Možnosť hľať liberálne názory sa prejavila až po viedenskom kongrese (pozri [C22, s. 143]). Takéto priame odsúdenie kameralizmu sa u Berzeviczyho nenačádza. Pritom É. H. Balázsová [C2] uvádzajúca prípad, ked' študenti univerzity v Pešti odmiestili chodiť na prednášky, založené na Sonnenfelsovej učebnici.

Berzeviczyho dielo predstavuje na Slovensku vyvrcholenie ekonomickej myslenia v čase pred uplatnením národných tendencií v rámci historického Uhorska. V 19. storočí sa nositeľom akademického smeru ekonómie stali kráľovské akadémie, potom právne akadémie. Tu sa však stále viac uplatňovali maďarizačné tendencie. Ekonomické názory Slovákov sa uplatňovali iba v názoroch slovenských politikov, predovšetkým štúrovcov. Slovenské ekonomické myslenie i ekonomická veda sa mohli rozvinúť až po roku 1918.