RESPONSES TO *UNIGENITUS* (1713) AT THE BENEDICTINE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY IN SALZBURG AND AT LAMBACH ABBEY

Alkuin Schachenmayr, O.Cist.

When in 1713 Pope Clement XI condemned 101 theological propositions made by the Jansenist writer Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719), he was not thinking of the Benedictine monks teaching philosophy and theology in Salzburg; other universities were sites of much heftier conflicts. Nonetheless, examining the reaction in that place is rewarding because it was, in the day, an elite site of theological research and instruction for most of the Benedictine monks from Southern German, Austrian, and Swiss abbeys. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the University of Salzburg was the largest university in the German-speaking world after Leipzig and Vienna.[1] There were lively interactions with the Viennese court, yet the city of Salzburg was an independent, small, and manageable ecclesiastical dominion.[2] The following article examines the immediate reception of Clement XI's constitution *Unigenitus*[3] (1713) in Salzburg, describes longer-term changes in the city's university culture in the Sycophant Strife (*Sykophantenstreit)* of around 1740, and finally concentrates on the theological profiles of three Benedictine monks from the Upper Austrian abbey of Lambach, located around 90 km to the northeast of Salzburg.[4] The Lambach community sent some students to the University of Salzburg and has been described in previous research as the most pronounced monastic cell of Jansenism in the region.[5]

Alkuin Schachenmayr, O.Cist., PhD (1996), TheolD (2005), is a Catholic priest and Professor of Church History at the Pontifical Athenaeum Benedikt XVI in Heiligenkreuz, near Vienna. He has published widely on monastic and theater history.

[1] Virgil Redlich, *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg 1639–1810* (Salzburg: Pustet, 1933), XIV–XVI.

[2] Harm Klueting, "Muratori und Salzburg," *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 47, no. 2 (2023): 167–180. The article is a valuable source for extensive bibliographica on Jansenism in Vienna and Salzburg. For an English-language treatment of the larger topic, see Ulrich Lehner, *Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines 1740–1803* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[3] Catherine Maire, "Die Bulle Unigenitus: Ein Staats- und Kirchengesetz," in *Der Jansenismus—eine 'katholische Häresie'?: das Ringen um Gnade, Rechtfertigung und die Autorität Augustins in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Dominik Burkard and Tanja Thanner (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 373–387.

[4] G. Spahr, "Lambach, Abbey of," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Gale, 2003), 302–303.

[5] Peter Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), 193.

Recent research has, however, warned of overrating "Jansenism" as an intentional or organized movement;[6] the findings presented below add to doubts about Jansenism's progression as a decisive ideology, showing instead that universities are not the only sites of theological formation to be taken into consideration.

In what follows, three monks of Lambach feature prominently: the canonist and university professor Fr. Benedikt Oberhauser (1719–1786), who was placed on the index of forbidden books in 1764;[7] his confrere Fr. Amand Greth (1724–1804), who was the abbey librarian; and finally Fr. Maurus Lindemayr (1723–1783),[8] who was not a theologian in the strict sense. Lindemayr was a graduate of Salzburg University, then prior and novice master in Lambach; his publications included practical theological writings, plays, and poetry. Oberhauser's writing on canon law and Lindemayr's plays show evidence of a transition to a new theological discourse which was certainly a product of Enlightenment thought, but labeling it Jansenist would be reductive.

UNIGENITUS IN SALZBURG

Many scholars have argued that "Jansenism" is a loose moniker which is misleading in its suggestion of a unified body of thought and action. The term usually suggests some degree of theological (and often, spiritual) argument concerning grace, free will, and predestination.[9] Through a progression of magisterial documents beginning with *In eminenti*[10] in 1642, a dissident movement of rigorists became more and more pronounced in their opposition to official teaching and presented themselves as victims of persecution. Indeed, some nuns particularly devoted to neo-Augustinian precepts endured captivity for their convictions.[11] By the end of the 1690s, Pasquier Quesnel had

[6] A. D. Wright, "Book Review [of Burkard and Thanner]," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66, no. 2 (2015): 440.

[7] *Index librorum prohibitorum: 1600–1966*, ed. J.M. De Bujanda and Marcella Richter (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 2002), 660; Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 162–167.

[8] Rudolf Flotzinger, "Lindemayr, P. Maurus OSB (eig. Kajetan Benedikt Maximilian)," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001d7a6.

[9] Toon Quaghebeur, "The Reception of *Unigenitus* in the Faculty of Theology at Louvain, 1713–1719," *The Catholic Historical Review* 93, no. 2 (2007): 265–299, at 267.

[10] Readers can find more about *In eminenti* here: William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 24, 26.

[11] Carol Baxter, "Dissenting Catholic Women in Early Modern France," *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (2018): 206–218, at 211.

established himself as the "undisputed leader of the Jansenists"[12]—*Unigenitus* would be the Vatican's attempt to reduce his influence drastically.

In 1704, the archbishop of Mechelen had confiscated Quesnel's papers and forbidden further publication of the *Réflexions morales*, a book he published in 1692. Then, in 1711, the French King Louis XIV followed suit, forbidding further sales and distribution of a book that had now been published almost twenty years earlier. When the papal bull of condemnation titled *Unigenitus* appeared in 1713, it took its place among the more severe censures in the history of the modern papacy and is comparable in the intensity of its language to Pope Pius X's invectives against Modernism. Today, seen at a critical distance of three hundred years, the bull seems to some scholars to be "an unfortunate and unrealistic document."[13]

How a faculty of theology reacted to the bull was a clear act of taking sides, as was the case in Louvain.[14] Other, highly public reactions came about in Paris and Utrecht. But what did it mean for other European departments of theology? There was hardly any Jansenism controversy among German-speaking theologians in 1713.[15] It took decades for self-identified Jansenists to appear among theologians publishing in German. The German Jansenist camp, such as it was, gained in number and influence much later.[16]

Traces of a reaction to *Unigenitus* only emerged in Salzburg four years after its promulgation, in a letter to the Archbishop from Cardinal Bissy,[17] a zealous defender of the bull; it is dated May 26,

[12] Quaghebeur, "The Reception of *Unigenitus*," 268–269.

[13] Quaghebeur, "The Reception of *Unigenitus*," 271, referencing Jan Roegiers and Jacques Gres-Gayer.

[14] Quaghebeur, "The Reception of *Unigenitus*," 275.

[15] Nicolas Petitpied, *Memoire sur le silence que gardent les Eglises d'Allemagne et des autres etats catholiques dans l'affaire de la constitution Unigenitus* ([no publisher or place given], 1726).

[16] Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 157–160, 163–165, 212, 217, 222.

[17] Henri-Pons Cardinal de Thiard de Bissy (1657–1737) attended Jesuit schools in Godrans, Dijon; he received his licentiate and doctorate in theology at the Sorbonne in 1685. The year of his priestly ordination is unknown. He was nominated Bishop of Toul by King Louis XIV on March 29, 1687, but the Holy See only approved in 1692; the consecration followed in August. He was made Bishop of Meaux in 1705. He was commendatory abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Près beginning in 1714. Made a cardinal in 1715, he was a particularly strident critic of Jansenists; see his two-volume *Traité théologique sur la constitution Unigenitus* (1738). He was considered a confidant of King Louis XIV and ministered to the monarch on his deathbed. Picot, "Henri de Thiard de Bissy," in *Biographie universelle* 45 (Paris: Michaud, 1826), 391–393; Andreas Schill, *Die Constitution Unigenitus, ihre Veranlassung und ihre Folgen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1876), 78, 188; Jacques Gossel, "Henry de Thiard, cardinal de Bissy. Essai d'action commune de l'épiscopat français en 1735," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 2, no. 11 (1911): 539–553.

1717. In view of the opposition of a group of French bishops and theologians at the Sorbonne,[18] he posed a threefold question about the reception of *Unigenitus* in Salzburg: whether the constitution was known in Salzburg; whether all bishops in the archdiocesan district considered the content of the constitution to be binding; and whether the university professors adhered to it.[19]

Harrach replied at the end of August 1717, noting that he had received a copy of *Unigenitus* neither from Rome nor from the Viennese nunciature. However, the bull had come into his hands privately and he had read about it in Viennese newspapers. Harrach went on to say that he did not know what his suffragan bishops (in the dioceses of Gurk, Seckau, Chiemsee, and Lavant) thought about the papal document. He promised to consult with the professors in Salzburg, but stated that Professor Benedikt Schmier had noted *Unigenitus* in detail in his book *Fundamentum et vertex*[20] and agreed with it; Harrach quoted chapter and verse. The archbishop reiterated his personal affirmation of papal infallibility and appended a disparaging remark about Quesnel. He was, in Harrach's estimation, a "fugitive in Holland in the midst of heretics."[21]

The rector of the university, Fr. Franziskus Schmier (blood brother of the aforementioned Benedikt), included Bissy's letter on the agenda at the meeting of the academic senate of the University of Salzburg on July 28, 1717.[22] The Benedictines assembled there decided unanimously to study *Unigenitus* thoroughly, to keep the forbidden doctrines out of their lectures, and to ban them as a topic of student discussion.[23]

In fact, Cardinal Bissy need not have worried about the Salzburg professors' fidelity to the magisterium. In those days at the university, Gallicanism and its attack on papal infallibility were deplored by most. Their style of theology was Thomistic. In many respects, the doctrinal link between the papal office and mariology which so

[18] Schill, *Die Constitution Unigenitus*, 173.

[19] Consistory minutes (1717), call no. 154, vol. 2, fol. 234r–239v, 320r–321r, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[20] Benedictus Schmier, *Fundamentum et vertex universi iuris canonici* (Salzburg: Johannes Joseph Mayr, 1716).

[21] Consistory Minutes (1717), call no. 154, vol. 2, fol. 234r–239v, 320r–321r, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[22] Protocollum Facultatis Theologicae 1652–1705, call no. bA 82, fol. 151–171, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[23] Ephemerides Universitatis 1708–1733, call no. bA 78, fol. 168r, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

strongly characterized Roman theology in the nineteenth century was already firmly established in Salzburg by around 1700.[24]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, all the professors of theology and philosophy in Salzburg were Benedictines; they worked in the classic Baroque-Scholastic manner typical of the Jesuit faculties. Although the university was firmly committed to the Thomistic system, it differed in some points. Classes in history had been on the curriculum since the seventeenth century, and they placed particular emphasis on canon law. These two trends were also popular among Jansenists. Nonetheless, the tone in Salzburg at this time was emphatically loyal to the curia and bound to tradition. A visitation of the seminary in 1713 deemed the house to be in good condition: "Studies are flourishing, the students hold their spiritual exercises regularly, and the house's statutes are diligently observed."[25] The reference to spiritual exercises was a nod of obedience to the ideals of the modern seminary, reformed according to precepts defined at the Council of Trent.

Bissy's letters to Salzburg arrived in a milieu of theological discourse that knew little of dissent or division. Although there was officially a censor active in the archdiocese, his work was not conspicuous: seven requests for permission to publish theological writings have been preserved from 1713, all of which were approved. In 1717, the censor received eight applications, two of which were delayed with a request for revision.[26] The prince archbishop of Salzburg granted the Benedictine professors permission to teach *ad triennium*; the same period was in place for the university rector.[27] Lenient action on the part of authorities did not, however, conceal an unofficial style of censorship reflected in everyday student life. When, on April 12, 1714, a student from Munich published the anti-Jesuit pamphlet *Tuba Magna . . . de necessitate longe maxima reformandi Societatem Jesu,*[28] the secretary of the university had it burned.[29]

[24] Alfred Rinnerthaler, "Die Kanonisten an der alten Salzburger Juristenfakultät im 18. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg* (1981/1983): 40–69, at 56–58.

[25] Consistory Minutes 1713, call no. 146, vol. 2, fol. 738r, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[26] Censors 1717, call no. 22/105, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[27] Consistory Minutes (1713), call no. 146, vol. 2, fol. 514v, 519v–523v, 663v–664r, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[28] Henri de Saint Ignace, *Tuba magna mirum clangens sonum ad Sanctissimum D. N. Papam Clementem XI. [. . .] orbemque universum [. . .] de necessitate longe maxima reformandi Societatem Jesu* (Argentina, 1713).

[29] A third edition of the pamphlet was printed in 1717. Ephemerides Universitatis 1708–1733, call no. bA 78, fol. 97v, 99r, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

The situation in Salzburg and the Austrian lands was moderate at this time, but censorship was a fact of life. Two monks (again, like the Schmiers, blood brothers) from Melk Abbey, were Bernard and Hieronymus Pez. They received their theological education in Melk and at the University of Vienna. Both corresponded with foreign theologians, including Protestants. But they did not engage in Jansenist polemics. Hieronymus was a member of a scholarly society in Olomouc called the Societas incognitorum. A work by Bernard published in 1731 was placed on the index of forbidden books. He was aware of the controversy surrounding *Unigenitus* from newspaper reports and his French correspondence, but it was not a top priority. Although Maurists may have sought the support of their "German" brethren, the French monks' decidedly Gallican, sometimes even explicitly pro-Jansenist stance was not well received by the majority of German-speaking Benedictines. Theological positions critical of the Pope were not (yet) common in monasteries and convents.[30]

Influential Salzburg canonists in the Thomistic school

The academic discipline of canon law enjoyed high standing in Salzburg and determined, to a great extent, the faculty's image. One of the prominent canonists was Ludwig Engel, O.S.B., who taught there as a professor from 1658 to 1674. His *Manuale parochorum* (1661) saw twelve editions and established the author's reputation in broad segments of the European clergy.[31] A textbook published by another Salzburg canonist in 1737 presents canon law as the *regina disciplinarum*—the queen of all theological disciplines—and therefore superior even to dogmatics, moral theology, and liturgy.[32]

Fr. Franziskus Schmier (1679–1728) from Ottobeuren Abbey, who, as mentioned above, had read Bissy's letter, was himself regarded as one of the great Salzburg canonists.[33] He enrolled in the

[30] Thomas Wallnig and Thomas Stockinger, "Einleitung," in *Die gelehrte Korrespondenz der Brüder Pez: Text, Regesten, Kommentare,* vol. 1 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 1–20, at 11–12.

[31] Magnus Sattler, *Collectaneen-Blätter zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Benedictiner-Universität Salzburg* (Kempten: Joseph Kösel'sche Buchhandlung, 1890), 207–209.

[32] Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, "Le jansénisme dans la bibliothèque des Mauristes de Bonne-Nouvelle d'Orléans," in *L'ordre de saint-Benoît et Port-Royal,* ed. Daniel-Odon Hurel et al. (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2003), 67–87, at 73. The textbook is Benedikt Schmier's, in three volumes, *Sacra Theologia Scholastico-Polemico-Practica*, as cited in Rinnerthaler, "Kanonisten im 18. Jahrhundert," 45.

[33] Rinnerthaler, "Kanonisten im 18. Jahrhundert," 44–45, 50.

university as a monastic student in 1699, became a professor of canon law in 1706, and served as rector for fifteen years, beginning in 1713. His rectorate was a period of strength for the university. Schmier's research and publications applied a new approach to canon law, since he took into account civil law, territorial state church law, and Roman law.[34]

But the greatest professor among the University of Salzburg's luminaries was Cardinal Celestino Sfondrati. By cultivating the memory of his years as a fellow monk and faculty member, his confreres in Salzburg sought to underline their orthodoxy. Born in Milan in 1644 into a noble family (Pope Gregory XIV was his great uncle), he was educated at a school in St. Gallen Abbey, made profession as a Benedictine, was ordained a priest in 1668, and came to Salzburg as a young professor. There he was influenced by post-Tridentine, anti-Gallican theology. He only held the chair of canon law for three years—from 1679 to 1682—but his stay in Salzburg was characterized by his criticism of Gallican propositions. He published several writings about them on behalf of the academic senate, such as the *Regale Sacerdotium* (St. Gallen 1684)[35] and *Gallia vindicata* (St. Gallen 1688).[36] His theological criticism of Gallicanism later took on a political note since his abbey was in military conflict with French troops during his tenure as abbot of St. Gallen. His writings remained closely linked to his erstwhile teaching, even if some publications appeared long after his stay in Salzburg or, as was the case with the *Regale Sacerdotium*, later went through further editions (the third being printed as late as 1749). Sfondrati's textbook, *Cursus Philosophicus,* was published in the year of his death (1696) and exerted influence far beyond Salzburg, but also in Salzburg, although at the time of publication the author had not taught there for fourteen years.[37] Sfondrati was created a cardinal in 1695. He resigned as abbot

[34] Alois Kövér, "Franz Schmier aus Ottobeuren als Kanonist von Salzburg," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 77 (1966): 172–192; Rinnerthaler, "Kanonisten im 18. Jahrhundert," 44f.; Sattler, *Collectaneen-Blätter,* 293–294.

[35] Using the pseudonym Eugenius Lombardus.

[36] Alfred Rinnerthaler, "Die Kanonisten an der alten Salzburger Juristenfakultät im 17. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg* (1979/1981): 90–101, at 95; Rinnerthaler, "Kanonisten im 18. Jahrhundert," 55; Sattler, *Collectaneen-Blätter*, 237–245.

[37] Emmanuel J. Bauer, *Thomistische Metaphysik an der alten Benediktineruniversität Salzburg. Darstellung und Interpretation einer philosophischen Schule des 17./18. Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1996), 20–22.

on January 10, 1696 and moved to Rome, but died in the same year he received the red biretta.[38]

In 1717, in the context of responding to Cardinal Bissy's query about their orthodoxy, the professors in Salzburg were still aligning themselves explicitly with Sfondrati's profile. Although Sfondrati had died twenty-one years earlier, some of the professors had likely experienced the extensive memorial service the university held for the deceased cardinal (without his corpse, of course) on November 20, 1696.[39] A laudatory pamphlet entitled *Arbor Faecunda* portrayed him as a convinced Thomist, the "voice of Rome" ("Vaticana oracula") and a teacher popular among students: "Everything you do is fitting. When you speak, Rome listens, and she herself is amazed by the eloquent river of your words."[40] The pamphlet includes prints of a symbolic sequence of the crowns placed on Sfondrati as he writes. The Salzburg doctor's hat serves as the foundation and the cardinal's biretta comes at the top.[41] For most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sfondrati was presented in an almost hagiographic manner: as an ideal scholar, ascetic monk, and a churchman loyal to pope and emperor at the same time.[42]

Salzburg and the Immaculata

Another way of stressing the university's distance from rigorist Augustinian movements in the years after *Unigenitus* centered on the Virgin Mary. Specifically, disputes about her Immaculate Conception

[38] Giuanna Beeli, "Celestino Sfondrati und seine Familie—Eine biografische Darstellung," in *Fürstabt Celestino Sfondrati von St. Gallen 1696 als Kardinal in Rom*, ed. Peter Erhart et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019), 23–42; Paul Muschard, "Das Kirchenrecht bei den deutschen Benediktinern und Zisterziensern des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 47 (1929): 225–315, 477–596, especially 257–262; Basil Hofstetter, "Zur St. Galler Barockscholastik," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 6 (1959): 163–169; Michael Ott, "Celestino Sfondrati," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 13 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912), 748.

[39] Protocollum Facultatis Theologicae 1652–1705, call no. bA 82, fol. 263r, Archives of the University of Salzburg. Even in the year of his death (1696), there was still correspondence between Sfondrati and the Salzburg rectorate; see Convolut III, call no. bA 97, Varia litterarum copiae, Classis III, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[40] "Cuncta decent, quaecunque facis: Te Roma loquente haeret et ipsa, stupet facundae flumina linguae," *Arbor Faecunda Fructibus Honoris et Honestatis, Eminentissimo […] Cardinali Caelestino Sfondrati* (Salzburg: Johannes Baptist Mayr, 1696), C/v, D, F2/r, I2/v, K/v.

[41] Protocolla Academica, call no. bA 77, fol. 108–109, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[42] Redlich, VII; Eleonore Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich* (Innsbruck: Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Kommissionsbuchhandlung, 1970), 28.

were an opportunity to take the traditional Catholic line. These disputes had a long history of medieval controversy, but resurfaced as a decisive question after the Council of Trent. Many Catholic theologians urged accepting it, while the popes declined to endorse it officially until 1854. Throughout the Early Modern Catholic world, Marian statues were erected depicting her in a way that was widely understood as asserting her conception without sin. This iconography was fixed in the seventeenth century in Spain.[43] Jansenists, however, discouraged such popular forms of Marian veneration, dismissing them as exaggerations and even abuses,[44] not least of all because of the lack of biblical references.

Statues of the Immaculata were erected in Munich (1638) and Vienna (1646). By following suit with a statue in Salzburg, directly in front of the cathedral, the archbishops placed themselves squarely in the Marian camp. The Salzburg plans for a statue date to the second half of the seventeenth century, but it took until 1771 for one to be finished. By that late date, the tide had already begun to turn, as we shall see below. In any case, earlier official gestures of archiepiscopal encouragement for the Immaculata had been clear enough: Archbishop Johann Ernst Graf von Thun made her a patron saint of the archbishopric in 1697, and the university's church was consecrated to her in 1707.[45]

From 1697 on, the university required of its students an annual oath asserting belief in the Immaculate Conception. The Salzburg students wrote their vow out by hand and placed the paper on the high altar of the university church. In some years, this was part of the offertory and thus implied the students were making a profoundly personal spiritual offering. Marian Congregations provided the larger theological or mystical context for the oblation; students were obliged

[43] E. D. O'Connor, "Immaculate Conception," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7 (2003), 331–335, at 334.

[44] Nele Döring, "'Jansenismus' jenseits der französischen Grenzen. Ein Überblick zu jüngerer Literatur und aktuellen Forschungsthesen zu rigoros-augustinischen Verbindungen zwischen Frankreich und dem Heiligen Römischen Reich im späten 17. Jahrhundert," *Trajectoires* 17 (2024), http://journals.openedition.org/trajectoires/10514; DOI: 10.4000/trajectoires.10514.

[45] Christoph Brandhuber and Maximilian Fussl, *In Stein gemeißelt: Salzburger Barockinschriften erzählen* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2017), 45.

to join such sodalities at the time.[46] Similar ceremonies took place in the cathedral: there, for instance in 1709, the site for handing in the written vow was decorated with tapestries and flanked by the Prince Archbishop's ephebes (aristocratic pages who lived in a wing of the archdiocesan seminary). The day before, all student members of the Marian Sodality had gone to communion.[47] In 1713, the students performed a communal *mortificatio* during Lent, during which they recited litanies.[48]

A TRANSITION: THE "SYCOPHANT STRIFE"

The Sycophant Strife in and around the university certainly addressed the necessity of Marian devotions, but there was much more at stake. The adjective sycophant describes people who praise the rich and powerful in an insincere manner or slander others in order to achieve personal gain. It was given to the conservative priests who rejected Enlightenment influences in Salzburg, particularly at the university. Clearly the conservatives had not named themselves sycophants, but the polemical epithet stuck. The conflict took place in the 1730s and 1740s, interestingly just about the time when Leopold Mozart (Wolfgang Amadeus' father) was studying law in Salzburg.[49]

Rigorist Enlightenment ideas were received in Salzburg from 1739 by a society of scholars whose primary interest was to discuss and disseminate the work of the Italian archivist and historian, Ludovico Muratori (1672–1750).[50] He had made a name for himself at the imperial court in Vienna during the dispute over who was to have control over the port city of Comacchio in 1708/1709. He argued the emperor's cause with historical facts and thus became popular at the

[46] Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 30–31; Florian Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 20 (1899): 25–35, 325–335, at 328; Richard Meister, *Geschichte des Doktorates der Philosophie an der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Rohrer, 1958), 21, n. 36, cited in Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 31; Ephemerides Universitatis 1708–1733, call no. bA 78, fol. 194r, Protocollum Praefecturae Scholarum 1759–1769, call no. bA 81, fol. 41r, both in Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[47] Protocolla Facultatis Theologicae 1706–1761, call no. bA 83, fol. 12v, 23v, 34r, and many more entries regarding December 8th, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[48] Ephemerides Universitatis 1708–1733, call no. bA 78, fol. 77r–78v, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[49] He was expelled from the university in 1739. Steven N. Machtinger, "Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Metaphysics," *Acta Musicologica* 92, no. 1 (2020): 50–71, at 59, n. 54; Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 176–177; Klueting, "Muratori und Salzburg," 177–178.

[50] Klueting, "Muratori und Salzburg," 167–180.

highest levels: "Many of Muratori's works published in later years reached [Maria Theresa] through the hands of the Modenese envoys in Vienna." His popularity at court also led to Habsburgs providing substantial funding for Muratori's large-scale printed editions of source materials.[51]

The founders of the Salzburg Muratori circle called themselves *Illuminaten*. They were Joseph Maria Count Thun (later bishop of Gurk, and then Passau) and the archbishop of Salzburg's nephew, Virgil Firmian, later to become bishop of Lavant. Gurk and Lavant were suffragan dioceses very closely associated with Salzburg. Thun and Firmian had been introduced to the ideas of a "reformed" Catholicism on their grand tour through Italy and had visited Muratori personally in Modena in 1737. Another in the Salzburg circle was Johann Baptist Gaspari, recently hired to be the Prince Archbishop's historiographer; Gaspari knew Muratori from his stay in Venice. The rector of the Salzburg seminary also belonged to this set.[52] They all wanted a reform of the theology curriculum that would introduce subjects such as natural science and contemporary philosophy.

Some Protestant faculties had done as much, decades before, but two new professors in Salzburg, the Benedictines Berthold Vogl and Anselm Desing, failed in their efforts to introduce such a reform in 1738 due to resistance from conservative colleagues. As a result, some students left to study elsewhere. The Sycophant Strife that flared up in 1740 had therefore begun, in principle, a few years earlier. According to Hersche, only "two definitely Jansenist works" are said to have been printed in Austria during this period,[53] but in general the conflict between the Sycophants and their foes was known in most of Central Europe, and it was a conflict that ran along the lines of Jansenism and its opponents. The Sycophants stood for old-fashioned Thomism, and Muratori's supporters appealed to classically Jansenist ideals like biblical philology and historical critical study. One point of contention, for instance, was whether the founder of venerable St. Peter's Abbey in Salzburg—Rupert (who lived in the late seventh and early eighth century)—had been "a Benedictine" when he founded his monastery and how long St. Peter's abbots had been both abbots and archbishops

[51] Eleonore Giersig, "Muratori und die Einflüsse der italienischen Aufklärung in Österreich," in *Verdrängter Humanismus—verzögerte Aufklärung. Österreichische Philosophie zur Zeit der Revolution und Restauration (1750–1820),* ed. Michael Benedikt et al. (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1992), 456–470, at 457–458, 460.

[52] Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 27.

[53] Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 49.

of Salzburg at the same time. The Sycophants were for maximizing the glory of Benedictine accomplishments, the *Illuminaten* were for critical examination of sources.[54]

Even the city's general population took an interest in these polemics. The rebels in Salzburg objected to "the uncouth language, the exaggerated cult of the saints, the empty formalism of the scholastic method, the uncritical understanding of history and the bourgeois provincialism" they claimed dominated theological studies in Salzburg.[55] Again, the Immaculate Conception served as a sort of litmus test: the Muratori circle was in favor of abolishing the "vow of blood" which students were required to take at many Jesuit faculties and in Salzburg to defend the Immaculate Conception.[56] Muratori, it is important to note, had even been accused of denying this Marian dogma.[57]

During the summer break of 1740, a number of conservative "sycophant" Benedictine priests who taught in Salzburg traveled through Europe propagating their cause. Their visits in various monasteries are well-documented,[58] but their efforts achieved little. Prince Archbishop Firmian ordered a reform of studies at the Benedictine University in 1741 and a new rector, the Kremsmünster monk Odo Schwarz, was to carry them out.[59]

The subsequent triumph of reformist thinking under the next archbishop of Salzburg, Andreas Jakob von Dietrichstein (reigned 1747–1753), shines through in the edition of Muratori's late work *Della pubblica felicità*, which was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment. The author gave Dietrichstein a copy with a personal dedication.[60] The situation in Vienna was similar: Archbishop Migazzi of Vienna (reigned 1757–1803) recommended German translations of Muratori to members of the imperial family as spiritual reading.[61] In the meantime, a moderate proponent of Jansenist ideas was active at Salzburg University: Berthold Vogl (1706–1771), later abbot of Kremsmünster, was professor of philosophy and university rector

[54] Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 29.

[55] Bauer, *Thomistische Metaphysik*, 25.

[56] Liminidus Pritanius [pseudonym for Muratori], *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio* (Frankfurt: Metternich, 1716), saw several editions, even into the nineteenth century (1840).

[57] Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 97, 176.

[58] Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 327.

[59] Giersig, "Muratori und die Einflüsse," 464–466; Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 25–39; Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 327, 334.

[60] Giersig, "Muratori und die Einflüsse," 461.

[61] Giersig, "Muratori und die Einflüsse," 460.

(from 1744 to 1756). He achieved a certain balance by publishing manuals of scholastic philosophy on the one hand, while lecturing on the modern rationalist philosophers Wolff and Leibniz on the other.[62] In general, Vogl supported the new curriculum of 1741, reduced rigid scholastic models, and encouraged a new style of pedagogy so that students were no longer compelled to take dictation at monologue lectures.[63]

LAMBACH ABBEY AND ITS "JANSENISTS"

The sections above have established that when it was published in 1713, *Unigenitus* was not perceived in Salzburg as being controversial and provoked little in the way of protest or objection. Indeed, it was only consciously addressed and affirmed at the faculty four years after its publication. Still, the beginnings of generally Jansenist ideas in the midst of a learned society grew and were made manifest in Salzburg by around 1740. Which side did recent graduates of the flourishing Benedictine university take? Some historians claim that there was a veritable "Jansenist cell" at Lambach Abbey in Upper Austria, 88 km from Salzburg, and many of the monks there had studied or taught in Salzburg.[64] Priests from Kremsmünster Abbey, 22 km from Lambach, were also open to anti-ultramontane and reformist inspiration from Utrecht.[65] The considerable stock of Jansenist literature preserved in both of these Austrian abbey libraries proves as much. Abbots at Lambach are said to have read the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* periodical, and the *Wiener Realzeitung* reported on polemical camps in these monastic communities.[66] May one infer that theological trends are transmitted primarily by universities? The Lambach example suggests no such direct line of reception between Salzburg and Lambach. An examination of the protagonists shows that theological positions in the abbey community were not at all homogeneous; they were shaped by much more diverse factors.

[62] Heinrich Reusch, "Vogl, Berthold," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 40 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1896), 166.

[63] Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 177.

[64] Roland Anzengruber, "Lambach," in *Germania Benedictina* 3.2, *Die benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol*, ed. Ulrich Faust and Waltraud Krassnig (St. Ottilien: EOS, 2001), 253–317, at 276; note the "enclave of Jansenists" in Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 193.

[65] Benedikt Pitschmann, "Kremsmünster," in *Germania Benedictina* 3.2, 163–252, at 177–178.

[66] Manfred Brandl, *Marx Anton Wittola: Seine Bedeutung für den Jansenismus in deutschen Landen* (Steyr: Verlag Wilhelm Ennsthaler, 1974), 23–26.

Benedikt Oberhauser

After studying in Ingolstadt and Vienna, Benedict Oberhauser entered Lambach as a novice in 1739, was ordained a priest in 1743, and in 1748 came to teach at the "reformed" University of Salzburg. Later teaching assignments at a seminary in Strasbourg gave him access to Jansenist canon law. Then he taught at the Gurk seminary. He was then given a post at the Benedictine faculty in Fulda in 1760, but his textbook titled *Praelectiones canonicae* (*Lectures in Canon Law*) was placed on the index of forbidden books in 1764. The reasons lay in Oberhauser's denial of papal infallibility, papal primacy over the councils, and disputes about marriage law in Austria. The author proved unreceptive to criticism from the Vatican. He moved back to Salzburg, where he was welcomed by Archbishop Hieronymus Colloredo and given the title of ecclesiastical councilor, but not a job at the university. He continued to publish and attained lasting influence. When he died in 1786, his epitaph praised his critical stance towards the pope by calling him "the strongest hammer against the ultramontanes."[67]

In 1777, after Oberhauser had been back from Fulda for over a decade, his abbot Amandus applied to the archiepiscopal censor for permission to print a new edition of Oberhauser's previously forbidden *Praelectiones canonicae*. In reply, the archbishop's personal secretary confirmed that interest in the work was very lively in the city. Permission was granted, since Oberhauser had revised some controversial sections of the first edition, published in 1762/1763. The archiepiscopal secretary confirmed that Oberhauser had "an immense number of eager readers" in Salzburg, and that the new edition had "long been eagerly awaited."[68] Indeed, when the Lambach monk died in 1786, a commemorative pamphlet was printed in Salzburg, containing a list of fourteen of Oberhauser's works; it could easily be construed as a study guide, an invitation to students to take a closer look at his work.[69] An obituary underlines his good character when it

[67] Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 166–167; Johann Friedrich von Schulte, "Benedikt Oberhauser," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 24 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1887), 92–94; Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 214; Johann Friedrich von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts: von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 3, part 1 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1880), 224f.

[68] Benedikt Oberhauser personal file, call no. SchB 55a, fol. 66r–67v, Lambach Abbey Archives.

[69] Benedikt Oberhauser personal file, call no. SchB 55a, fol. 103r–110v, Lambach Abbey Archives.

states that he always attended monastic office and was exemplary in the practice of monastic poverty.[70]

Mark Anton Wittola (1736–1797), a theologian and journalist close to the imperial court, was one of Oberhauser's greatest admirers.[71] A secular cleric, Wittola was otherwise critical of monastic orders, but he repeatedly praised Lambach and was a frequent visitor to the abbey.[72] In a letter to the monk dated 1777, he praised Benedict as a "venerable confessor and defender of church doctrine."[73] Together with other theologians (Kresset and Martini), he had decided to actively support Oberhauser and promised the abbot of Lambach the "highest protection" from the Viennese court. In the same letter to Lambach, Wittola sought to show how great his influence at court was when he reported that Empress Maria Theresa had promised to "give him a miter" and to cover all expenses incurred in obtaining the pontificals.[74]

For all the sympathies some Lambach fathers had for Enlightenment ideas, it did not stop Emperor Joseph II from closing down their abbey, as he did so many others. Wittola's influence at court was of little help now, but in a letter from Wittola to Amand Greth, written on the occasion of the abbey's dissolution, he offered several of the monks (among them Oberhauser and Greth) to come and live with him. The monastery was indeed suppressed—from 1784 to 1788 the abbot was demoted to the rank of administrator—but the monks in question remained there; they never moved into Wittola's house.[75]

[70] Benedikt Oberhauser personal file, call no. SchB 55a, Lambach Abbey Archives.

[71] Wittola came into contact with Jansenist writings through Simon Stock, auxiliary bishop in Vienna. After working for a short time as a parish priest in Upper Austria, he returned to Vienna and published translations of French theology and the New Testament. In 1774, he became pastor of Probstdorf near Vienna (titular provost of the suspended provostry of Bienko, Hungary) and remained there until his death. He served as a censor in Vienna in the 1780s, was editor of the *Wienerische Kirchenzeitung* (1784–1789) and of the *Neueste Beiträge zur Religionslehre und Kirchengeschichte* from 1790 to 1792. Friedrich Lauchert, "Wittola, Marcus Antonius," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 43 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898), 649–650; Brandl, *Marx Anton Wittola*, 17–36.

[72] Amand Greth personal file, call no. SchB 48, Lambach Abbey Archives; Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 193–194.

[73] Amand Greth personal file, call no. SchB 48, Lambach Abbey Archives.

[74] Benedikt Oberhauser personal file, call no. SchB 55a, fol. 74r–74v, Lambach Abbey Archives.

[75] The invitation is in a letter dated 16 September 1784. Amand Greth personal file, call no. SchB 48, Lambach Abbey Archives; Brandl, *Marx Anton Wittola*, 24; Arno Eilenstein, *Die Benediktinerabtei Lambach in Österreich ob der Enns und ihre Mönche* (Linz: Hofbuchdruckerei Joseph Feichtingers Erben, 1936), 70.

Amand Greth

Amand Greth studied philosophy under Jesuits in Linz and made his monastic profession in Lambach Abbey in 1749; he continued his theological studies in the monastery. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1753, he became the episcopal court librarian in the suffragan diocese of Gurk under Bishop Thun. His work in the library involved three years of intensive philological study. This was followed by studies in Vienna; among his teachers was Gerard van Swieten, the empress's personal physician. When Greth returned to Lambach, he worked as the abbey librarian and as such was in contact with Maurists and Jansenists, among other things in ordering books from them.[76] A censor in Linz, the Jesuit Angerer, refused to let the books be delivered, leading to a dispute between the censor and van Swieten. Maria Theresa is said to have overruled the censor and appointed Minorites as censors instead of Jesuits. Greth's election as prior (he declined the offer) and his appointment to be novice master at the age of 71 testify to his reputation in his own abbey. He did not publish any works.[77]

Wittola wrote dozens of letters to Greth and in 1778 asked him for corrections and comments on a catechism. He also asked Fr. Amand to prepare a defense of auricular confession against polemics by Joseph Valentin Eybel.[78] "You have a good library at hand," Wittola wrote: "you know the fundamentals of religion and you love it; you know the many and great abuses that have been introduced into confession and detest them; your historical research and knowledge of antiquity protect you from abuses that can be so harmful in such [penitential] matters; your solitary life gives you the necessary muse to deal with this subject from the ground up."[79] Shortly afterwards (1780), Greth wrote a manuscript on what he considered to be "abominable" devotions to the Sacred Heart. In it, the mature theologian (he was 56 years old and had been working as a librarian for 17 years) criticized the veneration

[76] Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 165, note 49.

[77] Anonymous, "Amand Greth," in Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich,* vol. 5 (Vienna: Verlag der typografisch-literarisch-artistischen Anstalt, 1859), 330–331.

[78] Joseph Valentin Eybel, *Was enthalten die Urkunden des christlichen Alterthums von der Ohrenbeichte?* (Vienna: Joseph Edlen von Kurzbek k.k. Hofbuchdrucker, 1784); Brandl, *Marx Anton Wittola*, 57.

[79] Letter dated 26 Feb. 1784, Amand Greth personal file, call no. SchB 48, Lambach Abbey Archives; *Marx Anton Wittola*, 57–58.

of the heart of Jesus as superficial, unbiblical, and Jesuitical, thereby applying three classic Jansenist arguments.[80]

Maurus Lindemayr

A completely different perspective opens up when we look at Fr. Maurus Lindemayr, another Lambach monk. Lindemayr (1723–1783) has recently become an important figure in the theater and literary history of Upper Austria because he wrote plays in the local dialect; they are treasured by today's linguists. The playwright monk began his education as a pupil at the Jesuit grammar school in Linz and entered the Lambach novitiate in 1747. After studies in Salzburg, he was ordained a priest in 1749. Possible breaks in Lindemayr's religious life arise from the period 1754–1759. He was prior and novice master during these five years, but then returned—at his own request—to his birthplace Neukirchen, a manor of Lambach Abbey, to be pastor. He remained there for the last 24 years of his life.

Lindemayr belongs to the tradition of the *pater comicus*; in the Benedictine monasteries of his time and place, at least one of the monks was responsible for the dramaturgical administration of events like school plays, festive para-theatricals, and important non-liturgical ceremonies which might include the abbot's name day, carnival, honoring guests, and other rhetorical exercises.[81] At the Benedictine University of Salzburg, usually a professor served as the *pater comicus*; the plays he conceived and staged were performed both for a university audience and the prince archbishop's court.[82] They were expected to convey a message that referenced theological topics in some manner.[83] In a play performed in 1672, the last words of the heroic figure, the creation of a Kremsmünster monk, were: "Rome, avenge me!" In such a case, the Salzburg audience must certainly have been thinking of the Vatican. When the same author—Simon

[80] Amand Greth personal file, call no. SchB 48, Lambach Abbey Archives; Reinhold J. Dessl, "Die Herz-Jesu-Verehrung in Oberösterreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* 132, no. 1 (1987): 81–136.

[81] Christoph Brandhuber, "Spectaculum Deo—'Schauspiel für Gott!': Einführung zum Salzburger Universitätstheater," in *Wie sich Salzburg inszeniert: Vom Werden einer Musiktheaterstadt*, ed. Sigrid Brandt and Thomas Wozonig (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2023), 15–30.

[82] Stanley Sadie, "Mozart's Moralities," *The Musical Times*, 109, no. 1501 (1968): 222–224.

[83] "Roma vindica!" See Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg 1617–1778* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 53, 100.

Rettenpacher[84]—published the *Annales Cremifanenses* five years later as chronicler of his monastery, the genres of festive play and historiography merged.[85]

In the years around 1710, Salzburg students usually performed a play during the Easter Triduum; in 1713, a play was even linked to the Liturgy of the Hours. Other less publicly known means of theatrical and theological communication were regular events such as triennial visitations but also sporadic performances, even in the classroom.[86] The Salzburg performances had a broad and long-term impact on the students, many of whom were monastics, but not all: the layman Leopold Mozart was a performer, as was his son, the boy wonder Wolfgang Amadeus.[87] The selection of plays performed in abbeys all across Austria and southern Germany clearly originated in the university city. Graduates themselves were commissioned by their home abbots to serve as the *pater comicus* and they supervised productions in their home monasteries that they may well have performed earlier in Salzburg.[88] Maurus Lindemayr's career should be understood against this background.

His songs were widespread in the Salzburg area and appear in Benedictine song collections, for example one from Weingarten (Baden-Württemberg) in 1777.[89] The works were also intended for a rural audience and could well descend into bawdiness. They are allusions to popular text genres, such as songs sung at First Masses, in which a rural youth's biographical stages on the path to ordination are described.[90] When the imperial court visited his abbey in 1770, Lindemayr staged a ribald musical comedy about a farmers' wedding: it was a clear allegory of Maria Antoinette's wedding, to which the court was traveling.[91] Since Lindemayr also worked as a novice master in Lambach, he was familiar with idealized job descriptions. He parodies one of these—the lonely priest—by juxtaposing the newly

[84] Waldemar Fromm, "Rettenpacher, Simon," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), 448.

[85] Franz Witek, *Gestalten der antiken Historie im lateinischen Drama der Salzburger Benediktineruniversität* (Salzburg: Berger, 2009), 140–155, at 152.

[86] Boberski, "Roma vindica!," 21.

[87] Sadie, "Mozart's Moralities," 222.

[88] Witek, *Gestalten der antiken Historie*, 5.

[89] Christian Neuhuber, *Maurus Lindemayr, Dialektlieder: Kritische Ausgabe*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Praesens-Verlag, 2008), 20–21.

[90] The bawdy title of this parody was: "Leckts mön Arsch Menschä! iezt geh i davon." ("Kiss my ass, people! I'm outa here.") Neuhuber, *Maurus Lindemayr*, 20–21.

[91] Maurus Lindemayr, *The Marriage Contract (1770),* trans. Alkuin Schachenmayr, in *A Benedictine Reader: 1530–1930,* ed. Hugh Feiss and Maureen M. O'Brien (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2023), 209–230.

ordained with a pathos-filled High German song titled "Oh Solitude, my Life."[92]

Was Lindemayr a "Jansenist"? His admiration for the preacher Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) might indicate as much. Yet among the Italian and French sermons Fr. Maurus translated into German, there were not a few Jesuit authors. He also translated the Rule of St. Benedict and psalms from the Latin into German.[93] There are other facts that make it hard to place him in a category, such as his involvement in missionary work to convert Protestants in Upper Austria. The discriminatory treatment of these "secret Protestants," including their forced resettlement and involuntary "re-education,"[94] were generally unpopular among Enlightenment partisans. Lindemayr's texts may be critical, but they remain unpredictable. He was categorized by some as being anti-Enlightenment,[95] but by no means was he conservative or traditional.

SODALITIES AND PILGRIMAGES

If indeed a pro-Jansenist reform of studies took place in Salzburg around 1740, it did not have a clear impact on the three monks of Lambach described above. The fields of reception in Lambach were diverse and, as is to be expected, inconsistent. The work done by the three monastic thinkers discussed here indicates that research into the history of theology in the early modern period needs to look at different arenas in order to understand how theological ideas were conveyed; teaching and reception are complex activities. Some examples of alternative sites will follow. Student culture in the sodalities, for instance, is a place where intellectual formation takes place, even if these groups are predominantly devotional and extracurricular. Or consider students assisting at solemn liturgies (especially requiems). Then there are regular (predominantly Marian) pilgrimages to consider, and finally, Benedictine theater in its many forms.

[92] "O Einsamkeit, mein Leben." Neuhuber, *Maurus Lindemayr*, 189.

[93] Birgit Boge and Ralf Georg Bogner, eds., *Oratio funebris: Die katholische Leichenpredigt der frühen Neuzeit. Zwölf Studien* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 250–257.

[94] Peter Tropper, "Von der katholischen Erneuerung bis zur Säkularisation—1648 bis 1815," in *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich*, ed. Herwig Wolfram (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003), 281–360, at 293.

[95] Boge and Bogner, *Oratio funebris*, 253.

First, let us return to Cardinal Sfondrati. Copies of his talks to the sodalists of the Marian Congregation were read aloud and distributed for a long time, continuing to appear in print intermittently for almost fifty years after his death.[96] His *Innocentia vindicata*, first published in 1698, was reprinted for decades, even in a German translation in 1717.[97] Sfondrati lectured to the Marian Congregation on the Immaculate Conception and claimed that this Marian privilege was defended in the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was considered a daring thesis since Dominicans opposed the dogma. It is significant that Sfondrati took his controversial position outside the narrower framework of his teaching, namely amid sodalists. The devotional setting was therefore effective for transmitting theological technicalities, perhaps even more effective—for some—than regular university lectures.

Students were often expected to participate in particularly solemn funerals or, indeed, make such events more solemn through their presence and liturgical participation. As a form of remuneration, they were often invited to dinner afterwards. They were exempted from attending class.[98] The liturgies were extensive and far more frequent than the normal death rate would require, since a requiem was often celebrated for popes, emperors, archbishops, and abbots *in absentia*. That explained how in Salzburg, for instance, a requiem could be held for Sfondrati.

Pilgrimages were a place of theological mediation when it came to recurring celebrations in the liturgical calendar or when a precisely defined group of participants made a pilgrimage to a shrine. Sermons were preached en route and at the destination. The work of Fr. Eberhard Ruedorfer shows how controversial and theological such an event could be. He lost his professorship in the course of the Sycophant Strife and was transferred to live at Maria Plain, the university's very own Marian pilgrimage site located on a hill above Salzburg and reachable from campus within an hour or so by foot. As a result of his new assignment, Ruedorfer's controversial rhetoric shifted from the classroom to the pulpit, but the audience was often the same. Student participation in these pilgrimages could only be

[96] Celestino Sfondrati, *Quindena Mariana, seu XV Orationes ad sodales quondam Marianos dictae* (Salzburg: Johannes Joseph Mayr, 1744).

[97] *Die Erledigte Unschuld: In welcher mit Uberschwäresten Beweißthumben auß dem H. Thoma Erwiesen wird, Der Englische Lehrer habe beschlossen und geschrieben für die Unbefleckte Empfängnuß der Mutter Gottes* (Vienna: Wolffgang Schwendimann, 1717).

[98] Ephemerides Universitatis 1708–1733, call no. bA 78, fol. 79v, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

prevented with difficulty, although Prince Archbishop Firmian did eventually issue a decree silencing the monastic ex-professor.[99]

The transmission of theological arguments and polemics was pronounced at many pilgrimage sites. Some pilgrimage sites, like Rosenthal in Upper Lusatia, became an extension of the university when theology students placed their theological theses (especially if they were mariological in nature) as offerings on the altar; this happened around 1670. The donated theses might also be understood as thank-offerings brought as a sign of homage by relieved seminarians. Such ritual oblation could also be a mixture of theological polemics—and prayer.[100]

In fact, the Sycophant Strife reached its climax as the university's Marian Congregation made its pilgrimage to Maria Plain on July 2, 1740. In his sermon, Fr. Placidus Böckhn forcefully endorsed and encouraged the veneration of saints, a devotional practice less popular and often criticized among Jansenists. The sermon was printed and distributed in town.[101] The vow of believing in and defending the Immaculate Conception remained an annual tradition in Salzburg decades after the university reform. It took place on December 8, 1760, for instance, followed by a festive meal, a sodality meeting, and a litany in the university church at 3 p.m.[102]

CONCLUSION

There are many reasons to be cautious before claiming a person was a Jansenist. The *Dictionnaire de Port Royal* reminds us that Jansenism cannot even be attributed to the abbey of Port-Royal itself. Circles of people around the monastery were diverse and did not form a clearly defined camp.[103] Muratori himself was an opponent of

[99] Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 330–331.

[100] Jakob Xaver Ticin, *Epitome Historiae Rosenthalensis* (Prague: Carolo-Ferdinandea, 1692), 229–251.

[101] Daser, "Der Sykophanten-Streit (1740)," 32.

[102] Protocollum Praefecturae Scholarum 1759–1769, call no. bA 81, fol. 41r, Archives of the University of Salzburg.

[103] The editors mention groups like choir nuns, lay sisters, schoolchildren, teachers, scholars from the Sorbonne, solitaires, Oratorians, Benedictines, and finally those imprisoned in the Bastille because of their allegiance to "Port-Royal." *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, ed. Jean Lesaulnier et al. (Paris: Champion, 2004). Cf. Antony McKenna, "Un projet ambitieux: le *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal au XVII^e siècle*," *Courrier du Centre International Blaise-Pascal*, https://doi.org/10.4000/ccibp.605, sec. 2.

Jansenism and wrote a work against it in 1705; he was also not anti-curial.[104]

Similarly, one cannot make valid assumptions about social strata, assuming, for instance, that diocesan clergy might be inclined to favor Enlightenment ideas and critiques of the Curia, with aristocrats supposedly being conservative in both social and theological matters. It is true that members of the Viennese court were keen to be a part of the Age of Reason. Their tradition of reading Muratori "spanned several generations" in the eighteenth century.[105] But the future Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, sister of Emperor Joseph II, attended Fr. Maurus Lindemayr's parody of a royal wedding in 1770 and praised him, as the amused Benedictine himself described it, "in a thousand tongues and with a hundred quills," even if many of the jokes in his play were at her expense.[106] Obedience and honor toward authorities pervaded theological discourse throughout the eighteenth century (hence the shocking effect of Lindemayr's and Greth's vulgarity); many reform-minded people were polite and obedient enough to request permission from the prince archbishop before reading forbidden books.[107] Finally, one must not forget the long line of Salzburg scholars who, until the university closed in 1810, remained true to the Thomistic tradition or tried to synthesize it with Enlightenment currents.[108]

From the mid-1760s, the archdiocesan seminary in Vienna was regarded as a breeding ground for rationalist diocesan clergy, but Archbishop Cardinal Migazzi worked against this and appointed professors primarily from the (suppressed) Jesuit order; on the other hand, he recommended Muratori's works to influential people.[109] The University of Salzburg may have been considered "reformed" by this time, but Bauer's excellent historical treatment of the Sycophant Strife and the years leading to the dissolution of the university does not mention the word Jansenism even once.[110]

Unigenitus, aimed at banishing Jansenism, was hardly noticed in Salzburg at first, because the movement was not well known there in 1713. Jansenists were only discussed later, for example in a circle of

[104] Arturo Carlo Jemolo, "ll pensiero religioso di Muratori," *Revista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi* 4, no. 1 (1923): 23–78, at 38, cited in Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 152.

[105] Giersig, "Muratori und die Einflüsse," 457–458, 460.

[106] Neuhuber, *Maurus Lindemayr*, 20–21.

[107] University files, call no. 10/097, Archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.

[108] Bauer, *Thomistische Metaphysik*, 28–30.

[109] Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 183.

[110] Bauer, *Thomistische Metaphysik*, 25–30.

Muratori readers, and their ideas reached a polemical climax around 1740. In the years after that, academic life in Salzburg changed considerably. Traces of these changes can be found in Lambach Abbey and the three scholarly monks described above. Still, rigorist Catholic notions also reached them from Vienna and France. Unconventional sources such as theatrical performance or sermons given to Marian confraternities can be immensely useful in gaining a more nuanced appreciation of theological trends.