FRONTIER AND MISSION–THE ROLE OF SALZBURG IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE IMPERIAL CHURCH

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Strolling through the old City of Salzburg on a nice crisp morning in September when the tourists are almost all gone and the natives are about to take over their town again, you get the impression of a still abundantly baroque city with only a few vestiges of Gothic or Romanesque art. You walk along the main streets that parallel both the River and a mountain range whose rocky descents both limit and protect the oldest parts of Salzburg. Sitting atop everything else is a gigantic fortress that virtually dominates the town. A fortress, I say, seemingly much too large for a peaceful former ecclesiastical state that at the peak of its power might have covered a tenth of the State of Colorado and been populated by less than ten per cent of Colorado's present population. Stimulated by those considerations you might start wondering what it was good for, and who could have afforded its enormous construction costs. Then, you look at the city itself from a different point of view since it is, also, extremely rich in all kinds of magnificent and costly buildings which have earned Salzburg the name of "Rome of the North". Once you have ceased taking for granted this display of mostly baroque wealth and taste, which inspired Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal to originate the Festivals, you are prepared to follow me either to the buried roots or the hidden places of Salzburg's age-old history. That is to say that you may literally descend to the excavations under the early baroque cathedral that is the seat of the archbishop of Salzburg. But you may also find me me talking to a tender, almost transparent Venerable Mother Superior asking her to show us the unique treasury of her convent. Or we might even be able to enter the interior of the monastery of St. Peter, which was once the very cradle of Salzburg and is now distinguished by its monks outstanding taste for splendid isolation. An isolation, I feel, which is both necessary for them to survive modern tourism as an ecclesiastical community and embarrassing to us outsiders who don't want to travel with the crowd.

Whether we meet a friendly brother guardian or not, St. Peter of Salzburg provides the catchword for our investigations, today. The

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history of this monastery and thereby the history of Salzburg as both a city and a territory starts only a few years before 700. Then a Frankish refugee, probably of royal-Merovingian origins and member of the anti-Carolingian aristocratic opposition, fled to the Duchy of Bavaria that was then ruled by his in-laws the Agilolfingian family. The man's name was Rupert-Hrotpert. He was probably bishop of Worms on the River Rhine that is to say right in the middle of the Carolingian strongholds. He went to Regensburg that was the residence of Theodo Duke of the Bavarians. This West-Germanic tribe was certainly Christianized by then. But it lived together with a still considerable Roman minority. For that reason, the peoples of Bavaria lived according to two different Christian traditions which were barely integrated by 700. The Romans kept their reduced Christendom of late antiquity which had been brought to them from the East and from Italy. Instead the Bavarians properly speaking became Christians according to the ways and customs of the Gaulic-Frankish West. Growing illiteracy, lingering doctrinal splits between Rome and the North, increasing dismemberment of the Frankish Empire did not allow for a unifying organisation of the Bavarian Church in time. Besides, the Bavarian ducal family and their Germanic nobility certainly depended on Frankish missionaries and ecclesiastical advisers, but distrusted them as Carolingian agents at the same time. In addition to Rupert we know of two more Frankish ecclesiastics in Bavaria around 700. But they failed before long because they obviously worked on behalf of their Carolingian masters.

The Agilolfingians had been a noble family whose core-land must have been Burgundy. They then spread all over the eastern part of the Merovingian Frankish Kingdom, and even crossed the border of Frankland. Agilolfingians were kings of the Lombards for almost 80 years from the mid-seventh century onward. Members of this family had been invested by the Merovingian kings in Bavaria probably by the sixth century, and at an unknown but certainly later date in nearby Swabia. I believe 624 to be the first secure date for the inveterate conflict between the Agilolfingians and the Carolingians who were to become Kings and Emperors.

From 624 onward the former were always prepared to fight the latter as upstarts without kingly tradition. Despite their better origins, the Agilolfingians along with other noble families were more and more losing ground while the Carolingians progressed. Finally, Bavaria came to be the foremost stronghold of the formerly most powerful family. From here they opposed the Carolingian majors of the palace who tried "to prevent them from obeying their Merovingian kings as they were wont to do since time immemorial." Little wonder that

Rupert, probably driven out from his episcopal see by the Carolingians, was highly welcome to the Bavarian duke and did not encounter any of those difficulties that plagued other Frankish ecclesiastics in Bavaria around 700. Rupert enjoyed an almost royal reception by the duke with whom he was obviously on equal terms. The latter assigned to the Frankish newcomer the task of reorganizing and improving the ecclesiastical discipline and customs in a self-chosen part of the Duchy. Despite the scarce evidence we can tell that Rupert was supposed to integrate the Frankish-Western traditions of the Bavarian leading class with the Christianity of the Alpine-Roman population. This integration was supposed to provide a missionary base from which the Christianisation of the pagan Slavs could be handled. It goes without saying that this mission if successful would have meant expansion of the Bavarian Duchy at the same time.

At first Rupert must have believed that the Eastern border of Bavaria would provide the appropriate point of departure for his enterprise. He travelled down the Danube to the River Enns. Between 1945 and 1955 the same river built up the demarcation line between the American and the Russian occupation zones of Austria. Around the year 700 it separated the Germanic-Roman Bavarians from the Avar-dominated Slavs. Most recent excavations under the old parish church of Enns have evidenced both the strong continuity of the Roman population of this site and an early build-up of a Germanic Bavarian stronghold nearby. Therefore this place must have looked ideal for both the planned integration policy and a kind of missionary station for the Danubian Slavs on the east bank of the Enns River. But the Avars were not to be overcome. They considered the Danube valley east of the Enns as their zone of influence and did not let anybody in until the destruction of their realm a hundred years later.

Obviously without delay, Rupert realized that this mission was doomed. He returned and travelled about 70 miles on the old Roman road through what is now Upper Austria westward to Salzburg-Iuvavum. Interestingly enough when he arrived both names the new Germanic and the old Roman-Illyrian were used. Of course, very little else had remained of the former Roman urban community of Iuvavum. Certainly there was a fortification atop the mountain still called *Festungsberg* (fortress mountain). This castle was the administration center of the south-eastern parts of Bavaria and had given the new name to what was once Roman *Iuvavum*. Salzburg actually means a contraction of *Salzachburg*, the castle on the salt river. The newcomers had also added a Germanic name to the still used *Ivarum-Igonta* by which names the Romans called the River that flows through Salzburg.

When Rupert arrived or perhaps a few years later, the mountain fortress was the residence of the Bavarian Duke's eldest son and heir apparent Theotpert who was the husband of a Merovingian princess.

At the site of the present cathedral there was a mostly Bavarian cemetery and a little church connected with it. We may assume that there was a bridge almost on the same spot where Salzburg's most important bridge (*Staatsbruecke*) stands today. Finally there was very probably a kind of ecclesiastical community on the bottom of the very fortified mountain. It stood in a rather shady place and was exposed to falling stones and landslides. Therefore, historians have always wondered why Rupert decided to reform this very community instead of transfering it and building a new monastery on a more convenient place. The answer may have to be that there was an old tradition that even reached back to Roman antiquity which made this place the venerated ecclesiastical center of the surviving Romans. We know for sure that the overwhelming majority of Rupert's early monks, priests and secular helpers bore clear-cut Roman names. Moreover, we have enough evidence that Salzburg's Romans enjoyed a thoroughly organized social structure. We know from the famous life of St. Severin that, at the end of the fifth century, the Germanic King of Italy, Odoaker, ordered the Romans of the Roman Provinces on the Danube borderline to withdraw to Italy. This depopulation policy, until now usually overrated, could by no means have applied to the Romans around *Iuvavum* who certainly were much better protected by fortified mountains and impermeable marshes than the people in the open plains along the Danube. Be that as it may, around 700 there was still a Roman leading class in that Salzach Valley who enjoyed well-established and well-defined relations to the Bavarian Dukes who in return relied on local Roman support.

Perhaps here is the place to dwell a little bit on the ethnic structure of our area which I slightly touched before. We have already heard of the Germanic Bavarians and Romans. The latter were descendants of the Romanized Celto-Illyrian inhabitants of the former imperial provinces of Noricum and Rhaetia. Last remnants of the Alpine Romans who are neither Italians nor French still live in Switzerland and Italy speaking a language that is called Romansh. Then, of course, there was a Bavarian population around Salzburg. This tribe had moved into the former Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps certainly before 550. Frankish impact and command can be held responsible for this move. The Bavarians settled mostly north of Salzburg whereas the Roman strongholds were south of the city up the Salzach to the mountains and the virgin forests that filled the narrow

valleys in between. The mountains themselves were almost completely depopulated and built the borderline between the Duchy of Bavaria and the pagan Slavs of Carinthia. Since this Slavonic tribe stood under less direct Avarian domination than the Danube Slavs, Rupert might have thought to have a better start for his mission here. First he started his reform work in St. Peter. Then he organized an outpost in the southernmost part of the Roman Salzach valley. Finally Rupert founded along with his niece a convent of nuns which was located within the fortification of the *Salzachburg*. This convent is called *Nonberg* (nun's mountain) and still flourishes with nuns living according to the Benedictine rule. The outpost in the south was to contact the Slavs. The leaders of the Roman ruling class backed this attempt and provided manpower and economic support. Also on the scene were the Bavarian dukes. Rupert's first missionary station did not last very long. The Slavs crossed the mountains and forests and destroyed it after Rupert had left the country. While the Frankish bishop did not succeed in his original plans to convert the pagan Slavs, he was enormously successful in reorganizing Salzburg as the ecclesiastical center of the area. Certainly he did not become a regular diocesan, let alone archbishop of Bavaria as his successors did. Rupert was rather abbot of St. Peter and bishop with an undefined assignment. But this extremely good relationship to both the Bavarian dukes and the local Roman population provided for a headstart for his community over all the other ecclesiastical centers of Bavaria.

St. Peter is now a Benedictine monastery. But it was not separated from the episcopal see of Salzburg before the tenth century. Rupert's monks may have lived according to the *regula mixta*, the mixed rule composed of Benedictine and Columbanian elements. But this is only a guess or conclusion by analogy. Instead we hear much more about the enormous wealth in landed estates, forests, pastures and above all salt production which was heaped upon St. Peter. Salt cooking in brine-pans was of an economic importance which cannot be overestimated. Salt was then virtually the only product that kept long distance trade going. But Salzburg also had gold which they obtained by panning rather than by mining. When Rupert returned to Frankland, probably around 715, he left St. Peter ecclesiastically reformed and economically wealthy, both the preconditions for the success of the future bishopric and archbishopric. Despite some obvious setbacks the Slavonic mission promised to be still successful or at least possible when it started from St. Peter. Whoever ruled over Bavaria he never lost interest in this monastery as a possible and handy device for the secular and ecclesiastical expansion of the Bavarian tribe.

This attitude did not change when the Carolingians became Kings of the Franks and forced their Bavarian cousins more and more under their sway. Around 745 another lucky event supported Salzburg's claim as missionary center of the east and south-east. The Carinthians were strong enough to rebel successfully against their Avarian lords. But they were not strong enough to keep their freedom without foreign support. So they leaned toward their Bavarian neighbors prepared to become Christians and belonging to the Frankish-Bavarian zone of influence. At the same time, a man acceded to the see of St. Rupert who was able to take advantage of the situation. Sent by the future King Pippin, the Irish pilgrim Virgil became first abbot of St. Peter and later bishop of the diocese of Salzburg which had recently (739) been established by the Anglo-Saxon Boniface.

To be sure, these two men did not like each other. Virgil still knew rather strange things, for instance that earth was a globe. He even pretended that there were people living on the other side of that globe. This Boniface did not consider to be in keeping with the orthodox doctrine. Then Virgil had a better knowledge of canon law than Boniface had. The Irishman refuted an order issued by the papal legate Boniface to rebaptize Bavarians whom an illiterate priest had baptized in the Name (of the) Fatherland, the Daughter and the Holy Spirit (*in nomine patria et filia et spiritus sancti*). Moreover, Virgil was partly backed by the pope and completely supported by both the Carolingian kings and the Bavarian dukes. But Virgil was worthy of backing. He was one of those religious and learned geniuses whom early medieval Ireland had sent to the Continent over and over again. Virgil's activity met with threefold success. He could considerably increase the economic base of Salzburg which allowed this still preurban community to enjoy its first height of cultural life and to lead the Carinthian mission to a final success.

It was under Virgil that the famous first Cathedral of Salzburg was finished. It displayed both the most unusual splendor and the strength of local Roman continuity. We know for sure that this building's measurements followed the old Roman pace. Besides, the architect must have come from Lombard, Italy. This is easy to understand since the Bavarian duke's father-in-law was the Lombard king. However, since Virgil finished his cathedral or at least parts of it in only seven years, historians have assumed that the Lombard architect and his team could also rely on native craftsmanship based upon local Roman traditions. The cathedral that was dedicated and consecrated in 774 was praised by contemporaries as of *mira magnitudine* (of marvelous greatness and extension). There are also magnificent manu-

scripts left from this period and masterpieces of ecclesiastical art such as the famous Tassilo chalice of Kremsmuenster which is rightly assumed to have originated in Salzburg. This chalice successfully combines Continental and Irish composition forms. The monks of the Upper Austrian monastery of Kremsmuenster still hide it as their foremost treasure.

Then Virgil was also interested in the history of his diocese. Certainly this kind of history in the first place was supposed to provide historical arguments in order to support forgotten or neglected claims of Salzburg. But Virgil was also interested in establishing a confraternity of the living and the dead for whom the community of St. Peter had to pray and who would pray for St. Peter in return. Virgil died in the fall of 784; his succesor became Arno (Eagle), a Bavarian of the new generation that enjoyed the best relations with the western superpower, the Franks, and their ruler Charlemagne. Arno had been abbot of St. Amand in Frankland before he took over the see of St. Peter-Salzburg.

The independent Bavarian Duchy did not survive Virgil's death for more than four years. Then it collapsed under the Frankish impact and became once again an integrated part of the Frankish Empire. Arno continued Virgil's south-eastern Slavonic mission and expanded it toward the East. There is a correspondence still extant between Arno and Alchuin whereby the latter admonished his friend to be more interested in converting new souls to Christendom than in collecting the tithe from them. Only a few years before 800 the Realm of the Avars collapsed; Frankish troops invaded their strongholds and many Slavonic tribes took revenge on them for centuries of oppression and exploitation. Now the way was seemingly paved for Salzburg to become the missionary diocese for an unlimited space in the east. It was exactly at this time that Arno was promoted archbishop by the pope on the direct and personal request of Charlemagne (798). Frontier and mission laid the base for Salzburg's becoming an archdiocese. A few years later the same emperor settled a dispute between Salzburg and the Patriarchate of Aquileia over Carinthia (811).

Charlemagne imposed his will upon the unfriendly neighbors and forced them to accept a compromise, drawing a borderline between Salzburg and Aquileia that is still about the border between Austria on the one hand and Italy and Yugoslavia on the other hand. But there was no border toward the east. Salzburg's missionaries went as far as Lake Balaton in present Hungary.

Around and shortly after 850 Salzburg reached its absolute peak

of power and influence during the Early Middle Ages. The manuscripts still extant show precious taste and extremely high quality. They reflect international relations that prove Salzburg a cultural center of the time. The archbishop of Salzburg was chancellor of the imperial chancery for a while which meant that he ranked first among the East-Frankish bishops. Hagiography, poetry and historiography flourished, external mission and internal ecclesiastical life progressed and met high standards. Then the first setback occurred. The genial brothers Cyrill and Methodius provided a Slavonic version of the Holy Bible thus creating both a new approach toward the Slavonic mission and a kind of first Slavonic common language, which was also to be used for liturgical purposes. The pope was quick to recognize Methodius' alternative. Instead the archbishop of Salzburg and his clergy tried to play tough. Salzburg's missionaries withdrew from wherever Methodius and his people showed up. Finally the Greek ecclesiastic was accused of being a philosopher and taken prisoner by Salzburgians. The pope interfered with this policy, demanded and achieved Methodius' acquittal. Nobody related to Salzburg in any way is supposed to take pride in this shortsighted reaction of the Church of Salzburg. On the other hand we have to be grateful as historians, since these events brought forward a most valuable piece of early medieval historiography. There is still extant a sort of justification report covering 170 years of Salzburg's accomplishments as both Bavarian ecclesiastical center and foremost base of the Slavonic mission. The overwhelming majority of what thus far I have dealt with can be drawn from this very booklet. Since we cannot tell whether it was directed to gain the pope's support or the East-Frankish King's backing in the dispute with Methodius, we are still not able to establish its exact purpose. But the booklet's historical value remains undisturbed by our ignorance.

The slow withdrawal from the engagement in the East was rapidly sped up by the catastrophe of Bratislava-Pressburg in 907. Then the East-Frankish-Bavarian army along with its secular and clerical leaders, among them the archbishop of Salzburg, were virtually wiped out by the Hungarians. These horsemen appeared on the scene destroying the greater Moravian Realm and forcing the East-Frankish-Bavarian body politic to give up its influence and domination over the open plains along the central Danube. Carinthia could be held. But what is now western Hungary and eastern Austria was temporarily or forever lost to the Bavarian tribe and its archdiocese Salzburg. Charters and other diplomatic sources mirror the response to this challenge given by Salzburg's Church: Reorganisation and inner concentration

replaced far-reaching expansion. By the end of the tenth century Salzburg had recovered, but its interests had shifted. Although Passau, one of Salzburg's suffragan dioceses, could not materialize its ambitious and rather lofty plans to become the metropolis of the whole Danube valley, it certainly moved into the vacuum left by Salzburg's withdrawal. In consequence Passau and not Salzburg became the diocese for both Austrias including Vienna. It took centuries of intensive Hapsburgian ecclesiastical policy or rather pressure until Passau was prepared to give up the last remnants of jurisdiction in favor of the rather young diocese and even much younger archdiocese of Vienna.

Salzburg, I said, shifted its interests from the east toward the southeast and above all to its inner consolidation. Here I have to beg your pardon for having to deal with institutional structures for a moment. I know that this field of medieval history is messy and muddy where one gets lost immediately without a good guide. I'll try hard to make myself understood.

We have heard of Salzburg's enormous wealth and economic power which made it rank among the three richest imperial churches. But the archbishop owned his holdings, brine-pans, tools and mines on what we would now call a private basis. Possession of landed estates by definition implied domination over the people who lived on them. But the archbishop had not yet become an actual ruler of a well-defined body politic. The so-called Ottonian Imperial Church System accelerated the change from an archbishop owning private property as economic basis of his ecclesiastical office to an archbishop administering government as lord and prince of a given territory (*Landesfuerst*). The historians understand by the term Ottonian Imperial Church System the transference of secular power in the form of counties and other royal rights to the high clergy. Otto I (936-973) had to realize that he could not fight tribal independence by bestowing the stem duchies upon his relatives. Nor could he stop the feudalisation process that affected the count-stratum, that is to say his local substitutes. The counts had become hereditary tenants of their "offices" that actually were conceived of as feudal benefices. Therefore the counts had ceased to be imperial officials that could be hired and fired. So Otto I and his successors bestowed counties and even duchies upon abbots and bishops. The Church had never completely given up the idea that its members were appointed office holders rather than feudal tenants. Besides, a high clergyman indeed could never legally inherit his church or his position as secular lord.

Considering this overall historical development process we have to expect that the development of Salzburg would be toward an ec-

clesiastical state. On the other hand, a serious crisis occurred at the same moment when the archbishop would not and could not comply with the imperial policy. Exactly this happened when the struggle broke out between the popes and the emperors over who should invest the members of the imperial church.

From the second half of the eleventh century on for several decades the historical sources tell us nothing but about the calamities of the Church of Salzburg (*historia calamitatium ecclesiae Salisburgensis*). Only after Frederic Barbarossa had made peace with pope Alexander III did Salzburg recover from this conflict of interests. It was in the 1180's that another marvelous cathedral was built, the biggest Salzburgian Church ever constructed and replacing the somewhat modified Virgil building. This twelveth century cathedral had at least three and perhaps five naves. It was much larger than the present church and must have been a jewel of Romanesque art. Wolf Dietrich, the archbishop who built the Baroque Church at the beginning of the 17th century is still blamed for burning down or at least allowing the burning of the Romanesque cathedral which we would be more than happy to have today.

The thirteenth century ended Salzburg's development toward a territorial state. The archbishop from then on was the lord and prince of an imperial principality (*Reichsfuerstentum*) that carved out parts of the Duchy of Bavaria and the Duchy of Carinthia to build a new body politic. This happened exactly on the same lines as Austria had developed a century ago. Now Salzburg dominated an area that was rich in both agriculture and mining. Besides Salzburg was an important *pass-state* that possessed and controlled the eastern routes through the Alps, and it grew wealthy from traffic and long distance trade.

However, that Salzburg's development was not determined by nature and geography alone can be easily seen by comparing Salzburg with the Tyrol. In both cases ecclesiastical princes were originally invested to be the emperor's watchdogs of the Alpine passes, which opened the way to Italy for him. Salzburg's missionary task and economic headstart paved its way to becoming an ecclesiastical state by the 1250's. In the Tyrol there were two bishoprics that shared the pass-guard and the domination over the holdings connected with this duty. But they were neither economically strong enough nor did they possess enough religious strength and prestige to keep up their original position. Instead the count of Tyrol who originally was their feudal man took over the dominion over episcopal land on both sides of the Continental Divide and made the bishops his subjects. Thus the Tyrol became a secular principality functioning as a full-fledged Alpine *pass-*

state until the end of the Western Empire and even until the end of its successor state, the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy.

On the other hand Salzburg succeeded in buying out and overcoming all kinds of secular powers within its dominion. Even the bubonic plague worked in favor of this particular goal of the Archbishops of Salzburg. When, after 1350, an enormous shortage of manpower occurred in the wake of plague, the archbishop withdrew his people from the gentry's holdings thus ruining the landed nobility and forcing them into his service. Salzburg was not able yet to keep its sovereignty over its possessions south of the Continental Divide, with a single exception. Therefore, we call Salzburg an *uncompleted pass*-state. The Hapsburgians, who finally surrounded Salzburg on three sides, forced the archbishop to give up his sovereign rights in Styria, Austria and in most of Carinthia. Of course, Salzburg continued owning its vineyards, silver and copper mines, its tolls and tithes in Hapsburgian territories as private proprietors. But it ceased executing dominion over them. However, compared to what Trento and Brixen could keep in the Tyrol, Salzburg was by far better off.

But the Hapsburgians owed a great deal to the archbishop. When the Alamanian count Rudolf of Hapsburg became King he had to face the question of whether or not King Ottokar II Premysl of Bohemia could build up a territorial complex that looked almost like an anticipation of the later Austrian Monarchy. Ottokar dominated an area that virtually linked the Baltic Sea with the Adriatic Sea. Ottokar failed, his realm collapsed and the Hapsburgians succeeded in taking over first in Austria and Styria, later in Carinthia and the Tyrol, and finally even in the countries of the St. Vaclav's crown Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The latter occurred already at the beginning of the 16th century and coincided with the Hapsburgians also becoming Kings of Hungary. Rudolf I's prime targets were Austria and Styria. Here he needed the support and consent of the high clergy and above all he needed help from Salzburg.

Restoration work this year in the culturally active Austrian city of Krems bears witness to how effectively this ecclesiastical support worked. The Dominicans of Krems provided for both the religious needs and the political philosophy of the local gentry who first sided with the Bohemian King and his progressive policy. Then suddenly, as if a signal had been given, both the Dominicans and the gentry defected from Ottokar whose immediate retaliation was a cruel and unwise overreaction. But we have to conclude that it was mostly due to ecclesiastical propaganda that Ottokar was made a tyrant, a non-king, who first lost the support of the Alpine countries and finally a battle

and his very life on the Morava River north-east of Vienna. Then the Hapsburgians were able to take over. It was Rudolf's kind of political legacy to his son to be always on good terms with the archbishop of Salzburg with whom the take-over ideologically originated.

However, with the Hapsburgians settled in the East-Alpine countries, the position of Salzburg became pretty delicate. Moreover, the ducal family of Bavaria, the Wittelsbacher, also gained royal rank temporarily. The Bavarians took advantage of their increased prestige and possibilities to strengthen their power and influence. Thus Salzburg was caught between two thriving powers whose expansionism and jealousy seemed to be an all too slim guarantee of Salzburg's independence. Astonishingly, the more the Hapsburgians and the Wittelsbacher needed a neutral (and reputable) mediator in their endless strifes and quarrels, the better it worked. Then it can't be overlooked that Salzburg enjoyed a rather enlightened government. Certainly it suffered from the peasants' revolt around 1525 as almost the whole of Germany did. Economics was then not the government's business so that nobody could really do anything about depresssion and inflation which severely hit the German peasants at the end of the Middle Ages. The archbishop even had to ask for help from his neighbors to curb the rebellion, and it was given under humiliating conditions.

It seems as if Salzburg learned its lesson from this event. You will remember our walk through the city when we were wondering what this gigantic fortress atop the mountain was good for. Shortly after the out-break of the devastating Thirty Years War, a man acceded to the see of St. Rupert, who did not seem very sympathetic at first. He overthrew his predecessor whose cousin he was and kept him in life-long captivity. Of course, this predecessor was Wolf Dietrich known for his worldly interests and activities. He stood out for his taste for luxury and high living style and was actually married to a woman. Some of the most beautiful baroque palaces in and around Salzburg still bear witness to his cultivated taste and mania for construction. Wolf Dietrich's foremost victim was the Romanesque catheral, a fact which I have already complained about. Wolf Dietrich finished almost nothing. His counsin Marcus Sitticus completed his predecessor's plans, even though he also persecuted him in person. But he and his successor Paris Lodron did more than just finishing. They reorganized and healed Salzburg's economy and used the surprisingly rich resources to build up an armed neutrality which still sets an example for small neutral countries. Paris Lodron fortified Salzburg to an extent that neither the Catholic emperor nor the protestant Swedish King wanted him for an enemy. Thus the archbishop spared Salzburg the terrible con-

sequences of this extremely cruel war and earned himself the name of Father of the Fatherland (Pater Patriae).

I have not yet said a word on the Reformation in Salzburg. Certainly there was a strong Protestant minority in this country. Paris Lodron exemplifies the rule that ecclesiastical princes were usually less interested in persecuting nonconformists than their secular colleagues. In the first place Paris Lodron and his like wanted to keep order in their principalities. For that reason people liked to live under the crook, as the saying had it. Neither did the archbishops travel with the crowd when it came to a shameful witch-hunting and witch trials. Instead they took the trials from the popular justice and appointed officials to supervise or rather abolish this kind of common madness.

Therefore it seems to us like beating a dead horse when archbishop Firmian only in 1731 felt liable to banish more than 20,000 protestant farmers and miners from his territories. Firmian feared an uprising of the protestants who in their turn acted rather unwisely. But the scared archbishop exaggerated the danger by far and decided on the emigration of his protestant subjects. This decision stood in keeping neither with Salzburg's usually rather tolerant policy toward nonconformists nor with the rule of a balanced economy in which the archbishops had always been interested. But this event already belonged to the 18th century, possibly the least famous century of Salzburg's history. So Mozart could not find an appointment there. The economy was ruined for the sake of an outdated principle that sounded *"cuius regio eius religio"* (the lord's religion determines that of his subjects). Only a few years before the end of the Empire in 1806, the archbishop had to resign as secular lord of Salzburg, which became the subject of battle between Bavaria and Austria until it was divided between its neighbors in 1816.

A rather sad end for a proud 1100 year history, one would say. But this is not quite true. With the end of the *ancien régime* in the 18th century, the secular power of ecclesiastical institutions became rather obsolete and quite irrational despite the fact that it took the papacy another hundred years to realize this development as a matter of fact. Modern society has developed enough effective alternatives for ecclesiastical independence based upon economic support so that the ecclesiastical institutions may easily give up their sovereign rights and secular powers of yesteryear.

Thus the archbishop of Salzburg has remained a highly respected figure in the religious and public life of Austria, ranking among ecclesiastics second only to the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna. For instance, nobody will ever forget the efforts and accomplishments of the

war-time and post-war incumbent of Salzburg. He contributed much to the reconciliation of his fellow-citizens after the war. The archbishop of Salzburg is metropolitan of Austria's western *Bundeslaender*. He himself administers a diocese which still exceeds the boundaries of the Austrian Bundesland Salzburg which is quite unusual at the present time. For me it is a funny proof for history's impact on the present that there is now a spat going on over Salzburg's ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the eastern parts of Tyrol which some Tyrolese claim for the bishop of Innsbruck. But this is only an epilogue to the real historical drama, in which Salzburg played an important role. An historical drama, I say, that produced a sense of unity and togetherness among the present Salzburgers who take pride in being the inhabitants of one of the most beautiful cities on earth and of a lovely country-side which luckily combines nature, culture and, not the least, religion.