



# **Secularization of Book Censorship under Maria Theresa: Between Catholic Tradition and Moderate Enlightenment**

Sekularizacija knjižne  
cenzure pod Marijo Terezijo:  
med katoliško tradicijo in  
zmernim razsvetljenstvom

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Censorship of books in the Habsburg hereditary lands was initially effectively controlled by the Catholic Church and was secularized only under Maria Theresa (1740–1780). During the process, the Church gradually lost its decisive influence: in 1751, the Court Book Censorship Committee was established, in 1764 the last Jesuit member of the commission was ousted, and in 1772 the state took over censorship of even theological and religious publications. The new censorship differed from the old one in many ways; for example, with grounding in moderate Enlightenment. In some respects, it resumed the tradition (e.g., favoring Catholicism), and in others it even became more restrictive (e.g., when dealing with literature).

HABSBURG HEREDITARY LANDS,  
MARIA THERESA, CATHOLIC CHURCH,  
SECULARIZATION, CENSORSHIP,  
INDEX, FORBIDDEN BOOKS

Knjižna cenzura v habsburških dednih deželah je bila sprva v največji meri pod nadzorom Katoliške cerkve, sekularizirana pa je bila šele pod Marijo Terezijo (1740–1780). V tem procesu je Cerkev postopno izgubila odločilen vpliv: leta 1751 je bila ustanovljena Dvorna komisija za knjižno cenzuro, leta 1764 so iz nje izrinili zadnjega jezuita, leta 1772 pa je država prevzela celo cenzuro teoloških in verskih knjig. Nova cenzura se je v marsičem ločila od stare, na primer z izhodiščem v zmernem razsvetljenstvu. V nekaterih pogledih je nadaljevala tradicijo (na primer s favoriziranjem katoliške vere), v drugih pa je bila celo restriktivnejša (na primer pri obravnavi leposlovja).

HABSBURŠKE DEDNE DEŽELE,  
MARIJA TEREZIJA, KATOLIŠKA  
CERKEV, SEKULARIZACIJA, CENZURA,  
INDEKS, PREPOVEDANE KNJIGE

Researchers studying the book censorship reform in the Habsburg hereditary lands under Maria Theresa (1740–1780) have rightfully highlighted secularization as its most important outcome while also drawing attention to other aspects of the complex relationships between the secular and Church authorities in this area. Through comparison and examples of censored authors and banned books from the Duchy of Carniola, this article offers new insights into how the new Habsburg censorship differed from the old Habsburg censorship and the contemporary Church censorship in Rome, as well as insights into the aspects in which it continued their tradition and the areas in which it was even more restrictive.

### **CENSORSHIP SECULARIZATION**

Book censorship in the Habsburg hereditary lands, which was introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was a power mechanism of the ruler. With the ruler's permission, censorship was initially primarily directed by the Catholic Church—that is, the bishop of Vienna, the University of Vienna (which was in Jesuit hands), the local bishops, and the Jesuit colleges. Compared to France, Prussia, and many other German Protestant principalities, secularization occurred fairly late (Sashegyi: 15), also due to a strong Catholic identity reinforced during the Counter-Reformation and the wars against the Ottoman Empire. It was only Maria Theresa that also began to institutionalize, centralize, and bureaucratize censorship after the War of the Austrian Succession. In this process, led by the prefect of the Court Library, Gerard van Swieten, for over two decades, censorship was incorporated into the state administrative apparatus and the Church was gradually driven out of it or removed from direct and decisive influence in this

area (Papenheim: 90; Bachleitner: 49). Its ideological orientation also partly changed: the old censorship founded on traditional Catholicism was guided by the confessional and political interests of the ruler and the Church, whereas the new censorship founded on the (moderate) Enlightenment and Reform Catholicism primarily pursued the interests of the emerging modern state.

In 1751, Maria Theresa established the Court Book Censorship Committee, which took over the responsibilities of older institutions. In it, the Jesuits were initially still in charge of the most extensive areas of theology and philosophy, whereas other areas, such as law and historiography, were largely supervised by secular professors at the University of Vienna, the Savoyard Academy, and the Theresian Academy. Van Swieten, who was initially only responsible for medicine and became the committee's chair in 1759, soon took over the philosophical works and literature from the Jesuits; in addition, he also censored all the natural science works. In 1764, the last Jesuit was driven out of the committee. The Jesuits were replaced by diocesan priests, who were proposed by the Archbishop of Vienna but had to be approved by Maria Theresa (Klingenstein: 161, 172; Bachleitner, Eybl, Fischer: 109; Olechowski: 59–61; Bachleitner: 41, 49, 50). Until van Swieten's death in 1772, the committee was composed of seven censors. Thus, in 1767, they included three diocesan priests and four secular professionals, among them Karl Anton von Martini, a professor of natural law at the University of Vienna (Klingenstein: 158). The censors practiced both retroactive and preventive censorship. They evaluated the yet unknown printed works brought from abroad and the pre-publication manuscripts of domestic works assigned to them by the committee's secretary according to the area they covered. The secretary handed one manuscript copy of a domestic work to the censor

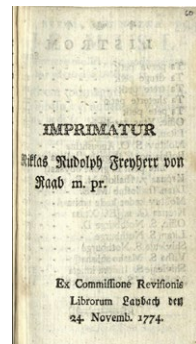
and kept one for himself, so that, if the work was positively evaluated and published, he could check whether the manuscript matched the printed version. Censors met at van Swieten's office once a month, or more often if needed, to report on the works they had received for evaluation. If a judgment was unanimous, the case was solved, and a potential ban was sent to the ruler or the court office for approval. If no agreement could be reached, the opinions were protocolized and the case was handed over to the ruler to decide (Bachleitner: 54–55).

In 1772, the Church was hit by a new, especially painful blow: the old committee, which also included diocesan priests (albeit a minority) and ultimately still respected the will of the archbishop of Vienna, was dissolved, and the new twelve-member committee was conceived as a purely administrative body. From then onward, censors were paid for their work. With this reform, the state also took over the censorship of theological and religious texts from the Church. The archbishop of Vienna, Count Christoph Anton von Migazzi, could only protest (mostly in vain) if the censorship committee permitted any non-Catholic works he deemed problematic or banned any Catholic works that he viewed as unproblematic (Bachleitner: 57–58; cf. Wolf 2007: 311; Papenheim: 90).

The composition and *modus operandi* of the Vienna central committee were copied—even though often with a delay and with a milder attitude toward the Church authorities—by local committees, which were set up in the provincial capitals to control the local books and newspaper production. Thus in 1771, the Ljubljana book review committee was headed by Baron Niklas Rudolph von Raab, a representative of the provincial government, but the priests nonetheless held the majority (three of five members) in the committee: the vicar general of the Ljubljana Diocese, Karl Peer, and the rector and dean

of the Ljubljana Jesuit College (*Kaiserl. Königl. Innerösterreichischer Schematismus*: 158). It was only 1773, when the Society of Jesus was dissolved, that both Jesuits were replaced by two diocesan priests. Peer issued licenses for religious works printed in Ljubljana on behalf of the diocesan office even before the 1751 establishment of the Vienna committee (Kidrič 1935), and he continued to do the same during the operation of the Ljubljana committee around 1770. It was not until the final secularization of the Vienna committee in 1772 that an important change was also brought to Ljubljana: Peer remained on the committee, but from then onward religious works were published with express permission from the Ljubljana committee or its (secular) chair; initially this was Raab (cf., e.g., Pohlin 1773; Pohlin 1774). The situation was similar in Bohemia, where, during the first half of Maria Theresa's reign, the Church authorities, including the Jesuits, were still involved in censorship. In 1772, the book censorship committee in Prague, led by the archbishop until then, was conceived as a pure state body, following the model of the Vienna committee, and the archdiocesan consistory was prohibited from confiscating problematic printed works and pursuing other similar activities (Piša, Wögerbauer: 196–197).

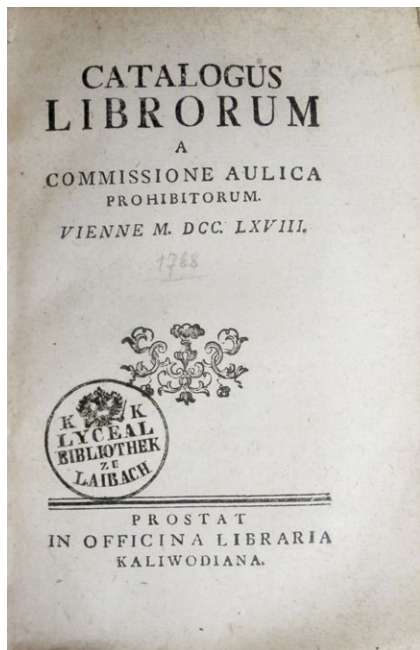
To improve control over imported books, in 1754 the Court Book Censorship Committee began to publish the index *Catalogus librorum rejectorum per consensum censurae*, which in later editions changed its title to *Catalogus librorum a commissione aulica prohibitorum*. Roughly once a month, the committee gathered the prohibited titles into consignments, which were then sent to the provinces, and at the end of each year it added these titles to the index (Bachleitner: 54–56). The Vienna index thus ended the two-century-long universal validity of the Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum* in the Habsburg hereditary



**FIG. 1** ↑  
The imprimatur by Baron Niklas Rudolph von Raab, chair of the Ljubljana book review committee, in the 1774 book *Pet svetih petkov mesza sushza* (Five Holy Fridays in the Month of March) by Marko Pohlin. Photo: Ljubljana National and University Library.

**FIG. 2** →

Title page of *Catalogus librorum a commissione aulica prohibitorum*, printed in Vienna in 1768. Ljubljana National and University Library. Photo: Luka Vidmar.



lands or limited it to the Church sphere (Vidmar 2018: 23). This change, too, was enforced only gradually. Even in 1770, the Prague Archbishop Anton Peter Příkladovský ordered the publication of the *Church Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum et corrigendorum*, which was conceived in an entirely Counter-Reformation spirit, but later the provincial authorities no longer permitted such bans from the Church (Piša, Wögerbauer: 195–196).

The secularization partly changed the criteria for evaluating contentiousness, which primarily benefited scholarly works. In terms of religion, the criteria showed some degree of forbearance toward Protestant works, but they affected a larger number of Catholic works

than before. Thus, in his 1772 report to Maria Theresa, van Swieten also mentioned certain Catholic books (i.e., superstitious and Jesuit books) among those that censorship should ban, while recommending that scholarly books by Protestant writers be tolerated, even though they contained anti-Catholic barbs (Bachleitner: 52). That the censors (but not Maria Theresa) paid somewhat less attention to Protestant books is also indicated by the Vienna index, which, contrary to the Roman one, did not include works by Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and other important reformers—which, as non-Catholic works, were prohibited in the Habsburg hereditary lands anyway. For the same reason, the Vienna index did not include the main Slovenian reformer Primož Trubar, who was listed on the Roman index in 1596 under the most dangerous authors – *auctores primae classis* (Vidmar 2018: 30).

Religious Catholic works were subjected to significantly stricter evaluation than in the past. Because they reached the largest number of people across all social classes, the Enlightenment state wanted to use them in cultivating the common folk as religious, reasonable, moral, and hard-working citizens. Superstition (e.g., occult works) was already persecuted by the Church and pre-Theresian censorship (Vidmar 2018: 41), but the Enlightenment censors also included many previously acceptable Catholic books under this category; for example, books that promoted certain Baroque forms of devotion, described the miracles of Christian saints (Ogrin: 137), or thematized the devil (Bachleitner: 282–287). For these reasons, they banned, among other things, certain older works on Christian teachings and as many as ten ascetic, hagiographic, and meditative works by the German Capuchin Martin of Cochem (Bachleitner, Eybl, Fischer: 111; Ogrin: 127), who ended up among the most frequently banned authors on the Vienna index (Bachleitner: 80).



## CONTINUING THE CENSORSHIP TRADITION

Despite its secularization, which part of the Church experienced almost as an apocalypse, in many aspects the Theresian censorship did not break with tradition. It retained several features of the old censorship: as an absolutist monarch's institution, its main task was still to protect the faith and morals of individuals and especially young people against harmful influences and to protect the ruler, the Church, and the existing social order against attacks. For this reason, it suppressed many of the same or similar book categories as the old Habsburg censorship and the concurrent Church censorship in Rome.

Hence, secularization did not automatically bring liberalization. Compared to censorship in Saxony, France, and Prussia, Austrian censorship—together with Bavarian—remained relatively restrictive (Angelike: 228; Wolf 2007: 312; Bachleitner: 41). From 1754 to 1780, the Vienna index was published in four editions and seventeen supplementary volumes, with an average of 157 titles included each year. Even though the number of bans did not grow as fast as book production, thus implying a relaxation in retroactive censorship (Bachleitner: 55–56, 73–75), the Vienna index was growing increasingly longer (Hadamowsky: 294; Wolf 2007: 314), ultimately reaching the length of the Roman index. However, the Vienna index by far exceeded the Roman one in the frequency of updates and releases: only one edition of the Roman index was published during that period (i.e., in 1758 under Pope Benedict XIV).

The censors sometimes handled the banned books surprisingly similarly as in the past, even though books were hardly ever burned in public anymore. Hence, during its sessions, the Vienna committee destroyed the banned books that it had confiscated from private

owners and only included political and theological works in the court or archdiocesan library (Bachleitner: 51, 55). A similar distinction was made during the Counter-Reformation and Catholic restoration: for example, in 1600 and 1601 the religious committee for Carniola publicly burned heretical books, especially the theological writings by the most dangerous authors (*auctores primae classis*), on town squares, whereas it included more useful and less problematic books, such as the Protestant translations of the Bible and philological works, in Church libraries (Vidmar 2018: 15, 28–29).

Characteristic of both the old and the new censorship was also the differentiation between different groups of readers in terms of their social class and education. Already in principle, censorship was more forbearing toward members of the social and intellectual elite, to whom it granted special licenses for purchasing specific problematic books, such as Hontheim's *De statu ecclesiae*, which advocated reducing papal power (Bachleitner: 56). Namely, it still applied that suitably educated readers (primarily priests in the past) could more successfully withstand harmful ideas than uneducated readers.

### **THE PERSISTENT INFLUENCE OF CATHOLICISM IN CENSORSHIP**

Moreover, secularization did not remove Catholicism and subsequently, at least, the indirect influence of the Church from censorship. Even though the Church was pushed out of political decision making, it continued to set the norms of what was allowed and desired in society together with the state (Bachleitner: 407). Continuing the tradition of her ancestors, Maria Theresa remained a devout Catholic concerned with the preservation of the only true religion permitted in the Habsburg hereditary lands, who viewed Protestantism as a heresy outside the

1  
 “Liber prohibitus,  
 et non, nisi à docto  
 et facultatem habente  
 tenendus, legendus  
 [...]. Quia ab haereticis  
 ex latino versus in ger-  
 manicum, et notis  
 adauctus, inque loco  
 haeretico impressus,  
 et hoc ipso corruption-  
 is suspectus habetur.”  
 FSLC, Alfons Anton  
 von Sarasa, *Sitten-  
 lehre, oder die Kunst  
 sich immer zu freuen*,  
 Magdeburg 1764.

law (Žnidaršič Golec: 264; cf. Wolf 2007: 311). The ruler’s beliefs were also reflected in the operations of censorship bodies, which, just like other state bodies, supported the Enlightenment version of religious ideology: moderate Reform Catholicism (Bachleitner: 50). In 1759 and 1761, Maria Theresa thus approved measures to prevent the spread of Protestant works, which included supervision over peddlers of printed goods (Bachleitner: 43), and in the following years she imposed a fine on reading non-Catholic books in the amount of eighteen guildens, of which the person reporting the reader would receive two-thirds (Žnidaršič Golec: 269).

That the state and Church censorship were still largely in agreement regarding heresy is indicated by a note added by Father Hieronymus Markillitsch, who served several times as guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Ljubljana, to the German translation of the Jesuit Alphonse Antonio de Sarasa’s work *Ars semper gaudendi* printed in Magdeburg in 1764, which Markillitsch acquired in 1767. He clearly took into account the Vienna index (the book was not listed on the Roman index), which banned the book due to its Protestant-oriented remarks (*Catalogus*: 283), because he noted the following in his copy of the book: “This book [is] prohibited and must not be read unless in the hands of an educated and trained [man] [...]. Because it [was] translated from Latin into German and supplemented with notes by heretics and printed in a heretical place, it is suspected of being corrupt.”<sup>1</sup>

### **GREATER RESTRICTIVENESS OF CENSORSHIP**

Last but not least, Theresian censorship and the Church remained in accord in prohibiting a large number of philosophical, political, and literary works by the English, French, and German men of the



← **FIG. 3**  
 Title page of the German translation of Alphonse Antonio de Sarasa's work *Ars semper gaudendi* printed in Magdeburg in 1764 and owned by Father Hieronymus Markillitsch. Ljubljana Center Franciscan Monastery. Photo: Luka Vidmar.

Enlightenment—not only radical authors, such as the proponents of atheism and materialism, but often also moderate ones. In this regard, the Vienna censorship proved to be even more thorough than the Roman one because, through its 1758 reformed edition published under Pope Benedict XIV, the papal index, which was updated based on denunciations rather than systematic reviews (Papenheim: 85), renounced the practically unattainable control over the world's book production and focused on works with a Catholic content (Green, Carlides: 266). The Vienna censorship also outdid the Roman one in other criteria: from 1701 to 1813, the Congregation of the Index and the Congregation of the Inquisition banned a total of approximately 1,600

books (Wolf 2011: 27, 29), whereas from 1751 to 1780 alone the Court Book Censorship Committee banned as many as 4,701 (Bachleitner: 55).

For example, both the Roman and Viennese censors banned several philosophical and political works by Bolingbroke, Locke, Hume, Bayle, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvétius, and La Mettrie, and the *Encyclopédie* co-edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, but the Viennese censors—also because they were much more familiar with and took greater account of the German market—prohibited more authors, including Leibniz (Papenheim: 85), and more works, including Voltaire's (Bachleitner: 79, 80).

Something similar applied to literature, in which the Viennese censors strove to subdue any immorality to an equal or even greater extent than the former and concurrent Roman censors. Considered useless, harmful, and godless, these types of books were evaluated especially strictly by van Swieten (Wolf 2007: 312–313; Bachleitner: 53). Maria Theresa's pronounced concern for her subjects' morals was reflected in the ban of many now canonized German, French, and English literary works. The German works of the Enlightenment listed on the Vienna index included Goethe's novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther; due to the suicide motif and descriptions of passion) and Wieland's novel *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (The Adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva; most likely due to its lascivious passages and critical remarks about rulers; Bachleitner: 287–288, 302–303). In addition, the Viennese censors were significantly more conscientious in their search for cheap erotic novels and stories or even more controversial works that criticized the unbridled love lives of rulers, such as Louis XIV and Louis XV (cf. Bachleitner: 269–281): the 1786 edition of the Roman index lists three works whose titles begin with *amor*, *amore* or *amour* 'love' (the last published in 1685;

*Index: 9*), whereas the 1776 edition of the Vienna index lists as many as twenty-nine such titles (the last published in 1769; *Catalogus: 10–11*). Increased moralism is also shown in the stricter treatment of Classical authors, at least in principle. The seventh rule adopted at the Council of Trent and published in the editions of the Roman index prohibited lascivious and obscene texts, but, due to their artistic language and excellent style, these types of works by Classical authors (e.g., Ovid's *Ars amatoria*) were excluded from this rule; their use was only prohibited in school instruction (Vidmar 2018: 43). In turn, the Viennese censors expressly prohibited as many as eight editions of Ovid's works (Bachleitner: 81).

Completely anew and unrelated to tradition, Theresian censorship, however, established strict control over plays and especially their staging, because in the second half of the eighteenth century the theater was turning into an increasingly influential public space reaching people across all classes. During that time, the Church was no longer able to intervene in it and so, for example, several of Lessing's works can be found on the Vienna index (*Catalogus: 173–174*) and none on the Roman one. Theater censorship in Vienna was established in 1770: for a short time, it was conducted by the theater reformist Joseph von Sonnenfels and then Franz Karl Hägelin after him. From the perspective of the Enlightenment, the theater's task was to educate and ennoble people, and therefore the state encouraged permanent theaters and German drama in the Austrian lands. Censorship prohibited any depictions of violence, immorality, and indecent jokes and gestures on stage, as well as any inappropriate portrayal of the rulers and improvisation. Sometimes the two co-rulers themselves decided on the staging of an individual play. Thus, in 1777, the staging of Shakespeare's tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* was cancelled because Maria Theresa could not

**FIG. 4** ▶  
Cover of the tragedy  
*Miss Jenny Love* pub-  
lished by Anton Tomaž  
Linhart in Augsburg  
in 1780. Photo: Lju-  
bljana National and  
University Library.



bear to see any dead people, cemeteries, funerals, and similar motifs on stage, and that same year Joseph II prohibited the staging of Friedrich Maximilian Klingers *Sturm und Drang* play *Die Zwillinge* (The Twins; Glossy: 248; Hadamowsky; Höyng: 103; Bachleitner: 54, 239–241).

The Carniolan author Anton Tomaž Linhart, who studied at the University of Vienna, where he also attended Sonnenfels's lectures, wrote the tragedy *Miss Jenny Love* in Vienna in 1779. The work was based primarily on Lessing's and Klinger's plays and filled with passion, violence, and murder, which is why Linhart could have no hope

whatsoever to have it staged in the Habsburg hereditary lands (Zupančič: 31–71). In 1780, he had it printed in the free imperial city of Augsburg, probably to avoid preventive censorship, and after its publication he shared his fear of retroactive censorship with his friend Martin Kuralt: “What I have the pleasure to assure you is that Mr. Stage, the printer of my work, wrote to me in his last letter that he planned to send it to me around Easter by a safe path, so it would be safe from the inconvenience of censorship.”<sup>2</sup>

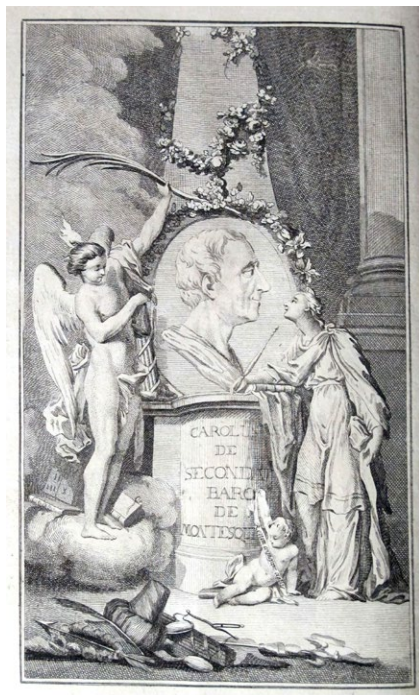
**2**  
 “Ce que j’ai le plaisir  
 de Vous assurer,  
 c’est que monsieur  
 Stage, Imprimeur  
 de l’ouvrage, m’a écrit  
 avec la dernière poste,  
 de Vouloir bien  
 me l’envoyer vers  
 la pâque, par  
 un chemin sur,  
 à l’abri d’incommod-  
 ités de la Censure”  
 (Linhart: 270).

### RETROACTIVE CENSORSHIP AND CHURCH LIBRARIES

Theresian retroactive censorship was only partially successful. On the one hand, contemporary authors, such as Johann Pezzl, noted that because of it new literary works that were already well known in other parts of the empire were read with a delay in Vienna (Wolf 2007: 316), and even more so on the Austrian periphery. On the other hand, as in the past, retroactive censorship was unable to effectively prevent banned books from being read by the members of the social and intellectual elite, who in the religiously and politically fragmented empire easily found ways to circumvent the regulations. When purchasing such books (including on the German black market), they mostly ignored the index and did not waste time on acquiring permits for which they would often be eligible, but instead used informal channels to which they gained access through their political and economic connections. Such were, for example, Count Karl von Zinzendorf, the governor of Trieste during the last years of Maria Theresa’s rule (Bachleitner, Eybl, Fischer: 111; Bachleitner: 56–57), and his friend, Baron Žiga Zois, a wealthy merchant, industrialist, and landlord, whose library in Ljubljana contained a series of banned works, including those authored



**FIG. 5** → Montesquieu's portrait in the 1771 London edition of his works owned by Baron Žiga Zois. Ljubljana National and University Library. Photo: Luka Vidmar.



by Bayle, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau (Vidmar 2018: 39, 41; Svoltjšak: 106). Such readers of course often used both the Vienna and Roman indices as guides in looking for exciting works.

However, in provinces such as Carniola, there were not yet many intellectuals under Maria Theresa that would be interested in the most controversial Enlightenment works. This was not so much the result of retroactive censorship, but of the dominant Baroque culture and Catholic tradition, which were gradually replaced by moderate Enlightenment and Reform Catholicism only in the second half of the Theresian period. Being rooted in medieval, humanist, and Baroque

universalism, Church libraries strove to maintain an overview over the entire body of human knowledge, including banned knowledge. Thus, on the one hand, they successfully defied both the Roman and Vienna indices, but, on the other, they could largely no longer keep up with the rapid development of science, philosophy, and historiography during that time (cf. Papenheim: 95; Wolf 2007: 313–314). Of the authors listed on the Roman and Vienna indices, libraries often included older anti-Catholic and anti-Curia writers, such as Gregorio Leti and Ferrante Pallavicino, and only rarely modern Enlightenment authors, such as Rousseau or Helvétius (Vidmar 2018: 36, 38, 48, 49; Vidmar 2019).

### PREVENTIVE CENSORSHIP AND CATHOLIC BOOKS

For the most part, Theresian preventive censorship was successful, especially because it retained and further improved the strict control over book production that had already been imposed by the old censorship based on the Counter-Reformation. The number of publishers, printers, booksellers, and published works remained relatively low even in the cosmopolitan capital, the authors continued to resort to self-censorship, and there was no underground press, so that the Vienna index hardly contained any works by Austrian authors. The lengthy and restrictive censorship procedures contributed to slower development of the public sphere (Hadamowsky: 295; Wolf 2007: 312–316).

The combination of traditional restrictiveness and a new ideological orientation of censorship made it difficult for some works with traditional Catholic topics to be printed because, from the perspective of the Enlightenment, they were often considered outdated, useless, or even harmful. A series of Slovenian works, including translations and adaptations of Martin of Cochem's works, which the authors could



**FIG. 6 ↑**  
Gregorio Leti's portrait in his 1693 work *Vita di Sisto V.* owned by the Stična Cistercian Monastery. Ljubljana National and University Library. Photo: Luka Vidmar.

not hope to be permitted by the censors, could only circulate among people, especially priests, in the form of manuscripts (Ogrin). However, other Theresian reforms, especially the school and administrative ones, provided new impetus to religious and educational books that especially priests continued to write in the vernacular. The Ljubljana Discalced Augustinian Marko Pohlin, the pioneer of the Slovenian revival, published his works without any major difficulties under Theresian censorship. He was skilled at connecting traditional Catholic genres, such as hagiographies and texts for saints' devotions, with the goals of the moderate Enlightenment, especially folk education. He regularly obtained imprimaturs for his works printed in Ljubljana, first from the diocesan office and then from the censorship committee (cf., e.g., Pohlin 1774). In 1778, he even received the imprimatur for his Slovenian translation of the Pentateuch directly from the Vienna censorship committee because he was active at the Mariabrunn monastery in Vienna at that time. However, when he wanted to publish his translation in Ljubljana, the bishop of Ljubljana, Count Johann Karl von Herberstein, refused to grant him the imprimatur in November 1781, one year after Maria Theresa's death, and instead entrusted the translation of the Bible to his circle of priests loyal to Josephinism and Jansenism (Kidrič 1978: 9, 16).

## **CONCLUSION**

Secularization of book censorship in the Habsburg hereditary lands under Maria Theresa was a long and gradual process that was faster and more pronounced in Vienna than in the provincial capitals, but by the 1770s at the latest it led to universal state takeover, the elimination of the decisive influence of the Church, and the establishment

of the moderate Enlightenment policy. Despite great structural and organizational changes, the conceptual basis following Maria Theresa's principles remained largely the same or at least similar: censorship continued to protect the Catholic faith, the ruler, the state, the Church, the social order, and individuals' morals against the same or similar books (e.g., Protestant, atheist, and libertine works). Because its apparatus was much more effective than that of the old Habsburg and concurrent Church censorship, it could even increase the pressure in certain areas, such as literature and theater. Its impact was complex in both the religious and secular spheres. Retroactive censorship seems not to have had any major negative effect on either Church or private libraries, but it nonetheless slowed down the reception of new books from abroad. In turn, preventive censorship effectively limited undesired topics, including some traditionally Catholic ones, but, in combination with other Theresian reforms, it nonetheless encouraged the publication of an increasingly larger number of books, especially those educating the common folk. ♡

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## Povzetek

Knjižna cenzura v habsburških dednih deželah, oblikovana v 16. in 17. stoletju in utemeljena na protireformaciji, je bila oblastni mehanizem vladarja, ki pa ga je z njegovim dovoljenjem večinoma upravljala Kato-liška cerkev. Sekularizacijo je izvedla šele Marija Terezija (1740–1780), ki je cenzuro vključila v državni administrativni aparat, iz nje pa pos-topoma izrinila Cerkev. Cenzura je bila po novem utemeljena v zmer-nem razsvetljenstvu, upoštevala pa je predvsem interese nastajajoče moderne države. Leta 1751 je Marija Terezija ustanovila Dvorno komisijo za knjižno cenzuro, ki je prevzela pristojnosti starejših ustanov. Leta 1764 so iz komisije izpodrinili zadnjega jezuita, jezuite pa so sprva na-domestili škofijski duhovniki. Leta 1772 so komisijo zasnovali kot čisto uradniško telo in Cerkvi odvzeli še cenzuro teoloških in verskih tekstov.

Sekularizacija je delno spremenila merila za ocenjevanje sporno-sti del, ki so koristila predvsem znanstvenim delom, na primer nara-voslovnim. Glede na vero so v praksi nakazala nekaj popustljivosti do protestantskih del, prizadela pa večje število katoliških del kot prej. Kljub temu terezijanska cenzura ni povsem prekinila tradicije stare cenzure. Med glavnimi cilji je ohranila varovanje vere in Cerkve. Ostala je restriktivna: njen *Catalogus librorum a commissione aulica prohibitorum* je po obsegu dosegel rimski indeks, daleč presegel pa ga je po pogosto-sti dopolnjevanja in izhajanja. Cenzura je s spornimi knjigami včasih ravnala podobno strogo kot prej (jih celo uničevala), ohranila je tudi tradicionalno ločevanje med različnimi skupinami bralcev – glede na njihov stan in izobrazbo. Vpliv katolištva je bil še vedno prisoten: čeprav je bila Cerkev odrinjena od političnega odločanja, je skupaj z državo še vedno določala norme dovoljenega. Marija Terezija je ostala globoko verna katoličanka, zaskrbljena za ohranjanje edine dovoljene

vere v habsburških dednih deželah, zato je cenzura podpirala razsvetljsko različico verske ideologije, zmerno reformno katolištvo, in še vedno preganjala protestantske knjige. Prav tako je prepovedala veliko filozofskih, političnih in literarnih del angleških, francoskih in nemških razsvetljencev, pa ne le radikalnih, na primer zagovornikov ateizma in materializma, ampak pogosto tudi zmernih. V primerjavi s staro in cerkveno cenzuro se je ponekod celo zaostrila, na primer v odnosu do novejših političnih, erotičnih, leposlovnih in gledaliških del. Na cerkvene knjižnice, ki se za tovrstna dela večinoma niso zanimale v tolikšni meri kot v preteklosti, z omejevanjem uvoza spornih knjig ni posebej vplivala. Čeprav je omejevala tradicionalne katoliške vsebine in s tem preprečila natis nekaterih knjig, so nabožne knjige v ljudskih jezikih dobile nov zagon z drugimi terezijanskimi reformami, posebej šolskimi.

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