

A letter from Nicolas Donellan, Vicar General of the Augustinians in Austria (Vienna, 12-8-1645)

Introduction*

Like the other older orders, the Augustinians received in the troubled period of the sixteenth century a series of hard blows, from which it was not easy to recover. The complete history of the slow upgrade progress of the Augustinians in seventeenth-century Austria has yet to be written. By the present short article, we hope to make a modest contribution to the problem. Our starting point will be a six-page letter, written from Vienna by Nicholas Donellan, the Vicar-General of the Augustinians in Austria to his prior general in August 12, 1645¹⁾. The addressee was the newly-elected Fulgenzo Petrelli²⁾, who had written to Donellan on July 8, 1645 a letter in

* Frequently used abbreviations: AA = *Analecta Augustiniana*, 1-31, Roma 1905 ff.; Aa = *Notizie circe le Provincie, Congregationi e Conventi di tutta la nostra Religione*, in AG, Romae 1266 sqq.; AG = Archivio Generalizio dell'ordine agostiniano, Roma; Aug. = *Augustinianum, Periodicum quadrimestre Collegii Internationalis Augustiniani*, Romae 1961 sqq.; Auga. = *Augustiniana, Revue trimestrielle pour l'étude de S. Augustin et de l'Ordre des Augustins*, Heverlee-Louvain 1951 sqq.; AV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano; Dd = *Registrum Priorum Generalium*, in AG, Romae 1357 sqq.; GAVIGAN, *doct.* = *De doctoribus theologiae O.S.A. in universitate vindobonensi*, in Aug. 5 (1965) 271-364; *idem*, *Assist.* = *Assistentia provinciae Austriae (1672-1676)*, in Aug. 6 (1966) 259-293; *idem*, *theol.* = *De theologiae professoribus augustinianis universitatis graecensis*, in Auga. 17 (1967) 333-388; 18 (1968) 39-81; *idem*, *Epp.* = *Epistulae inter Priores Generales O.S.A. atque Imperatores Austriacos annis 1635-1671 missae*, in Auga. 18 (1968) 425-513; *idem*, *Clob.* = *Johannes Clobucciarich, O.S.A.*, in AA 31 (1968) 319-358; HCMRA = *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, 4 (Monasterii 1935); ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms.; Kreybich = *Catalogus Patrum ac Frum o.Er. S.P. Aug. ... in Bohemia existentium tripartitus ... ex libris historicis et manuscriptis domesticis conscriptus an. Dom. 1800, die 1 menseis febr. a Patre Pachomio Kreybich, ad S. Thomae (Pragae) Subpriore*; RENNHOFFER = F. RENNHOFFER, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien, Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Wiens*, Würzburg 1956; *idem*, *Kl.* = *Augustinerklöster in Österreich*, in Auga. 6 (1956) 490-536.

1) Found in AG, Fondo Aa 36a.689r-691v

2) He had been elected to the Generalate in Rome on June 3, 1645, cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 429

which he threateningly ordered him to obtain from the emperor Ferdinand III the revocation of the decree of exile against the Flemish Augustinian, Patritius de Rau, of February 4, 1645³⁾. On the same day on which the prior general Petrelli wrote to Donellan, that is, July 8, he wrote to the emperor Ferdinand also, begging him to recall the banished de Rau from exile⁴⁾. Later in this article we shall have occasion to publish the brief letter sent by the general to Donellan on July 8 of this year, before we give the chief points of Donellan's answer of August 12 in the same year. In this way we hope to help the reader to gain some idea of the situation of the Augustinians in Austria, and especially in Vienna, about the year 1645. In order to make this even clearer, we offer here as useful proximate preparatory material an explanation of four points of Augustinian history in Vienna before the year 1645: 1. Difficulties before the year 1630; 2. The loss of the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienne to the Dis-calc'd Augustinians in 1630; 3. Patritius de Rau sent to Vienna in 1636; 4. Donellan's arrival as Vicar General in Vienna in 1643.

1. *Difficulties of the Augustinians in Austria before 1630*

Before the time of Luther the Augustinians possessed in Austria a series of monasteries, which belonged to the then flourishing Bavarian province of the order. The province was divided since the fifteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, into nine districts. Two of these districts contained a goodly number of monasteries in the territory of moderne Austria. In the district known in the order as the district of Austria, Augustinian monasteries were found in Vienna, Baden, Bruck an der Leytha, Korneuburg, Mareck. In the district known of Styria-Carinthia, Augustinian monasteries existed in Fürstenfeld, Völkermarkt, Fiume, Laibach, Radkersburg, Judenburg, Hohenmauten, and perhaps Güssing⁵⁾. But nearly all of these monasteries were lost to the order in the turbulent years immediately after the Lutheran outbreak. Every monastery in the district of Austria was for a time lost to the Augustinians, except that of Vienna. At the

³⁾ *Ibid.* 463, note 140, where by a misprint the name of emperor Ferdinand II occurs instead of Ferdinand III.

⁴⁾ The letter is found in AG, Dd 80.LII-LIII, and has been published in GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 463-464

⁵⁾ Cf. RENNHOFFER, *Kl.* where each monastery is treated in alphabetival order; also GAVIGAN *Epp.* 441

same time the order lost in the same way each of its monasteries in Styria-Carinthia, except that of Fiume ⁶⁾). Even though many of the lost monasteries were recovered with great difficulty before 1600, the Augustinians in Austrian territories were in a greatly weakened condition, just as many other mendicant and monastic orders and the secular clergy ⁷⁾). It had been almost impossible in the second half of the sixteenth century to obtain native vocations, so that most of the mendicant monasteries in Austria before 1600 had a large share of Italian friars, sent by the general to preserve the houses for their orders ⁸⁾). They were considered by a hostile government to be for the most part ignorant of the language and customs of Austria, so that progress was slow even in the years immediately after the turn of the seventeenth century. Even though the Augustinians had recovered on paper the monastery in Baden in 1583-1584, the sad fact was that even in 1593 complaints were made that no Augustinian was to be found there. Italians and Croats began in the seventeenth century to serve here in Baden as stop-gaps, before German priors again appear in 1602 ⁹⁾). Until 1623, when the monastery of Korneuburg was regained, the once flourishing district of Austria was reduced to the monasteries of Vienna and Baden, both of which reflected only shadows of past prosperity. The monasteries of Korneuburg and Bruck an der Leytha still belonged juridically to the Augustinian order, but were not yet effectively reclaimed and reoccupied.

The situation was hardly better in the district of Styria-Carinthia. This region had been broken off from the Bavarian province into a quasi-independent province about the year 1578 ¹⁰⁾). But here too the struggle was a hard one. Croats, Germans and Italians had a colorful story in the development of the new province, which held its first provincial chapter only in the year 1597, when it counted six monasteries, of which one was unoccupied, and twenty-three members. By the year 1607 it numbered six convents and only twenty-

⁶⁾ *Ibid.* 445

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*; also N. PAULUS, *Johannes Hoffmeister, ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1891, 247, note 1

⁸⁾ GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 447-448

⁹⁾ U. ANZINGER, *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Baden*, in *Auga.* 18 (1968) 305-317

¹⁰⁾ GAVIGAN, *Clob.* 327.

six members ¹¹). The energetic Vicar General Felix Milensius had apparently not yet visited this province of Styria-Carinthia, when on Dec. 1, 1604, he united the Augustinian monasteries of Austria and Bohemia into a single new province. Unfortunately for the Austrian monasteries, the provincial Johannes Baptist Kristl resided in Prague, and so the confreres in Austria complained constantly that they received no help from the Bohemian monasteries. The result of this would be the separation of Austria and Bohemia in the year 1636, obtained with the help of the emperor himself, Ferdinand II ¹²). We see therefore that the regions of Austria and Styria-Carinthia were thinly populated by Augustinians in the early years of the seventeenth century.

2. *Loss of the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna to the Discalced Augustinians in 1630*

The beautiful Gothic church of St. Augustine in Vienna had been the pride and joy of the Augustinians since the fourteenth century, when it had been founded for them by the Hapsburg family. But the sixteenth century had wrought havoc in the adjoining monastery, even though the Bavarian province, to which it then belonged, repeatedly took a stand against Lutheranism ¹³). It had counted twenty-six members in 1523, had sunk to ten by 1544, and to five by 1546, of whom three were Hungarian refugees, one was a Pole, and only one was a German ¹⁴). In this year 1546, the monastery of Vienna was the only one remaining in the hands of the Augustinians in the district of Austria. Had it not been for the frati sent from Italy, this monastery would have been in great danger of being lost to the order. In the year 1563, only five brethren formed the Viennese community, all of whom were Italians ¹⁵). By 1575, a series of Belgians began to function as priors, since they had more facility with the German tongue, and were less unwelcome to the government. Although by the year 1583 the community was again composed of German speaking members, the general religious conditions of the

¹¹) *Ibid.*, 322, 345 and 357.

¹²) GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 447,

¹³) *Ibid.* 444; RENNHOFFER 50.

¹⁴) GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 445-446.

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, 448.

city and of its monasteries remained poor ¹⁶). Italian frati had by 1590 again found their way back into the monasteries of Vienna, and the government felt constrained to pass several resolutions against them. For exemple, in 1622, the advisers of the emperor for monastic affairs explained to him that the Augustinian prior general had sent to Vienna as prior a certain Carlo Tirelli, who could not speak a word of German. They naturally suggested, and obtained, his rejectance ¹⁷). This monastery saw an increase in its members under the priors Adeodatus Fischer and Cornelius Curtius, so that fourteen friars were to be found here in 1626 ¹⁸). But the Generals in Rome could not rid themselves of the habit of sending Italian superiors north of the Alps. The general Girolamo de Ghettis made a particularly unfortunate selection in the same year 1626. On March 6, he appointed Maestro Angelico Tapparelli da Trento as Vicar General for Austria and Bohemia. On Sept. 27 of the same year, he sent as Regent to the convent of Vienna the troublesome Carlo Antonio Barbieri, who even in his student days had given difficulty in Italy ¹⁹). On the same day on which he appointed Barbieri as Regent, the general gave to the ambitious Felice Milensio, formerly imprisoned for charges brought against him as Vicar General in Germany from 1602 to 1608, permission to go north of the Alps and to dwell in whatever convent or convents he pleased ²⁰). Two years later, on March 27, 1628, he reappointed Milensio Vicar General for Germanic regions ²¹), and on June 22 made Tapparelli prior of the convent in Vienna ²²). So great was the latter's influence with the general that he named him « perpetual prior » of the Viennese monastery on Nov. 29 of the same year ²³). The choice was most unfortunate. When Milensio returned to Italy in 1629, Tapparelli was named Vicar General in Austria and Bohemia. This helped the emperor and his wife Leonora da Mantova to decide to request the expulsion of the Augustinians from the convent of Vienna and to have it handed over to the discalced Augustinians, who had been in Prague since

¹⁶) RENNHOFFER 164-166; J. WODKA, *Kirche in Österreich*, Wien 1959, 195-215

¹⁷) *Protocolum ecclesiae...FF. er. Discalc. S.P.N. Augustini* I. 145

¹⁸) J. KOPALLIK, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Erzdiözese Wien*, 20, Wien 1898, 275

¹⁹) GAVIGAN, *doct.* 290-292; Dd 66.100r and 154r.

²⁰) Dd 66.154r.

²¹) Dd 67.81v.

²²) *Ibid.*, 120r.

²³) *Ibid.*, 147r.

1623, had made a favorable impression, and had acquired a sufficient number of German religious. So low was the opinion which Ferdinand II had of Tapparelli that he openly referred to him as a scoundrel ²⁴). Significantly enough, Tapparelli, named "perpetual prior" of Vienna on June 22, 1628 and confirmed on Nov. 29 of the same year, was transferred in 1629 to Böhmisches Leipa as perpetual prior on Sept. 13 ²⁵).

One of the best Augustinians of the time, the emperor's counsellor and historiographer, the Fleming Nicolas Crusenius, would perhaps have been able to save the situation, but he died in the convent of Vienna on Nov. 10, 1629 ²⁶). The newly appointed prior, the Croat Johannes Marcowitz of Fiume, seemed resolved, along with his motley community, to destroy any remaining suspicion of a good name, that the Augustinians might yet possess ²⁷). Since we hope to treat elsewhere more fully of this point, suffice it to say here that the emperor Ferdinand II, the empress Leonora, the Apostolic Nuntius Pallotto, and the Jesuit advisers of the royal family reached the conclusion that a change was necessary ²⁸). Pope Urban VIII,

²⁴) Codex latinus monacensis 8434, 236v; cf. AV, Nunziatura di Germania 118.178-180, Pallotto to Barberini, June 9, 1629

²⁵) Dd 68.40v. He was forced to resign as provincial and vicar general in 1631, Dd 69.52rv and 106v-107r. He became prior of Trent on Aug. 29, 1631, at the request of the prince bishop, Karl Emmanuel Madruzzi, Dd 69.146r. But the same prince forced the general to recall him on Nov. 10, 1633, Dd 70.105v. After the death of Johannes Baptista Kristl (and of Ferdinand II!) Tapparelli was on 27 Jan. 1638 again appointed Rector of the Province of Bohemia-Austria, for so long a time as the general should decide, and confirmed on March 20, 1639, Dd 73.176 and Dd 74.242. On June 6 of the same year 1639 the general again refers to the province of Bohemia-Austria, Dd 74.37, although these two regions had been juridically separated for well over a full year. In June 1642, the prior of Brünn, Georg Gladich, as President of the provincial chapter of Bohemia-Austria (!), was empowered to appoint a new Rector of the province in place of Tapparelli, Dd 76. 4v-5v. In spite of this apparent confusion, it is still clear that the division of the Bohemian from the Austrian monasteries decreed in 1636-1637, was recalled in Rome, e.g. Dd 76.8v, mense junio 1640. In Oct. 1640, Nicolao Spennazzatti a Sant'Angelo was elected prior provincial of Bohemia, Dd 77. 48v-49v.

²⁶) *Monastici Augustiniani ... Crusenii continuatio*, auctore P.M.Fr. Thyrsio Lopez Bardon, 2, Vallisoletti 1903, 297

²⁷) Dd 69.49v, d. 1 oct. 1631

²⁸) *Protocollo ecclesiae ... FF. er. Discalc. S.P.N. Augustini* I.166, where the gratitude of the discalced Augustinians is expressed: «Eleanora Mantuana Imperatrice conjuge, et inclitae S.J. Patribus ... quosque gratitudinis causa nominamus, partes Discalceatorum strenue sustinentibus. For the Nuntio, cf. AV, Nunziatura di

at the emperor's request, issued on March 23, 1630, a Brief, containing the order to hand over the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna to the Discalced Augustinians ²⁹). The Pope's decree was read before the assembled, astonished and embarrassed members of the Vienna convent on May 15. They were forced to turn over the monastery and church to their discalced brethren ³⁰).

3. *Patritius de Rau sent to Vienna in 1636*

This is not the place to treat in full detail of the sad days that the calced Augustinians in Vienna now had to face ³¹). Restricting ourselves to the new convent on the Landstrasse, founded about 1636 or somewhat earlier ³²), we shall say a few words here about a Flemish Augustinian, Patritius de Rau, who on Dec. 23, 1636 was designated by the prior general Ippolito Monti as lector of theology in the convent of Vienna ³³). Nothing seems to be known about his birthplace and entry into the order. His name is significantly missing from the *Encomiasticum Augustinianum* of his contemporary Flemish confrere, Philippus Elssius, published in Bruxelles in 1654, though it is hard to imagine that Elssius knew nothing about him. This absence implies that Elssius considered a discreet silence better

Germania 119.29-37, Pallotto to Barberini, Aug. 18, 1629; ib., Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna 8.152v-153v, June 23, 1630.

²⁹) Published in *Bullae Summorum Pontificum, Sacrae Congregationis Decreta, ad Augustinianenses Excalceatos spectantia*, opera R.P. David a S. Maria, Romae 1742, 30-32.

³⁰) RENNHOFFER, 179

³¹) *Ibid.*, 179-185

³²) Cf. Dd 73.135, d. 10 oct. 1636: « P. Cornelium Curtium Belgam, virum sane [itte]ris et moribus in ordine conspicuum Commissarium nostrum Viennae in mon[aste]rio SS. Sebastiani et Rochi in suburbio deputamus ... cum iam regularis disciplinae semina antecessoris n[ost]ri industria, et n[ost]ra simul NOVO IN ISTO MON[ASTE]RIO Deo numine nuper demandata fuerunt ... ut magna spei incrementa cuncti sibi pollicerentur ... » In the same place the prior general orders Curtius to remove the then existing Vicar, whose identity escapes us. This indicates at least that the monastery had already a certain existence, since it was under a vicar. At the same time quarrels in this community are mentioned, which again seems to indicate that the monastery was not of completely new foundation. More study of these points is still required. Cf. note 82.

³³) Dd 72.31v. By an unfortunate misprint, this date was falsely given in GAVIGAN, *doct.* 292, note 1, as May 23.

than insincere praise. Here we are obliged to speak about his colored, though short, career in Vienna, precisely because his unfavorable reports in Rome about Nicholas Donellan occasioned the latter's reply to the prior general on Aug. 12, 1645, which we shall explain in detail below.

De Rau received, as stated above, the general's order to go from Rome to Vienna on Dec. 23, 1636, slightly more than two months after his capable countryman, Ignatius Dyker, had received the same order. The prior general Monti declared de Rau a doctor in theology and gave him the right to perform his *actus repetitionis* in an approved university³⁴). He reached Vienna in the year 1637 and seems to have made at first a very favorable impression. He labored as lector of arts in a school of the order founded within the city of Vienna, probably in the so-called Karmeliterhaus³⁵). On Oct. 9, 1637, the plagued prior general Monti recorded with great relief into his register that the troubled affairs of the Augustinians in Vienna had finally taken a better turn. His Vicar General, Ignatius Dyker, and the lector of arts in the new convent of that city, Patritius de Rau, had written to him that they had celebrated with becoming solemnity the feast of St. Augustine, Aug. 28, under the auspices of their benefactor, the aulic counsellor Hafner³⁶). On the same day, Oct. 9, the grateful general granted lector de Rau permission to use the title of Regent in public academic acts³⁷). The following year, de Rau obtained his doctorate in the University of Vienna and was admitted to the college of doctors, and became in 1640 the

³⁴) Dd 72.38v, d. 16 ian. 1637

³⁵) RENNHOFFER, 184. Cf. Dd 77.97rv, d. 3 feb. 1642, where the general explicitly refers to a college of the order *within* the city walls, and forbids that it be transferred to the new convent on the Landstrasse: «... cum perceperimus Collegium nostrum in Urbe Viennae erectum in animo habere fr[at]res illud *extra Urbem ad conventum SS. Sebastiani et Rochi transferendi*, quod cum grave praepudicium inferat decori ordinis, dum studiorum et publicae actiones saeculo non innotescerent, necnon concursus saecularium a collegio tolleretur, *ideo praecipimus* huiusmodi translationem nullatenus attentandam, sed *collegium in Urbe permanere*». Xystus Schier also explicitly states that this college within the city walls existed in 1640, and that Hieronymus Hufnagel was received in it by de Rau, acting as Rector of the province, ÖNB 7236.IV.15r. The reference seems to be to the month of December, which may indicate, if the chronology is correct, that de Rau had already by the end of 1640 become Rector of the Province. We should not like to insist upon this last point however.

³⁶) Dd 72.148r

³⁷) *Ibid.* 148v

first Augustinian to hold the chair of moral theology, which the order was to hold for two centuries ³⁸). On Sept. 19, 1638, in a chapter of the Austrian monasteries held in Baden, de Rau appears with his title of Regent, and is elected substitute definitor, and accepted as Magister because of his merits ³⁹).

But it was still too early for the general to congratulate himself. As early as the month of August in the same year 1638, news reached him that yet another quarrel had broken out in the new convent on the Landstrasse. The Vicar General Dyker had complained in Rome about his countryman, the Regent de Rau, who was arrogating to himself more authority than the Regent according to the Constitutions of the order was entitled to have. The general therefore had to appoint on August 16 as commissary for the convent on the Landstrasse the prior of Brünn in Moravia, Georg Gladich of Fiume ⁴⁰). The commissary received at the same time permission to remove any troublemakers whatever from the convent. The significant addition was made to this permission: even the Regent [de Rau] could be removed!

Evidently the report of Gladich declared in favor of Dyker against de Rau, for the general in the following month issued a declaration about the respective authority of the Vicar, General (who was also prior) and of the Regent. The former, he stated, has according to the Constitutions ⁴¹). full authority over the students and over the Regent himself, just as he possesses it over the other members of the community. The Regent's sole task, he added, was to direct the house studies according to the constitutions, and to exercise authority over the students in matters that pertain to studies. But, outside of such matters, the Regent himself had no authority and should give the students by words and actions a good example of obedience to the prior ⁴²). The general closed his notice to the opposed factions with the warning that offenders would not escape punishment ⁴³).

³⁸) K. HÖRMANN, *Die ersten Inhaber der ersten moraltheologischen Lehrkanzel 1622-1640*, Sonderdruck aus *Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien* Band II, Graz-Köln 1965. Cf. also GAVIGAN, *doct.* 293

³⁹) ÖNB 7236.IV.112r

⁴⁰) Dd 74.106. For the life of Gladich, cf. GAVIGAN, *theol.* 7-8

⁴¹) Part 3, ch. 13, in *Constitutiones Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Romae 1620, pp. 221-232

⁴²) *Ibid.*, part 5, ch. 2, pp. 274-276

⁴³) Dd 74.128-129

We do not wish to explain here every detail of the quarrel. Suffice it to say that the general found it necessary in June 1640 to reappoint Georg Gladich as commissary and visitator of the convent on the Landstrasse. Gladich was ordered to insist upon discipline, and was given faculties to appoint a new Vicar General in place of Dyker who, wearied of the endless quarrels with de Rau, had often expressed his desire to be relieved of his office ⁴⁴). This seems to have been the time when Dyker left Vienna, apparently with great readiness, that is, between June and December of 1640. Gladich however, for reasons which are unknown to us, designated no successor ⁴⁵). No new Vicar General was appointed until March 1641, so far as we know, when the general Monti appointed the ambitious Croat, Johannes Hozhevar, who precisely at this time had appeared in Rome, allowing him however to retain the direction of the far-distant monastery of Lubiana (or Laibach) of which he had become prior a few years before after the death in 1635 of Georg Juresich ⁴⁶). Hozhevar seems not even to have come at this time to Vienna, to exercise his post of Vicar General, so interested was he in the new monastery of his native region of Lubiana. To make matters even more complicated, the Augustinians in Austria now took matters to some extent into their own hands. Dyker had left Vienna, as above stated, probably in the second half of 1640, and Hozhevar had been appointed Vicar General in March 1641. But the Viennese Augustinians lodged complaint with the emperor Ferdinand III against Hozhevar, and so indirectly at least against the appointing prior general. The result was a blunt letter of Ferdinand III to the general on June 24, 1641, ordering him to remove Hozhevar and to provide for the election of a "son of the province" ⁴⁷). The general was therefore compelled to recall Hozhevar in July of 1641 and on the twentieth of the same month, wrote a placating letter to the emperor, informing him that Hozhevar was to return to (or remain in?) Lubiana ⁴⁸). Hozhevar was in a complimentary letter

⁴⁴) Dd 76.5v-6r

⁴⁵) Dd 77.39v

⁴⁶) Dd 76.114r

⁴⁷) Dd 77.41v-42v contains a copy of the letter, which is published in GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 458-460

⁴⁸) Dd 77.43r-44r, published in GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 460-463. The original of this letter is contained in the Archiv der Stadt Wien, Klosterakten A 22, *Augustiner auf der Landstrasse*, 2. This original letter bears the date of July 24, whereas it was noted in the General's Dd registers on July 20, evidently the day when it was composed, whereas

of Sept. 20, 1641 "retransferred" to Lubiana ⁴⁹⁾. But the Augustinians in Austria had let no grass grow under their feet. They agreed early in 1641 to consider de Rau Rector of the province, and the latter appointed as Prior of Vienna Aurelius Augustines Genzinger. It was Genzinger who promptly travelled to Regensburg, where he complained to the Emperor and to the Apostolic Nuntio Gaspare Matthei about the designation by the general of the «foreigner», the Croat Hozhevar ⁴⁹⁾.

The harassed general knew that it was useless to appoint an Italian as Vicar General, for the emperor would have promptly rejected him. He believed that no capable Germans could be found in Austria, so he resolved upon another Fleming! First, he had appointed Dyker once again as prior of Vienna and Vicar General for Austria on July 5 ⁵⁰⁾. Since however Dyker had such a sad experience in Vienna, he seems to have succeeded in persuading the general to change his plans. On July 20 Monti decided to name another Fleming to the post of Vicar General, Johannes Extrix. But until he should arrive in Austria, the plagued Dyker should proceed to Vienna, and be considered as interim Vicar General ⁵¹⁾. Extrix seems, however, never to have reached Vienna, and so Dyker was forced to continue in his ungrateful task. On Sept. 20, in the same year 1641, Dyker was again designated as interim Vicar General, until Extrix should arrive ⁵²⁾. But on Oct. 27 of the same year, Dyker as interim Vicar General was appointed commissary in a process formed by the general Monti against de Rau who had, according to the general, "arrogated to himself the title and office of Rector General of Vienna and Austria" ⁵³⁾. This seems to be however the last mention of Dyker as present in Vienna. On March 1, 1642 he was named to the presidency of the provincial chapter of the Rheno-Swabian province of

the original text preserved in Vienna bears the date on which the final copy was dispatched.

⁴⁹⁾ Dd 77.38r-39v, d. 2 julii 1641. Here it is made clear that the Nunzio had obligingly sent from Regensburg to the general the written complaint lodged with him by Genzinger against Hozhevar. Cf. also Dd 77.73r and ÖNB 8236.38r, where de Rau, acting as «Rector Provinciae» on April 19, 1641, gives the prior of the Landstrasse, Aurelius [Genzinger] full power to recover the inheritance of Friar Wolfgang Imreder.

⁵⁰⁾ Dd 77.40v

⁵¹⁾ Dd 77.43r-44v. Cf. note 48

⁵²⁾ Dd 77.57v-58v

⁵³⁾ Dd 77.73r. We hope to deal with this somewhat complicated problem in a proximately forthcoming article.

the order ⁵⁴). As a matter of fact, Dyker presided over the chapter held in this year in Freiburg im Breisgau ⁵⁵). Who then was in 1642 the actual Vicar General in Austria, if Extrix never arrived? Precisely the volume 78 of the Dd series in the General Archives of the order in Rome, which could give us this information, has been lost. Did Extrix finally reach Vienna, as the general had ordered on July 20, 1641? Nothing proves that he did, so far as we know, and it seems very unlikely. Unless Nicholas Donellan himself came as Vicar General in this year 1642 — and this seems improbable, as we shall see below — the troublesome convent of Vienna and the connected convents of the region (Baden and Korneuburg) seem to have remained without a fully recognized Vicar General until 1643.

4. Donellan's arrival as Vicar General in Vienna in 1643

The reliable Augustinian historian Xystus Schier ⁵⁶) states explicitly that Donellan was sent to Vienna in the year 1643 as Prior and Vicar General ⁵⁷). It is true that Schier in his *Scriptores Provinciae Austriae et Hungariae* ⁵⁸) says that Donellan came to Austria (not to Vienna!) about the year 1640. The two statements are not necessarily in contradiction. Schier tells us that Donellan finished his theological studies in Spain, and then taught in an Augustinian convent of Burgos, then in Prague, and finally in that of Vienna ⁵⁹). Perhaps Schier considered Donellan's sejour in Prague about 1640 as the first part of his coming to Austria. Even though the Austrian and the Bohemian convents of the order had been separated in 1636-1637 ⁶⁰), they were still considered to be united in a certain juridical sense as late as 1642, as we saw above in section 2, when speaking of Angelico Tapparelli. In any case, the exact year of Donellan's coming seems to be 1643, since Donellan himself in the

⁵⁴) Dd 77.108r

⁵⁵) A. HÖHN, *Chronologia provinciae Rheno-Suevicae ord. fr. er.S. Augustini*, Heriboli 1744, 257, where it is stated that Dyker came into the province towards the beginning of this year. He became provincial in Belgium in 1652, and died at Ghent on Sept. 24, 1661. Cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 456, note 214.

⁵⁶) On whom we now have a welcome doctoral dissertation by Ferdinand Leopold MIKSCH, O.S.A., *Der Augustinerhistoriker Xystus Schier 1727-1772*, Würzburg 1969.

⁵⁷) ÖNB 7238.XVI.2,87r.

⁵⁸) ÖNB 7238.XVI.1,8r

⁵⁹) *Ibid.*

⁶⁰) Dd 77.43r, d. 20 iulii 1641; Gavigan, *Epp.* 460-463

letter of Aug. 12, 1645, of which we shall now treat, explicitly states that he had come to Vienna as Vicar General two years previously ⁶¹).

What we have thus far seen gives us some idea of the difficult situation which awaited the new Vicar General of the Augustinians in Austria. The general decadence of the post-Lutheran period had hit the order in these regions hard. They had now lost the beautiful Gothic court church of St. Augustine in favor of the discaled members of their order. After their expulsion from the inner city and their migration to the Landstrasse, "outside the Hungarian gate", as was said in those times, they had taken to sad quarrels amongst themselves ⁶²). The prior general Monti's laudable intention in designating Ignatius Dyker as Vicar General and Patritius de Rau as lector in 1636-1637 had been doomed to sad disappointment by what the general termed de Rau's "ferocity" ⁶³). When the disillusioned Vicar General Dyker left Vienna in 1641 (or early 1642?) for the second time and definitely, de Rau was recognized by at least one faction as Rector Provincial, as we have seen above. The prior general Monti ordered de Rau to leave Vienna ⁶⁴), but the intervention of the Apostolic Nuntio Matthei was necessary to make him obey, backed up by the Nuntio's request of Ferdinand III's intervention. The feeling against foreigners was greatly aroused amongst the Austrian Augustinians, who attributed to non-Austrian Augustinians — and not completely without justification — a great part of their woes. And now into this troubled situation, a new Vicar General was sent to restore order: Nicolaus Donellan a Sancto Patritio ⁶⁵).

⁶¹) Hence we wish to correct here our previous surmise (GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 462, note 139) that he came to Vienna as Vicar General in 1642

⁶²) Dd 73.135, d. 10 oct. 1636

⁶³) Dd 77.39v: «... mi risolsi mandare per Vicario G[ener]ale il P. Mro. Ignatio fiammingo, e per Regente il P. Mro Patritio Rau pure fiammingo ... ma arrivati ambedue, poco stettero d'accorde per la fierezza del Regente ... » These are the words of the prior general Monti writing to the Nuntio Gasparo Matthei.

⁶⁴) Dd 77.97v

⁶⁵) He uses this name at the end of his letter to the general, AG, Aa 36a.691v. Further, on April 5, 1644, the Vicar General of the Augustinians is referred to as Nicolaus de Sancto Patritio, Arch. Prop. Fide, Acta 16.68. (This last citation has graciously been placed at my disposal by my confrère, Dr. Carlos Alonso). The same form of the name is found in AV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna 14.4v-5v. Finally, Schier also corroborates this form of Donellan's name in ÖNB 7373.8r.

The situation was enough to make any brave man shudder. But Donellan was a man of tact and of courage, and succeeded in mastering the situation. The hitherto desperate condition of the Augustinians in Vienna and in Austria began with Donellan a steady climb upwards. The damage done to the order by Augustinians like Tapparelli, Markowitz and de Rau was slowly but surely repaired. No small part of the credit for this favorable change goes to Donellan. We need not repeat here what we have already described elsewhere ⁶⁶) about Donellan's life and labors. He obtained the theological doctorate in the University of Vienna on April 13, 1644, and on Sept. 7 of the same year took over the teaching post in the university left vacant by the departure of de Rau, but with the substitution of Canon Law for Casuistics. But before he proved to the general satisfaction that his work as Vicar General was beneficial to all, he had to weather a severe storm in the second year of his superiorship.

Let us explain here briefly how the storm broke over Donellan's head. Patritius de Rau had gone to Rome in 1643 or 1644 and had succeeded in obtaining on Dec. 16, 1644 from the Cardinal Protector of the Order, Giovanni Battista Pallotto, a declaration of his innocence of the charges brought against him ⁶⁷). Armed with this declaration, de Rau had returned to Vienna, where his name was well known, but mostly in an unfavorable way, even in court circles. The patience of the emperor was exhausted. On February 4, 1645 he ordered de Rau to be expelled from the imperial dominions ⁶⁸). De Rau returned to Rome therefore in 1645 to justify himself. A new General Chapter held in June greatly aided his plans, since the prior general Monti, who had taken the side of Dyker in his quarrel with de Rau, finished his generalship. De Rau evidently possessed a glib, as well as vitriolic, tongue, and succeeded not only in receiving (along with a few others) by apostolic authority a vote in the general chapter, and even in being proposed as one of the three candidates for the German assistency ⁶⁹)! The newly elected general, Fulgenzo Petrelli, convinced by de Rau that he had been the victim of injustice, wrote to the emperor on July 8, 1645 to plead for the revocation of the edict against the "innocent" de Rau, obtained "at the request

⁶⁶) GAVIGAN, *doct.* 294-296

⁶⁷) GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 464, note 142

⁶⁸) Archiv der Stadt Wien, Klosterakten A 22,6.

⁶⁹) AA 11 (1925-1926) 15 and 18.

of the Vicar General [Donellan] and certain confreres of Austria » ⁷⁰). On the same day he wrote to Donellan a stiff letter in which he made the same charge, and ordered Donellan to help have the edict recalled. Because of this letter's importance for Donellan's answer of Aug. 12, we print it here ⁷¹):

P[at]ri Vicario G[e]n[era]li Austriae [Donellano] litteris ordinamus quat[enu]s apud Caes[aream] Mai [estatem] agat, que decretum contra P[atrem] Mag[istrum] de Rau per ipsum latum revocare dignetur :

Rev[erende] P[ate]r S[alutem]! Ne nomen tantum pastoris, sed et officium a summo pastore videamus assecuti, sicut de religiosorum profectu commodisque gratulari debemus, ita de defectu molestiisque non turbari nequimus. Quod ideo P[ater]nitatem] T[uam] commemoramus, ut iniurias istic P[at]ri Mag[ist]ro Patricio Rau indebite non minus, quam graviter apud Caesaream Maiestatem irrogatas propulsare coneris. Scimus [e]n[im] eos, qui P[atris] Mag[ist]ri Raui procurarunt exilium non habuisse zelum Dei, sed odium fratris novimus, et exulantis innocentiam et malevolorum versutiam. Cuius rei causa, sicut tandiu nos augemur animi, quamdiu virum hunc innocentem videbimus istic molestari, ita tenore p[raese]ntium hortamur, ac in meritum salutaris ob[obedientiae] praecipimus, ut nullus te privatus [LII] amor, nulla passio, nullus emulorum tumultus dimoveat, quominus Decretum Caesareum contra praefatum P[at]rem extortum revocari procures. Alioquin comperietur istic, quod omnis fraus in te reversa colliditur, nec de dolo nisi doloris fructus colligitur : sapientia namque iustum venditum non derelinquit : nec qui propriae passionis arbitrio nimium indulgentes publicum Religionis dispendium tam fraudulenter efficiunt, a ventura ira longius fugere possunt. Verum de his plura fortassis quam officii tui debitum requirat ; licet pauciora quam n[ost]rum istiusmodi desiderium et exulantis innocentia, hic apud Em[inen]tissimum] Protectorem probata deprecatur. Bene in D[omi]no vale.

This letter must have been a great blow to Donellan. It proved to him that de Rau had won the newly elected general Petrelli over to his side, even to the point of believing that Donellan had from unworthy motives obtained the emperor's decree of expulsion against de Rau. And so far as we know, Donellan himself had had no quarrel with the impetuous Fleming. Hence Donellan found himself saddled

⁷⁰) Dd 80.LI-LII, published in GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 463-464

⁷¹) It is found in AG,Dd 80.LI-LII

with the unpleasant task of obtaining from the irate emperor the revocation of this decree — for which Donellan himself was considered responsible by his new prior general, who had accepted one version of the story, without even asking Donellan to present his version! We can therefore hardly wonder if the wounded Donellan wrote on Aug. 12 a respectful but firm answer to the prior general, in which he claimed his complete innocence in the affair of de Rau's expulsion, and presented the general with a picture of the affairs of the Augustinians in Vienna, before and after his, Donellan's, arrival in 1643 as Vicar General. This makes Donellan's letter a precious source for the history of the calced Augustinians in the imperial city in the years that followed their expulsion from the church of St. Augustine and for the time of their new establishment on the Landstrasse, that is, between 1630 and 1645, even though many gaps in our knowledge still remain. We shall now follow Donellan step by step in his answer to the general, in order to shed more light upon this hitherto little-known aspect of Augustinian history in Vienna ⁷²). Donellan wrote this letter in a good Spanish, a language which he had well learned in his years of study and teaching in Spain. Evidently he considered this language more capable of expressing his answer than Italian language, with which he was less thoroughly acquainted. We shall see below that he had indeed spent some time in Rome, but probably felt unable to manage Italian with the same facility as Spanish, which he had learned in his student days and had continued to employ after ordination.

5. *Donellan's letter of Aug. 12, 1645*

We shall now give a paraphrase of the letter which Donellan as Vicar General wrote from Vienna to the prior general Petrelli in answer to the general's letter of July 8, which we have published above. Donellan immediately deals with the general's order to do everything possible to obtain from the emperor Ferdinand III the revocation of the decree against de Rau of Feb. 4. In addition he refers to the veiled threats contained in the general's letter. Donellan has already tried, and will try again, according to the general's

⁷²) Dr. Friedrich Rennhofer wrote his excellent work, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien* (Würzburg 1956) chiefly from Austrian archives. Donellan's letter, of which we are now speaking, could not be used by him, since it was buried in a hitherto little used volume of the Augustinian General Archives in Rome.

wishes, to influence the emperor to revoke the decree of exile. But, he immediately adds, the emperor has not answered his written requests on the subject, and various powerful friends have warned Donellan not to molest Ferdinand further. None the less, Donellan will continue to write until such time as the emperor answers ⁷³).

Now Donellan passes to a respectful offensive. "hat has he done to deserve any threats from the general in this or any other regard? Had Donellan not come to Vienna as Vicar General, the Augustinians would perhaps have lost even their new convent on the Landstrasse because of the scandals of the time when de Rau was in Vienna [1637 to 1641, and for another brief period before his expulsion in 1645]. Is it de Rau himself, who has put the blame of his expulsion upon Donellan? If any complaining before the general is to be done, then it should be about the misgovernemnt of de Rau and others — evidently a reference to the period when de Rau, Regent, 1637-1641, was declared by the Austrians Rector of the Province in 1641. Scandals were abundant in de Rau's period in Vienna and even later [1642-1643] until Donellan arrived as Vicar General in 1643 ⁷⁴).

Donellan presents a formidable list of influential persons of Vienna who were acquainted with the previous scandals of the Augustinians. The local tribunals, the letters written in attack and counter-attack, acts of recourse to the secular arm ⁷⁵), prove the great number of such scandals. On account of de Rau and his building of warring factions, decrees had been passed against foreigners, so that Donellan does not hesitate to call de Rau "the ruin of the order". The scandals of his time were known to the following greats of State and Church: the emperor Ferdinand III and the empress Maria Anna ⁷⁶); the empress Leonora da Mantova ⁷⁷); the ex-Nuntio, Cardinal Matthei ⁷⁸);

⁷³) Aa 36a.689r

⁷⁴) This follows from the reference made by Donellan, Aa 36a.689r, to the fact that he reached Vienna as Vicar General two years before writing this letter, therefore in 1643.

⁷⁵) An example of this has already been published in Gavigan, *Epp.* 458-463, when the Austrian Augustinians persuaded Ferdinand III to demand from the general Monti the deposition of the Vicar General Hozhevar, a Croat.

⁷⁶) For Ferdinand III and the empress Maria Anna, his first wife, cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 432

⁷⁷) Cf. *ibidem* for this second wife of Ferdinand II, whom he had married in 1622 and who played a great part in the expulsion of the calced Augustinians from the Viennese church of St. Augustine in 1630 and in the introduction of their discalced confrères.

⁷⁸) Gasparo Matthei, Nuntius in Vienna from 1634 to 1644, created cardinal by

the Bischof of Vienna ⁷⁹). These are some of the Viennese notables, who were acquainted with the quarrels of the calced Augustinians amongst themselves in the imperial city ⁸⁰).

Now Donellan lists some of those Augustinians who had been chiefly involved in the quarrels. Three of them were Flemings, one an Austrian, already deceased at the time of Donellan's writing. The first two of the Flemings are already well known to us: Ignatius Dyker and Patritius de Rau. The third is a less known figure, whom Donellan in Spanish calls "Padre Urbano" ⁸¹). The Austrian who was already deceased when Donellan wrote his letter is called by him simply "Padre Aurelio", whom we think with certainty to have been Aurelius Augustinus Genzinger ⁸²). Who is responsible for the quarrelings amongst these brethren? asks Donellan. His answer is simple: *viderint illi* — that is their problem! But one certain thing is, that scandals and mutual accusations were the order of the day

Urban VIII on Dec. 14, 1643, died in Rome, April 9, 1650. See HCMRA 4.25; and H. BIAUDET, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes jusqu'en 1648*, Helsinki 1910, ad annum

⁷⁹) Philipp Friedrich Breiner, who became bishop of Vienna on Sept. 5, 1639 and died on May 22, 1669, HCMRA 4.368

⁸⁰) Aa 36a.689r

⁸¹) This was Urban van Heyden, who had first been sent from Belgium to the Bohemian province, but had then been expelled from it because of his scandals. The prior general Monti felt compelled to remove him from the monasteries of Austria as well on July 10, 1641, Dd 77.41v. According to Kreybich (55) he had been sent from Prague in 1628 to the new monastery constructed for the Augustinians by Wallenstein in Böhmisches Leipa, and in the same year was transferred to Weisswasser, later to Taus, where he was prior until he passed into Austria in 1640. He appears in a quarrel with de Rau about the year 1640 or 1641 in a later settlement made before the Nuntio Camillo de'Melzi, on March 3, 1645, AV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna 14.5v.

⁸²) This figure had the custom of signing himself invariably, so far as we can see, with the simple denomination of Aurelius. On one of his autograph letters found in the same volume as the present letter of Donellan, AA 36a.163rv, the name Aurelius is followed by a word difficult to decipher, which we formerly thought to be Pamp, and therefore found puzzling; cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 459, note 133. But a more careful study of the word seems to have solved the puzzle: the words P. Aurelius are followed by Prmp = P[rio]r m[anu] p[ro]pria. This fits in completely with Genzinger's usual way of signing his name. Everything points to the identification of this Aurelius with Genzinger, who on Sept 19, 1638 was elected prior of Korneuburg, ÖNB 7236.IV.112r. Kreybich (67) states of him that he completed his studies in Prague, before becoming about 1635 a member of the new convent in Vienna. (Notice here an indication, but by no means certain, that the convent on the Landstrasse existed before 1636).

when de Rau was rector of the province [in 1641]. It is a wonder that we have not been cast out of our new convent [on the Lands-trasse] ⁸³), precisely as we were ejected from the inner city, although the scandals in that time [1630] were fewer! But, adds Donellan, since I came to Vienna two years ago these scandals have ceased ⁸⁴). Before my vicariate, neither the emperor nor the empress ever entered into our church or convent ⁸⁵). It was I who began the building, and how much I have accomplished ⁸⁶)! I paid the existing debts, adds Donellan, enlarged the church and library, had devotional works printed in German, Latin and Spanish ⁸⁷). Not without a certain vanity, Donellan adds that he acquired powerful friends for the order, and was applauded by members of the other orders ⁸⁸). The genral should inquire into what Donellan has done in Vienna — and then compare his performance with that of de Rau!

We have seen above how the Augustinians had indeed lost their good name in Vienna before Donellan's coming in 1643. This good name I have restored to our order, Donellan confidently adds. In addition, I have restored the authority of the general and of the Italians ⁸⁹). Donellan here makes a dark reference, stating that the good name of the Italians in Vienna had been lost, "perhaps by the false information given by some who are today in positions of honor

⁸³) Cf. RENNHOFFER, 179

⁸⁴) This seems to prove conclusively that Donellan arrived in the year 1643 as Vicar General in Vienna. Cf. note 74.

⁸⁵) Aa 36a.689v

⁸⁶) This seems to refer, according to the following words of Donellan, to additional building for both church and monastery. Cf. RENNHOFFER, 84-85, where it is mentioned that two of the church bells probably came from the year 1642.

⁸⁷) The empress herself at this time was Spanish. She was accompanied by her Spanish confessor, the Capuchin Quiroga, and by other courtiers of the same nation.

⁸⁸) We recall that Donellan was a good friend of the Jesuit Charles Musart, whose *Manuale Parochorum* he published in 1652, cf. GAVIGAN, *doct.* 296. Musart, born at Aire in 1582, spent many years in Vienna as professor of moral and controversy. He had been dean of the faculty of philosophy in 1641, and died at Vienna on Jan. 17, 1653. Donellan had presented this work for approbation to the Rector of the University of Vienna, who granted it on Sept. 6, 1651. Donellan states in the preface that the book had been presented to him by Musart, who had finished it as his request. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 5 (Bruxelles-Paris 1894) 1466-1467.

⁸⁹) Aa 36a.689v. This claim is substantiated if we recall the troubles of 1641, described above, when the general's appointee as Vicar General, Hozhevar, had to be recalled, after the Austrians had protested before the emperor; cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 458-463.

through the Italian nation" ⁹⁰). And my reward, says Donellan, is that an Italian general [Petrelli], who has never known me, has written me such a letter, basing himself on the false information of a person who is ill inclined towards me, and false as well, de Rau! In one hour I could show the general, he adds significantly, the real situation of de Rau, and several letters written in his hand. At the same time I could show you the good work which I have done for our order, and for the reputation of the Italians. Then you would see the difference between de Rau and me — and would transfer your favor to me!

From several provinces in Germany Donellan had received letters, in which he was informed that the following formidable array of persons were hostile to him because of the favor which de Rau enjoyed with them: the Cardinal Protector ⁹¹); the general himself, Petrelli; the procurator general ⁹²); the general assistant for Italy ⁹³); all of

⁹⁰) The names of Dyker and de Rau immediately come to mind, since both of these confrères enjoyed a certain prestige by appointment from Rome. Cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 256, notes 124 and 125.

⁹¹) Giovanni Battista Pallotto, Nuntius in Vienna from 1628 to 1630. He became Cardinal Protector of the Augustinian order on Sept. 17, 1637 (Dd 72.134) and died on Jan. 22, 1668 (Dd 108.339v). Cf. for his nunciature in Vienna H. BIAUDET, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes jusqu'en 1648*, Helsinki 1910, ad annum.

⁹²) Salvatore Severino Simoncelli da Fabriano, who became procurator general on June 5, 1645. He had preached in the general chapter of 1636 on May 5, and on the following day as Regent of Milan had presided over a disputation. In the same month of May 1636, he became secretary of the order. In August 1640, he became assistant for Italy. When the general Fulgenzo Petrelli died in 1648, Simoncelli was named on May 29 by Pope Innocent X Vicar General. Cf. S. BELLANDI, *La Gerarchia Agostiniana: I Procuratori Generali dell'ordine (1256-1931)*, in *Bolletino storico Agostiniano* 11 (1936) 47; AA 10 (1923-1924) 451-455 and 464; AA 11 (1925-1926) 47

⁹³) Celestino Bruni, elected to the post of assistant on June 5, 1645. It is uncertain whether he was from Naples or from Venusia, since he is at one time called *neapolitanus*, at another *venusinus*. He appears as lector of Pulcino 1610 before teaching philosophy and theology in Palermo, where he became Regent. In 1620 he was Regent of the studium of San Marco in Milan. After becoming a Master of Sacred Theology on June 25, 1621, he served as Regent at Siena 1623, and at Bologna in 1624. He preached sermons in the seasons of Advent and Lent in Palermo, Siena, Venica, Turin, Rome and elsewhere. He served as provincial several times. Through his friendship with Fabio Chigi he was made by Innocent X professor of the Sapienza in Rome. On Aug. 18, 1653 he became bishop of Boiano, where he died on May 31, 1664, leaving behind several works on philosophy and theology. Cf. D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis* 1 (Firenze 1929) 158-159; HCRMA 4.117; AA 11 (1925-1926) 17

these, Donellan has been informed, wish to do him all the harm they possibly can!

This, however, Donellan can not believe. Rather appears to him to be an invention, falsely spread abroad by de Rau. Cardinal Pallotto is a just and prudent man, whom Donellan has never offended. The general himself was completely unknown to Donellan before the general chapter of 1645, before which Donellan heard that those who were considered likely to be elected were Petrelli himself; Salvatore Simoncelli, whom we have already mentioned; Visconti ⁹⁴); Consoni ⁹⁵); and Ipollito da Rimini ⁹⁶). I cannot understand, says Donellan, in what way I have offended your most Reverend Paternity, or the Italian assistant Bruni, whom I had seen only once in Rome. With regard to the procurator general, Simoncelli, Donellan gives us a help to determine when he himself had come to Rome — directly from Spain, it would seem. The procurator general not only had had no quarrel with me, says Donellan, but showed me every courtesy when I was in Rome, both while he was secretary [1636-1640] and while he was assistant [Aug. 1640-June 1645], and I went frequently to his lectures in the Sapienza ⁹⁷). This shows us that Donellan himself had come to Rome between the month of May 1636 (when Simoncelli became secretary) and August 1640 (when he became assistant general). It shows us further that Donellan had remained in Rome

⁹⁴) Filippo Visconti, who in fact became general in 1649 after the death of Petrelli; cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 429-430

⁹⁵) Egidio Consoni of Milan, who had entered the order in 1613. He studied first in Naples, then 1615 in Rome, where he was on May 30, 1620 made a lector. He was promoted to the degree of Bachelor in 1622, to the doctorate in 1625, and served as Regent in the studia of Genoa, Pavia, Bologna, Milan, and Rome, obtaining a reputation for great learning. In 1637 he had become procurator general by nomination of the prior general Monti after the death of Nicola da Reate. In this office he was confirmed by a papal brief in August 1641 for another six years, but his term was nonetheless ended by the general chapter of 1645. He worked as a qualificator of the Roman Inquisition before returning to Milan in 1645, where he continued his philosophical and theological studies. But he was recalled to Rome as a Consultor of the same tribunal, particularly for the problem of Jansenism. His death occurred in Rome on March 5, 1650, and his numerous mss. on philosophy and theology seem unfortunately to have been lost. See S. BELLANDI, *op. cit.* 15; PERINI, *op. cit.* 2.258-258; AA 11 (1925-1926) 458.

⁹⁶) He took part in the general chapter of 1645 as provincial of Romagna. As early as 1625 he appeared as Magister in the general chapter, which named him as Regent of Pavia. Cf. AA 10 (1923-1924) 430 and 435; AA 11 (1925-1926) 12.

⁹⁷) Aa 36a.689v

at least a short time after August of 1640, before proceeding to the troubled northern regions of the order.

Surely it cannot be, says Donellan, that these men are angry with me, because of my loyalty to the past general Monti and to Maestro Egidio Consoni ⁹⁸)! If I cooperated with these men, I was simply doing my duty to my superiors; and I shall continue, adds Donellan, to cooperate with my new superiors, at the same time remaining faithful to Monti, Consoni, and to the Italian nation. Nothing could tempt me to be unfaithful to my duties ⁹⁹)!

Again with a certain complacency Donellan refers to his willingness to serve even in humble tasks without worrying about his own advantages. He invokes the testimony of the assistant general for Spain, Maluenda ¹⁰⁰), to prove that he had done the same in Spain: accomplished his duties without seeking temporal advantages. He calls upon his record: very few in the order have held at his age ¹⁰¹) so many positions of authority. But never again would he wish such positions, not even if Monti were again to become prior general! Let the general inquire about Donellan's record in the offices which he has held, and he will see for himself ¹⁰²)!

If the cause of the Augustinian curia's anger with Donellan is the decree of exile against de Rau, which Donellan has heard himself blamed for causing, and which allegedly has been laid at his door by the empress's confessor ¹⁰³), who is reported to have told de Rau

⁹⁸) Who became procurator general for Monti in 1637 and continued in this post until the general chapter of 1645. Cf. note 95.

⁹⁹) Aa 36a.689v

¹⁰⁰) Maestro fray Pedro de Maluenda was a son of the convent of Salamanca up to the year 1645, when he was elected on June 6 to the office of assistant general by the chapter held in Rome. Cf. GREGORIO DE SANTIAGO VELA, *Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la orden de San Agustin* 5 (Madrid 1920, 106-107; AA 11 (1925-1926) 18

¹⁰¹) Unfortunately, the data about his birth, which perhaps exists in the archives of the Irish Augustinians, were not available to us.

¹⁰²) Aa 36a. 690r

¹⁰³) The confessor of the empress Maria Anna was the Capuchin Diego de Quiroga. Born 1572 in Quiroga, of the noble family of Somoza Quiroga, he became captain of the Spanish troops in Flanders, before joining the Capuchins in 1598. After his profession in the convent of Figueras 1599, he was ordained in 1609. He became provincial of Valencia, later of Castille and Andalusia. In 1628 he was guardian in Madrid, and became confessor and theologian for several members of the royal family, including Maria Anna of Austria. He died on Oct. 10, 1649 in Madrid, leaving behind various works on philosophy, theology and politics, which today seem lost. See A. TEETAERT, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 13 (Paris 1937) 1598-1599.

that Donellan had visited the emperor in Linz in order to obtain such a decree — then this is not the first falsity spread by de Rau, “who seems to have taken a vow, never to tell the truth!” De Rau has, says Donellan, procured false testimonies of his innocence, as I can prove from certain original letters of his which are available to me. Hence, it is not to be wondered at if de Rau is a bad informer also with regard to Donellan’s trip to Linz. The reason for this trip, Donellan explains, was to obtain 8000 florins, since he had an order against the emperor’s treasury for the inheritance of a pastor, expelled from the order, and subsequently deceased ¹⁰⁴).

Another reason for Donellan’s trip to Linz, as he informs the general, was to beg wood and iron for the building [on the Landstrasse], and to request a parish for the Augustinian monastery of Bruck on the Leytha. To obtain this, Donnellan had made a journey by foot in the midst of the cold of winter [1644-1645]. He had spent only the equivalent of 15 Spanish julios, although the journey to Linz covered 160 Italian miles, and another 160 to return to Vienna. Donellan had employed only a month for the whole journey in company with one other person, and all the expenses had been paid by the Spanish empress, Maria Anna ¹⁰⁵).

Hence, concludes Donellan this part of the letter, it is clear why I went to Linz, and no connection with the decree of exile issued against de Rau is to be found in the trip. He is confident that he can convince the prior general Petrelli of his innocence in this matter, in spite of his momentarily favoring de Rau. Now, Donellan passes to another part of the letter ¹⁰⁶), in which he not only continues to declare his innocence, but also to lay the finger on some of the strange and hardly praiseworthy actions perpetrated by de Rau in Vienna. If de Rau asserts that Donellan is sleeping on the job of obtaining

¹⁰⁴) This seems to be the ex-friar Wolfgang Imreder, whose inheritance had occasioned on April 19, 1641 the granting of full power by Patritius de Rau, Rector of the Province, to obtain it at law for the order. The full power was given to Aurelius Genzinger, the then prior of Vienna and procurator of the province, who had died on March 15, 1645, in Bruck on the Leytha. Cf. ÖNB 7236.IV.146v. Cf. note 49.

¹⁰⁵) Since Donellan handled Spanish quite well at this time, after his years of study and teaching in Spain, he had a naturel bond of sympathy with Maria Anna. Her influence would surely have been of great value to the Augustinians of Austria through Donellan’s good connections, but she died young, so that Ferdinand III married Maria Leopoldina of Tyrol only three years after this letter was written.

¹⁰⁶) Aa 36a.690r-691v

the revocation of the decree of exile, then in this point also Donellan will prove his falsity ¹⁰⁷). The emperor already knew about the life of de Rau, and of the scandals which occurred in his time in Vienna, and had no need of such information from me, states Donellan. Precisely through de Rau himself and through his opponents and compatriots [Dyker and van Heyden] both the emperor himself, and all Vienna knew about them! While de Rau was now using the new general and others to defend himself, his opponents were either calumniating him — or accusing him of true charges — it matters little, adds Donellan. De Rau knows well that he related to Donellan how his opponents had told the emperor that he had fled to Saxony ¹⁰⁸), that he had robbed money from the monastery's deposit ¹⁰⁹), and numberless other things as well. But the hard fact, Donellan states clearly, is that the name of de Rau is so well known in Vienna, that no testimony against him on my part is necessary — all the tribunals of Vienna know it! If it should be necessary, Donellan is prepared to go to the emperor Ferdinand III and obtain from him the written statement that he was NOT responsible for the edict against de Rau, and has therefore been falsely accused of this by his indignant and ill-informed superiors.

Now Donellan refers to yet another decree passed against de Rau by a high personage, this time the empress Maria Anna! The empress issued the decree against him in Gratz on May 13, (evidently 1645, just three months after the emperor's decree in February). So far as is known to us today, this decree has never been referred to in the past. Perhaps future researches in the archives of Gratz or elsewhere will locate the decree and shed more light upon the reasons therefor. Ask de Rau if I am responsible for this decree, challenges Donellan! Ask him further if I am the cause of what the

¹⁰⁷) These constant references to de Rau's facility in juggling the truth could lead to the suspicion that he had, with all his undeniable talent, a psychopathic weakness in this regard. Even though this letter is unfavorable to de Rau and therefore not a completely neutral presentation, still some of Donellan's statements about de Rau's words and actions — which can hardly have come from Donellan's imagination — indicate that he was indeed a difficult character. This impression could be further corroborated by a more complete study of de Rau, which however we have no intention of making here.

¹⁰⁸) He had indeed fled in 1641 from Vienna, as we have seen, but certainly not to Saxony; rather his flight took him southwards, so that he was apprehended in Baden bei Wien, Dd 77.91rv.

¹⁰⁹) Cf. the text above our note 114

voters of Germany in the general chapter did with regard to his becoming, or not becoming, assistant general ¹¹⁰)!

Another false report spread by de Rau in Rome against Donellan is that the peace which now reigns finally amongst the confrères in Austria is due to two causes: that Donellan gives them unrestricted liberty, and to a lavish table at which the friars appear wearing golden chains about their necks. Donellan retorts with the claim that the same scandals which existed in de Rau's time in Vienna would still exist there, if the friars had such liberty as de Rau claims. Further, he adds, the peace that now reigns can in good part be attributed to the absence of the trouble-maker de Rau, who regularly incited his confreres against his superior [the then Vicar General Dyker]. If Dyker gave an order to anyone, de Rau counselled the contrary. Hence the very stones and elements here in Vienna could witness to the scandals of de Rau's time, adds Donellan with a touch of Celtic fantasy. Now let the stones and elements talk about my government, he challenges, before refuting some of the ridiculous charges.

It is simply untrue, he states, that the brethren wear golden chains about their necks. We are so poor, we have not even a julio! What may be true, he admits, is that one or two may indeed wear a bronze chain, containing an Agnus Dei or relics. Let the general order under excommunication that the truth be told in these matters! While on this subject, Donellan now presents a countercharge against de Rau: would that it were not true that the latter had in the box which he brought with him when he left Vienna in his precipitous and scandalous flight, colored silken underdrawers, certain articles of feminine raiment, seals of the province on carte blanche, and other similar articles! This was confirmed by his superiors and other eye-witnesses and was known to the emperor immediately after de Rau's flight.

¹¹⁰) We have seen above that on June 6, 1645 during the general chapter in Rome, de Rau was one of the three candidates proposed for election as assistant general of the northerly provinces, along with Carlo Tirelli, who had resided several years in Austria, Bohemia and Poland, and Jakob [Kirschner] of Gewitsch, a Moravian. The election fell upon Jakob Kirschner. The Germanic provinces represented at the chapter were those of Bohemia, Bavaria, Austria, «Poland» (represented however by two Italians), Rheno-Swabia, and Styria-Carinthia. See AA 11 (1925-1926) 12-18. We may add that Kirschner, though elected, as assistant general, could not be persuaded to come to Rome; cf. C. JANETSCHEK, *Das Augustiner-Eremitenstift S. Thomas in Brünn*, Brünn 1898, 219-221 and 261.

The general had stated in his letter to Donellan that de Rau's innocence had been judicially pronounced by the Cardinal Protector, Giovanni Battista Pallotto ¹¹¹). But to Donellan, more acquainted with the historical situation and therefore not too impressed by purely juridical decisions, this declaration of de Rau's innocence by the Cardinal is explicable by two causes: the great goodness of the Cardinal and, in all probability, by his having been deceived through the false testimony produced by de Rau. Donellan knows from experience that de Rau has more than once written to several friends in order to obtain false witness — as Donellan is prepared to prove by an original letter, of which he had already spoken to de Rau in Vienna! Hence, if the Cardinal has declared de Rau innocent, very well. But, if de Rau was so offended by his opponents — for example, Ignatius Dyker and the discrete of Austria in the last general chapter — ¹¹²) then why did he not cite both of them before the tribunal of Cardinal Pallotto when both of them were in Rome for the chapter in June? Or why did he not cite them, in such convenient circumstances, before a general definitory? Why did he not then carry out his previously spoken threat, that he would have both of them punished in Rome, if they arrived for the chapter? He had threatened to have both of them cast into prison, deprived of their votes! Donellan shrewdly adds that de Rau had made these threats with the probable hope of frightening Dyker and Syrott, and so preventing their coming to Rome — to prove his own misdeeds! In the presence of Donellan

¹¹¹) Cf. Dd 80. LI-LII, which we have published above in this article. The sentence of de Rau's innocence was pronounced in Rome on Dec. 16, 1644. Although the prior general Monti had insisted that de Rau had not been legitimately made Rector of the province, the congregation held under Pallotto's headship on Dec. 1, 1645 nonetheless decided: that it was not proved that de Rau had illegitimately intruded himself into the post of Rector of the province; it decided further that he had been improperly deprived of his position as Regent in the convent of Vienna; that it had been improper on the part of the general to remove him from the province of Austria, to which therefore de Rau could return. Cf. AV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna 14, 14v-5r. Armed with this decree, de Rau had returned to Vienna, probably in January of 1645 — thus causing the fulmination of the emperor's decree of expulsion on Febr. 4!)

¹¹²) We are already well acquainted with Dyker from what has been said above. He was present in Rome for the general chapter in June 1645, as the definitory of the province of Rheno-Swabia, into which he had been sent by the prior general Monti in late 1641 or early 1641. The discrete of the Austrian province in the same chapter was Caesarius Syrott, whose curriculum vitae is found in Gavigan, *Assist.* 282, note 47. The presence of Dyker and Syrott in June 1645 in the general chapter is indicated in AA 11 (1925-1926) 12-13.

and others, Syrott had warned de Rau with these words: "non revol-
vamus stercora, quia nimis faetebunt! and I intend to prove that
you are canonically deserving of infamia". Here was de Rau's oppor-
tunity to force the process in Rome, since both Dyker and Syrott
had appealed against the sentence of de Rau's innocence, which had
been passed without hearing their opposing arguments. It is not my
affair, says Donellan, whether de Rau is innocent or guilty. Let de
Rau and his opponents carry out their own processes! They are
Germans and Flemings, and I have no intention of being involved
in their quarrels.

Donellan is here able to press a point in his own favor, stating
how he had helped de Rau to establish his innocence in the financial
affairs of Austria, after his rivals had accused him of embezzlement.
Donellan had been present as Vicar General with de Rau in the Nun-
tiature of Vienna on March 3, 1645¹¹³), when a composition was
agreed upon. By this composition reached in the matter of de Rau's
accounts, 328 florins in cash were given to him by Donellan in the
name of the province, with the stipulation that the matter was now
definitely settled, and de Rau would never again under any pretexts
request more money from the Austrian Augustinians¹¹⁴). If de Rau
would reflect a little, he would realize that Donellan had really helped
him on this occasion, as was well known by the Nuntio¹¹⁵). Other
things as well I have done for de Rau, claims Donellan, but if he
is unwilling to believe this, that is his affair. None the less, he will
try to comply with the prior general's order to obtain the revocation
of the decree of exile.

Donellan now gives the general some very direct indications
about advice for de Rau. The general would do very well in warning
him to restrain his tongue, and to refrain from speaking evil about

¹¹³) From which it is clear that de Rau had not yet departed from the imperial
city, although the emperor's decree of expulsion against him been issued from Prague
on Febr. 4.

¹¹⁴) AV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna 14.4v-5v. Here also Donellan is
called Nicolaus Donellan a Sancto Patritio.

¹¹⁵) The Nuntio in Vienna from April 2, 1644 until 1652 was Camillo de'Melzi.
See H. BIAUDET, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes jusqu'en 1648*, Helsinki 1910,
and L. KARTTUNEN, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes de 1650 à 1800*, Genève
1912, ad annos.

the emperor or the archduke ¹¹⁶); let de Rau recall what he said in Vienna — that he would never leave this city, except as a corpse, before receiving what he wanted; that he would have any decree of exile, issued against him by the emperor, revoked by force of money. Let de Rau recall other rash statements also made by him: that in a banquet he had spoken badly of the emperor and the archduke; how on various occasions he had referred to the Austrians as scoundrels; how he had threatened that the Cardinal Protector ¹¹⁷) would send the Austrian Augustinians elsewhere, even into exile; that he would have the discrete [Syrott] cast into prison; that he would see to it that no province of Austria would exist, because of his banishment; and that he would have such a Flemish superior sent to Austria, that the Austrians would prefer anything on earth or under the earth to ever again receiving a Fleming!

De Rau has stated in Rome that I, Donellan, can not speak even a simple sentence in Latin, and that I am the subject of a heretic [King Charles I of England]. But I do know enough for my needs, and it is true that I am a subject of the King of England, then it is my glory and that of my nation, that the king is a heretic, while we are Catholics! Thanks be to God, that neither de Rau nor any other can say truthfully anything evil about my life! Ask the Spanish assistant general Maluenda, who knows me well, about my life in Spain, about the letters of recommendation which he gave me for Pope Innocent X, when he was still a Cardinal ¹¹⁸); for Cardinal Barberini ¹¹⁹); and for the prior general Monti. Here again Donellan allows himself a slightly proud mention of his modesty, since he states that Maluenda and his other influential friends in Spain showed

¹¹⁶) The Archduke here referred to seems to be Leopold Wilhelm, brother of the emperor, Ferdinand II. Cf. J. WODKA, *Kirche in Österreich*, Wien 1959, 259. We are unacquainted in just what way de Rau's too ready tongue had slipped here.

¹¹⁷) Giovanni Battista Pallotto, Nuntio in Vienna until 1630, had then become in 1637 Cardinal Protector of the Augustinians. De Rau seems to have succeeded in ingratiating himself with this powerful ecclesiastic, as is clear from various parts of our present study. See note 91 also for Pallotto.

¹¹⁸) This reference and the following give us unfortunately no further help to determining more exactly when Donellan left Spain and came to Rome; cf. note 97 and the text which it explain. — Giambatista Pamfili, who became Pope Innocent X, had been publicly created a cardinal in 1629. See *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*² 5.692-693.

¹¹⁹) Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII, created cardinal in 1623, HCMRA 4.18-19. The following year, his brother Antonio, a Capuchin, was created cardinal in his turn, *ibid.* 19.

their favor only to the modest. When Maluenda had been elected as definitor for the general chapter slated for 1641, Donellan himself had been elected in a private chapter as his substitute. He feels that his life in itself is sufficient witness to his integrity. He has not even written to Maluenda to congratulate him [on his election as assistant general in June 1645], and does not wish to do so, until the general Petrelli is informed by Maluenda and «all of Spain».

Another charge that de Rau is alleged to have made is that Donellan had obtained his doctorate [in the University of Vienna] at the expense of the province, but Donellan's answer is simple: the members of the province of Austria will testify that he has not received a penny for that purpose.

Donellan makes clear to the general that he is entirely willing to serve the order, but begs to be relieved of the post of superior, stating that for the rest of his life he hopes to be free from such positions. The general Petrelli can learn from his predecessor Monti, how Donellan refused to make as commissary two canonical visitations, and how he for three months was begged to make the visitation of Bohemia, since he knows how difficult a task it is ¹²⁰).

In conclusion, Donellan promised to do what he can for de Rau, since it is the wish of the prior general. But Donellan warns that de Rau must leave him in peace, and tell no more lies about him. Otherwise, Donellan will employ certain things in his possession, of which de Rau knows nothing, and which can do him great harm. Finally Donellan asks pardon of the prior general for having felt obliged to save his honor by such a long explanation — and by telling the sad truth. He repeats his readiness to serve his general and his order, dating the letter from Vienna on Aug. 12, 1645, and signing his name as Nicolas Donellan a Sancto Patritio.

Perhaps we too should ask the reader's pardon, as Donellan did of the prior general, for having told unpleasant facts. But the very sad situation of de Rau's time which Donellan inherited was not destined to continue amongst the Augustinians in Austria, as we hope

¹²⁰) Donellan had presided as Visitor the provincial chapter of Bohemia held at Stockau in 1644; Dd 79.16r and 80v. In spite of his reluctance he also visited Bohemia in 1647; C. JANETSCHKE, *Das Augustiner-Eremitenstift S. Thomas in Brünn*, Brünn 1898, 245. In addition, he presided over the provincial chapter held at Roczov in 1651, Kreybich, 71.

to show elsewhere. The two years elapsed since Donellan's arrival in Vienna had indeed given a better, and long-needed, turn to the affairs of his order. The then reigning emperor Ferdinand III, and his successor Leopold I, showed their appreciation of Donnellan's honest and hard word. The former made him a privy counsellor in 1655, and had attempted as early as 1651 to have him promoted to a bishopric in Ireland ¹²¹).

Another gifted Augustinian, Alfons Staimos, lent his energies to the same task as Donellan, that of rebuilding the Augustinian order in Austria. Their hard and persistent efforts were destined to be crowned with success. After the sad conditions described in this short study, better days were to follow. And amongst the men chiefly responsible for this persistent uphill climb in the face of great obstacles, we must surely give a place of deserved credit to the Vicar General, who had come to a troubled situation in 1643: Nicholas Donellan a Sancto Patritio.

J.-J. GAVIGAN, O.S.A.

¹²¹) GAVIGAN, *doct.* 295; *IDEM*, *Epp.* 466, note 146.