The Discalced Augustinians in Vienna

(With a sketch of their Germanic province) *)

In the attractive city of Vienna [1]) and vicinity, with its numerous religious and historical monuments, are to be found even today the three churches formerly administered by the Order of St. Augustine.

*) List of abbreviations: AA = *Analecta Augustiniana*, 1-32, Romae 1905 sqq.; AGR = Archivum generale O.S.A., Romae, Via S. Uffizio, 25; A.S.W. = Archiv der Stadt Wien, Rathaus, Wien; AV = Archivio Vaticano; Clm = Codex latinus monacensis; Dd = Registrum priorum generalium, in AGR, Romae 1357 sqq.; Fidler A. = FIDLER, or friar Marianus a SS. Sacramento, *Austria Sacra : Geschichte der ganzen österreichischen, klösterlichen und weltlichen Klerisey beyderley Geschlechtes*, 9 volumes, Wien 1780-1788; GAVIGAN, *Assist.* = *Assistentia provinciae Austriae (1672-1676)*, in *Augustinianum* 6(1966) 259-293; idem, *Clob.* = *Johannes Clobucciarich, O.S.A.*, in AA 31 (1968) 319-1358; idem, *doct.* = *De doctoribus theologiae O.A.S. in universitate vindobonensi*, in *Augustinianum* 5 (1965) 271-364; idem, *Donn.* = *A Letter from Nicholas Donnellan, Vicar General of the Augustinians in Austria (Vienna, August 12, 1645)*, in *Augustiniana* 18 (1969) 291-320; idem, *Epp.* = *Epistulae inter priores generales O.S.A. atque imperatores austriacos annis 1635-1671 missae*, in *Augustiniana* 18 (1968) 425-513: idem, *theol.* = *De theologiae professoribus augustinianis universitatis graecensis*, in *Augustiniana* 17 (1967) 333-388, et 18 (1968) 5-47; idem, *Übergabe* = *Die Übergabe des Wiener Augustinerklosters an die Barfüsser, 1630 : Ein Aspekt der Gegenreformation in Wien*, in *Festschrift Franz Loidl*, Vol. II, to be published in Vienna 1970; KL = *Klosterchronik* , in PAMB; (MBP = *Protocoll*, in PAMB;) L.-B. 2 = *Monastici Augustiniani R. P. Fr. Nicolai Crusenii Continuatio atque ad illud additamenta, vol.* II, *auctore Thyrso Lopez-Bardon, O.S.A.*, Vallisoleti 1903; L.-B. 3 = vol. III of the same work, Vallisoleti 1916; LTK = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, editions of 1930-1938 and 1957-1965; Lustri = *Lustri storiali de' Scalzi Agostiniani eremiti della congregazione d'Italia e Germania, descritti dal suo cronista, P. Gio. Bartolomeo da S. Claudia*, Milano 1700; MBP = *Protocoll*, in PAMB; Nomina = *Nomina patrum ac fratrum discalceatorum O.S.A. 1621-1781*, in PAMB; ONB = *Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien Josephplatz;* Origo = *Origo progressus et memorabilia ecclesiae caesareae S.P. Augustini Viennae cujus... primus saecularis annus agitur*, Viennae Austriae 1730; PAMB = Pfarrarchiv, Maria Brunn; I Prot. = Single volume *Protocoll* of the Augustinerkirche, Vienna; Prot. = *Protocollum ecclesiae aulico=caesareae et conventus FF. Eremitarum Dissalc. S.P.N. Augustini*, 7 volumes, *ibidem*; RENNHOFER = *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Wiens*, Würzburg, 1956; idem, *Kl.* = *Augustinerklöster in Osterreich*, in *Augustiniana* 6 (1956) 490-536; Schiessl = Hermann SCHIESSL, *Der Wallfahrtsort Maria Brunn*, unpublished doctoral dissertation of the University of Vienna 1946; Tomek = Ernst TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Osterreichs*, dritter Band, Innsbruck-Wien München 1959; UBP = Universitätsbibliothek, Prague; Winner = G. WINNER, *Die Klosteraufhebungen in Niederösterreich und*

Of these three churches, the best known is the Augustinerkirche, situated on the Augustinersstrasse, adjoining the Hofburg, the former imperial residence. Here remains something of the former glory of the middle ages and of the baroque period, in which the imperial city—justly proud of its triumph over the besieging Turks in 1683—witnessed a period of expansion that justified the name of « Catholic Austria ». This church was built by the Bavarian province of the Augustinian order in the fourteenth century, but was handed over to the barefoot, or discalced, Augustinians in 1630, in whose hands it remained until 1836. Since 1951 it is again in the hands of the calced Augustinians of the Bohemian vice-province.

A second church of the Augustinians in present-day Vienna—or in its suburbs—is the church of Maria Brunn, formerly the goal of numerous pilgrimages from miles around. The discalced Augustinians founded a monastery here in 1636, which is today the seat of the institute for forestry. These buildings were restored after the defeat of the Turks in 1683, who had ravaged the region ruthlessly and put to death four discalced Augustinians who fell into their hands [2]).

The third Augustinians church of modern Vienna never belonged, not even for a short time, to the barefoot or discalced Augustinians, but rather to the original branch of the order of St. Augustine, sometimes called the calced Augustinians to denote their difference from the discalced, even though all were subject to the same prior general in the period of which we shall speak. The calced Augustinians, who turned over to their discalced brethren the church and monastery of St. Augustine in 1630, took up new quarters outside the Hungarian gate of Vienna upon the so-called Landstrasse. By 1636 they had succeeded in estalishing a new church and monastery in this region outside the city walls. Here they were to be active in the care of souls, the striving after religious perfection, and the development of theological and historical studies. The faculty of theology of the University of Vienna between 1640 and 1783 numbered an unbroken succession of professors and

Wien, Wien 1966; WOLFSGRUBER, Kapelle = *Geschichte der Loretokapelle bei St. Augustin in Wien*, Wien 1886; IDEM, *Hofkirche ... Die Hofkirche zu St. Augustin in Wien*, Augsburg, 1888.

[1]) The excellent work of Rennhofer gives the best existing treatment of the history of the calced Augustinians in Vienna.

[2]) The monograph of Schiessl gives an acceptable treatment of Maria Brunn, but with the emphasis placed upon the buildings rather than upon the men themselves.

deans from this community, beginning with the Belgian Patritius de Rau, and ending with Johannes Baptista Cortivo of Fiume, who in 1783b ecame senior of the same faculty [3]). A guest professor of the university, if we may so speak, not of the Austrian but of the Milanese province of the order, resided in this convent, and was until 1789 the last active professor of his order in the university. This was fra Giuseppe Bertieri. Even after his departure from Vienna to become bishop in Italy, Augustinian examiners from this convent continued their work on the theological faculty until 1806, when friar Gaudiosus Kare left the post of examiner to devote his full energies to directing the Austro-Hungarian province of his order, which had lost most of its thirteen monasteries by Josephinistic suppressions and their consequences [4]). The death blow was dealt to this monastery in 1809, when between eighteen and twenty Augustinians, young and old, died of the pestilence contracted in nursing the sick soldiers who were hospitalized in their monastery. It was suppressed therefore in 1812, and since then the beautiful baroque church, dedicated to Saints Sebastian and Rochus, is in the hands of the secular clergy [5]). In the same year 1812, the calced Augustinian province disappeared from Austria, even though a renowned Augustinian scientist from the abbey of Brünn in Moravia, Johann Gregor Mendel, spent the years 1850 to 1853 as a student of the university of Vienna [6]). We have spoken here at some length of this monastery and church of the calced Augustinians since we intend now to devote greater attention to the two other Augustinian monasteries of Vienna, one of which was exclusively in the hands of the discalced Augustinians (Maria Brunn); and the other of which came into the hands of the discalced in 1630 (the monastery and church of St. Augustine, or the Augustinerkirche).

Augustinian Beginnings in Vienna

The canonical foundation of the friars hermits of St. Augustine took place on April 9, 1256, by Pope Alexander IV's bull « Licet ecclesiae catholicae » [7]). It is possible that as early as 1237 a monastery of

[3]) Gavigan, *theol.* 354.

[4]) *Ibid.* 61-68.

[5]) Rennhofer 252-262.

[6]) Robert C. Olby, *Franz Unger and the Wiener Kirchenzeitung*; in *Folia Mendeliana Musei Moraviae* 2 (1967) 29.

[7]) A. Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*; in *Augustiniana* 19 (1969) 58 ,whose treatment of the complicated question of the « Great Union » of here-

hermits with the rule of St. Augustine existed in Vienna [8]). In any case, an Augustinian monastery seems certainly to have existed outside the Walls of Vienna before 1256, the year of the Great Union [9]). This monastery would naturally have adhered to the Great Union and thus become a monastery of mendicant friars of St. Augustine.

This comparatively unimportant monastery before the Werder Gate of the city of Vienna was exchanged in the fourteenth century for a monastery not only within the city walls, but in the immediate neighborhood of the royal palace. For in 1327, Frederick the Fair bestowed lands and a house upon the Augustinians, who were thus enabled to leave their uninviting location in favor of a place of choice, under the eyes of the Habsburgs, who were to give Austria and the Holy Roman Empire a series of emperors that ended only in 1918.

By 1339 the new church and monastery of St. Augustine were finished. The church was consecrated in 1349. Even today the Gothic church is visited by countless tourists, who unfortunatelys how less interest in divine worship and respect for the house of God than enthusiasm over the imposing architecture, the monument fo Maria Christina erected by Canova, the heart crypt of the Habsburgs and the music of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Bruckner, Palestrina etc [10]).

The fourteenth century was a period when the Augustinians—it is still too early to speak of discalced Augustinians—made an imposing record in the imperial city. Even before the Augustinians left their first monastery before the Werder Gate, the general chapter of the order, held 1306 in Bologna, had made the following decree : « We decree that the study house of the province of Bavaria be located in future in our house of Vienna, which belongs to the same province, and shall be a general study-house for the entire order » [11]). It is problematical just how much influence this decree had on the monastery before the Werder Gate. But the new monasery, founded in 1327, near the royal palace, housed an imposing list of friars. They belonged to the important tendencies within the order, which aimed at producing an exemplary

mitical congregations into the mendicant order of St. Augustine is the best which has appeared up to the present date. An important monograph on the subject is being prepared by friar Balbino Rano, General Archivist of the Order in Rome.

[8]) *Ibid.* 115-116.

[9]) *Ibid.*

[10]) WOLFSGRUBER, *Hofkirche*, passim.

[11]) Printed in AA 3 (1909-1910) 54.

monastic life. This monastery was visited in 1357 by the outstanding theologian, and prior general of the order, Thomas of Strassburg, who died here and was buried in the monastic crypt. By a strange coincidence, his follower in the generalate, Gregory of Rimini, also a renowned theologian, died in the same monastery in the following year, and was buried alongside of his illustrious brother in religion. In 1362 a general chapter of the order was celebrated in the monastery, in which the general elected by the chapter of Padua in 1358 was reconfirmed in his office [12]). In 1385, one of the first professors of the newly founded theological faculty of the university of Vienna was the Augustinian Leonhard of Villach, or of Carinthia, a member of the monastic community of Völkermarkt [13]). In the same year, the general of the order, Bartolomeo Veneto, ordered the foundation of a general study house in the new Viennese monastery, in which Master Leonhard should be the Regent. Two other Augustinian theologians followed their confrère Leonhard as professors in the university, and became deans of the theological faculty : Johannes of Retz, and Berthold of Regensburg [14]). Since the Bavarian province founded in 1299 embraced nine different districts, which extended both to the west and to the east of Vienna, the monastery located here was able to be staffed with observant religious and capable professors from a widely spread number of monasteries.

Hence we find the Augustinian monastery of Vienna for many years in the fifteenth century under an enthusiastic promotor of inner reform, Oswald Reinlein of Nürnberg, who was constantly reappointed as prior in Vienna between 1420 and 1433 [15]). Studies seem to have declined somewhat in this century amongst the Viennese Augustinians who produced only one other member of the college of doctors in the local university after Berthold of Regensburg, that is, Andreas Sachs, who had previously received his doctorate in Heidelberg [16]). But the following century, the sixteenth, so important in church history, witnessed a revival of Augustinians in the college of Viennese doctors.

12) Rennhofer 83-85; D. Trapp, *La tomba bisoma di Tommaso da Strasburg e Gregorio da Rimini*, in *Augustinianum 6* (1966) 6-17 has an excellent critical treatment of the problem of the graves of the two priors who died in Vienna.

13) Gavigan, *doct.* 276-277.

14) *Ibid.* 278-281.

15) Gavigan, *Epp.* 440.

16) Gavigan, *doct.* 284.

The first was Augustin Molitor of Ingolstadt [17]), who was admitted to this college in 1505. Even before him, the Augustinian friar, Adam of Breslau, had studied on the university but did not obtain the doctorate here, although he was created by the general of the order a Master of theology on Dec. 24, 1504. One of the most colorful Augustinians in Vienna was surely Johannes Klain, usually referred to by his latinized name Parvus [18]). This member of the Saxon province of the Augustinians was admitted to the Viennese college of doctors in 1524, and became dean of the theological faculty of the same university in the following year [19]).

Contrary to a popular error, the majority of the Augustinians in German-speaking countries by no means followed Luther in his rebellion against the church. Precisely in Vienna, Johannes Klain distinguished himself in his energetic opposition to the heretical doctrines of his former brother in religion. By doing this, Klain found himself completely reinstated in the prior general's good graces, from which he had fallen in 1521 by a too severe handling of the affairs of the monastery in Memmingen [20]). Altough Klain seems to have died shortly after 1526, his Augustinian confrères in Vienna repeated on at least four more occasions before 1543 their corporate hostility to Luther's false doctrines. Certainly there were in the Augustinian order, as in every one of the other then existing orders, several cases of friars who followed Luther in his new teachings. But as a body, they remained orthodox [21]). Names like Johannes Hoffmeister and Konrad Treger are the clearest proof, by their defence of Catholicism against Luther, that the Augustinian order even in Germanic countries remained in its greater part faithful to the church of their fathers.

But orthodoxy was not enough to preserve the Augustinians in Vienna of the period of Luther from severe blows dealt by followers of the new doctrine. Greedy nobles, burghers and peasants often seized the opportunity to enrich themselves by occupying monasteries under various pretexts. In the twenty years preceding 1554, only twenty priests had been turned out by the university of Vienna, according to the re-

17) *Ibid.* 285

18) Clm 8423. 9.

19) GAVIGAN, *doct.* 286.

20) *Ibid.*

21) A. ZUMKELLER, *Martin Luther und sein Orden*, in AA 25 (1962) 283-290.

port of St. Peter Canisius [22]). Not only did various Viennese covet the Augustinian monastery but the Turks also inflicted material damage upon it during the siege of 1529, since it was situated on the city walls. The consequences can well be imagined. From various causes by no means always in accord with their own will, the Augustinians in Vienna found themselves reduced from twenty-six in 1523 to five in 1546. In this year, when the Viennese Augustinian community consisted of only five religious, three were Hungarians who had fled before the Turks; one was a Pole; and only one was a German! In a pitiful letter sent to the prior general in this year, the Augustinians explained how covetous Viennese burghers waited before the doors of the monastery to occupy it, as soon as the prior would have died. To avoid this seizure, and save the monastery for the Augustinian order, the friars rapidly elected a new prior, the Hungarian Janos Wiláky or Ujlaky [23]).

From this time on, no other solution was to be found than that adopted in the case of Ujlaky. In order to preserve their monasteries north of the Alps, the various orders found themselves forced to send Latin friars to occupy the places and govern these monasteries, especially from their numerous Italian provinces, which had suffered but little from the Lutheran rebellion, that had caused two thirds of Germany to lose the Catholic faith. Well over the half of Austria had become Protestant by the year 1570 [24]).

Since pitifully few, or absolutely no vocations, were to be found in Germany, then the solution of sending friars from other lands was commendable at least by its necessity. No friars, no monasteries! Hence we cannot condemn lock, stock and barrel the priors general of the various orders who sent their « frati » from Italy to northern countries. But we must permit ourselves the criticism that the generals often sent, not their best subjects, who would have labored worthily in the Catholic reform, but rather the trouble-makers, whom they were glad to get off their hands. This short-sighted policy was to create havoc in an already difficult situation caused by the Protestant revolt[25]).

[22]) Gavigan, *Epp.* 445.

[23]) F. Fallenbüchl and G. Ring, *Die Augustiner in Ungarn vor der Niederlage von Mohács 1526*, in *Augustiniana* 15 (1965) 136.

[24]) K. Bihlmeyer and H. Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte*, dritter Teil, Paderborn 1956, 159-162.

[25]) See Gavigan, *Epp.* 447-448, for examples of frati of various mendicant orders,

Such a policy had indeed the temporary advantage of removing scandalous friars from the region where they had given trouble. But results were disastrous in the north, so that this manner of « passing the buck » was repeatedly forbidden by the rulers of Germany and Austria [26]).

Later on in the sixteenth and the earlier seventeenth century, the Italian Augustinians in the north were substituted or, more frequently, supplemented by confrères from other provinces, particularly the Belgian, which witnessed at this time a period of extraordinary prosperity, from the religious, educational, and scientific viewpoint [27]). Hence, Belgians like Anton Keerbeeck, Nicolaus Creusen, Jan Trezemius, etc. were sent to Vienna to help the situation. They gave, in general, a better account of themselves than their Italian confrères, both because of their greater facility in learning German and by their behaviour, which with a few unfortunate exceptions, was usualy good [28]). But even this injection of new blood came « too little and too late ». A motley community was found in the Augustinian monastery of Vienna in the fateful year 1630, which witnessed the expulsion of the calced Augustinians by papal command, given at the explicit and urgent request of the emperor Ferdinand II and his wife, Leonora da Mantova[29]). Since we have treated elsewhere more fully of the reasons for this expulsion, we shall here content ourselves with stating the sad fact that the calced Augustinians had not been able to recover their pace of the pre-Lutheran days, and hence failed to give satisfaction to the watchful eyes of the emperor, who had already distinguished himself in his youth, as archduke in Styria, for his reforming zeal [30]). The expelled

who gave such scandal in the north. We quote here just one typical example from the registers of the Augustinian prior general, Spirito da Vicenza, on Dec. 12, 1586 : « The frati Vito and Antonio, both of Gravina, are ordered into the province of Steiermark and Kärnten because of a crime committed » (Biblioteca Angelica, Roma cod. 148.68r). For an Italian frate in Vienna Francesco Bonfatti, who had a much better record, cf. GAVIGAN, *assist.* 264.

[26]) Cf. GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 448.

[27]) E. BRAEM and N. TEEUWEN, *Augustiniana Belgica illustrata*, Lovanii 1956, 21-24.

[28]) Cf. GAVIGAN, *Donn.* 308, where two Belgian trouble-makers, Patritius de Rau and Urban van Heyden, are mentioned. The former, however, was not sent to Austria until 1636, when the Viennese court monastery had already been turned over to the discalced Augustinians. The entry of the discalced into Vienna took place in 1630, as we shall see below.

[29]) Treated by GAVIGAN in *Übergabe*, and more briefly in *Donn.* 294-296.

[30]) BIHLMEYER-TÜCHLE, *op. cit.* 162.

community of calced Augustinas, consisted of these nationalities: Croatian, German, Italian, and Belgian, It was dispersed in part, but a few members had sufficient stamina to bear hardships and overcome continual disappointments before a new foundation of the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse, outside the Hungarian gate, was formed about 1636 [31]). But we shall now part company with the calced Augustinians, whom we have ushered out of the church and monastery of St. Augustine, situated within the walls of Vienna, to their new church and convent outside the city walls. We can now turn our undivided attention to their successors in the Viennese church and monastery of St. Augustine: the barefoot or discalced Augustinians. The story of the calced Augustinians has well been told elsewhere [32]).

Origin of the Discalced Augustinians

All of the four mendicant orders (Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans and Franciscans) had reform congregations within their ranks. They were originally intended as movements aimed at restoring the primitive ardor of the orders in which they came into existence. After the youthful enthusiasm of the mendicant movement which had begun in the thirteenth century, certain tendencies could be noted in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries, which lessened the primitive ardor. Hence, these reform movements within the different orders were particularly strong in the fifteenth century. Sometimes they had great success within their orders, and even succeeded, as in the Augustinian province of Castile in the sixteenth century, in bringing the whole province to a flourishing state of reform, so that the congregation could be given up as unnecessary [33]).

A juridical characteristic of these reform congregations was that various monasteries, from one or from several provinces, were released from the jurisdiction of the prior(s) provincial, and were then subjected directly to the prior general, who appointed or approved a vicar general from their own ranks to rule them. Certain changes were made in the habit of the reform congregations, The use of sandals instead of shoes and stockings, was adopted by the Italian congregation which we intend to describe, so that the name of « barefoot » or « discalced » was quite

31) Gavigan, *Donn.* 297.

32) Rennhofer 177 sqq.

33) W. Hümpfner, in *St. Augustin 430-1830*, Würzburg 1930, 156.

properly applied to them. The same usage was found in other congregations of the Augustinian order also, for instance amongst the Spanish Recollects and the French discalced congregation. In Vienna, the striking statue (before the Burggarten) of the most famous member of the discalced Augustinians in Austria, Abraham a Sancta Clara, shows him in his sandals—although in fact he was one of the many members of the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, who requested dispensation from the use of sandals. The cold climate of Vienna made shoes and stockings more than desirable.

Since these discalced friars were a foundation of the Augustinian order, subject to the same prior general as their calced brethren, they were unquestionalby at the start Augustinians in the true sense of the word. The aim of their foundation was precisely to create a better spirit and observance within the order itself. The priors general of the Augustinians were often actively interested in their foundation and spread, since they seemed to promise a renewal within the order, something that is always useful in human organizations, which begin to feel the weight of years. This was the standpoint of the Augustinian prior general, Andrea da Fivizzano who in 1593 lent hearty support to the newly founded discalced congregation of Italy, which would later have the two foundations in Vienna.

The fact is that many congregations of reform, such as that of San Giovanni alla Carbonara in Naples, and that of Leccetto in Tuscany, remained within the order. The former still existedin our century with four monasteries, until it was united with the Neapolitan province under the generalship of Dr. Joseph Hickey (1947-1953). Other congregations however, such as the Spanish Recollects and the discalced congregation of Italy gave up their primary purpose, and ended by separating themselves from the order which they sprang, the former in 1912, the latter in 1929 [34]). In this separation—the objective truth compels us to mention it—human weakness, quite in disaccord with the laudable aims of reforming the Augustinian order, played a sad and important part. Similar congregations of the Augustinian order in France and Portugal were completely destroyed by anti-clerical movements in their own countries. But it is here our purpose, not to philosophize, but to describe briefly the foundation of the discalced Augustinians in Italy, their spread northward, and their history in Vienna.

[34]) B. Wild, *Die Augustiner*, Freiburg in der Schweiz 1968, 5.

Much false speculation has been made in the past by discalced authors of the Italian congregation about its origin. We pass over with a smile the claim made by one such writer that the first two discalced were—Adam and Eve [35]! Others tried to extend their existence back to the time of St. Augustine and his immediate companions who founed monasteries in Africa [36]). Still others tried, less ambitiously, but no more successfully, to claim as their founders or to numerate amongst their members such Augustinians as Tomas de Jesus, Luis de León, and St. Thomas of Villanova [37]). Today however, the most authoritative historian amongst the discalced Augustinians of Italy is our dear friend, Padre Ignazio Barbagallo, who completely denies these connections. We leave to his more authorized pen the hoped-for treatment of this question. We shall content ourselves here with a brief statement of the chief facts in the foundation of the discalced congregation of Italy.

The general chapters, not only of the Augustinians, but of the other orders as well, had constantly passed reform decrees for their members from the very century of their foundation [38]). Hence it is nothing new to see the general chapter of 1592 in Rome passing a decree for the reform of the Roman convent of St. Augustine, and then after the same pattern for the reform of the convents in its neighorhbood, and, finally, of all others which might need reform [39]). Here nothing is said about founding a reform congregation. But the decree of promoting reform within the order is clearly expressed. Hence it is not surprising that the newly elected prior general of the order, Andrea da Fivizzano, not only permitted, but gladly patronized and encouraged in the following year 1593 a reform movement in Naples. Even in the earliest days of this movement certain conflicts of opinions within its ranks had to be resolved by the prior general of the Augustinians. He named a judge to settle the difficulty raised by Andrés Díaz, a Spanish friar, and the Calabrese friar Ambrogio Staibano, The judge, Maestro Cristoforo Romano, decided in favor of Staibano, whom he sent to the prior general in Rome.

[35]) *Origo et propagatio eremitorii nostri sacri discalceatorum S.P. Augustini, compendiose adumbrata, anno christi 1663*, UBP 2633. 2-3.

[36]) *Ibid*, 23-28.

[37]) Fidler 9, Wien 1788, 181-182.

[38]) See, for example F. Mathes, *The Poverty Movement and the Augustinian Hermits*, in AA 31 (1968) 62 seqq.

[39]) Printed in AA 10 (1923-1924) 160.

Staibano was well received by the general and enjoyed the patronage of the ex-general of the Augustinians as well, Cardinal Gregorio Petrochini. The prior general consulted his advisers, who also were favorable to Staibano, who was therfore appointed by the prior general Fivizzano on Nov. 16, 1593 as Vicar General of the new barefoot congregation, which he declared to be separated from another group of Sicily, to which Andrés Díaz was sent [40]). Since the document of Staibano's appointment as Vicar General contains so many important elements about the new congregation, we offer here a translation from the Latin of the most important items. So speaks the prior general to Ambrogio Staibano :

It is our particular care to promote constantly the splendor of our order. Since, therefore, you have founded a new congregation of our order, under the title of the Discalced Friars of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, and since you have requested us to approve it, and to divide and separate it from the congragation of the Reformed Hermits of Sicily [41]), we, in our desire to satisfy this pious wish, in virtue of these letters and by the power of our office, approve the above mentioned congregation of our Discalced Brethren of the Kingdom of Naples, appoint you Vicar General of the same congregation, and wish you to be subject to our power only [42]).

The registration of this document adds further clarity to the foundation, and so we add its translation also :

Fra Ambrogio Staibano of Taranto is appointed Vicar General of the new congregation founded by him, under the name and title of the Congregation of the Discalced Hermits of St. Augustine of the Kingdom of Naples, with the permission of accepting sites and monasteries offered to the congregation, and of constructing monasteries. Their congregation is completely separated from the congregation of the Hermits of Sicily, in such wise that it is immediately subject

[40]) Lustri 3

[41]) They were known as the Congregazione Cent' Orbana, and had been founded in 1590 according to Lustri 2 and Hümpfner, *op. cit.* 156. To this congregation the prior general had sent Andrés Díez as Vicar General on July 2, 1592; Lustri 3.

[42]) Lustri 3. It should be noted that the author of the work Lustri, fra Giovanni Bartolomeo da Santa Claudia, himself a member of the discalced congregation founded in 1593, insists upon the fact that this congregation was a foundation of the Augustinian order, with authorization of its prior general. He fortunately copied many documents from the archives of the Augustinian order and from many other sources which have since disappeared. Hence the great value of his work for the first century of the discalced congregation of Italy.

to the prior general, just as other congregations are, and is bound to obedience ot him alone [43]).

These two texts follow the pattern of earlier fondations of congregations within the order. The congregation is subjected directly to the prior general, who appoints the Vicar General of the same. The texts show clearly how the discalced congregation which began in Naples, and which was later extended to all of Italy and to several countries north of the Alps had its birth in the bosom of the same Augustinian order, from which it finally separated itself in 1929. We have no intention of going into this long and not always pleasant problem here. Suffice it to say that a separatist spirit became strong in this congregation early in the seventeenth century [44]), led to disedifying controversies, and finally resulted in the complete separation which our century witnessed. But our interest here is with the period when the discalced were still subject to the Augustinian priors general. Hence, their history in Austria from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, is authentic Augustinian history, even though the relations between the calced and the discalced Augustinians in these regions were not always cordial.

We omit many details about the early years of the discalced in Italy [45]), and come to the year 1621. By this time, the discalced Augustinians in Italy had become so numerous, that they were forced to decide in their chapter, which began on May 24 to what part of the congregation each of their confrères belonged. Every religious was assigned to one of these four groups, which later became full-fledged provinces : the Roman, the Neapolitan, the Genoese, and the Sicilian [46]). They had in the meantime received constitutions of their own, differing in several points from those of the Calced Augustinians [47]).

Up to this year 1621, as quite natural, the congregation of the discalced Augustinians in Italy was made up almost exclusively of Italians. This was only to be expected, since the first members of the barefoot Augustinians in Italy came from various provinces of the

[43]) Lustri 3-4.

[44]) See, for example, B. VAN LUIJK, *Der Augustiner-Eremit Agostino Gioia 1695-1751*, Würzburg 1959, 78.

[45]) Recounted in LUSTRI 4 sqq.

[46]) LUSTRI 127.

[47]) *Ibid.*

calced Augustinians, who looked upon the new foundation as a means of bringing renewed spiritual energy to their order. The movement began in southern Italy, as we recall, but in a short time, German and north Italian cities also gave some of their friars to the new congregation. But other nations also joined the movement. Of the German-speaking discalced Augustinians we shall speak in detail below. As early as 1595, two French calced Augustinians who were then in Rome joined the discalced, Père Matthieu de Lorraine, and Père François Amet of Paris. They were soon joined by another Parisian, Père Thomas Munier. The first of these became the founder of the congregation of Discalced Augustinians in France [48]). He obtained from the prior general of the Augustinians on May 7, 1596, permission to take over an almost ruined church in the diocese of Grenoble. Here also, as in Italy, many calced Augustinians, passed over to the more austere life of the discalced, so that the prior general appointed Père Matthieu Vicar General of the French congregation of the discalced [49]). At one time, the French and the Italian discalced congregations thought seriously of uniting into one congregation, in the year 1618, but it was decided that the constitutions of the two groups were too different, and so the union failed to take place [50]).

The Discalced Augustinians come north

But what interests us particularly is the spread of the discalced congregation from Italy into the Germanic regions. We are surely informed about the following northern members of the discalced congregation who made their profession in Italy and then came to « Germany », by which name the discalced signified all the lands north of the Alps in which they founded their monasteries. We give here after the name of each religious the year of his profession as a discalced Augustinian : Friar Severinus a S. Jacobo, of Mainz, 1611; Brother Maximinus a S. Lucia, 1611 (who died on the journey to Prague in 1623); friar Martinus a S. Petro, native of Spire, 1611 ; friar Marcus a S. Philippo, of Mainz 1612 ; Brother Carolus a S. Praxede, Hungarian, formerly a calced Augustinian, 1612; friar Sixtus a S. Laurentio, a Moravian, 1613; Brother Henricus a S. Petro, native of Aix-la-Chapelle, skilled in art and house-medicine 1617; Brother Bonaventura a S.P. Augustino

[48]) *Ibid.* 7.
[49]) *Ibid.* 12.
[50]) *Ibid.* 239.

a Nuremberger, 1626 [51]). We see therefore that these members of the Italian congregation were the men naturally indicated to carry the congregation into Germanic lands. Such was precisely the case. Two of the religious above mentioned, friars Severinus and Sixtus—both of them German-speaking—were present in Prague in the year 1623. They found a favorable opportunity to obtain for their community the church of St. Wenceslaus, deprived of its ministers in the revolt against the emperor Ferdinand II. At their suggestion, the papal nuntius in Prague invited by a letter the Vicar General of the discalced Augustinains, friar Simon a S. Cruce, on May 8, 1623, to send a community to take over the church of St. Wenceslaus. In the same letter he gave permission to found a novitiate here, for the acquisition of native vocations [52]). In the year 1625, the first superior for the community in Prague, friar Martinus a S. Petro, set to work on the construction of a monastery and novitiate. In the year 1627 he was succeeded by the religious who would introduce the discalced Augustinians into Vienna, friar Marcus a S. Philippo. A year later, 1628, the day of fortune dawned for the community. Friar Marcus was an excellent preacher. The emperor Ferdinand II visited the city of Prague in Lent, and heard him preach on three successive Saturdays. So pleased with the sermons was the emperor that he summoned the preacher to his presence, and inquired about his community, to which he gave an alms of one thouand florins. Nor did he forget the preacher and his discalced Augustinians of Prague when he returned to Vienna. For many reasons, which we have described elsewhere [53]), the emperor was dissatisfied with the calced Augustinians in Vienna for whom his ancestors had found the church and monastery of St. Augustine in 1327. He was unwilling to expel the order of St. Augustine from this church and monastery. But when he learned that the discalced Augustinians of Prague wished to found a monastery in Vienna, he decided to have it turned over to this discalced congregation of the same order, since the congregation was still thriving in its youthful exuberance, and called itself the « reformed » Augustinian congregation.

51) Nomina 1.

52) Lustri 207, where the Latin text is printed.

53) Gavigan, *Übergabe.*

The Discalced take over St. Augustine's in Vienna

Ideas gave way to actions. On March 23, 1630, Pope Urban VIII issued a bull at the emperor's request, ordering the calced Augustinians of Vienna to hand over their church and monastery to their discalced brethren. The emperor and the papal nuntius in Vienna called friar Marcus from Prague and gave him the good news that his dream of a monastery for his congregation in Vienna would soon be realized. He immediately ordered two other priests, a student of theology, and a lay brother to come from Prague to Vienna. They entered secretly into the city and lodged in the nearby monastery of the Capuchins [54]). Not until May 15 were the calced Augustinians called by the nuntius into their chapter room to hear the reading of the papal bull—and to turn over their church and monastery to their discalced confrères [55]).

The nuntius in Vienna, Giovanni Battista Pallotto, assigned on June 17, 1630 a goodly part of the revenues of the monastery of St. Augustine to the discalced for the coming six years, so that they could erect a new monastery in place of the old and barely habitable monastery which their calced brethren had been forced to abandon. The two monasteries of the latter in Baden and Korneuburg also received a part of the revenues, particularly in natural products, along with the obligation to pay any debts contracted before the entry of the discalced Augustinians into the Viennese monastery [56]). Possession of church and monastery was at once taken by the discalced. They consisted on this day of three priests, and one student of theology, friar Gulielmus a S. Martino, who ten years later as a priest would give great scandal by his over friendly relations with two Lutheran women, and by his falling away from the Catholic church [57]). The lay brother summoned from Prague had not yet arrived, but the community would soon begin a period of great prosperity in Vienna both on the spiritual and on the material side. Vocations were numerous for the discalced Augustinians in Vienna, who were the apple of the emperor's eye, introduced by him and his wife, Leonora da Mantova who, as an Italian, looked with natural sympathy upon this community which had its recent origins in Italy. Only one

54) Origo 25.

55) Lustri 274-277, where the text of the bull is printed. Cf. also Gavigan, *Donn.* 297.

56) Text of Pallotto's decree in Lustri 274-277.

57) We cite the texts, chiefly from the AV, about this unpleasant case in *Ubergabe*

year after the entry of the discalced into Vienna, five young men from modern Austria made their profession in this congregation. The first native of the city of Vienna made his profession in 1633, and was followed by three more Viennese the following year, so that the community in a short time was able to present the completely local color, which even today is so important in Vienna. The emperor Ferdinand II, who had introduced them, granted them on Jan. 22, 1631, a written statement of the privileges which they were to enjoy. His desire was, so he stated, that the reformed, or discalced, Augustinians were to dwell in this monastery « for perpetual future times, to offer pious prayers to God and perform other works of Christian charity, preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments, aim at the salvation of souls of the faithful and at the conversion of heretics and infidels » [57a].) As mendicants, they were assured by the emperor that they would have the privilege of begging alms—salaries were not received by the mendicants, and were forbidden by their constitutions—not only in Vienna, but in other regions subject to the royal house of Austria. In addition, the emperor assured them of his protection against molestations and vexations, and exempted them from taxes and from certain military and civil obligations, urging all dwellers in his lands to help them [58]).

Renovation of church and monastery in Vienna

We recall that the calced Augustinians had received the foundation of church and monastery from Frederick the Fair in 1327. Now, three hundred years later, the monastery particularly was greatly in need of repair. Not only did it have the weight of three centuries to carry, it had also been damaged on several occasions, for example, in 1529, when the Turks had besieged Vienna for the first time. A new broom sweeps clean. The discalced Augustinians found the monastery in so miserable a condition that they requested and obtained, as we have already seen, by disposition of the papal nuntius, Cardinal Pallotto, a goodly share in the revenues which had previously been des-

[57a]) In the Prot. of the monastic archives of St. Augustine in Vienna, it is interesting to note that indeed many conversions to the Catholic faith, especially of military, were made here in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the members of the community in the early years after the discalced took over the Viennese monastery, cf. UBP 2633, lllrv; Nomina 2-3.

[58]) Text in LUSTRI 279-281.

tined for their calced brethren, These revenues were given explicitly under condition that they be applied for the construction of a new monastery. Only eight or ten habitable cells were found when they took over the monastery in 1630, three centuries after its construction by the calced Augustinians. Hence, in 1631 the first year after their introduction, the discalced had parts of the old monastery torn down, and began the construction of new living quarters with the funds placed at their disposal [59]). A year later, 1632, doors were opened in the church on the street-side, and in the immediately following years, eighteen new altars were erected in the church [60].) This is the time to mention one precious heirloom which the discalced inherited from the time of their calced brethren and joyfully retained : the Loretto chapel. This was a reproduction of the so-called Holy House of Loretto in Italy, which an exaggerated credulity stated to be the house in which the Savior was born, miraculously transferred from Palestine to Italy in the middle ages. Even today the house exists in Loretto, and may be venerated in the sense that reverence shown towards it springs from reverence towards the Savior Himself. But it is a far cry from such veneration to an acceptance of the historicity of the house. In any case, the Italian empress, Leonora da Mantova, had a reproduction of this house built in the Augustinian church of Vienna in 1627 [61].) It was then erected where the church pews now stand. On Sept. 12 of the same year, Cardinal Dietrichstein consecrated the inner altar of this house, dedicated to the Mother of Christ, and the exterior altar, dedicated to St. Anne. The same cardinal blessed solemnly on Christmas Day of the same year the statue of the Madonna [62]). This Loretto chapel, even though removed by order of Joseph II in 1784 to its present location in front of the Georgskapelle, of which we shall briefly speak below, has remained down to our own days a great source of attraction for Viennese and tourists from the whole world. The pious members of the house of Habsburg had their hearts placed in small urns after their death, and deposited in a crypt behind this altar near a lovely statue of the Mother of Christ. Twenty-one hearts of members of the ruling house of Austria had been placed here before the chapel and crypt were removed in 1784 to their new location,

[59]) Fidler 9.319.

[60]) *Ibid.* 320.

[61]) Lustri 283; Wolfsgruber, *Kapelle* 4-7.

[62]) Lustri 283.

beginning with the heart of the « King of the Romans », Ferdinand IV, and ending with that of Maria Theresa. A new transfer to the present location was made before 1802. After this transfer, a few other hearts were added, including that of the son of Napoleon and Maria Luisa, the daughter of the emperor Francis II [63]). Today the hearts are visited by literally thousands in their location behind the altar of the Loretto chapel, in the back wall of which is located the niche that contains the hearts.

We return to the discalced Augustinians and their labor in their newly-acquired church of St. Augustine in Vienna. In 1633, a lay brother of the community, Brother Bonaventura a S.P. Augustino, born in Nürnberg, removed the royal oratory from the middle of the sanctuary to its presence place on the Epistle side [64]). The following year, 1634, an artist named Steinmuller painted for the middle of the main altar at the expense of Ferdinand II a picture of St. Augustine surrounded by clouds, hovering above the military and the monastic orders which follow his Rule. In this painting Steinmüller followed the custom of reproducing the faces of outstanding personages of the time [65]). In the following century, in 1711, in the calced Augustinian church of Rattenberg in Tirol, the same was done when the interior of the cupula was painted with an « Augustinian heaven » by the painter from Innsbruck, Johann Josef Waldmann, a brother of the prior [66]).

The discalced Augustinians obtain Maria Brunn 1636

The barefoot Augustinians were now established in their Viennese church and monastery, in which they were destined to remain for two centuries until the monastery died out in 1836 as a mediate consequence of the monastic suppressions and of the catastrophic legislation for monasteries passed by Joseph II. But in these early years, they were a young foundation in the bloom of youth, as we have mentioned above. A place had to be found for their novitiate, that is, a house where the young candidates for the order could be introduced to the religious life. They had made a good impression upon clergy and laity in Vienna. Amongst the clergymen was the Dane, Christian Lorenz

63) Wolfsgruber, *Kapelle* 70.

64) Fidler 9.320.

65) *Ibid.*

66) F. Nothegger, *Das Augustinerkloster zu Rattenberg*, in *Cor Unum : Mitteilungen an die deutsche Augustinerfamilie* 18 (1960) 98.

Deren von Arup. He was not only provost of the cathedral of St. Stephan in the city of Vienna, but was at the same time—in which a great scarcity of reliable priests existed in this region—pastor of the church in Huetteldorf [67]). Maria Brunn itself was situated on the Purkersdorf post road, behind Huetteldorf and near Hadersdorf [68]). Arup held since 1623 the benefice of Maria Brunn also, on which a small stone chapel existed, built after 1529 when the Turks besieged Vienna for the first time. A beloved statue of the Madonna and Child of the fifteenth century was venerated in the church, to which pilgrimages were made from the city of Vienna [69]). This rendered it advisable to assure a continuous direction of the little church by conscientious priests. Since Arup's father confessor was a discalced Augustinian, and since he was very well-disposed to this community, he resolved in 1634 to renounce the benefice of Maria Brunn in favor of the zealous religious of the Augustinian church of Vienna. With permission of the emperor Ferdinand II and of the emperor's brother, the archduke Leopold Wilhelm, bishop of Passau (under whose jurisdiction the territory then stood), the transfer was made. Not only the little church was turned over to the discalced Augustinians, but also the neighboring field was given to them, under express condition that as soon as possible a monastery be erected for twelve religious, of whom at least three or four should be priests, to hear the pilgrims' confessions. On February 5, 1636, the document was formally presented by Leopold Wilhelm to the Commissary General of the discalced Augustinians, friar Ignatius a S. Maria [70]). The first Augustinians came here from the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna during the Lenten season of the same year under their vicar-prior, friar Dionysius a S. Vito [71]). They took turns in coming to Maria Brunn from their Viennese monastery until permanent living quarters were ready. Although Lorenz Arup,

[67]) Fidler 8.400-401.

[68]) *Ibid.* 394-395.

[69]) *Ibid.* 400; Schiessl 10 describes the statue, but falsely states that experts have not occupied themselves with its age. According to my Viennese friend, H. Herbert Killian, it is dated from about the year 1450 by its style. A work about the statue and its veneration, written by a discalced Augustinian, is *Fons Signatus... nemnlich der Ursprung und Fortsetzung der Andacht bey den gnadenvollen Bild Maria zu Brunn*, Wien 1698. The author is friar Bernardus a S. Theresia, about whom we shall say a few words below.

[70]) MBP 12; Schiessl 34.

[71]) MBP 16; Schiessl 35.

good friend and benefactor of the discalced Augustinians, died on Sept. 4 of the very year of their introduction to Maria Brunn, they found a great help in his last will and testament. He bequeathed them not only a goodly sum of money, but also the valuable library which belonged to him [72]). Within less than thirty years, a genius in the use of the German tongue, Johann Ulrich Megerle, would become a novice in Maria Brunn and put this library to good use. Under the religious name of Abraham a Sancta Clara, he would become the most popular preacher of Vienna. Today it is stated by a competent critic that he was the greatest master of artistic German prose in the baroque peiod [73]).

Growth in two monasteries

We have now seen how the discalced Augustinians obtained in the space of six years two foundations : the court church and monastery of St. Augustine within the city of Vienna, and the promising pilgrimage center and novitiate in Maria Brunn. In both places they were to display an admirable activity and to enjoy a good reputation and prosperity, until the « Archsacristan of the Holy Roman Empire », as Joseph II was mockingly called by his contemporary, the king of Prussia, launched a campaign of decress that almost annihilated the religious orders in Austria [74]). But we must not anticipate ! We shall try here to give our reader an idea of the simultaneous development of these two monasteries of the discalced Augustinians of Vienna.

The foundation of Maria Brunn in 1636 had not deprived the Augustinians of the mother monastery within the city of their capability of further development. Rather it had strengthened them by assurance of a steady stream of young lay brothers and priests to continue and even to improve their two Viennese foundations.

Alongside of the church of St. Augustine was the so-called Georgskapelle, the chapel of St. George. This Gothic chapel, consecrated in 1341, still existing but now united with the church [75]), had been built in the same century as the church and monastery of St. Augustine,

[72]) MBP 14; Schiessl 35.

[73]) J. Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften* 3, Regensburg 1924, 28. In the *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* of H. de Boor and R. Newald, volume five, sixth edition, München 1957, 425, Abraham is called the greatest publicist in the German language between Luther and Görres.

[74]) Tomek 379-410.

[75]) Rennhofer 70 sqq.

while the calced Augustinians attended to the service of the church. It served as the meeting place of the noble society known as the Templois[76]). Like many similar societies, this had died out by the seventeenth century, so that the Georgskapelle no longer found a suitable use. The Catholic church, in its sollicitude for its deceased members, has since antiquity offered special prayers for them. In keeping with this spirit, a society for the deceased (Todtenbruderschaft) was founded in the church of St. Augustine under the patronage of the imperial family in 1638. Eight years later this society took over the then unused chapel of St. George, which thus became converted into the « chapel for the deceased » (Todtenkapelle). [77]).

The following year, 1639, was marked with important events for both monasteries. In St. Augustine's, on July 24, in the presence of the emperor Ferdinand III and his wife Maria Anna of Spain, daughter of King Philipp III, two young pages of the royal court were received formally into the Augustinian order. They were Franz Albert von Römerstall, and Friederich Jakob Count Kinsky, who received the religious names of friars Leopoldus a S.P. Augustino and Ferdinandus a S. Maria. The latter died as a priest in Vienna in May 1657, whereas the other seems later to have abandoned the ecclesiastical career [78]).

The same year 1639 witnessed in Maria Brunn on April 1 the formal beginning of the construction of a new church and of a habitable monastery, rendered necessary by the growth of the community and by the increasing number of pilgrimages. The first stone was laid by the emperor Ferdinand III, the second by the empress Maria Anna, the third by the widow of Ferdinad II, none other than Leonora da Mantova ,whose influence in bringing the discalced Augustinians to Vienna had been great [79]). The fourth stone was laid by the emperor's brother, bishop of Passau, who proved himself to be a great helper of the energetic young community. The new church and monastery were completed by the year 1655. The church was consecrated on Sept. 4, 1661. [80]). The first regular prior of Maria Brunn was the Calabrese friar, Johannes Chrysostomus a Matre Dei, chosen in Rome during a chapter of the discalced Augustinians in 1641 [81]).

[76]) *Origo* 5-7, where the names of the first members are printed.

[77]) Fidler 9.192.

[78]) *Ibid.* 320; *Nomina* 5.

[79]) Gavigan *Donn*, 296; more fully in *Ubergabe*.

[80]) MBP 17; Schiessl 35-36.

[81]) MBP 18; Schiessl 37.

Thus we see that both Viennese communities of the barefoot Augustinians lost no time in entrenching themselves. The church tower of St. Augustine was rebuilt by the emperor Ferdinand III in 1652 and in 1656 four new bells were added to the two already existing. The emperor himself composed Latin verses for the occasion [82]). In Maria Brunn also, about the same time, additions were constantly made. Just as the calced Augustinians had a crypt under their church of St. Augustine in Vienna, which was taken over and further utilized by their discalced successors, so too now in Maria Brunn an underground burial crypt was completed in 1657. On March 13 of this year, a stone altar with a lovely Pieta was dedicated, the gift of the noble Caspar Walch, imperial forest-master [83]).

Constant labors had to be carried on in Vienna to make the new monastery correspond to the needs of the flourishing community situated under the eyes of the emperor. Hence the discalced Augustinians destroyed in 1678 the last remaining parts of the old monastery, and built a new refectory, or dining room. In 1681 the part of the monastery which faced the Augustinerstrasse began to be enlarged under the priorship of Abraham a S. Clara. The work was completed by his successor, friar Fabianus a Jesu.

After the canonization of the Augustinian Juan de Sahagun took place in 1690, all Augustinian communities of Vienna, three in number, celebrated the occasion with treat solemnity the following year. The discalced Augustinians attended on Aug. 19 the celebration of their calced brethren on the Landstrasse. But when the discalced Augustinians held their own celebration within the city the on Aug. 26, their calced brethren were conspicuous by their absence. This did not escape the notice of the emperor Leopold, who attended both eelebrations and expressed to his preferred discalced Augustinians openly his displeasure over the absence of the Augustinians from the Landstrasse. With too much self-complacency the chronicler of the court monastery notes that the celebration held by his monastery far surpassed the magnificence of the celebration on the Landstrasse. We may state here that this self-complacency is a trait which occurs somewhat too frequently in the annals of the discalced Augustinians. Pride goes before a fall [83a]).

[82]) Fidler, 9.321, who quotes the verses.

[83]) MBP 22; Schiessl 38.

[83a]) I Prot. 651; Prot. 454-454, 665.

Development and spread in northern regions

We should now like to explain briefly the internal development of the discalced Augustinians who formed the congregation of Italy, which sent out the friars who established their first northern monastery that is, the house in Prague in 1623. We recall that their chapter of 1621 had decided that four provinces were to be recognized in the congregation : Roman, Neapolitan, Genoese, and Sicilian. The two first Germans who came to Prague in 1623 were members of the Roman province, since no Germanic province existed at that time. But a growing organization, such as the young barefoot congregation of Italy, naturally strives to adapt itself to the times and circumstances. Hence, in 1628, the bull of Pape Urban VIII of April 8, « Alias pro parte » gave the discalced congregation several permissions which show that various steps had yet to be taken to provide for the organization and government of their congregation. This bull allowed them to hold a general chapter in Naples in the same year, with which they should combine provincial chapters also and elect priors provincial for the four provinces, who should be charged with their government. As a matter of fact, the general chapter was held, and sketched the method of celebrating provincial chapters, decided upon the designation of counsellors called definitors, and upon the authority of the priors provincial according to an earlier bull of Urban VIII on Aug. 29, 1626, « Ad uberes » [84]). However, the method decided upon did not receive the necessary approval of the Holy See. Hence the same pope, by the bull « Militantes » of May 23, 1631, suppressed provincial chapters and definitories for the congregation, leaving however intact the office of the priors provincial [85]). This was the situation which existed in the congregation for more than twenty years after 1631. The barefoot Augustinians who made the first Germanic foundation in Prague in 1623 were, as we have seen, members of the Roman province. The same was true of the discalced Augustinians who took over the church and monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna in 1630, and of the colony which they sent to found Maria Brunn in 1636 and in the immediately following years. Already three convents in 1636 north of the Alps, which were subject to an Italian prior provincial who resided in Rome ! We can well understand therefore why the members of these northern convents constantly strove to have

[84]) ONB 14754.1
[85]) *Ibid.*

a Germanic province, formed under its own Germanic prior provincial. Nor was this all. The situation became increasingly more difficult with every new northern foundation. Let us cite them all here in one group, even though it takes us to some extent a few years ahead. The popular discalced Augustinians made the following settlements after the founding of Maria Brunn in 1636 : 1640, Tabor in Bohemia, where the Bohemian novices in later years made their novitiate, instead of going to Maria Brunn; 1642, Lubiana or Laibach, outside the city, exchanged for a site within the city in 1653 [86]); 1654, St. Johann bei Herberstein in Styria; in the same year 1654 in Taxa, or Maria Stern, located in the principality of Bavaria, between Augsburg and Munich; 1655, outside the so-called iron door of Gratz in Styria, which was given up in 1673 for more favorable location called « in dem Münzgraben »; 1675, Deutschbrod in Bohemia, where a school for the study of the humanities was later erected by the discalced; 1688, Schlüsselburg in Bohemia, the one Germanic foundation of the discalced Augustinians which survived to our own days, being suppressed by the communist tyrants at the end of the late war; 1696, Fratting in Moravia, where the first stone of the new monastery was laid in 1699, and where a Loretto chapel was built along the lines of the Viennese model, as was done also in St. Johann bei Herberstein [87]); 1698, Strehlen in Silesia, where the barefoot Augustinians took over the ruinous monastery of the Poor Clares; 1714, Lissa on the Elbe, in Bohemia, which would be celebrated for its good library. This monastery possessed since 1718 the chapel of St. John Baptist with its nearby lands. Yet another house would be founded by the discalced Augustinians before the storm of Josephinism put an end to their growth and, finally, to their existence in Austria. This was the mission station in Rubland, their only foundation in Carinthia. It was grounded in 1756 as a residence for their preachers in a region where Protestantism had brought about many defections from the Catholic faith. But the hard-headed Joseph II suppressed it exactly thirty years after its foundation, in 1786 [88]). Every one of these fourteen foundations would be wiped out directly or indirectly as a result of hostile legislation [89]).

Now that we have permitted ourselves this glance at the remarkable

[86]) *Origo* 31

[87]) Prot. 4.470.

[88]) Fidler 5.401-406; A. Zak, *Österreichisches Klosterbuch*, Wien 1911, 209.

[89]) *Origo* 30-35; Fidler 19. 484-491; Zak, *op. cit.* 208-210.

growth of the discalced Augustinians in northern regions, we can better understand how they felt constrained as early as 1648 to strive for the establishment of an independent German province. In the latter year 1648, they counted already five monasteries: Prague, St. Augustine in Vienna, Maria Brunn, Tabor and Lubiana. The superior of the Roman province to which they belonged resided in Rome and, under the difficult and slow travel conditions of the time, could have but slight contact with his subjects in the north. Their first step therefore towards obtaining an independent province took this form; they requested that either the prior provincial of the Roman province should reside for a goodly portion of his term in « Germany » (which included Austria and other northern countries in the sense here intended), or that he should appoint a representative for these regions who could personally attend to the numerous problems of governing five widely distant convents, which it was practically impossible to govern by mail.

The change desired by the northern discalced Augustinians was more easily requested than obtained. Hence they brought forward on several occasions their request for a completely separate province under a prior provincial of Germanic nationality. A favorite means of bringing pressure to bear upon Italian priors general of religious orders at this time was to appeal to the national sentiment of the rulers in whose territory the monasteries were located. If the rulers could be convinced —and this was for many reasons not difficult—that foreign superiors were discriminating against Germanic subjects, then the rulers themselves took up the cudgels with pope and prior general, so that the latter usually had to accede to the « request », couched indeed in polite terms, but unmistakable in its tenor [90]). Precisely these tactics were employed by the discalced Augustinians to obtain their wish from the Vicar General of their congregation in Rome. In the year 1650 the conventual chapter of the Viennese monastery presented to the emperor Ferdinand III a written request, of which the original still exists[91]), signed by the entire voting community of nineteen priests. They petitioned the following:

1. A fully recognized « German » province.
2. This province should be directed by a prior provincial.

[90]) For similar instances in the case of the calced Augustinians, we refer to such letters written by the Austrian emperor in the seventeenth century to the prior general of the Augustinians. See e.g., GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 458-463.

[91]) Hofkammerarchiv Wien, Herrschaftsakten W61/B/2.492-495.

3. This prior provincial should be, as all discalced Augustinians in the past, subject to the Vicar General of the discalced congregation of Italy.

4. This prior provincial and the other superiors of the new province should be « nationals », that is, friars who spoke German as the mother tongue.

5. The new province should have the right to celebrate provincial chapters in « Germany », and in these chapters to elect the prior provincial, as was done in some other provinces of the discalced congregation.

The emperor was begged to aid these requests by his intercession with the Holy See—not with the Vicar General of the discalced congregation! Ferdinand III acceeded to these requests of the Viennese monastery and transmitted them in his name to the Holy See. Rome moved slowly, but Pope Alexander VII in 1656 by the bull « Ex commissi nobis », granted the first part of the request, that is, separated the German monasteries from the Roman province. In the general chapter of the discalced Augustinians in Rome on May 12 of this year, the separation was officially proclaimed [92]). The new Germano-Bohemian province already possessed eight convents, in these places: Prague, Vienna, Maria Brunn, Tabor, Lubiana, St. Johann bei Herberstein, Taxa, and Gratz. It could easily have taken over several other foundations if the necessary friars had been available [93]). So popular had the group of discalced Augustinians become in the short space of thirty-two years in Germanic lands!

However, the new Germano-Bohemian province had not yet attained its goal completely. Although it was now a completely separate province, ruled by its own prior provincial, the latter still had to be elected in the general chapter held in Rome, not in provincial chapters held in « Germany » as the Germanic friars had requested in 1650. For this reason, all the priors provincial of this new province until 1694 were elected in Rome.

One of the reasons which the discalced Augustinians of the northern countries had brought against the hitherto prevailing system was that great and unnecessary expenses were incurred, since the prior (the local superior) of each convent, and one other elected representative, had to attend the general chapters in Italy. The general chapter in Rome on May 20, 1659 took steps to reduce these great

[92]) ÖNB 14754. 2.

[93]) *Origo* 34-35.

losses of time and money. It was decided that in future general chapters only the priors provincial and two representatives of the whole province, called discretes, should attend. These two discretes were to be chosen in a « provincial congregation », one year before the general chapter. The provincial congregation had to be attended by those who had right of suffrage, that is, by the priors provincial, the prior of each convent, and the discrete elected by each convent. Whatever was to be proposed in Rome had to be treated by the provincial congregation under the presidency of the prior provincial. It was to be held every three years, alternately in Vienna and in Prague. These decisions of the general chapter were confirmed and promulgated on June 16, 1659 by a bull of Pope Alexander VIII, « Militantis ecclesiae regimini » [94]).

Yet another step forward towards realizing the full goal of the Germano-Bohemian province was taken in 1663. Since this province constantly complained that many difficulties still remained in spite of the concessions granted, yet another attempt to solve them was made by the Vicar General and his assistants on April 21 of this year. A Commissary General (but from Italy !) was designated for Germany, « with plenitude of power ». All elections held in Germany had to be ratified by him, instead of sending them to the Vicar General in Rome for approval [95]). It is true that, as early as 1634, an Italian Commissary General was found in « Germany », but his powers had been previously much more limited [96]).

But the Germanic friars had their appetites whetted rather than satisfied by these concessions. For them, the concessions were merely the conquest of the first hill, not the complete ascent to which they aspired. Hence, the years between 1663 and 1692 witnessed another series of attempts made by the thriving new Germano-Bohemian province to obtain their wishes completely. Again they resorted to the same tactics which had brought them their first victory : they appealed to the emperor. It was now Leopold I, who since his father's death in 1657 ruled the Austrian lands. He also would lend a favorable ear to the requests of his subjects, the discalced Augustinians. The latter played a cautious game where the emperor was concerned. For example, on March 12, 1677, they asked Leopold whether they should obey their Roman Vicar General in his order to send him in Rome certain inven-

[94]) ÖNB 14754. 2-3; ONB 12473. 240v.

[95]) ÖNB 14754. 3.

[96]) Prot. 2. 72.

tories. For this was something material, they slyly added, whereas the emperor in the preceding year, 1676, had permitted their Italian Visitator General to inquire only into spiritual matters. The answer was not unencouraging for the discalced Augustinians of Vienna. It was, yes, but with a significant addition and restriction : only for this one time [97]) ! The Viennese barefoot Augustinians probably saw that time was on their side, and that it would be a matter of only a few years before they would obtain the right to celebrate their own provincial chapters in « Germany », instead of having to send several representatives every third year to the general chapter in Rome.

As a matter of fact, Leopold took quick action. On May 7, 1677—the very year in which the discalced Augustionians had asked him the delicate question about sending or not inventories to their Roman Vicar General—he wrote to Paluzzo de' Altieri, Cardinal Protector of the Augustinians, to request that he present favorably to the pope the request of the discalced Augustinians to be permitted to hold provincial chapters in « Germany », in which the prior provincial and other officials of the province could be elected. On the same day Leopold wrote to the pope himself, the blessed Innocent XI, along the same lines. A formidable list of complaints against Italian Visitators General was drawn up by Leopold's secretaries. In future, no foreign visitator would be admitted [98]). So decided Leopold in 1682. He went so far as to prohibit by decree that the monasteries or schools of any religious order whatsoever in the Austrian lands be ruled by any superiors other than « nationals ». Further, absolutely no visitator or any superior whatsoever should be admitted into these lands [99]). Hence, the Italian commissaries general of the discalced Augustinians in « Germany » were abolished. The wishes of the barefoot Augustinians friars of the Germano-Bohemian province would soon be completely realized.

Again it was the emperor, Leopold I, who produced lasting results. He repeated in 1688 his intercession in favor of full rights for the Germano-Bohemian province to hold provincial chapters. Therefore the Vicar General of the discalced congregation in Rome, the Milanese friar Ignazio a S. Dominico, presented in the same year 1688 the very method of holding provincial chapters which had been proposed in 1628 and suppressed in 1631, as we have explained above. It permitted the

[97]) ASW, Klosterakten A 21. 35.

[98]) *Ibid.* 36.

[99]) ÖNB 14754. 3-4.

holding of provincial chapters in each province—precisely what the Germanic friars had insisted upon for years. Hence, on May 2, 1688, the provincial congregation held by the discalced Augustinians in Vienna joyfully accepted the proposal made by their Vicar General in Rome [100]).

The last step was taken therefore in the general chapter in Rome on May 7, 1692. Since the Germano-Bohemian province, with the intercession of the emperor Leopold, and frequently requested for itself alone the privilege of holding provincial chapters in « Germany », this privilege was granted by the general chapter. Pope Innocent XII by the bull « Nuper a parte » on May 30 confirmed it [101]). From this time on, the provincial chapters of the discalced Augustinians in « Germany » were held regularly with very few exceptions, on the third Sunday after Easter. The celebration of the centennial in 1730 caused for example an exception, since in this year the chapter was held on the fourth Sunday after Easter [102]). The proverbial German tenacity of the northern barefoot Augustinians had won its cause!

Turkish destruction and rebuilding of Maria Brunn

But before we proceed farther, we must mention a great event in world history—the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. Fortunately for the West, the Christian armies, paid in great part by papal subsidies, and from the use of the silver treasures of Austrian churches were able on Sept. 12 to defeat the Turks in a courageous sally from the Kahlenberg, and put them to flight. The hymn of thanksgiving, « Te Deum laudamus », was intoned on the following day in the church of St. Augustine by the victorious Polish king, Jan Sobieski, whom Pope Innocent XI had succeeded in bringing into alliance with the emperor Leopold I. The mass of thanksgiving had previously been celebrated by the Augustinian friar Josephus a S. Oswaldo [103]). After admiring the beautiful church ,Sobieski exclaimed in Latin to the electoral princes and generals who stood nearby : « What a shame it would have been, if the beast (= the Turks) had captured this church » [104])! On the following day, the famous Capuchin, Marco da Aviano, preached an Italian sermon in the same church, in the

[100]) *Ibid.* 4.
[101]) ÖNB 12473.239v-240v.
[102]) Prot. 4.601.
[103]) Fidler 9. 321.
[104]) *Ibid.*

presence of the emperor, who assisted at a second solemn Te Deum [105]). But the siege had not left the Augustinians unscathed. This was particularly true of the churches and monasteries outside the city walls of Vienna. Whereas the church of St. Augustine inside the city walls had suffered comparatively little damage, the church of the discalced Augustinians in nearby Maria Brunn—and the same was true of the church and monastery of the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse, outside the Hungarian gate— [106]) suffered heavily. The prior of Maria Brunn, Bonifacius a Jesu, and the lay brother Joachim a S. Benedicto were barely able to bring the beloved statue of the Madonna and child to the fortress of Rabenstein near St. Pölten before the Turks reached Vienna. The friars themselves took refuge in other convents of the order. The novices were sent to Gratz. The valuables of the church were carried elsewhere or carefully hidden, so that they were preserved from Turkish seizure or annihilation [107]). But whatever remained behind fell a prey to the vandalous Turks, who destroyed the church altars, tore down and trampeled upon the pictures and statues, and set fire to the church and monastery. This naturally caused the complete loss of the valuable library. The loss of the archives at this time was a sad blow to historical research about the first half-century of the discalced Augustinians in Maria Brunn [108]).

Two friars of this monastery could not be persuaded to flee before the Turks. They remained behind in the improbable hope of being able to preserve their beloved Maria Brunn. But they were simply massacred by the Turks on July 18, 1683. [109]). The same fate befell two friars of the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, exactly a week later. Under cover of night they attempted to leave Vienna and reach Maria Brunn, but were intercepted and slaughtered on the way [110]).

After the momentous victory over the Turks on Sept. 12, 1683, the beloved statue of Maria Brunn was brought back from Rabenstein Since Maria Brunn however was so devastated, the statue was placed temporarily in the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna. Only the

105) *Ibid.* 321-322.

106) Rennhofer 210-212.

107) MBP 27; Schiessl 38-39.

108) MBP 27; Schiessl 39.

109) Nomina 8, 10, 16.

110) MBP 26; Schiessl 39, See Gavigan, *assist*, 269 for the assistant general of the calced Augustinians who was killed in the same way near Baden.

walls remained in Maria Brunn. The comparatively new church and monastery, built with so much love and enthusiasm, presented a dismal spectacle. But the discalced Augustinians of the Germano-Bohemian province were capable of more than merely obtaining decisions favorable to their wishes—such as we have already described—they showed their powerful resiliency in the restoration of the destroyed church and monastery. The church was solemnly « reconciled » (after the Turkish desecration) in the following year 1684, on July 2, the titular feast of the Visitation. Two weeks later, on July 16, the statue was in solemn procession returned to the church of Maria Brunn [111]).

The community of Maria Brunn had begun Sunday-help in the nearby church of Purkersdorf shortly before the Turkish attack on Vienna. The pastor of this community had been carried off by the Turks, and so the friars of Maria Brunn were requested to continue this service when they returned in 1684. They accepted and carried on this help for ten years, until 1694 [112]).

Another activity of Maria Brunn was the training of novices, which had been interrupted in 1683, when the novices were wisely sent to Gratz, to continue their novitiate far from the savage Turks. When the damage caused by the Turkish plundering and devastation had been repaired, and new habitable quarters were ready, the novitiate was restored here in 1693, under the priorship of the best known discalced Augustinian of history, friar Abraham a Sancta Clara, who had made his own novitiate here in 1662-1663 [113]). Of this exceptional preacher and writer, we shall say a few words later.

While Maria Brunn was being rebuilt, the church of St. Augustine in Vienna continued by its position as church of the royal court (Hofkirche) to be the scene of royal weddings, creation of cardinals, burial of members of the royal family and of the highest nobility, almost a museum of spoils collected by generals in victorious battles. One outstanding example we might cite here is the ring of Gustavus Adolphus taken from his hand after his death on the battlefield. It was given to the emperor Ferdinand II, who had it placed on the finger of the statue of the Madonna in the Loretto chapel. [114]). And no picture of St. Augustine's church at this time would be complete without a mention of the

[111]) MBP 28-30; Schiessl 40; Fidler 8. 403-404.

[112]) MBP 35: Schiessl 40-41.

[113]) MBP 35; Schiessl 41; Fidler 8. 403.

[114]) H. Pfrundstein, *Marianisches Wien*, Wien 1963, 17.

incomparably popular sermons of friar Abraham a Sancta Clara, who was at the height of his glory after the victory over the Turks in 1683. Few religious communities in Vienna were favored so often by imperial visits and invitations as the court monastery of which Abraham was member. Thus on Aug. 26, 1691, the emperor Leopold with three other members of the royal family took their places in the dining room of the monastery of St. Augustine to celebrate the canonization of the Augustinian, St. Juan de Sahagun, just as the emperor had done a week before on Aug. 19 with the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse. This is made clear by the papal nuntius' report on Aug. 19 of this year [115]). There could be little doubt however that the emperor's sympathies lay rather with the discalced Augustinians than with their confrères on the Landstrasse to whom the discalced Augustinians were not always so friendly as was desirable, just as the shoe-wearing Augustinians outside the walls were not enthusiastic about their barefoot brethren who had taken over the court church and monastery. In any case, the Protocoll of the discalced Augustinians states triumphantly but falsely for Aug. 26, 1691 that the emperor had dined with the community in St. Augustine's, although he had denied this favor a week earlier to the calced Augustinians [116]).

On St. Augustine's day, Aug. 28, 1694, the prior provincial of the discalced Augustinians, two of his counsellors or definitors, and the prior of the court monastery were invited to the royal table. In the same year, the emperor conferred the diploma of « imperial theologian », that is, counsellor in religious questions, upon the lector of theology in the court monastery, friar Bernardus a S. Theresia, on Oct. 1. This same title, which was really more an honor than a proof of theological excellence, had previously been conferred upon three other members of this community, none of whom had distinguished himself in theological labors [117]). On St. Augustine's day in the years 1697 and 1699, the emperor Leopold and his whole court retinue took dinner

[115]) AV, Nunziatura di Germania 218. 132r.

[116]) Prot. 21. 656.

[117]) FIDLER 9.322, who however falsely gives the name of Anselmus a S. Theresia, instead of Bernardus a S. Theresia. A copy of the imperial diploma with the proper name is found in Prot. 2. 718-720 Fidler had confused the name of Bernardus a S. Teresia with the name of Anselmus a S. Christophoro, who was later honored with the same title of imperial theologian. Cf. AV, Nunziatura di Germania 238. 85r, Vienna, Jan. 29, 1701, Nuntius Davia to Cardinal Paulucci.

in the dining room of this monastery, which unquestionably enjoyed great royal favor. In fact, the friars here had accomplished much in a short time [118]).

Some outstanding discalced Augustinians

But the performances of the barefoot Augustinians in Vienna were not limited to the material side only. They produces something far more precious—human beings, who gave a living example of sincerity and dedication to high ideals. Certainly, there were sad exceptions, as happens in the best families. We have already referred to the defection in 1640 of friar Gulielmus a S. Martino, the first clerical student of the discalced Augustinians in Vienna. Nor was he alone in his defection. Other members also of the barefoot Augustinians are noted in the archives by a commentary in one Latin word after their name: « apostatavit » —he defected. But such cases were very rare, and help bring out the more pleasant side of the picture, which we shall now mention.

Friar Abraham a sancta Clara. The discalced Augustinians of the Germano-Bohemian province, who describe their outstanding members usually begin in chronological order with friar Marcus a S. Philippo, who introduced the first community of this congregation from Prague into Vienna in 1630. But we permit ourselves to depart from the chronological order, so that we may begin with the most famous of them all: friar Abraham a Sancta Clara. Even today this genial figure is familiar to the Viennese, because of the excellent statue of him, not far from the opera house of Vienna, at the entrance to the imperial gardens (Burggarten) behind the Augustinerbastei. The statue, made by Hans Schwate in 1928, shows friar Abraham in his habit of a discalced Augustinian. The facial figures show him exactly as he appeared in the prime of life, and are based upon a copper-plate picture of him, contained in the archives of the court monastery. Not far from the Ballhausplatz is a street named in his honor. No preacher in Vienna made such an impression on his hearers as did this humorous but pungent Swabian, born on July 1 (or 2) 1644 as Johann Ulrich Megerle in Kreeheinstetten in Baden, Germany. After studying in Ingolstadt and Salzburg, he entered the discalced Augustinians as a novice in Maria Brunn in 1662. His philosophical and theological studies were not made completely in Vienna, but first in Prague, then in

[118]) Prot. 2.41 and 136-137.

Italy, either Ferrara or Milan. He finished his theological studies in the court monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1668. After a short time as preacher in Taxa, 1670-1672, he returned in the latter year to Vienna, where he took the inhabitants by storm. His sermons were not only listened to with amusement and interest, but also with an uncomfortable realization that he told unpleasant truths, even though he covered them with a mantle of humor and brilliant word-play. We have already noted that his qualification as the best master of German artistic prose in the baroque period comes from an expert in German literature[119]). His incomparable sermons brought him the popular name of « Pater Fabelhans ». But a more serious and truly deserved title was granted officially in 1667, when the emperor Leopold named him « Imperial Preacher ». As the pestilence devastated Vienna in 1679, his brilliant pen used the occasion in « Merk's Wien » to console and at the same time to warn his beloved Viennese to come closer to God. He was transferred in 1680 to Gratz as Sunday preacher in the church of St. Anna, so that he was absent from Vienna during the Turkish siege of 1683. But from this Styrian metropolis he wrote an enflamed appeal to all Christians of whatever denomination to preserve Europe from the threatening Turks by his work, « Auff, auff, Ihr Christen ! ». In 1689 he became prior provincial of the discalced Augustinians in « Germany » during the general chapter in Rome, where he urged the necessity of granting a provincial chapter to his province. Hence, his successors, beginning in 1694, were elected in provincial chapters held in the north, as we have explained above. In 1693 he was back in Maria Brunn as prior. From 1695 until his death, Dec. 1, 1709, he was constanly in the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna. By far the greatest part of the monastery is today incorporated into the Austrian National Library, and one room is still pointed out, perhaps correctly, as the cell where he prayed, thought, wrote, and died. Even though no complete edition of his works exists, the edition of Passau-Lindau has twenty-one volumes, in which the titles alone give some idea of their content, humorous and at the same time philosophical, for instance, « Huy und Pfuy der Welt », or « Heilsames Gemisch-Gemasch [120]). »

Friar Marcus A.S. Philippo. The Augustinians of the Germano-Bohemian province could in many ways revere this friar as their grounder.

[119]) See note 73.

[120]) See K. Vancsa, LTK[2] 1.64-65; K. Bertsche, LTK[1] 1.41-42.

Born in Mainz, he made his profession as a barefoot Augustinian on Nov. 11, 1611 in Italy. We recall that he came from Prague to Vienna in 1630 to seek a house for his congregation—and ended up by taking over the Augustinian monastery there from the calced Augustinians who had to make shift for themselves and build a new monastery on the Landstrasse. Though not so genial as Abraham a Sancta Clara, this German also was a talented preacher and a superior who proved his capacity in furthering the cause of his community. He was the first of the discalced Augustinians to be named imperial theologian. As prior of the monastery in Vienna, he was able to overcome many difficulties and to aid the spiritual and temporal welfare of this newly introduced group in such a way that native vocations came in goodly numbers. His talents as groundbreaker and organizer were so recognized that he was sent to Gratz in 1655 to open the first monastery of the discalced Augustinians there. When the first prior provincial for the Germano-Bohemian province was chosen in Rome, the following year, the final choice fell upon friar Marcus. He died on Dec. 2, 1658 in Gratz, and was buried in the nearby monastery of St. Johann bei Herberstein [121]).

Friar JOHANNES HIERONYMOUS A SPIRITU SANCTO, born in Toscana 1609, entered the congregation of the discalced Augustinians on May 25, 1627. He wrote several religious poems, especially in honor of the Mother of Christ. He also was named imperial theologian and was elected in the general chapter of 1644 to the highest post of his congregation, that of Vicar General. He died in Florence on April 10, 1676 [122]).

Another Italian confrère, who was highly esteemed by the emperor is the Sicilian, friar JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS A JESU ET MARIA. He was born 1604 in Palermo. After becoming a barefoot Augustinian in 1621, he came to Vienna in the early years of the existence of his confrères in the north, and made a good impression upon the bishop of Vienna and upon the emperor Ferdinand III, who conferred upon him the title—more high-sounding than important—of imperial theologian. Both employed him as consultor. He was proposed by Ferdinad III before Pope Urban VIII in 1644 for a bishopric in « Germany ». If we are not mistaken, the bishopric was that of Dalma in Herzegovina. This seems to be the meaning of the Latin phrase « episcopatus

[121]) *Nomina* 174; *Origo* 62-62.

[122]) L.-B. 2.54-55 and 249; *Nomina* 171; *Origo* 63.

Rosanus » [123]). In any case, he died in Italy in 1649 without being made a bishop. He had been sent here on business of the emperor [124]).

The story of this Sicilian friar invites comparison with that of a confrère from Calabria, who lived at the same time, and whose name was similar, friar JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS A MATRE DEI, or di Belmonte. He took the discalced Augustinian habit in Naples and came from Italy to Prague while still a student. He was made the first regular prior of Maria Brunn in 1641. He also served a time as Master of Novices, quite surely in the same place. He was presented by the emperor Ferdinand III to Pope Urban VIII for a bishopric in Hungary. Our Italian source is too vague, and italianizes the names so much that we are unable to state exactly for what episcopal see the friar was proposed. But he was impeded by the vow taken by the discalced Augustinians, that of humility, from accepting the bishopric. However, an aggreeable arrangement was found for all. He passed over from the discalced Augustians to the Benedictines, who were bound by no such vow. The emperor conferred a well endowed benefice upon him. His life was considered exemplary by the papal nuntius Pannochieschi in his report to Cardinal Chigi in Rome [125]).

Not many writers were turned out by the discalced Augustinians, in relation to their numbers, since they had more a pastoral than an educational ministry. One writer of the first generation in « Germany » however must be mentioned, that is Daniel Aemmestein, who took the monastic name of AEGIDIUS A S. JOANNE BAPTISTA. A native of Bohemia, whose mother-tongue was Slavic, he became proficient in Latin, Italian, Franch, Spanish, and German as well. Like many other dilettanti of his time, he tried his hand at poetry. He wrote at least five works about St. Wenceslaus, the city of Prague (this work in three languages : Latin, German, and Bohemian), St. Nicholas of Tolentine, and two work about his discalced brethren. In the general chapter held in Rome in 1656, he was chosen as the first prior provincial of the new Germano-Bohemian province, but refused to accept the office, which was then given to friar Marcus a S. Philippo, as seen above. For twenty-four years he preached to attentive audiences in Prague, where he died on Nov. 15, 1661, at the age of fifty-six [126]).

[123]) *Hierarchia Catholica Mediae et Recentioris Aetatis* 5, Patavii 1952, 185.

[124]) AV, Nunziatura di Germania 142, 6v-7r.

[125]) MBP 18; AV, Nunziatura di Germania 150. 402rv, Nov. 23,1653.

[126]) L.-B. 2.106; *Origo* 64; *Nomina* 174

As stated above, the discalced Augustinians were not particularly outstanding in studies, since they had another preferred field of labor, the care of souls. Hence it was a great advantage to this congregation whan a Silesian doctor of civil and canon law, and professor of the University of Prague decided to join them and made his profession on Jan. 25, 1650 as friar GREGORIUS A S. AGNETE [127]). For eighteen years he gave excellent example and died an edifyiing death on June 17, 1668 [128]).

The barefoot Augustinians whom we have mentioned in this list up to the present were from Germany, modern Checoslovakia or Italy. But now we come to a confrère from present-Day Austria, that is friar HIERONYMUS A S. CATHARINA, who came from the Syrian capital Gratz. He made his profession on Feb. 19, 1676 [129]). His life was considered a living sermon, and his preached sermons attracted multitudes even though they failed to match in literary excellence those of his genial brother in the order, Abraham a Sancta Clara. He died in Sept. 1693 [130]).

Another outstanding Austrian Augustinian of the seventeenth century was friar S. ANSELMUS A S. CHRISTOPHORO, a native of Petersdorf, who made his profession on April 8, 1675. He served from the early age of twenty-three as lector of theology and philosophy in the court monastery of Vienna. The emperor Leopold, and after him Joseph I, named him imperial theologian. He took part in the public disputations of the University of Vienna, though he held no doctoral degree or professorial chair outside of the monastery where he lived. He was sent by the emperor Leopold to Luneburg in order to instruct Amalia, the fiancée of Joseph I in the Catholic faith, He held in the monastery of St. Augustine the posts of Master of Novices and prior, before being elected prior provincial on May 2, 1694. He was elected a second term in the same office on May 27, 1701, and for a third term on April 25, 1706. Exhausted by his labors, he was found dead of a stroke in this bed on March 25, 1713, the feast of the Annunciation [131]).

These were a few of the discalced Augustinians of the Germano-Bohemian province who lived and labored in the seventeenth century.

127) *Nomina* 7.

128 *Origo* 65.

129) *Nomina* 14.

130) *Origo* 65.

131) ASW, Hs. B 163. 23v.; *Origo* 66.

Eight members of their province died as victims of their charity, in attending to persons sick of the plague, which they themselves contracted. Five of them died in this way shortly after the entry of the discalced into the monastery of St. Augustine in 1630, and three others in the pest year, 1679.

A new century begins

The year 1700 dawned with glorious promises for the Augustinians of Vienna. It was the thriving baroque period, conscious of its power and influence. Grandiose buildings arose in Vienna, such as the Belvedere and Schönbrunn. New tracts were constantly added to the Hofburg, or imperial palace. The Augustinians in St. Augustine's, in Maria Brunn, and on the Landstrasse kept pace with their time. Vocations were plentiful, and all three monasteries took part in making the imperial city and surroundings after the victory over the Turks a thriving centre of beauty. But we leave the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse to devote our attention to the monasteries of St. Augustine and of Maria Brunn [132]).

We begin with St. Augustine's within the walls of Vienna. A well organized pharmacy attracted so many clients to the monastery that the government issued a decree in 1713, forbidding the discalced Augustinians to admit clients from the outside into their pharmacy, until further notice. A pestilence broke out in this year in Vienna, and the barefoot Augustinians, on the advice of a doctor, gave up for a time their abstinence from meat on Mondays and Wednesdays, prescribed by their constitutions. The following year, when the pestilence had ceased, they returned to their abstinences and other penitential practices, which they had temporarily abandoned in time of contagious sickness [133]).

We recall that the discalced Augustinians had been forced to rebuild in the seventeenth century the very old monastery taken over from the calced Augustinians. Now, however, in the prosperous period of building activity in Vienna, they too felt compelled to provide suitable quarters for their young beginners who studied philosophy and theology in the Viennese monastery, for the numerous priests who heard confessions and preached in the court church, and for the aged members of their con-

[132]) For the calced Augustinians, RENNHOFER 220 sqq is a good guide.

[133]) Prot. 3.673 and 711.

gregation who prepared themselves for imminent death. Hence two new tracts of their monastery were built between 1718 and 1721, the sacristy was rebuilt, and a beautiful library was built to house the excellent collection of books, upon which the Augustinian order from the first days of its foundation attached such importance [134]). Even today the beautiful reading room of their library can be admired in the present Austrian National Library on the Josephplatz. Until a very few years ago, this reading room, decorated with well-painted Augustinian figures, was the main reading room of the modern state-library. Even today it is an integral and useful part of the fabric. The year 1724 marked a special effort on the part of the discalced Augustinians to obtain more books, to round out their already valuable collection [135]). In 1726, they were compelled to cede a part of their ground for the imperial library, which developed later into the Austrian National Library [136]).

Science and art in St. Augustine's

Another favorite feature of larger Augustinian monasteries, prescribed by the constitutions, is the museum. Here in Vienna it was well stocked with various collections of old coins, ancient statues and busts, marbles and rare stones, muscles, fossils, and other rarities of nature and art [137]).

The general architectural and aesthetic impression made by the church and monastery after these additions and rebuildings was very favorable. We are fortunate in having a description, written with en-

[134]) We have described the interest for books and libraries in monasteries of men and women in the days of St. Augustine, particularly in Africa, in our work, *De vita monastica in Africa septentrionali inde a temporibus S. Augustini usque ad invasiones Arabum*, Roma-Torino 1962, 110, 167-168. The earliest constitutions of the Augustinian order, from the thirteenth century, contained this prescription, before the invention of books and printing, which we translate : « Let the priors of monasteries, which are situated in large notable places... strive to have, according to the possibilities of the monastery, one or more copyists to write the books necessary for the uses of the theologians, of lectors of preachers, and of students ». In the slightly later addition to this legislation it was strictly forbidden to alienate the books of the monastery. See *Las primitivas constituciones de los Agustinos*, edited by Ignacio Arámburu Cendoya, Valladolid 1966, ch. 37 nº 374, pp. 123-124.

[135]) *Prot.* 4.302.

[136]) *Prot.* 4.399.

[137]) M. Führmann, *Historische Beschreibung von... Wien*, II 1, Wien 1766, 140-141.

thusiasm in 1766 by an eye-witness, who spoke thus of the monastery: « It is quite large [138]), and decorated all over with presentable paintings of pious religious. It is completely clean, attractive, and kept in good order » [139]).

We must mention here that a great deal of credit is due to the lay brothers of the Augustinian order for the excellent condition of the buildings and for the artistic work, sometimes of high quality, which they were capable of producing. Even today, a small portion of their paintings remain, both in the monastery of St. Augustine and in Maria Brunn. Their sad condition is a clear witness to the faulty neglect of those who after the suppression allowed these historical and artistic treasures to be scattered, destroyed, or half-destroyed. But what is really admirable in the work of the lay brothers is the stuccoing, statue making, construction of the furniture of church and sacristy, such as church benches, confessionals, pulpits, vestment cases, etc., often decorated with beautiful intarsias, which even today excite the admiration of experts. One of the priests also produced admirable works, friar Joannes Paulus a Jesu Crucifixo, (Johann Krembser) the son of a Viennese goldsmith. He was born on June 2, 1731, and professed on March 24, 1748 in Maria Brunn. He learned his father's trade, which he put to good use in the monastery, especially in his decorations for seven bodies, allegedly of saints coming chiefly from Rome, who were exposed in the Augustinian church and in nearby places outside of Vienna, and Austria, such as the abbey of Melk and Pecs in Hungary, until Brother Sacristan, Joseph II, made war on all such ornaments. But Joseph's own mother, Maria Teresa, had given a large number or relics to be distributed in various churches. The rector of the imperial chapel (Burgkapelle), Kronberger, called upon friar Joannes Paulus to prepare suitable receptacles for these spiritual treasures [140]). It must have been a severe blow to the friar, when the hopelessly stubborn Joseph II played havoc with the results of his workmanship. He died in Vienna on Sept. 17, 1796 [141]).

[138]) Between eighty and ninety religious lived here during the second half of the eighteenth century, as appears in the Protocoll, for example, eighty-two in 1762; eighty-three in 1764 and 1771; Prot. 7.210, 234, 289-291.

[139]) FÜHRMANN, *op. cit.*, 140-141.

[140]) FIDLER 9.193-195.

[141]) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 11; Nomina 65; FIDLER 9.192-194; an article, which however we have not seen, was dedicated to him in *Monatsblatt*

Before leaving here the subject of art, which we shall touch again with relation to Maria Brunn, we should like to say a few words about a genial clockmaker of the Viennese community, the lay brother from the Black Forest in Germany, friar David a S. Cajetano. Born in 1726, and receiving the civil name of David Ruetschmann, he made his profession in Maria Brunn with a new religious name on March 22, 1754. [142]). By coincidence, he died in the same year and in the same house as his confrère in religion and colleague in art, friar Joannes Paulus a Jesu Crucifixo, on Feb. 4, 1796 [143]). Even today, the results of his work are wondered at by visitors of the Viennese Clock-Museum(Uhrenmuseum der Stadt Wien, Schulhof 2). They consider as the chief attraction a clock which he with great ingenuity and patience restored. It is a clock made in 1702 by Christoph Schener in Augsburg, which caused such a sensation that it changed hands frequently—naturally, for a good sum of money each time. As is easy to understand, frequent transportation so damaged the clock, that it ceased to function in 1747. The attempted restorations were so difficult and costly tht it remained in its unrepaired condition for about twenty years, although several clock-experts had tried their hand. Finally, the name of Brother David, already known for his works in the Augustinian monasteries of Vienna, was mentioned. He agreed to take up the difficult task. He was aided by one cooperator the Viennese clockmaker, Paul Hartmann. Not only were old useless parts replaced, but the entire springwork was newly made, along with many wheels, striking pieces, and musical works. In addition, hands were built to indicate not only hours and minutes, but chronological and astronomical details as well! In 1770, it had been completely restored. Exposed to the public, it became the rage of the town. As the property of the city of Vienna, which allowed it to be wound up once a week, it was exposed in the local Zeughaus, and visited in the first year of its restoration by the empress Maria Teresa, accompanied by her son, Joseph II, the duke and archduke of Toscana with the latter's wife, by Albert Prince of Saxony, etc. along with nobles and citizens of Vienna. Before their admiring eyes, Brother David explained the intricate details, of which we, for brevity's sake, mention only a few. The clock contained in silver frames portraits of the most recent rulers of

des Altertums-Vereines in Wien 5 (1897) Nr. 2 : *Kurzer Bericht über P. Johann Paul a Jesu Crucifixo, Augustinermöch im Wiener Augustinerkloster.*

142) *Nomina* 156.

143) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin,* ad annum, 52.

Austria. From all four sides of the standing clock, about nine feet high, one could look inside and see the moving machinery. Some of the remarkable contents were : a planisphere of the heavens, and a sphere with the phases of the moon. Placed above it was a numeral ring which showed the hours of day and night, and how often the moon has been full since the birth of Christ. Other parts showed the signs of the zodiac, sun and moon, an astrolabe, a planetarium, the rising and setting of the sun, the length of the days and nights, etc. Skipping over many other interesting, almost incredible features, we finish with the clock's soundings. Not only did it strike every quarter-hour, but presented a play-work every hour. This was not merely a simple cuckoo, but rather a Glockenspiel, which sounded twice on steel, then on cymbals, followed by a whistle-work and drum-roll. As if this were not enough, three times daily it sounded for prayer with three soundings, which were followed by the playing of an organ with three registers ! [144]). The second world war brought new damages to the clock, but since 1955 it is again in operation. Would not Brother David be today a highly paid repairer of computers ?

Development of Maria Brunn in the eighteenth century

But what about the delightful novitiate and place of pilgrimage outside of Vienna, in Maria Brunn ? Here also development and reb uilding were the order of the day. In 1706 the beautiful pulpit which is used even today was erected. Above the sounding-board stands the figure of St. Augustine, with several figures of children. The pulpit itself is decorated with the allegorical figures of faith and hope, while two figures of children in the middle hold in their hands a round temple with open door [145]).

The pestilence of 1713 brought death to two fathers of the community, who were infected while hearing the confessions of sick penitents [146]).

While their discalced brethren of Vienna were adding in 1720 to their monastery, as described above, the discalced Augustinians of Maria Brunn were able to cover both church and monastery with new tiles, in place of the rotted shingles. The added weight made it necessary to strengthen the walls with iron rods and the roof with new wooden

144) Fiedler 1.4 and 9.204-208.
145) MBP 30; Schiessl 42-43.
146) MBP 41-42; Schiessl 43.

beams. But yet another misfortune occurred on Nov. 8 of the same year. At five o'clock in the morning, while the community was praying in choir, a violent wind cast the church steeple upon the monastery roof. No one was injured, since all were in the chapel! A new steeple was soon erected, but this time strengthened by iron rods. A few years later, a clock also was added to the steeple [147]).

A human interest story cannot be here passed over. In 1725 a statue of the Madonna in nearby Purkersdorf began to become very popular. It had allegedly been found behind a mill. Crowds began to visit Purkersdorf, and the statue was moved into the parish church of the region. Pilgrimages could easily be brought here, with a consequent lessening of the pilgrimages in Maria Brunn! To make the problem more acute, the religious order of the Hieronymites was seeking a place to erect a monastery, and applied for permission to build one in Purkersdorf and to obtain the statue, which was becoming so popular. Influential persons added their request to that of the Hieronymites before the emperor Karl VI, in order to obtain this favor for them. But the discalced Augustinians had not lost the diplomatic skil of their predecessors of the seventeenth century! They got wind of the Hieronymites' request, and the prior provincial, friar Aegidius a S. Gregorio obtained an audience with the emperor. He explained to the sovereign the disadvantages which would inevitably result for Maria Brunn from the establishment of a nearby place of pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, the emperor refused the petition of the Hieronymites. Whether or not his decision had been swayed by the discalced Augustinians, the latter considered his refusal of the Hieronymites' request a great favor to themselves. When therefore he died in 1740 the grateful discalced Augustinians of Maria Brunn described his goodness in their chronicle, and celebrated exequies for him in their church during three days [148]).

We have said that this is a human-interest story. It will become even more interesting, if we now allow ourselves to relate a similar story from the preceding century in which the discalced Augustinians were involved —but this time in the position of the Hieronymites in 1725! A great benefactor of the discalced Augustinians was Johann Max Count of Herberstein, who had founded a monastery for them in St. Johann bei Herber-

147) MBP 48-49; Schiessl 43-44.

148) MBP 92; Schiessl 44-45.

stein in 1654. But the metropolis Gratz had not yet a founding of the discalced Augustinians. For this purpose, the count himself turned over to them under advantageous conditions in the following year 1655 a house in Gratz in the Ungergasse. In their turn, the discalced Augustinians presented to the emperor Ferdinand III, to the archbishop of Salzburg, and to the bishop of Seckau a petition to erect in Gratz a church and monastery. Employing their usual tactics, they obtained the recommendation of Ferdinand, the empress Leonora, the archduke Leopold, etc. But all the mendicant orders already in Gratz, excepting the discalced Carmelites, opposed the petition in 1657, alleging that the situation for the mendicant orders in Gratz was already difficult, and would become even more difficult if yet another mendicant monastery were to be here founded. The discalced Augustinians, who in 1725 found just such an argument proper and convincing, found it improper and unconvincing in 1657, and in spite of a prohibition by the sacred congregation of bishops and regulars in 1658 to errect a monastery of their congregation in Gratz, they again had their way, after waiting a few years. In 1666 they received the desired permission ![149]). Two similar quarrels with the calced Augustinians in Vienna were crowned by success for the discalced, first in the matter of depicting Augustinian saints in barefoot costume, and secondly a more important controversay over the erection of an Augustinian confraternity of the cincture. We shall later describe both quarrels briefly. In such cases, it makes a great deal of difference which foot must wear the shoe — or the sandal.

We return to Maria Brunn and its development in the eighteenth century. Just as new tracts had been constructed in the Viennese monastery of St. Augustine a few years before, so now in 1726 the monastery of Maria Brunn began to take on the symmetrical and pleasing appearance which it presents today. It was decided to add two new tracts to the monastery, which so obtained the second of the two inner courts so typicalof monastic architecture, so reposing for the nerves, and so inviting by their natural freshness. Even today in Maria Brunn both of these courts exist. One such court remains still in the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, and gives welcome rest with its pure air in the midst of a bustling city. Gifts of benefactors and the dowries of the novices enabled the friars to make quick progress. Once the new tracts had been built, the old tracts were demolished and rebuilt in

[149]) Fidler 6.203-207.

simple but pleasant style between 1736 and 1739 [150]). To keep expenses down, the discalced Augustinians had obtained permission to erect an oven to make the new tiles, and much of the wood was given by the royal house, or bought at low prices.

Two centennials celebrated

The Viennese monastery of St. Augustine had come into the hands of the discalced Augustinians in 1630, and the church of Maria Brunn had been given to them in 1636. Hence, within six years, 1730 and 1736, both communities were able with thanksgiving and baroque pomp to commemorate a century of really impressive labors. In both places great strides had been made, both along spiritual and along material lines. The court church of St. Augustine in Vienna was renowned for its splendid ceremonies, attended by the imperial house with families and court. Let us begin with a description of the centennial celebration in St. Augustine's. From May 16 [151] to May 24,1730, a festal week was held which showed how appreciative the discalced Augustinians were to the house of Habsburg, which had introduced them into Vienna exactly a century earlier. Their joy in the progress of one hundred years would have been dimmed, had they been able to look ahead another century. By 1830, the renowned court monastery, which probably harbored between eighty and ninety religious in 1730, contained only two elderly priests and three elderly lay brothers, for whom the average age was seventy. But let us not dampen with such reflections our report about the festivities of 1730 ! Before the front door of the court monastery were erected marble columns. Over all was the representation of the eye of divine providence, under which were the pictures of the three emperors : Leopold I, Joseph I and Karl VI. The imperial eagle of the Habsburgs was represented with them, along with two female figures with shields, rendering homage to the reigning emperor, Karl VI. Various inscriptions from the Bible and from classical authors, expressed the discalced Augustinians' thanks—and their hopes—of long-continued patronage [152]).

[150]) MBP 83-87; Schiessl 45-46.

[151]) We recall that the bull of Urban VIII turning the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna over to the discalced Augustinians had been publicly read here before the calced and the discalced Augustinians on May 15,1630.

[152]) *Origo* 86-88.

Before the church door also a monument was erected on stone pillars. A figure of St. Augustine, patron of the church, hovered in the clouds above the figures of the founder of the church, Frederick the Fair, between his brothers Otto and Albrecht, while a model of the church lay at his feet. Three inscriptions were added to express the part of each of the three royal brothers. Six figures of matrons at the base of the monument represented the same number of virtues: religion, faith, wisdom, vigilance, victory over falsity, and beneficence, all of which were referred to the life and labors of St. Augustine [153]).

At the entrance to the Loretto chapel was a similar monument. At the top was the figure of the Madonna of Loretto. Here was the image of Ferdinand II, who in 1630 had brought the discalced Augustinians to this church. On his right hand was his son Ferdinand III, who in 1635 had the main altar constructed, on his left Leonora da Mantova, foundress of this chapel in 1627. Three inscriptions sang their praises. Here again, six matrons were placed at the base, referring to the glories of the Virgin and her love of redeemed humanity [154]).

Inside the church itself many monuments were erected. Above the main altar were representations of the eye of divine providence, and of fame glorifying the Austrian emperors. In the middle of the altar was an image of St. Augustine in heavenly glory, praying for his spiritual offspring and blessing the celebration. Behind his image were images of his mother St. Monica, of the beloved Augustinian saint Nicholas of Tolentine, and several other outstanding members of the Augustinian order [155]).

On the side walls and on the columns of the church were placed silken hangings and seven large emblems adorned with paintings and flowers. The altar of St. John Nepomucene was especially adorned since his death occurred during the building of this church, and his feast day occurred on the day, in which the discalced Augustinians began their first full day in the monastery, May 16. [156]).

A special book was brought out in the centennial year in Vienna, 1730, to explain the history of the church and monastery. From it we have borrowed these details about the celebration, since it is the work of an eye witness. The name of the author--assuredly a priest

153) *Ibid.* 88-90.
154) *Ibid.* 89-90.
155) *Ibid.* 91.
156) *Ibid.*

of this monastery—is unfortunately not given. The book itself can be profitably consulted by those who read Latin, since it is fortunately preserved in the Austrian National Library. The full title is : *Origo, progressus et memorabilia ecclesiae caesareae S.P. Augustini Viennae* [157]).

But we must not neglect the centenary celebration of Maria Brunn in 1736! In some ways it was a replica of the celebration of 1730. It occurred under the priorship of friar Tobias a Nativitae B.M.V., known before his entry into the order as Tobias Adam Riedling. To him we owe a good part of the protocoll still preserved in the archives of the Augustinian monastery of Vienna. Owing to the close relations between the two discalced monasteries of Vienna and Maria Brunn, the former monastery placed at the disposition of the latter many of the monuments which had been used for the church of St. Augustine six years earlier, These were placed before the church doors of Maria Brunn. The inside of the church, especially the main altar, was well decorated. The altar was covered with a baldachino with red silken hangings, lent by no less an entity than the imperial court in Vienna. In addition, numerous candelabra and the best available ornaments of the church were displayed. The walls of the church were decorated with red silken hangings, and with large pictures which illustrated the history of the Madonna statue of Maria Brunn [158]). These pictures seven in number, are still preserved in the church [159]).

After these attractive festal decorations had been duly set in order, the actual celebration began on the titular feast of Maria Brunn, that is on July 2, the feast of the Visitation. The long-established pilgrimage from the Schottenkloster of Vienna took place on this day. The pontifical mass was celebrated by the Benedictine abbot, while the sermon was preached by a local Augustinian. During an entire week the same form of celebration was employed, that is, pilgrimages were held with a special sermon. On the eighth and final day, after the procession and a sermon, Te Deum was chanted, as had no doubt been done

[157]) It is possible that this book is the same as a work referred to by Fidler 9.178, unfortunately without title. If it is the some work, then the author of Origo is known, namely friar Stephanus a S. Thoma (Dominik Franz Nagl) to whom Fidler refers. Against this identification however is the fact that the work of Nagl was « in Folio » according to Fidler, whereas Origo is not. Cf. our text above note 231.

[158]) We might recall here that a long series of legends would bring this statue back to the eleventh century, but we have seen above that it is placed by capable students of the history of art about the year 1450.

[159]) Schiessl 47-48, who describes each picture.

in 1730 in the church of St. Augustine. No special book was printed, as had been done in Vienna for the court church, since the prior was still engaged in constructing the new parts of the monastery and in repairing the old [160]).

Within the week of the centenary celebration, the community of Maria Brunn obtained on July 7 permission of the ordinariate of Vienna to establish the confraternity of the cincture. On July 11 of the same year, the statutes of the confraternity were approved by the dean of the theological faculty of the university of Vienna. The confraternity was solemnly introduced on Aug. 19, 1731. We shall see shortly below, how the foundation of the same confraternity in the court church of Vienna led to an unpleasant controversy with the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse.

Relations with the calced Augustinians

Although relations between the discalced Augustinians in the court monastery and the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse were not always the most cordial, nonetheless they were not always unpleasant. Thus, the Protocoll of the court monastery recalls that the calced Augustinian, Maestro Giacinto Tonti, professor, writer and famed preacher, as well as professor of Holy Scripture in the university of Padua, spent eight months in the monastery of St. Augustine before leaving Vienna for his native Italy on July 19, 1717. He had been here previously also, with the same purpose as on his second visit—to preach a series of sermons before the emperor Karl VI. The year before, 1716, Tonti had published in Padua a volume of the sermons preached in Vienna for the Advent of 1713 and the Lent of 1714 [161]). A year after his second sojourn with the discalced Augustinians of Vienna, friar Giacintho published another volume with the sermons preached in 1716-1717 [162]). We should not be too surprised to find Italian sermons in the imperial

[160]) MBP 80-83; Schiessl 47-48

[161]) *Prediche per l'avvento e quaresima, dette e consecrate alla sacra cesarea cattolica e real Maesta di Carlo VI imperadore e terzo re delle Spagne, di Boemia, d'Ungheria etc.*, Padova, 1716.

[162]) *Secondo Avvento e secondo Quaresimale detto nell'augustissima cesarea cappella e consecrato alla sacra, cattolica cesarea, e real Maestà di Elisabetta Christina, prinipessa di Brunswick Wolfembuttel, imperadrice regnante de'Romani, Regina delle Spagne, di Ungheria, di Boemia, etc.*, Padova 1718.

court of this time in Vienna. They were here a long standing customs [163]). Thus, Marco da Aviano preached an Italian sermon in the Augustinian church on Sept 14, 1683, two days after the momentous victory over the Turks [164]).

Other relations with the calced Augustinians, in Vienna and elsewhere, were unfortunateily marked by several unpleasant controversies. We shall mention here briefly those connected with the representation of Augustinian saints in the habit of discalced Augustians, and with the foundation of Augustinian confraternities in the churches of the discalced in Vienna.

We begin with the question of the statues. In all fairness to historical truth, we must state that the saints of the Augustinian order, about whom the dispute was held, such as St. Nicholas of Tolentine, St. Thomas of Villanova, and St. Juan of Sahagun, were calced Augustinians. Hence, an historically exact statue could hardly put the habit of the discalced upon their shoulders and the sandals of the latter upon their feet. Yet this was precisely what the discalced Augustinians began to do, as they separated themselves more and more in spirit from the head of the Augustinian order, in which they were supposed to be a reform congregation. As early as August 1, 1631, Ferdinand II wrote to the discalced Augustinians assuring them that of his protection in their quarrels with the calced Augustinians of whom Ferdinand had a far lower opinion than of their discalced brethren. [165]). Again, on May 19, 1644, the emperor Ferdinand III wrote from Vienna a letter to Cardinal Barberini, requesting that the discalced Augustinians be allowed to represent the saints of the Augustinian order, in barefoot costume [166]). The day before, Leonora da Mantova, widow of Ferdinand II, sent to the same cardinal a like request [167]). The result was that the discalced Augustinians had their way, through imperial protection. Again in 1674 and in 1675 the emperor Leopold I wrote in a similar way to Cardinal Pio in Rome. He stated

[163]) For example, on Feb. 24, 1692 the Nuntius Tanara wrote from Vienna to Cardinal Spada that their majesties assisted every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday at matins, the high mass and German sermon; and in the evening of the same days they assisted at compline and the Italian sermon. Sometimes an Italian sermon was preached on Tuesday as well. Cf. AV, Nunziatura di Germania 225.128r.

[164]) Fidler 9.322.

[165]) I *Prot.* 227-230.

[166]) *Ibid.* 231-232.

[167]) *Ibid.* 232-233.

how he had been informed by the discalced Augustinians that the calced Augustinians not only had forbidden them to present calced Augustinian saints as though they were discalced, but were even trying to subject them to their authority! This, states Leopold, he will not tolerate : he is determined to safeguard the constitutions and the privileges of the discalced Augustinians, introduced by his « most pious forbears » into his realms. The strong letter, dated June 7, 1675, in which Leopold so speaks, shows that the discalced Augustinians of the congregation of Italy and Germany, as they were now called, had taken long steps towards becoming an order independent of the Augustinian order in which they had come into existence in 1593 [168]). Strong in the protection of the imperial rulers for whom they conducted services in the court church, the discalced Augustinians in Vienna were able to come out victorious time after time in such quarrels with the calced Augustinians. But the quarrel broke out again in 1729, and the discalced Augustinians presented to the emperor Karl VI a request that perpetual silence be imposed through his influence by Rome upon the calced Augustinians in this matter. Again they got their wish. The emperor wrote on Sept. 7 of the same year to Cardinal Cienfuegos [169]). To the present day, the attractive statue of St. Nicholas of Tolentine, in the habit of a discalced Augustinian, apparently a work of the eighteenth century, one of the few such memorials of the discalced Augustinians in the Viennese monastery of St. Augustine, is an eloquent testimony to their tenacity. The same can be said of the statues of Augustinians found in Maria Brunn.

The more important quarrel over the confraternity of the cincture of St. Augustine and St. Monica, under the invocation of the Mother of Consolation, began remotely in 1730, when the discalced Augustinians obtained from the Viennese archbishop, Cardinal Kollonitsch, permission to erect this confraternity in Maria Brunn [170]). The confraternity was a greatly beloved society of the Augustinian order, in which many members of both sexes strove for greater perfection in their spiritual life, guided by certain directives or statutes of the confraternity. It had been established in the court church of St. Augustine by the calced Augustinians before their expulsion from this church in 1630. Only the prior general of the order—always a calced Augustinian

168) *Ibid.* 234-237.

169) *Ibid.* 241-242.

170) Prot. 5.276.

could grant permission to found such a society, and incorporate it into the primary foundation in the Augustinian church of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna, where it had been erected in 1439, as the confraternity of the cincture of St. Augustine, St. Monica, and St. Nicholas of Tolentine. The confraternity of our Mother of Consolation had been founded, likewise in Bologna, in 1495. Both confraternities were merged into one in the year 1570. To strengthen the confraternity in various places, and to prevent rivalries amongst concurring local groups, it was forbidden to establish a second confraternity within three miles of one already existing. Hence, the calced Augustinians, in keeping with the wishes of their prior general, had transferred the confraternity to the church of Saints Sebastian and Rochus on the Landstrasse, when they emigrated here about 1636. Since the court church of St. Augustine, in the hands of the discalced Augustinians after 1630, was within the three- mile limit, the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse were unwilling to waive their rights and to permit the foundation of a second society in the court church of St. Augustine within the city, which would inevitably drain off from the confraternity on the Landstrasse the outstanding members of royalty, nobility, and citizens of the neighborhood. The calced Augustinians therefore appealed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, requesting him to forbid the discalced Augustinians to found a rival confraternity within the city walls. They even obtained through the prior general in Rome a prohibition from the Sacra Camera Apostolica on Aug. 17, 1748 against a second foundation of the confraternity in Vienna by the discalced Augustinians. Twelve days later, on Aug. 29, they obtained a similar decree from the archiepiscopial consistorium in Vienna [171]). Hence, the calced Augustinians could believe that the quarrel was decided in their favor by the Holy See itself—Roma locuta est, causa finita est. They could triumphantly think that the intervention of the highest instances had done for them what it had done for the discalced Augustinians in Maria Brunn in 1725, when these had succeeded in blocking a concurring foundation by the Hieronymites, as we have already described. But they had not reckoned with the diplomatic skill of the discalced Augustinians, who had on several previous occasions manifested their capability in getting their wish in spite of Roman or other decisions to the contrary. The discalced Augustinians used again the tried and

[171]) Both documents are copied in *Prot.* 6.172-180.

true method of influence in high places. In this case, it was the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Sigismund von Kollonitsch [172]), and the emperor himself. To the protection of these two notables, they explicitly attributed their victory in this quarrel also [173]). The sixth volume of their Viennese protocoll has a long description of the controversy, and the chief documents are preserved there today in the neat handwriting of friar Tobias a Nativitate B.V.M. To make a long story short, the discalced Augustinians were able to obtain on Nov. 2, 1750, though Cardinal Kollonitsch—a member of their confraternity in Maria Brunn and a penitent of the discalced Augustinians—an arrangement by which the prior general of the Augustinians was forced to reverse his previous decision and grant them every wish in this matter [174]). It was not easy to gain a diplomatic victory over the discalced Augustinians of Vienna! But Joseph II was already born, and he would follow no such tender methods as diplomatic treatment with religious orders, not even with the discalced Augustinians!

The years preceding Joseph II

We should here like to note some outstanding events in the two communities of the discalced Augustinians in the period before Joseph II, that is between about 1735 and 1780. To the period of Joseph II we must devote a special treatment, for it was he who gave the death blow to both calced and discalced Augutinians in present day Austria, even though both groups managed to exist, though sadly depleted, into the nineteenth century. We begin with the court church of St. Augustine

For sheer impossibility of describing them in a short space, we make merely a general mention of the numerous marriages and funerals of the royalty and of the highest nobility in these years. They can be found in printed form in two books, both of which are contained in the larger

[172]) Born in Vienna on May 30, 1677, he became bishop here on July 1, 1717. He thus became the first archbishop of Vienna, when his see was elevated to the rank of an archbishopric in 1722. Created a cardinal on Nov. 26, 1726, he died in Vienna on Apr. 12, 1751. See LTK^2 6.382; *Hierarchia catholica mediae et recentioris aetatis* 5, Patavii 1952, 414. His long term as ruler of the church of Vienna was most fortunate for the discalced Augustinians, to whose confraternity he belonged. The Protocolls of St. Augustine in Vienna and of Maria Brunn always refer to him with gratitude. For obvious reasons, the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse sang his praises less enthusiastically.

[173]) I *Prot.* 196

[174]) *Prot.* 6.270-273.

libraries of Vienna. [175]). Yet, we cannot refrain from stating that on Feb. 12, 1736, the archduchess and future empress, Maria Theresa, was married here with Franz Stephan, duke of Lorraine, and future emperor [176]). Again, readers will hardly blame us for noting that the future queen of France, Marie Antoinette—called in Austria Maria Antonieta—was here married to the dauphin, the future king Louis XVI, on April 19, 1770 [177]). And how can we keep silence about the marriage of the future destroyer of the Austrian Augustinians, the archduke, and future emperor, Joseph II, with Isabella of Parma on Oct. 6, 1760 [178])! Who can say what thoughts were in Joseph's mind during his wedding, as he surveyed the barockized church, which he would later give the order to restore to gothic form? and as he saw the Augustinian community of more than eighty religious in the court monastery of which he would in 1783 with a stroke of his pen decree the reduction to thirty?

Space again forbids us to relate in more than a general way that ten cardinals received the red biretta in this church between 1730 and 1762, amonsgt them four papal nuntii [179]). Some of the proudest names in Austrian history received the accolade as knights of the Golden Fleece on seven occasions between 1744 and 1765. Some of their names are: Lichtenstein, Dietrichstein, Trautson, Bathyany, Palffy, Kollowrath, Sternberg, Esterhazy, Harrach [180]). A particularly impressive act must have been the introduction of the military order of Elisabeth and Teresa on July 19, 1771, in which the highest officers in the Austrian lands became members [181]). In the desire to spice history with pleasure, we note only two names of the twenty-one officers given by Fidler: Count O'Donnell and Baron Münchausen!

If we tried to recount here the funerals of the royalty held in the court church, it would be a list of practically every member of the imperial family or of persons married into it, who died in Vienna. The hearts of the highest royalty were placed in urns, as we have already seen, and then located in the Loretto chapel. The noble families in

175) Fidler 9.322 sqq.
176) *Ibid.* 323.
177) *Ibid.* 327.
178) *Ibid.* 326.
179) *Ibid.* 322-326.
180) *Ibid.* 324-327.
181) *Ibid.*

Austria had their crypts under the church. We refer the interested reader to Fidler and Wolfsgruber for their names [182]). As we have made an exception for the great « landmother », Maria Teresa, for her marriage in 1736, so shall we do the same here for her death in 1780. After her death on Nov. 29, her heart was brought to the Augustinians on Saturday, Dec. 2, to be placed by them in the Lorretto chapel. On the evening of Sunday, Dec. 3, her corpse was brought into the court church, and on the three following days her exequies were held [183]).

In this period of glory—it was an evening sunset—Maria Brunn also took an active and honorable part. It was the last blossoming of a baroque piety, that was nipped in the bud by Josephinism.

Since we have already referred to the thriving Augustinian confraternity of the cincture, we must say a word here about another confraternity in Maria Brunn, which also had a thriving existence here : that of St. Eustace, patron of hunters. Already on Sept. 20, 1690, the erection of this confraternity by the royal hunters received the approbation of the official of the diocese of Passau, to which Maria Brunn in this time still belonged [184]). Their statutes aimed at promoting a serious Christian life amongst its members, avoiding the evils of swearing and cursing, praying for their departed brethren and sisters, and receiving the sacraments frequently. At least once a year each member should visit the chapel of St. Eustace in the church of Maria Brunn and pray for the peace and unity of Christians [185]). Although the popularity of the confraternity had suffered a temporary decline by 1750, the community had continued to celebrate the feast on Sept. 20 with solemnity. But in this very year 1750 a renewal of the old fervor took place, so that the feast again became popular [186]). Since the emperors themselves and their wives were enrolled as members, this naturally helped to attract many other members, who were supposed to attend the annual solemn mass and venerate the relic of St. Eustace. As late as 1792, the centenary of the confraternity could be celebrated with a numerous attendance, led by the imperial master of the hunt. But such occasions were already precariously close to

182) *Ibid.* 9.191.

183) *Ibid.* 9.328.

184) Schiessl 98.

185 The rules of the confraternity are contained in the Ordinariatsarchiv of Vienna 264/10, are conveniently summarized by Schiessl 99.

186) MBP 57; Schiessl 99-100.

disappearing completely, owing to the childishly detailed decrees of Joseph II.

But unquestionalby the greatest activity in Maria Brunn at this time was the steady flow of large pilgrimages. The community needed many priests to hear the numerous confessions made on these occasions. Even towards the end of the seventeenth century Abraham a Sancta Clara reffered in various works to the large number of pilgrims who came to Maria Brunn, not only from Vienna, but from surrounding villages also, today incorporated into the great metropolis. He refers further to the large number of penitents, who eargerly sought and readily found a father confessor on these occasions [187]). This is confirmed by the Protocoll of Maria Brunn for the eighteenth century also, where it is explicitly stated that a list of pilgrimages regulary held here every year from many different places had to be exposed in the sacristy [188]). Hence, we are not surprised to learn that the community in 1769 numbered twenty priests. Since five novices were in the community at this time, and nine lay brothers helped in the numerous tasks of the busy community, we see that thiry-four discalced Augustinians were here at this time [189]). Not only did the discalced Augustinians of Maria Brunn attend to the thousands of pilgrimages who visited their church, but in 1731 they had agreed with the pastor of Huetteldorf to send a priest there every Sunday and feast day. Later a sermon was added to his duties [190]).

The Turkish depredations of 1683 had dealt a heavy blow to the community of Maria Brunn, and had burnt its precious library. Hence the munificence of the noble chancellor Rosenmarcker of about five thousand volumes in 1734 was a really useful addition to their possessions [191]). Not only had the religious installed an organ in their own choir for the accompaniment of divine office in 1726, they received as a gift in 1736 the baroque organ which is still in use in the church. It was donated by the organ maker of Vienna, Godefried Sonnenholtz who equipped it with nineteen registers. Later other registers were added [192]). After its renovation in 1936, the same organ continues to be

187) F. Loidl, *Menschen im Barok*, Wien 1938, 23-24.

188) MBP 45 and 71.

189) Ordinariatsarchiv, Wien 264/17; Schiessl 54.

190) Schiessl 49.

191) MBP 80; Schiessl 49.

192) MBP 88; Schiessl 49-50.

used in divine services. Just as in Vienna, so here too the lay brothers rendered marvellous services by their artistic workmanship, which gave to the church and monastery altars, benches for divine worship, stucco-work, statues, paintings, and intarsias which even today receive the praise of experts [193]).

Since we are already acquainted with the clock maker, Brother David a S. Cajetano, we begin here with Brother Paulus a S. Veronica, an Austrian, who made his profession as a discalced Augustinian on June 16, 1729 [194]), from which it may be deduced that he was born about 1710. He specializd in making choir- and church benches and doors. Such work he had already done for the monasteries of the discalced Augutinians in Fratting and St. Johann bei Herberstein before doing the same work for Maria Brunn [195]). The altar of plaster and marble in the chapel of St. Helena in Maria Brunn comes from him. He died in Feb. 27, 1758 in Maria Brunn itself, where his work of love and of art survives to our own day [196]).

The main altar, admired and used today, had been designed and built out of wood by the skilled cabinet maker from Bavaria, Brother Cajetanus a S. Antonio Paduano. [197]). Through no fault of his own, Schiessl [198]) confused this brother from Bavaria with the clock maker from the Black Forest, Brother David a S. Cajetano. The reason is that the brothers are often referred to in the sources by the first part only of their name, so that Schiessl could reasonably conclude to another brother with a similar name and similar skills. Yet another Brother Cajetan, from Tirol, Cajetanus a S. Josepho, had prepared in 1700 the tabernacle for the church of St. Augustine in Vienna [199]). He had made his profession as a discalced Augustinian in Gratz on Aug. 5. 1687, and died in Vienna on May 25. 1728 [200]). The brother Cajetanus a S. Antonio Paduano, of whom we are here speaking, had made his profession in the Bavarian monastery of Taxa on Oct. 4, 1763 [201]). Possibly he is the brother referred to as Kajetan Perthold,

193) SCHIESSL 50.
194) *Nomina* 153.
195) FIDLER 8,405.
196) *Nomina* 153.
197) FIDLER 8.406.
198) SCHIESSL 69.
199) *Prot.* 2. 168: WOLFSGRUBER, *Hofkirche* 8.
200) *Nomina* 149.
201) *Ibid.*157.

who died in the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna on March 14, 1804 [202]). Professor Schiessl can be well excused for falling into error in this complicated question, when the discalced Augustinians themselves, even in their historian, friar Marianus a SS. Sacramento (Andreas Fidler) fell into an occasional error in this matter, as we have pointed out above when referring to the imperial theologians.

The same main altar, begun by Brother Cajetanus a S. Antonio Paduano, was completed by a painter, his confrère the Austrian Brother Lukas a S.P. Augustino, many of whose (probable) works hang today on the walls in the church and monastery of St. Augustine [203]). He made his profession in Maria Brunn on March 22, 1753, and seems to be identical with Brother Lukas Wallenberger, who died in the Viennese monastery on March 12, 1793 [204]). Particularly useful for history must have been his series of paintings of the monasteries of the discalced Augustinians of the Germano-Bohemian province, which were previously exposed in the court monastery [205]).

For brevity's sake, we cite only the names of several other lay brothers of this period, whose outward service to the community consisted in works of art such as painting, cabinet-making, sculpture, etc. Brother Matthaeus a S. Theresia, Brother Conradus a S. Josepho, Brother Josephus a S. Antonia were three talented brothers who made their profession the same day, Jan. 22, 1759. All three were cabinet makers [206]). The same is true of Brother Rupertus a S. Dominico and Brother Joannes Josephus a S. Bartholomaeo, both professed in July 1760 [207]). The list could easily be prolonged.

Studies and Teachers

A medieval proverb stated that a monastery without a library is like a castle without an arsenal. To preach in the court church of Vienna, or before large multitudes in Maria Brunn, a solid preparation was justly deemed necessary. The calced Augustinians in the court monastery before 1630 had conducted courses in thier own convent since its founding in the fourteenth century. At the same time, they had presented

202) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 95.

203) Fidler 8.406.

204) *Nomina* 156; *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 65.

205) Fidler 9.189.

206) *Nomina* 156.

207) *Ibid.* 157.

the university of Vienna with a number of professors of theology [208]). The discalced Augustinians were inferior to their calced brethren in studies, but they also carried on courses in philosophy and theology in the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, to prepare their clerical students for their work in pulpit and confessional. References to their « lectors », that is house professors of philosophy and theology, occur frequently in their protocoll. Maria Brunn had no courses in philosophical and theological studies, since the year of novitiate spent here did not call for such courses, but rather for an introduction into the spiritual life of a discalced Augustinian. It is noteworthy that the discalced Augustinians in their two centuries of life in Vienna obtained not a single doctorate in the local university, and had no professors here at any time. Yet this does not mean that they were completely lacking in capable theologians, even though the title of « imperial theologian » conferred upon several of them, as we have seen, was more honorable than probative of theological capability.

In history also they showed a laudable interest in preserving for posterity the story of their congregation. Through no fault of their own, their two excellent archives of yesteryear remain in only sad fragments, which cite many now lost works previously guarded by conscientious archivists.

Here it would be easy to fill many pages with names of authors and titles of their works. But we prefer to cite only a few of the more important, referring the reader to lengthier works for more details [209]. We restrict ourselves naturally to members of the Germano-Bohemian province.

Of Abraham a Sancta Clara we merely repeat that he was a great master of German prose, a prolific writer and the most popular preacher of Vienna in his day. This last part especially is sufficient praise. Some of his works were published after death by his Austrian colleague, friar Alexander a Latere Christi [210]).

We recall the « imperial theologian », friar Bernardus a S. Theresia, who published books on apologetics and controversy [211]). The author of a handy book in the form of questions for ordinands was the lector

[208]) Gavigan, *doct* 275-292.

[209]) Especially F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana historica critica et chronologica*, Ingolstadii 1768, and the volumes of Lopez-Bardon.

[210]) L.-B. 3. 135-136.

[211]) *Ibid.* 201.

of theology in the Viennese monasery of St. Augustine, friar Hermannus Josephus a S. Hilario. Himself a Viennese, he published his work in his native city in 1779. He published another work about the mystery of the Holy Trinity according to St. Thomas of Aquin, and was prior provincial from 1760 to 1763 [212]. Sermons on the Rule of St. Augustine were left behind by friar Maximilianus a Jesu, a lector of theology. A three-volume Latin work on ascetical theology was published 1711 in Augsburg by friar Michael S. Catharina, which went through several editions and was translated into German. In 1724 the same author published in the same city a meditation book in German [213]).

Lectors of philosophy and theology in the Viennese monastery of St. Augustine shortly before the time of Joseph II were friars Eduardus ab Annuntiatione B.V.M. [214]), Victorinus ab Immaculata Conceptione B.V.M. [215]), and Severinus a Corde Jesu. Of the last we have written elsewhere how he became a doctor of the theological faculty of Gratz in 1785 and professor of Holy scripture there. He was twice dean of the theological faculty there (1791-1792 and 1795-1796) and served as rector of the same lyceum for the academic year 1799-1800 [216]).

A highly regarded preacher ot the discalced Augustinians in the court church during the second half of the century, who became one of the first seven cooperators appointed in this church in 1783, after he had during twenty years delivered memorable sermons, inspired by classical German and French sacred authors, was the Viennese Matthias Wild. A companion of studies of Andreas Fidler, he made his profession in Maria Brunn, on Dec. 20, 1754, taking the monastic name of Sigismundus a S. Cruce [217]). An edition of nineteen of his German sermons on the Passion of the Savior was published in Augsburg in 1787. He died in St. Johann bei Herberstein on Jan. 26, 1793 [218]).

The first direct contact of the discalced Augustinians with the university of Vienna seems to have come about in 1754, when the archiepiscopal consistorium of Vienna, acting under orders of the empress Maria Theresa, on Feb. 10 forbade the holding of disputations

212) *Ibid.* 326 and *Nomina* 176.

213) L.-B. 3.444

214) *Prot.* 7.479.

215) *Ibid.* 506.

216) GAVIGAN, *theol.* 216, cf. also *Prot.* 7.802.

217) *Nomina* 71-72.

218) L.-B. 3.497; ASW, Hs. B 163. 153.

before the protector of studies in the university had approved them [219]). Only four days later, another decree, this time directly from the government, that all mendicant theological schools—therefore both the calced and the discalced Augustinians were included—had to send their teachers, not indeed to the lectures but to the examiners of the university of Vienna in the following subjects : Holy Scripture, biblical languages, speculative and dogmatic theology, church history, canon law, and controversial theology. No one could teach these subjects in the monastic schools who had not been so approved [220]). Another decree of Sept. 13. 1755 threatened to close all theological schools by the year 1760, whose professors had not complied with these precepts [221]). A degree of Oct. 18, 1770 repeated the order of Maria Theresa that all studies in monastic schools should be directed by the text books employed for each subject by the university of Vienna [222].

Two historians

After this brief salute to the theologians and their students, we turn to a pair of authors whose historical interests have preserved precious treasures for us, which otherwise would have perished. The first is the Viennese, friar Tobias Adam Riedling, who made his profession in Maria Brunn on Sept. 10, 1717 at the age of eighteen, taking the monastic name of Tobias a Nativitate B.M.V. [223]). He took great pleasure in historical studies, to which we thank the origin and composition of the precious volumes of the Protocoll of the monastery of St. Augustine, which he continued to the year 1766 : Protocollum ecclesiae aulicocaesareae et conventus FF. Eremitarum Discalc. S.P.N. Augustini. At the beginning of the first of the seven volumes, we are informed that the documents here contained were « faithfully compiled by friar Tobias a Nativitate B.V.M. anno 1757 ».

Another hand carried his work in volume seven up to the year 1774 [224]). An earlier work of his was the publishing of the Biblia

219) *Prot.* 6.663-664.

220) *Ibid.* 665-667.

221) *Ibid.* 7.753-754.

222) *Ibid.* 7.667.

223) *Nomina* 41-42.

224) F. Loidl, *Das Augustiner-Kloster bei der Wiener Hofburg, eine Ubersicht aus den Protocollen des Convents*, Wien 1948,3.

Gregoriana in Gratz. He died in Vienna on Aug. 16, 1769 [225]). His merit had been great in organizing the well-stocked collections of nature and art in the court monastery [226]).

The second historical author who deserves our thankful mention is another Viennese, Andreas Fidler, born in the imperial city on Oct. 27, 1736. He made his profession in Maria Brunn on Nov. 9, 1745, with the name of Marianus a Sanctissimo Salvatore [227]). He was professor of Greek literature for many years. Even today his work in nine volumes, *Austria Sacra*, is indispensable [228]). The work had been projected by the nobleman Joseph Wendt von Wendenthal, and after his death the volumes were brought out by friar Marianus in quick succession. He is not the author of each of the useful articles in this lengthy work, but rather the organizer of the material sent to him from the monasteries, usually composed by the librarian or archivist of the monastery, from which such a treatment had been requested. Thus for the convent of St. Augustine in Vienna, friar Marianus simply translated, by his own admission [229]), a great part of the work of his confrère, friar Stephanus a S. Thoma (Dominik Franz Nagl), also a native of Vienna, who had made his profession on Apr. 18, 1718 in Maria Brunn, and who died in Deutschbrod on April 4, 1759 [230]). He had brought out for the centenary celebration 1730 a Latin work, which seems to have born the title « Saeculum » or century, and which contained many useful documents [231]). For the period 1754 to 1788 however—in this latter year he finished the ninth and last volume of his work—Fidler is a first-hand witness. He must have felt deeply the blows inflicted by Joseph II in 1783 upon his monastery in Vienna, but dared not raise his voice against the intransigent despot, whose « glorious » reign he duly refers. We shall see below, helped by friar Marianus, what some of Joseph's « glorious » measures were.

Although much more could be told here of the last blossoming of the discalced Augustinian monasteries in Vienna before Josephinism,

225) *Nomina* 42.

226) Fidler 201-202; L.-B. 3.507-508.

227) *Nomina* 71-72.

228) Published between 1780 and 1788 in Vienna. The full title is: *Austria Sacra: Geschichte der ganzen österreicherischen, Klösterlichen und weltilichen Klerisey beyderley Geschlechtes.*

229) 9.178.

230) *Nomina* 48-49.

231) Cf. note 157.

we are unwilling to tax the reader's patience longer, Now let us see the devastion wrought by Joseph II with the monasteries of Austria, which put an end to the Augustinian order here, so that no monastery of Augustinians was found in present-day Austria from 1836 until 1951. But first we shall mention the visit of Pope Pius VII in Vienna, provoked by the legislation of Joseph II.

Papal visit in Vienna

When Joseph II became sole ruler in 1780, his « reforms » caused grave concern in Rome. To such an extent was this true that the Pope, Pius VI, decided to make a personal visit to Joseph II in the hope of making clear to him the disastrous results which the monarch's self-opinionated and of ill-considered legislation would produce. Hence on March 23, 1782, the Pope began his personal discussions with Joseph II in Vienna. On Holy Thursday, March 28, the Pope carried the Blessed Sacrament from the main altar to the repository in the court church of St. Augustine. Even today, the chalice with which the Pope celebrated during these days is preserved. Pius VI showed great interest in the treasures of the library and museum of the court monastery, and remained an hour in conversation in the library with the friar in charge. This was none other than the Viennese Franz Sulzer, who had taken the name in religion of friar Joannes Petrus a S. Elisabeth at his profession in Maria Brunn on Aug. 22, 1757 at the age of seventeen[232]). He was present as confessor at the deathbed of Joseph II [233]).

But not only the court and monastery of the discalced Augustinians were visited by the Pope. Maria Brunn also would receive this honor. When the Pope realized that his month in Vienna had been useless, so far as discussions with the unyielding Joseph were concerned, he departed from Vienna on the morning of April 22. Pope and emperor rode, surrounded by the noble guard, to Maria Brunn where both of them prayed a while in the church of the Augustinian monastery, which two years later would be placed by Joseph II on the list of monasteries to be suppressed! Outside of the monastery the pope embraced the emperor and gave him his blessing. A Latin inscription with golden letters on a marble plaque was erected to commemorate the event [234]).

[232]) *Nomina* 75-76.

[233]) Tomek 3.504.

[234]) Fidler 8.408-409, who quotes the text.

Josephinism and the discalced Augustinians

The eldest son of Maria Theresa, Joseph II, was 1765-1780 coregent with his widowed mother. According to recent serious studies, she was the mother, not only of Joseph but also of Josephinism [235]). Joseph was a man of good intentions, but of extraordinarily self-opinionated, unhappy snap judgments, which he then carried out with ruthless disregard of the opinion of others and of historical development. The result of his sole reign, from 1780 to 1790 was a serious weakening of the Austrian state. The Austrian Netherlands, for instance, rose 1789 in rebellion, provoked by his high-handed measures.

But what interests us particularly here is the system named Josephinism. It was a system of subjugation of the church to the state, in all matters outside of purely doctrinal questions, so that churchmen were for Joseph and Josephinists servants of his despotic state, obliged to study from text books prescribed by him, and to carry out unquestioningly all his decrees in so called politico-religious matters. His interference in ecclesiastical matters went to such ridiculous extremes that he earned for himself from Frederick the Great of Prussia the nickname of « Brother Sacristan of the Holy Roman Empire ». The special aspect of Josephinism which must be noted here is his attitude to monasteries and their inhabitants. The education which his mother arranged for him was under the influence of the « Aufklärung », or enlightenment. Hence, he had a contemptuous attitude towards all members of religious orders, male or female, which did not take an active part in parochial work, education, hospital service, and other such activities, which in his « enlightened » judgment were useful for society. With therefore an abysmal ignorance about the contemplative life, and of the utility to society of such friends of God and mankind as St. Teresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross, he began in 1781 the complete suppression of all contemplative monasteries of men and women in his realms [236]). More than seven hundred monasteries, seven hundred and thirty-eight to be exact, were suppressed within ten years!

235) L.J. Rogier, in *Geschichte der Kirche*, Band IV : *Die Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, Revolution und Restauration*, Einsiedeln 1966, 111. On the preceding page, the same author says : « Man darf... den Gegensatz zwischen der Politik Maria Theresias und der ihres Sohnes Joseph II. nicht überschätzen ... Die Mutter war bei aller Herrschsucht von gewinnender Liebenswürdigkeit, der Sohn aber rechthaberisch und überheblich ».

236) Winner 76 sqq.

The excellent work by Dr. G. Winner on Josephinistic suppressions of monasteries gives a good historical introduction to this question, which undeniably calls to the fore the value-judgments of each writer who deals with the question. For those who hate or contemn the monastic life, Joseph is naturally considered to have done a laudable act in his suppression of so many monasteries in his realms. In all honesty, we can not see the justice of this opinion, which usually goes hand in hand with a gross ignorance about the religious life. The outstanding work on Josephinism in recent years is that of F. Maass [237]). For the reason already given, judgments about this work depend heavily upon the value-judgments of the individual reviewers.

Not content with the suppression of the contemplative monasteries, Joseph then proceeded to suppress all those other monasteries, even though they were not contemplative, but which according to his dogmatic judgment were of no use to society—as Joseph II wished society to be. One of his first steps intended to weaken the monasteries was his prohibition on March 24, 1781, to depend upon foreign superiors. In practice, this usually meant cessation of direct contact with the general superiors of the orders in Rome. Overnight, the Augustinians in Austria lost something precious, that had characterized their order since the middle ages—membership in an international organization, with the many resulting advantages [238]). By the same decree, the monasteries lost their so useful brotherly contact with monasteries outside of Austrian lands. Later we shall have occasion to refer to this contact with the Bavarian monastery of Taxa, which by Joseph's decision was separated in this year from the Austrian monasteries of the discalced congregation of Italy and Germany.

For such things as confraternities and pilgrimages—both of which were actively fostered by the Augustinians and other mendicant orders, as we have seen—Joseph had absolutely no time. With a stroke of his pen he abolished the flourishing confraternities of the Augustinians and all other confraternities of the religious orders on March 18, 1782 [239]).

According to Joseph, education of clerics was a matter of the state, not of the church, and much less of individual orders. Hence he forced

[237]) *Der Josephinismus. Quellen zu seiner Geschichte in Osterreich*, 5 Bde., Wien 1951-1961.

[238]) Tomek 380-381.

[239]) Winner 254.

on March 30, 1783 all orders to close their study houses of philosophy and theology and to send their students either to the existing universities or to the « general seminaries », founded by him [240]), and which would be closed immediately after his death by his own brother succeeded him ! For Joseph, a useful priest was an obedient and unquestioning servant of the state, whose purpose it was to promote a peaceful and good order according to the ideas of Joseph II. But were was the money to be found to erect these seminaries ? From the suppression of the still remaining monasteries which were on Joseph's « black list », and from the sale of their possessions ! No commentary is necessary about the stupid and barbarous scattering to the four winds of monastic manuscripts, libraries, paintings, statues, etc. to say nothing of the complete destruction of churches which today would be jealously guarded by their cities under protection as precious monuments.

Even when he refrained from entirely suppressing certain monasteries, Joseph none the less reduced the number of their religious by a paper scheme, sadly out of touch with the real needs and wishes of his people. Even today the people of Tyrol employ for Joseph the highly uncomplimentary nickname of « church robber Joe »—Kirchenräuber Seppl ! Even when he established parishes in some monastic churches which he did not entirely suppress, he none the less made certain restrictions which often—in the case of the Austrian Augustinians entirely—led to their ultimate extinction, even though this took place after his own death. A similar system was followed in Bavaria under Montgelas, which destroyed completely the discalced Augustinians there, and came within a hair's breadth of annihilating the calced Augustinians also in Germany [241]).

This background is necessary in order to appreciate what Joseph II did to the discalced Augustinians, as well as to their calced brethren. But we wish to explain here only what he did to the former, since we have already explained elsewhere his treatment of the latter [242]). Hence we shall here describe the fate that overtook the discalced Augustinians of Vienna by the dispositions of Josephinism and their consequences. We shall see how the blossoming flower was nipped in the bud in 1783 and died a slow lingering death in the nineteenth

[240]) *Ibid.* 152.

[241]) cf. A.M. Schleglmann, *Geschichte der Säkularisation im rechtsrheinischen Bayern* 2, Regensburg 1904, 344-361; Winner 146-147.

[242]) Gavigan, *theol.* 61-64.

century. To state the results at the very beginning; in the year 1783, the court monastery in Vienna had a total of seventy-eight religious : fifty-one priests, nine clerical students, and eighteen lay brothers [243]). In the same year Maria Brunn had twenty-nine religious, twenty priests and nine lay brothers [244]). The number would naturally have been higher, if Joseph had not previously forbidden them to accept new candidates. These numbers already mark a decrease from the eighty-two religious noted for St. Augustine's as late as 1771 [245]), and from the thirty-four noted for Maria Brunn in 1769 [246]).

But in any case, one hundred and seven discalced Augustinians were to be found in the two monasteries of this discalced congregation in 1783, when Joseph passed his legislation for their communities, which we shall quote below. And yet, both of these monasteries would die out for lack of members about sixty years later ! How was this possible? We shall try to explain the sad story briefly.

Joseph's legislation from 1783 to 1790

On Easter Monday of 1783, that is, on April 21, the new parish organization for the city of Vienna was introduced. Hitherto, there had been only four parishes within the city : the cathedral of St. Stephan the imperial chapel, the church of St. Michael, and the church of the Benedictines [247]). Now twenty-eight parish regions were formed, so that nine parishes were to be found within in the city, and nineteen parishes in the suburbs. Both the church of St. Augustine in the city and the church of the calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse were changed on this oecasion from monastic churches to parish churches. In itself such a change was a good idea. It often meant in practice that religious churches which had previously served the faithful as monastic churches now served them as parish churches with the rights and duties

[243]) J. Kopallik, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Erzdiözese Wien* 2, Wien 1890, 210. This seems to be the correct number of religious, and not eighty-six, as was stated in the decree by which Joseph II. reduced the number of discalced Augustinians in the Viennese monastery. The reason is perhaps that not only the religious who lived in the monastery but also the persons who lived there in the service of the community were included. Hence, there were naturally more persons than religious in the monastery.

[244]) *Ibid.*

[245]) *Prot.* 7.210

[246]) Schiessl 54.

[247]) Tomek 475.

of a parish for the religious needs of each neighborhood. Joseph II however made it clear that members of the religious orders in the Augustinian churches mentioned were incapable of becoming pastors—though for a new parish in the country in the following year 1784 he made another arrangement, as we shall explain. By this decree of Nov. 18, 1782, Joseph ordered that secular priests be appointed as pastors in the parishes to be erected in the churches of the Augustinians and of the Franciscans, whereas the cooperators were to be chosen from members of these orders—after examination [248]). Such secular priests had no examination to take, since it was presumed that they were capable. But for religious priests it was another matter! Not only the religious who were doctors in theology of the universities of Vienna or of Gratz, but even religious professors of theology and deans of the theological faculties were obliged to take such an examination, before being admitted to the care of souls [249]). Yet, even Joseph II indirectly admitted in one of his innumerabe orders for religious who were to be taken from their monasteries and—after examination—placed in the care of souls, that they had already in the past been helpful, especially with confessions and the spiritual care of the sick [250]). But in his self-willed way, and in his ignorance of the positive values of the religious life, he worked out a plan which —on paper—seemed to him destined to promote parochial life—naturally according to his « enlightened » opinions. The ridiculous inconsequence of making secular priests pastors without examination and of obliging a university professor of theology, if he was a religious, to undergo an examination to become the same pastors' assistants, counted for nothing in Joseph's grandiose paper schemes. He openly strove to discourage young candidates for the priesthood away from the religious state. Later we shall see the results of his « enlightened » paper schemes.

Young religious priests were to be taken out of their monasteries and sent into the newly formed parishes where they—after the necessary examination—would labor in the care of souls. But this meant inevitably that the religious thus violently separated from their community and faced with the strange situation of being friars without a friary, without the salary granted to secular priests in parishes,

[248]) Verwaltungsarchiv, Wien, Kultus 530, nr. 124.

[249]) Gavigan, *theol.* 59.

[250]) Winner 156.

hampered in other ways as well by the Josephinistic bureaucracy, and seeing that in any case Joseph was going to suppress a goodly part of the existing monasteries—we recall that seven hundred and thirty-eight were suppressed by him, and no monastery of mendicants was able to exceed a certain number of religious or accept new candidates—decided to end the anomaly and become secular priests. This was exactly what Joseph wanted! Tomek [251]) indicates that one third of the monasteries in Joseph's lands were completely suppressed by him, while the other two thirds were seriously damaged, some so severely that they died out after Joseph's death. This latter was the case with the monasteries of the Augustinians, both calced and discalced in Vienna.

How many young men or women would feel safe in following a vocation to the religious life under such circumstances? Indeed during nearly ten years of Joseph's reign, the orders were forbidden to receive such persons as might present themselves. Further, since suppressions continued even after Joseph's death, why should young men or women enter into a monastery, which stood a strong chance of being suppressed? Whenever possible, the religious life was depicted—as is done again today by many—as a relic of superstition and ignorance. Under such conditions it is easy to imagine how vocations to the religious life would be few indeed in the time of Joseph and of his two immediate successors! Even after several of Joseph's decrees had been recalled after his death in 1790, the religious life had received such blows that vocations to it were greatly reduced in number. Add to this the wars with France and other nations which broke out in 1792, and we shall see that the period was a poor one indeed for obtaining new recruits to the religious life in Austria, which Josephinism did so much to discourage.

As we already know, Joseph had not been content merely to make religious life difficult and unattractive for new recruits. He positively forbade the mendicant orders to accept new members. On Sept 14, 1782, he had repeated the already given order to accept no new novices, and added that no more religious were to be advanced to higher orders, until His Majesty had—on paper, to his own majestic satisfaction decided how many priests were necessary—and permissible[252]). The

[251]) 384.

[252]) WINNER 155

good Joseph fondly imagined that such matters as the vocation of reasonable men and women can be determined by royal calculations!

We can sum up briefly Joseph's intentions with regard to monasteries, which he considered unnecessary. They should be either completely suppressed, or reduced in the number of their inhabitants. Future vocations of young men to the priesthood should be directed towards seminaries or universities, which would prepare them for the secular priesthood, rather than towards the religious life, which by Joseph and his « enlightened » bureaucrats was made the object of ill-concealed contempt. His calculations—as in so many other points—failed. Instead of steering young men away from the religious and into the secular priesthood, he succeeded only in the former, the negative, part of his project. In the latter part, he failed so miserably that the archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Migazzi felt contrained in 1786 to write openly to the impetuous emperor to warn him that a great shortage of priests—secular as well as regular—was the result of his monastic policies [253]). When other bishops as well repeated the same warning in the same year, the good Joseph was astounded! Had he not worked out carefully—on paper—a scheme to assure the exact number of priests needed—on paper—for the care of souls? [254])

The court monastery 1783

What concretely did Joseph II do to the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna, when he brought about the erection of a parish in the court church? In accordance with his « enlightened » ideas, he passed over the fifty-one priests in the monastery alongside of the church and conferred the pastorship upon the noble secular priest Joseph von Kanal, who had been a Jesuit before the suppression of his society in 1773. But from the priests of the community here, seven were given to him as cooperators. And the other seventy-one members of the community? According to Joseph's general plan, the number of religious was reduced by two thirds, so that—again on paper—thirty members were supposed to remain here—naturally with the prohibition to accept new members. Joseph's plan was evident: the monastery was not to be suppressed, but with the reduction of its numbers and the prohibition of accepting new members, it was sentenced to become an old men's home

[253]) *Ibid.* 226-227
[254]) *Ibid.* 227

and die out ! This is precisely what took place, as we shall see below. We should like to translate here from the German the exact wording of Joseph's decree for the court monastery on July 20, 1783 : « The local Augustinian monastery in the city (St. Augustine's) shall be retained, for help in the care of souls. But the number of religious shall be reduced from eighty-six to thirty » [253]).

The younger priests, who could be employed in the new parishes, were transferred into these. Many of them, seeing the futility of their situation—for which they were not responsable—decided to become secular priests during the following years [256]). Let us give just one example here, that of the then young discalced Augustinian friar, Wolfgang-aus a S.J. Nepomuceno. Born in Altlerchenfeld near Vienna on Feb. 10, 1752, with the civil name of Adam Joseph Zott, he became an Augustinian novice in Maria Brunn on March 31, 1772 [257]). Since the legislation of Maria Teresa, in 1770, anticipating the Josephinism of her son, demanded twenty-four years of age before religious profession [258]), Zott left Maria Brunn in 1773 to take up his studies of philosophy and theology in the court monastery of Vienna, where he made his profession on Feb. 11, 1776 [259]), exactly one day after his twenty-fourth birthday as the state legislation demanded. He was ordained by 1778, labored five years, probably in the court church of St. Augustine, as preacher and confessor. But with the reduction of the number of religious in the court monastery decreed by Joseph II in 1783, the young priest of thirty-one was sent as cooperator successively to Grossrussbach, Ulrichskirchen, and Loosdorf. He had received excellent marks as a student and had the best recommendations inside and outside the order, as was made clear in 1796, when he tried, though unsuccessfully, to become pastor of his native church of Altlerchenfeld [260]). He became a secular priest and died as pastor in Feldsberg on June 7, 1828 [261]).

This case of Zott was typical. How many young Augustinians, calced and discalced, like him were forced to accept the same fate ? They wished to remain Augustinian priests, but the suffocating legislation and spirit of Josephinism forced them out of their monasteries. And those

255) Verwaltungsarchiv, Wien, Kultus 526, nr. 353.

256) KOPALLIK, *op. cit.* 205-207.

257) *Nomina* 85-96, where the pagination skips from 85 to 96.

258) *Prot.* 7.545.

259) *Nomina* 87.

260) *Ibid.*; Ordinariatsarchiv, Wien, Pfarre Altlerchenfeld.

261) *Wiener Geistlicher Schematismus 1829*, 205.

who remained behind in the monasteries found themselves within a few years in a desperate condition—exactly as planned by Josephinism. No new young men entering, the young becoming old, and the old dying off! Is it surprising that both the calced and the discalced Augustinians died out in Austria under such conditions? The case of Adam Zott was repeated time and time again, with the result that the flourishing province of 1783 found itself not long afterwards decimated in numbers, overaged, and destined to perish shortly after the turn of the century, even though an occasional ray of light brightened the scene. Thus in 1802, when the monastery of the discalced Augustinians of Taxa in Bavaria had been suppressed by a hostile government, twenty-three religious found themselves deprived of their monastery and with no other monastery in Bavaria to which they could go. Each and every one of them expressed his desire, not to become secularized, but to remain in the religious life [262]). Only with permission of the Austrian government was this possible. The Austrian emperor Franz II, aware of the shortage of priests in his territories, gave them permission to come into his lands, and to be distributed amongst the still remaining monasteries of their order. We say « still remaining », for Joseph II had laid his heavy hand upon these monasteries of the discalced Augustians to suppress them : Prague, 1785; Rubland, 1786; Laibach, 1786. The Bavarian government showed its fixed resolution to suppress the other monasteries in its territory, and in fact did so in the following years.

Hence, even the temporary help derived for the Augustinians of the discalced congregation in Austria by the suppression of Taxa was only a drop in the bucket. It gave indeed momentary relief, but could not heal the desperate situation created not only by Joseph II, but by other causes also, such as the Napoleonic wars and by the contempt for the religious life which Josephinism had deliberately propagated. Four religious from Taxa were sent to Maria Brunn in 1802, seven to St. Johann bei Herberstein or to Fratting, and the remaining twelve to the court monastery of Vienna. The group contained both priests and lay brothers. But of the twelve sent to the court monastery, the majority were elderly and incapable of lending much help. The youngest priest amongst them, friar Ludovicus a S. Cruce (Ludwig

262) A.M. Schleglmann, *Geschichte der Säkularisation im rechtsrheinischen Bayern.* 2, Regensburg 1904, 350.

Lichtenstern), was indeed employed as a cooperator in the parish of St. Augustine. But he lost his life in a tragic accident, only seven years later, on April 18, 1809 [263]). The other eleven religious who had come with him to Vienna in 1802, had already preceded him or would soon follow him into the grave.

Maria Brunn from 1783

And the lovely place of pilgrimage, Maria Brunn, which had been so popular for a century and a half? Knowing the prejudice of Joseph II against such places, we could expect to see Maria Brunn on the list of monasteries to be suppressed. As a matter of fact, it was! But Joseph II often followed the cruel policy of taking a series of measures against the monasteries which he later would suppress entirely. Hence he issued on July 20, 1783 (the same day on which he issued like decrees for the calced and for the discalced Augustinians of Vienna) a decree which we translate from the German: « The Augustinians monastery of Maria Brunn shall not be suppressed. But the number of religious shall be reduced from thiry-two to the half of this number. Until this number is reached, no novice shall be received » [264]).

Hence, the first step in the annihilation of this monastery was taken. No novice could be received until sixteen members of the then existing community of thirty-two had left the monastery by death or for other reasons. How long would that be? Joseph II was supremely unconcerned! But then, following the pattern employed for other monasteries, he decided already in the following year 1784 to take the next and definite step: Maria Brunn was put on the list of monasteries destined for complete suppression. The providential intervention of the devout Princess Kinsky, however, provided one of the exceptionally few occasions when the hard headed monarch allowed himself to listen tolerantly to an expostulation. Since she enjoyed the personal friendship of Joseph and received frequent visits from him in her castle in Weidlingau near Maria Brunn, she respectfully allowed herself—few men would have taken this liberty—to indicate that the suppression of Maria Brunn would be a great loss for the piety of the thousands of Christians who visited the popular pilgrimage church—a good contemporary witness to the continued popularity of Maria Brunn as

263) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 50.

264) Verwaltungsarchiv, Wien, Kultus 530, nr. 1091. But cf. note 243

late as 1784. Instead of responding to the princess in his usual way, —with a note of ironic and flat refusal—Joseph himself attended mass in the church of Maria Brunn on the feast of the Assumption, August 15, to test the statement of Princess Kinsky. When he saw the great multitudes in the church and their devotion, he immediately gave the order to strike Maria Brunn from the list of monasteries to be suppressed [265]). But unfortunately for the continued vitality of Maria Brunn, Joseph refused to take a further step and recall his prohibition of receiving and educating new candidates. Hence, although the moment of extinction was delayed, it was not prevented, but rather assured by Joseph's prohibition, even though some years were necessary—for the young to become old, and for the old to die out! The final result was the same. No friars, no monastery.

For Joseph II, the continued existence of a monastic church meant that it assumed charge of a parish or at least that he considered it useful for help in parishes, In Maria Brunn, on March 25, 1784, the first pastor had been installed. The parish embraced not only Maria Brunn, but these near localities also : Weidlingau, Hadersdorf, Haimbach, Auhof, and Stainbruch. By way of exception, for this new parish out in the country, a discalced Augustinian was allowed to become pastor. The religious chosen was the Viennese, Narcissus Kollhund, born on Oct. 28, 1735. [266]). At his profession in Maria Brunn on March 22, 1754, he received the religious name of Norbertus a S. Anselmo. Death would prevent him from seeing the dissolution of his monastery, for he died at the comparitively early age of fifty-five on Aug. 27, 1791. This first pastor of Maria Brunn was buried there [267]).

At the erection of the parish three discalced Augustinian were appointed cooperators of the new pastor. In July of the first year 1784, the community made a report demanded by Joseph, who had limited its numbers. Unfortunately the report seems incomplete, for it mentions nineteen priests in the monastery, but nothing is said about lay brothers, some of whom were surely here of the nine reported in 1769 [268]). This is certain from the death registers, in which several lay brothers are found, and is further confirmed by the chronicle. But in any case,

[265]) H. Killian, *Mariabrunner Trilogie*, II. Teil, Band I, Wien 1968, 45-46, quoting a letter from friar Antonín Franzoni to the archiepiscopal consistorium.

[266]) *Gedenkbuch der Pfarre Maria Brunn* 6.

[267]) *Nomina* 71-72; *Sterbebuch der Pfarre Maria Brunn*, ad annum, 14.

[268]) Schiessl 54.

the days of the monastery, is spite of the erection of a parish manned by the Augustinians, were numbered. Death, increasing age, conditions produced by the wars with France which began in 1792, the crushing and frustrating legislation of Joseph and Josephinism which cut off for more than ten years every possible drop of the needed new blood from the community, and which even later systematically tried to keep young men from entering the religious life, would bring the community by the end of the eighteenth century into the same position as its parent monastery of St. Augustine's in the city—an overaged monastery, destined to die out sooner or later, for lack of the needed recruits. Even in the first year of the parish, 1784, the age and health of the priests were hardly favorable to hopes for the future. It is true that four of the nineteen were actively engaged in the new parish. But only three of the other priests at the most were capable of helping out in other parishes, according to the report made in this year. Only seven out of nineteen were completely capable ! It is true that eight other members were still able to hear confessions inMaria Brunn. But this seems to indicate that at least four priests in the monastery were too old or sick to give even this much help. Naturally, no novices had been here since four years : Joseph had forbidden their reception [269]).

Fault of the friars ?

A difficult question, which the present writer is unable to resolve from the remaining sources, is : just to what extent were the Josephinistic suppressions and legislation responsable for the giving up of the traditional practices in the monastery such as fasting, daily meditation in common, reading at table, silence, etc.? Under the priorship of friar Norbertus a S. Anselmo, 1781-1790, who was pastor since the foundation of the new parish in 1784, and who died while still exercising this function in 1791, these practics had been given up [270]). It seems that the question is too difficult to solve, without more contemporary witnesses than would enable us to appreciate the situation more fully. We are convinced that such evidence is at hand for the mentality of Joseph II, about which we have numberless sources, both of an official and of a personal nature. Such sources are sadly lacking for Maria Brunn and also for the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna at this time. Whether friar

[269]) Schiessl 55.

[270]) *Klosterchronik, Maria Brunn* 35.

Norbert as prior gave up these practices for his community in Maria Brunn from failure to carry on the spirit of his order, as Schiessl assumes [271]), or rather from the sheer force of circumstances—as is at least possible—we feel incapable of deciding. With an overaged community on the one hand, with the still capable minority of priests in the house on the other hand engaged in parochial labors, often irreconcilable with the practices of happier pre-Josephinistic times when religious superiors suffered less interference from the hostile government in their daily lives, just who were responsable? We prefer to leave this amongst the unanswered (if not unanswerable) questions of history. In any case, the fault-if fault there was—lay not alone with the prior, friar Norbert, but also with the Josephinistic legislation which ordered priors to be elected by their community, and with the community which not only elected him, but reelected him for a second time in 1784 and for a third time in 1787 [272]). Without wishing to make Joseph II responsable for every breach against the hitherto reigning discipline, we must in honesty insist upon this point : two of his laws (along with many others) caused havoc in monasteries and made it very difficult for superiors to rule their subjects according to the spirit of their order. The first was his decree of Nov. 30, 1784 that priors were to be elected every three years by their community [273]). Second, we must ask how it was possible to maintain many of the old customs of each order, when Joseph imposed the following law upon all of them : « Superiors or religious communities must delete or cover over such parts or expressions of their rules and constitutions, which contain anything contrary to present and future (!) orders of the prince of the land, and by no means shall they permit such things to be read in public » [274]). Perhaps we shall be accused making a bête noire out of Joseph II. Such is not our intention with regard to the unfortunate emperor, but this seems rather an inescapable conclusion forced upon us by his ill-advised treatment of the monastic life.

We invite the reader to peruse our translation of the report courageously submitted to the emperor Leopold II in 1790 by the bishop of St. Pölten, Johann Heinrich Kerens, when the emperor had invited the Austrian bishops in the same year to expose their views about

271) *Op. cit.* 56-57.

272) *Klosterchronik, Maria Brunn* 9,14,19.

273) Winner 220.

274) Quoted by Winner, *ibid.*

remedies for the existing lack of priests and, particularly, about the way in which new candidates could be acqured for the still existing monasteries—for which the government itself had made such acquisition imposible ! The opinion of Bishop Kerens is especially valuable as the report of an eye witness and of a bishop who saw how much permanent damage had been inflicted upon monastic life in Austria by Josephinism. These are his words about the sad condition of religious orders under the Josephinistic system :

> Their new priests come out of the General Seminary, where they were forced until now to take their entire course of studies, into the monasteries, often with corrupted heart and unbending spirit. The members of the monasteries, since they receive from the court liberty to elect a superior every three years without any consultation of the ordinariate, often elect by intrigues a good-for-nothing, from whom they have nothing to fear; in any case, they elect a man who is dependent upon them, who must do many things according to their wishes, in order not to be deposed three years later from his office. Those religious who are degenerated and disobedient are always listened to by officials against their superiors, and sometimes even receive protection when they are discontent through their own fault. In this way, even righteous superiors are prevented from insisting on the house discipline through fear of coming innocently into molestations and humiliating investigations [275]).

Cardinal Migazzi, archbishophof of Vienna, expressed himself in like manner on the same occasion [276]).

Can it be said that the abuses existing in the monasteries of his time lay behind the anti-monastic legislation of Joseph II ? Abuses unquestionably existed in monasteries, as in all other classes of society high and low, just as they exist today and will always exist where human beings are found. This appears in the words of Bishop Kerens quoted above. But it would be an entirely false conclusion to state that such abuses were the chief cause of Joseph's legislation, still less that they justified it. The fact is that the hopelessly ill-advised decrees of Joseph and Josephininsm against monasteries often increased abuses, instead of eradicating them, as Bishop Kerens openly said in 1790, and as we have quoted him, using his exact words about the evil effects of the general seminaries. And we must ask : was Joseph's legislation against monasteries determined by existing abuses, or

[275]) Quoted by WINNER 230-231.

[276]) WINNER 230.

rather by his « enlightened » conviction that the practices of religious life were «useless to society »—according to Josephinistic ideas ? Here the sources indicate that Josephinistic blows against the monastic life were not inspired by existing abuses, but rather by the sad ignorance on the part of Joseph and his officials about the essence of monastic life. If the desire to correct real abuses lay behind Josephnistic suppression of monasteries, then why were these abuses not cited in official proclamations of Josephinistic doctrine with regard to monasteries, such as the explanations of Kaunitz—the counsellor and mouthpiece of Joseph—to the papal nuntius in 1781 [277] ? How could the papal nuntius Garampi and the archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Migazzi, have spoken with such praise about the Austrian monasteries of their time, if they had been centres of abuse ? [278].

Death Agony

The figure of Joseph II appeared and then disappeared. But Shakespeare's dictum is often sadly verified : « The evil men do lives after them, the good is often interred with their bones ». So it was with Joseph's effects on monastic life in the Austrian lands after his death in 1790. Some of his unhappy decisions were indeed reversed by his two successors, Leopold II and Franz II. Yet some of the strangling measures remained. For instance, the prohibition to have direct contact with Roman or other foreign superiors was not recalled until 1855, when the concordat was made between the Holy See and Austria [279]. In any case, it was already too late for many monasteries. Legislation could drive men and women out of their monateries overnight. It could not create new vocations to the religious life. It could destroy monasteries but not rebuild them. The campaign of Joseph II and his collaborators such as Kaunitz against the religious life resulted from and produced further a spirit which remained even after their disappearance from the political scene. Hence, when Leopold II on May 20,1790 abolished the Josephinistic general seminaries, which had systematically poked fun at the religious life, [280] and permitted the reopnening of monastic shools within the orders themselves, although with a good number of

277) Cf. WINNER 76-87.

278) *Ibid.* 76-78.

279) K. BIHLMEYER and H. TÜCHLE, *Kirchengeschichte* 3, Paderborn 1956, 337.

280) WINNER 222-232.

restrictions, a howl of protest was raised by the commission of studies, which called monastic study houses « schools of superstition and fanaticism », applying to them the contemptuous name of « hedgeschools »[281]). But it was easier to permit the reopening of monastic schools than to carry it out in practice. The number, not only of regular, but of secular priests and candidates to the priesthood had suffered a serious setback during the reign of Joseph II. Even in the « holy land Tyrol », in the year 1794, no more than eleven candidates for the priesthood were found. The archdiocese of Vienna needed, accorded to Joseph II's paper calculations, thirty-one new priests pro year. Instead of the thirty-one assured by his system—on paper—only an average of ten pro year was forthcoming [282]). Vocations are not decided on paper. And when the state legislates for religious communities, in order to change radically their way of life from that established by a saintly founder to a new way worked out with open contempt for the previous system, we can hardly wonder that every existing religious order in Austria suffered a loss in personnel; even teaching-orders, such as the Piarists, who had received far fewer blows from Josephinism than other orders decreased in numbers [383]).

Leopold II however, although he had closed the general seminaries established by his deceased brother Joseph II, failed to take the next step necessary to save large numbers of monasteries. He kept in vigor the Josephinistic laws about receiving new members ! He held on to the disastrous « numerus fixus » established by his brother :the number of religious determined—on paper—by Joseph II could not be exceeded. And , so long as a community had a single member over the numerus fixus—even though it might be, and usually was due to the presence in the community of elderly priests and brothers who had performed their tasks as long as they were able—no new recruits to the monastery could be received.

Under Leopold's successor, Franz II, the number of religious in the still existing monasteries had sunk so low that the emperor himself in 1794 repeatedly encouraged the prior of the monastery in Vienna to accept new vocations. But this was more easily said than done. And the government itself still persisted in its policy of deterrring young candidates to the priesthood from entering a religious order. Let us give one flagrant example. To remedy the shortage of priestly vocations,

281) Tomek 510.

282) *Ibid.* 510-511.

283) Winner 227.

it was decided to give scholarships, as we call them today, to candidates to the priesthood—but only for the secular priesthood!! So determined was the government to grant no such help to religious orders, that it took positive steps to prevent such scholarships for young men who might later decide to enter a religious order. Not only did a court decree of Feb. 17, 1797 make it very difficult to take such a step, it went further and explicitly ordered for such a case the paying back of the scholarship money. This was done even though all available priests, especially from the mendicant orders to whom the Augustinians belonged, were taken from their monasteries to serve in parishes and do the same work required of secular priests in the same position [284]). A Josephistic government had no time for religious priests!

The result was inevitable. The number of religious in both monasteries of the discalced Augustinians in Vienna sank constantly. The seventy-eight religious found in the court monastery in 1783 had declined to forty-seven by 1791 [285]). By 1793, there were thirty-three priests in the monastery [286]). But the best proof that most of these were already overaged is found in the death registers of the monastery. Thus between 1784 and 1805, no less than seventy-one Augustinians had died in this monastery, of whom the vast majority were over sixty years of age! The younger priests of the suppressed or « reduced » monasteries were sent, we shall recall, into various parishes to help out in the shortage of priests which Joseph's inflexible and ill-advised legislation had produced. But the old and sick priests and lay brothers were ordered into the court monastery, which had to support them until their death. Hence the large number of elderly and sickly religious in the court monastery—and the extraordinarily large number of deaths in this period.

Indeed, by 1798, the end of the court monastery seemed to have arrived. The emperor, Franz II, had decided to suppress it and to transfer the old and sickly religious from the court monastery of Vienna into the almost empty monastery of Maria Brunn [287]). Was Maria Brunn also practically empty of religious by this time? Yes, and this had been explicitly stated in the preceding year 1797 by the government when it demanded a part of the monastery for a military hospital. The ordinariate

284) *Ibid.* 238.

285) Ordinariatsarchiv, Wien, Augustiner in der Stadt 14. 12.

286) *Ibid.* 14.13.

287) *Klosterchronik, Maria Brunn* 72; SCHIESSL 60.

ordered at this time the Augustinians of Maria Brunn to move into the no longer needed novitiate part of their building, to make room for the sick and wounded soldiers [288]).

For the last time, to avoid suppression, the discalced Augustinians of the court monastery made in 1798 another successful appeal to the emperor and to the local bishop. The latter on March 5, 1798 begged the emperor not to suppress the monastery which gave—he stated—excellent service in the care of souls in the entire city [289]). This can be better interpreted in the light of a report made a few years earlier by the prior of the court monastery, friar Victorinus ab Immaculata Conceptione, in which he stated that eight priests of the monastery were then cooperators in the court church, three others lived in other regions as cooperators, one was chaplain in the Vienna prison [290]). The bishop therefore not only begged the emperor not to suppress the court monastery, but also to put a final end to all suppressions of monasteries, since such suppressions had brought—they are the words of the archbishop—such damage to religion. The emperor on March 8, 1798 recalled the decree of suppression [291]).

Many secularizations

It would have been more than extraordinary if monastic discipline had remained intact to the end under the ridiculous situation into which Josephinism had brought the monasteries. Hence, in the early years of the nineteenth century, we find only a shell of the former flourishing monastic life. We believe that we are not reading unjustifiably into the minds of these Augustinian religious when we say that they—like their calced brethren on the Landstrasse—saw the handwriting upon the wall, and decided that the only solution was to be honorable and await the inevitable extinction as a province, even though many former practices of their religious life disappeared. But there was one notable difference. The calced Augustinians on the Landstrasse had been through no fault of their own completely deprived of the habitable parts of their monastery through the dispositions, first of Maria Theresa, and then of her son Joseph II,

288) Schiessl 59

289) Ordinariatsarchiv, Wien, Augustiner in der Stadt 14.5.

290) *Ibid.* 14.12.

291) *Klosterchronik, Maria Brunn* 74.

then by the French wars. When they saw that it was useless to try to restore the ridiculously small and impossibly situated, ruined portion of it which still remained, the six remaining calced Augustinian priests on the Landstrasse asked in 1812 for secularization, and so led to the suppression of their « monastery »—which the government itself stated was a monastery in name only [292]). The discalced Augustinians were in this sense more fortunate, theat they were left in at least parts of their two monasteries, even though here also temporary or permanent encroachments were made. We have already seen how in 1797 a goodly part of the monastery of Maria Brunn was employed as a military hospital. Then, since the noble students of the Theresianum took their summer vacations here, dispensation from the laws of cloister was requested and granted [293]). Again in 1799 Maria Brunn was employed as a military hospital. In 1805 and 1809 the French armies brought the monastery into ruinous condition, although a few religious could still dwell here [294]). In the court monastery also Russian captives were quartered and died in 1805 [295]). The famous institute for secular priests in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which lasted until 1918, known as the Frintaneum in honor of the founder Jakob Frint, little by little took over great parts of the monastery. It was founded in 1816 and by 1820 was requesting and obtaining more and more of the rooms which had formerly housed more than eighty religious. But in these early years of the Frintaneum the community now consisted of only six Augustinian priests, who had to be assisted by a young secular priest [296]). The fate of Maria Brunn by this year 1820 was even more pitiful. Only two priests and no laybrothers were there! One of them was seventy-six years old, the other a sickly hypochondriac [297]). In 1813 the greater part of Maria Brunn had been taken over by the institute of forestry [298]). The building was even then in so miserable a condition that it cost the government great sums to make the necessary repairs, especially on the roof.

292) See RENNHOFER 247-253; and *Kl.* 533.

293) Klosterchronik, Maria Brunn 87; SCHIESSL 63.

294) WINNER 280.

295) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 22 sqq.

296) Gavigan, *theol.* 99.

297) *Ibid.* 98

298) KILLIAN, *op. cit.* 23-24.

Sixty-five rooms were taken over in the aggreement signed on July 15, 1813 for the forest institute [299]).

But even in these last sad days for both monasteries there were gleams of divine and human love that lessen the sadness of the inevitable extinction of the monasteries and of the Germano-Bohemian province of the discalced Augustinians. The figure of the Viennese, friar Anton Franzoni, is particularly attractive. We see in him the sadness produced by the hard blows of fate against his beloved monastery of Vienna and his order, but at the same time a Christian determination to continue on to the end, convinced that he was doing his duty to God and man. Born in Vienna on July 1, 1749, and professed in Maria Brunn on May 19, 1766 with the monastic name of friar Antoninus a S. Antonio Paduano, he had been ordained in 1772, in the still gloriously flourishing days of his order in his native city [300]). What a story he could have told! We should like to translate here a part of a Latin letter which he wrote on Sept. 1, 1820 to the archiepiscopal consistory of Vienna [301]). The consistory had written to ask him if he could lodge in the court monastery of Vienna in which he was prior—as well as pastor and « provincial administrator » for the few remaining discalced Augustinians »—three lay brothers, the last inhabitants of the suppressed monastery of St. Johann bei Herberstein. Here is a part of his answer, which gives a precious insight into his character and feelings :

I should gladly accept them if it were possible. But this is out of the question. For in the convent of Maria Brunn are only two priests, of whom one is the pastor, seventy-seven years old, the other the superior. Every day there is discussion about its complete suppression... hence it will be necessary to house the aged friar Angelikus in our house here, where the ecclesiastical institute [the Frintaneum] is lodged for the last four years. We have already been forced to turn over to the institute the complete second, third and forth stories. But since its numbers increase daily, it took last year six empty rooms on the first floor also. Hence we now have the same number of rooms as we have religious, plus the room which must be reserved for Friar Angelikus [302]). Surely, it can not be demanded, in order to make

[299]) Killian, ibid 23. The text is printed, *ibid.*, vol. II. 65-66.

[300]) *Wiener Geistlicher Schematismus* 1823, 17.

[301]) The original is found in the diocesan archives of Gratz, Klosterakten II-F-8. We have published it in *theol.* 77-80.

[302]) This was Angelikus Rest, of whom we have treated in *theol.* 78, note 7. He was born in Bavaria in 1744, and died in Vienna on Sept. 18,1828.

room for the three brothers, that two dwell together in one room, since we are all elderly, decrepit, and hence often sick. However, even otherwise, it is not advisable to receive these brothers into our monastery, where the same fate awaits them, since the complete suppression of the monastery has been decided for just as soon as we can no longer administer the parish. To stave off this suppression, although I am in my seventy-second year and my strength is exhausted, I continue as pastor until death calls me or severe sickness impedes me.

According to his wish, expressed in another part of this letter, friar Antoninus died before his monastery was suppressed. We allow ourselves to refer the news of to his death, which occurred on July 7, 1824, from the registers of the parish of St. Augustine [303]). Whereas usually these registers merely state for the deceased the date and cause of his death and the place of burial, they make a shining exception for friar Antoninus. On his burial day, July 9, his funeral cortege had to be conducted from the church of St. Augustine to the main street—the Kärntnerstrasse—and then through a series of side streets for the benefit of his grieving friends and especially of the poor to whom he had been so kind during his life. On this occasion the good was not interred with his bones!

Dissolution

Skipping over many details, we hasten to the end. It was decided to turn over Maria Brunn to the sscular clergy in 1833 [304]). Only one discalced Augustinian was left here by 1829, and the house was almost completely occupied by the institute of forestry. Its suppression was decreed on Sept 19, 1829, ironically enough the vigil of the feast of St. Eustace, the day which had here witnessed so many impressive celebrations by the imperial huntsmen [305]).

In the year of Maria Brunn's suppression, 1829, two priests and three lay brothers were still in the court monastery of Vienna. Their average age was seventy. A long cry from the days of Abraham a Sancta Clara, or even of Maria Theresa! As the discalced Augustinians had died off in the parish church here, their places as cooperators had been taken by secular priests. By 1836, there was only one Augustinian priest remaining, with three lay brothers. The priest, friar Michael

303) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 81.
304) KILLIAN, *op. cit.* II., 52.
305) *Ibid.* 50

ab omnibus sanctis (Josef Böck) served as cooperator in the parish until this year. He was German rather than Austrian. When Joseph II in 1782 had forced the Austrian monasteries to sever their ties with monasteries in other lands, the Bavarian monastery of Taxa was separated by this legislation from the monasteries of Vienna. But when Taxa was suppressed in 1802, as we have seen above, the whole community of twenty-three received permission from Franz II to come into his lands. The crying need of priests brought this nephew of Joseph II to take such a step. In this way, friar Michael had come to the Viennese monastery in 1802 as a healthy young priest of thirty-five, to serve as co-operator in the church of St. Augustine [306]). He had served in various other capacities also in church and monastery for over thirty years. Now in 1836, approaching seventy years of age, he requested permission to go into pension. With the granting of the royal permission on Nov. 21 of the same year, the last discalced Augustinian priest had ceased to function in the church which his predecessors had taken over from the calced Augustinians in 1630 [307]). The discalced Augustinians had flourished for a century and a half, before Joseph turned his unfavorable attention to them. Friar Michael died in the same monastery on March 26, 1837 [308]). As stated above, three lay brothers were still in the monastery when friar Michael requested his pension. Two of them chose to spend the evening of their lives in the one remaining monastery of the discalced Augustinians north of the Alps, that of Schlüsselberg [309]). The third remained behind in the court monastery, Brother Bonaventura Göschl, sixty years of age, who had been for many years the youngest member of the community. He died here in the monastery on Apr. 23, 1844 [310]). Three days later he was buried. The discalced Augustinians were gone.

Epilogue

Of the fourteen monasteries of the discalced Augustinians which formed the once flourishing Germano-Bohemian province, only one

[306]) A.M. Schleglmann, *Geschichte der Säkularisation im rechtsrheinischen Bayern*, 2, Regensburg 1904, 352-356.

[307]) Winner 281-282.

[308]) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 95.

[309]) Wolfsgruber, *Die Auflösung des Hofklosters zum heiligen Augustin*, in *Das Vaterland* 1896, Nr. 298.

[310]) *Sterbebuch der Pfarre St. Augustin*, ad annum, 184.

remained. This was the monastery of Schlüsselburg in Bohemia, which in 1911 had five priests and four lay brothers [311]). But with the suppression of all monasteries by the communists in Chechoslovakia after the second world war, this last monastery of the northern province of the Italian-German congregation of the discalced Augustinians ceased to exist. The church of St. Augustine in Vienna was given in 1836 entirely to the secular clergy. The large monastery still existing served in part as parish house, in part was employed by the Frintaneum and the Austrian National Library. Even before its dissolution, parts of the court monastery had been incorporated into the library or into the neighboring Albertina. The secular clergy remains to this day in the church of Maria Brunn, where the monastery is employed partially for the institute of forestry, partially for private families.

But the lovely Augustinian church of Vienna was not destined to remain permanently deprived of Augustinian friars. The calced Augustinians of the Bohemian province, made up of religious of Germanic and others of Slavic race from Bohemia and Moravia, had managed to survive the period of Josephinism and its sequels, even though some of their monasteries also had been suppressed. But sufficiently many of them were employed in parishes and schools to prevent their complete suppression. After the second world war, the Germanic religious were driven out of their country, whereas the Slavic confrères were forcibly retained behind the iron curtain. 'Tis an all wind that blows nobody any good. Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, kindly received the Sudeten German priests who had been exiled from their country. In 1951 he turned over to them the church of St. Augustine in Vienna where their Augustinian predecessors had resided from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. After an interval of one hundred and seven years, the Augustinian monastery—at least the very small part of it that now functions as monastery and parish quarters—saw again the familiar Augustinian habit. The times are difficult for priestly and religious vocations. But trust in God is a virtue required of every Christian. The new Augustinian inhabitants of the church and monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna face the future with the humble and prayerful intention of serving God and their fellow men.

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311) A. Zak, *Österreichisches Klosterbuch*, Wien 1911, 209 and 446.