The Augustinian Province of Bohemia-Austria, 1604-1637 *)

Since no special study with which we are acquainted has been devoted to the short-lived province of Bohemia and Austria, we shall try to present here an introductory sketch as a modest addition to the history of the Augustinian order. Although the sources at our disposal are neither so numerous nor so critical as we should wish, we hope to make at least a slight contribution to a hitherto neglected subject.

* List of Abbreviations : AA = *Analecta Augstiniana*, 1-32, Roma 1905 ff.; Aa = *Notizie circa le provincie, congregationi e conventi di tutta la nostra Religione*, in AGR, Roma, 1266 ff.; AGR = Archivio generalizio dell'ordine agostiniano, Roma; Alph. = *Alphabetum Felicis Milensii*, Pragae 1613; ANV = Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna, in AV; ASW, Kl. A. = Archiv der Stadt Wien, Klosterakten; *Aug.* = *Augustinianum*, Romae 1961 ff.; *Auga.* = *Augustiniana, Revue trimestrielle pour l'étude de S. Augustin et de l'Ordre des Augustins*, Heverlee-Louvain 1951 ff.; AV = Archivio Vaticano; Br. = Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, ms. II. 2590; C-L = *Nicolai Crusenii O.S.A. pars tertia Monastici Augustiniani ... cum additamentis ... Josephi Lanteri*, Vallisoleti 1890; Clm = *Codex latinus monacensis*; Dd = *Registrum priorum generalium*, in AGR, Romae 1357 ff.; GAVIGAN, *de primo* = J. J. GAVIGAN, *De primo augustiniano rectore provinciae Austriae*, in AA 32 (1969) 255-321; idem, *Disc.* = *The Discalced Augustinians in Vienna*, in *Auga.* 20 (1970) 495-580; idem, *doct.* = *De doctoribus theologiae O.S.A. in universitate vindobonensi*, in *Aug.* 5 (1965) 271-364; idem., *Epp.* = *Epistulae inter priores generales O.S.A. atque imperatores austriacos annis 1635-1671 missae*, in *Auga.* 18 (1968) 425-513; idem, *theol.* = *De theologiae professoribus augustinianis universitatis graecensis*, in *Auga.* 17 (1967) 333-388, and 18 (1968) 39-81; idem, *Notes* = *Notes on the Augustinian Monastery in Baden*, in *Auga.* 19 (1969) 583-596; idem, *Übergabe* = *Die Übergabe des Wiener Augustinerklosters an die Barfüsser 1630*, in *Festschrift Franz Loidl*, 2, Wien 1970, 132-154; JANETSCHEK = C. JANETSCHEK, *Das Augustiner-Eremitenstift S. Thomas in Brünn*, Erster Band, Brünn 1898; KNEZE = B. KNEZE, *Urbarium ... coenobii pivoniensis seu stockensis Ord. Fr. Erem. S.P. Augustini*, Stockau 1753; KR. = *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Ord. Fr. Erem. S.P. Aug ... in Bohemia existentium tripartitus ... conscriptus an. Dom. 1800 ... a P. Pachomio Kreybich ad S. Thomae [Pragae] Subpriore*; Kunzelmann = A. KUNZELMANN, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, Erster und zweiter Bände, Würzburg 1969-1970; L-B = *Monastici Augustiniani ... Nicolai Crusenii continuatio atque ad illud additamenta ... auctore ... Thyrso López Bardón*, Vallisoleti 1904; *Matr.* = *Protocollum episcopatus viennensis ... in quo continetur matricula ordinandorum*, in Ordinariatsarchiv, Vienna; ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; PASTOR = L. VON PASTOR, *Ge-*

§ 1. *The Bavarian Province*

At the end of the thirteenth century, quite probably 1299, the widely extended German province of the Augustinian order was divided into four, the provinces of Cologne, of the Rheinland and Swabia, of Thuringia and Saxony, and of « Bavaria » [1]). Of these four provinces, that of Bavaria was territorially the most extended, so that it was necessary to subdivide it in a year unknown to us into nine districts : Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Styria and Carinthia, Polonia, Massovia, and Russia [2]).

Between this division into districts and the period of Luther's revolt against the church, many blows of fortune had to be sustained by the monasteries of the Bavarian province. From these blows the two districts which particularly interest us in this study were not exempted. It is not our purpose to present here the long list of misfortunes suffered by the Augustinian monasteries in the Bohemian district during the Hussite and Protestant troubles, and by the monasteries in the Austrian district in the sixteenth century. This story has been briefly told elsewhere [3]). But it will be useful to point out the miserable state of both districts at the beginning of the seventeenth

schichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 16 Bände, Freiburg im Breisgau 1985 ff.; PERINI = D. PERINI, *Bibliographia augustiniana cum notis biographicis, Scriptores itali*, 4 volumes, Firenze 1929-1938; Rennhofer = F. RENNHOFER, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien*, Würzburg 1956; idem, *Kl. = Augustinerklöster in Osterreich*, in *Auga*. 6 (1956) 490-536; SLADEK = P. SLADEK, *Die Augustiner in Böhmen*, in *St. Augustin 430-1930*, Würzburg 1930, 219-224; STARZER = A. STARZER, *Geschichte der landesfürstlichen Stadt Korneuburg*, Korneuburg 1899; ZEISSL = F. ZEISSL, *Das ehemalige Augustinerkloster in Korneuburg*, in *Korneuburger Kulturnachrichten*, Sondernummer 1965, Heft 2,3-51.

[1]) See KUNZELMANN, 2.4-6, for a description of the territories included in these provinces. The names of the provinces do not express all the territories included. For instance, the monasteries in present-day Switzerland belonged to the Rhenano-Swabian province, whereas the monasteries of present-day Belgium and Holland belonged to the province of Cologne. This is even more striking in the case of the Bavarian province, as we point out in the text.

[2]) We have preserved the Latin names for the districts, since they do not exactly correspond to present-day geographical divisions. See A. HÖGGMAYR, *Catalogus priorum provincialium ord. E.S. Aug* ... Monachii 1729, 11-12 for a description of the districts.

[3]) See SLADEK 260-261 for the monasteries in Bohemia, and Gavigan, de primo 260-261 for those in the district of Austria and Styro-Carinthia.

century in order to see whey they were in 1604 separated from the Bavarian province and united into a new province, that of Bohemia and Austria [4]).

§ 2. *Threat of extinction*

Let us begin with the Austrian district. At the time of Luther's outbreak this district had possessed monasteries in Vienna, Baden bei Wien, Korneuburg, Klosterneuburg, Mareck, and Bruck an der Leytha [5]). In Bohemia about the same time the order possessed monasteries in Prague (the monastery of St. Thomas and that of St. Benigna), Schopka or Melnik, Stockau (recovered by 1528), Taus, Weiswasser, and Rotschov [6]). Naturally we do not include in this list those monasteries in Bohemia which had previously been lost to the order, for instance that of Leitomischl and of Schüttenhofen, which were lost during the Hussite troubles.

In the Austrian district the Turks burned the house in Klosterneuburg in 1529, and by 1546 the only monastery of the Austrian district which remained in the hands of the Augustinians was that of Vienna. Hence, the Austrian district lost five of its six monasteries within less than twenty years [7]). It is true that the monastery of Baden had been recovered before the end of the sixteenth century, but it was often under the same prior as the monastery in Vienna, so great was the lack of subjects. This by no means indicates that the majority of Augustinians in Austria abandoned the Catholic church after Luther's revolt. It is however true that an undetermined number of Augustinians, in common with many members of the other orders, of the seculary clergy and laity accepted Protestantism at this time [8]). But the real reason why Augustinians and other orders in Austria had few or no German-speaking religious to direct their monasteries was simply that the monasteries had earlier in the century either been destroyed or snatched from the hands of the order — as we have

[4]) To the monasteries of Moravia, theoretically included in the new province founded in 1604, we hope to devote a special study in the near future.

[5]) GAVIGAN, *de primo* 256.

[6]) KR. 297, 304, 310, 322-323.

[7]) See GAVIGAN, *de primo* 260-261 for the exact dates.

[8]) In a not yet published study, *Geschichte des Wiener Augustinerklosters in der nachlutherischen Zeit*, we go into this subject in some detail.

just remarked in the case of five out of the six Augustinian monasteries of the Austrian district. Since vocations in a decatholicized region were pitifully few for the religious orders and for the secular clergy in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was inevitable that the ranks thinned by death showed a constantly decreasing rate. A young Augustinian of twenty-five years of age in 1517 would have been 108 years old at the end of the century — and we know of no such case! The Austrian district therefore, we may say without fear of exaggeration, came within a hair's breadth of disappearing, precisely as the Hungarian province of more than twenty monasteries was wiped out by the Protestants, and especially by the Turks, in the sixteenth century. It is well to bear this fact in mind. Then we shall more easily understand why the fearfully decimated Austrian district played a definitely secondary role in the province of Bohemia and Austria which was founded in 1604 — and in which at the start only the two monasteries of Vienna and Baden were Austrian. And in the monastery of Baden at this time was a pitifully small community [9]!

§ 3. *Survival in Bohemia*

The Bohemian Augustinians, even though they also suffered in the turmoil that followed Luther's rebellion, were able to begin the seventeenth century with five monasteries, only two less than the number which they had possessed in 1528, after the previously lost monastery of Stockau had been at least in part recovered. It is true that the so-called « Island-Monastery of St. Benigna » — so named because it was believed to possess the relics of a saint of this name — had been abandoned about the middle of the sixteenth century and would not be recovered until 1676 [10]. But in compensation the Augustinian friars had taken over in 1565 the convent of Augustinian nuns in the convent of St. Catherine in Prague after the death of its last prioress and inhabitant, the Augustinian Sister Ludmilla. It remained over a hundred years in close connection with the monastery of St. Thomas in the same city, and some times both monasteries were under a single prior, who resided in St. Thomas, and designated one

[9] U. Anzinger, *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Baden*, in *Auga.* 18 (1968) 311-320.

[10] AA 3 (1909-1910) 235; Kr. 300.

of his priests to direct the sacred functions in the chapel of St. Catherine [11]).

Even this number — five monasteries and four communities — Prague, Schopka, Stockau and Rotschov — was far from formidable, but it presented distinct advantages over the situation of the Augustinians in the Austrian district where there were only two monasteries — Vienna and Baden — and at times only one community, since the prior of Vienna sometimes had to serve as superior in Baden also [12]) ! It must already be clear to the reader a priori that there would be little question about which group, the Austrian or the Bohemian, would play the chief role in the event that they should be united into one province. Since exactly such a union took place in 1604, the two struggling Austrian monasteries (increased to three by the recovery in 1623 of the monastery of Korneuburg) [13]) found themselves in the unpleasant position of being a donkey yoked with an ox. The weaker part followed the stronger willy nilly. Precisely this disadvantage for the Austrians made the yoke a galling one, which they on more than one occassion tried to shake off. Success would crown their persistent efforts in 1637.

§ 4. *Union of Bohemian and Austrian monasteries 1604*

We should recall that the Austrian emperor Rudolph II (1576-1612) resided for many years in Prague. His Bohemian subjects in the five Augustinian monasteries, whose names are already known to us, were from the second half of the sixteenth century far from satisfied with the hitherto prevailing arrangement of provincial distribution. The monasteries were a part of the widely extended Bavarian province of the order. To add to the difficulty — and to the dissatisfaction — the provincials or the vicars general — or both — who had ruled the Bavarian province for about forty years were often foreigners from Latin countries, who were woefully ignorant of the Germanic or Bohemian tongue. These superiors had usually resided in Vienna. From this capital city they were obliged to make canonical visitations of all the monasteries in the far-flung Bavarian

[11]) Kr. 322-323.

[12]) Anzinger, *art. cit.*, 315-317.

[13]) Rennhofer, *Kl.*, 516.

province. Given the difficult travel possibilities of those days, it is easy to understand how a provincial making his visitation in Munich or Regensburg could hardly be well informed of current developments in Vienna or Prague — to mention nothing of the smaller monasteries of the province [14]). The Polish monasteries of the order had succeeded in 1547 in obtaining the status of a separate province, chiefly because they were never or very rarely visited by the superiors of the Bavarian province to which they had hitherto belonged. Now it was the turn of the Bohemian monasteries to obtain a like separation. But it was the lot of the two struggling Austrian monasteries of Vienna and Baden to be made a part of the new arrangement!

It is most interesting to note what a preponderant role the Habsburg monarchs played in the foundation of Augustinian provinces in their lands. Although we are not in a position to visit conveniently the Augustinian archives of Prague, which are now in communist hands, we have the assurance of at least one almost contemporary source [15] and of an earlier confrere who did have such an opportunity [16] that the emperor Rudolph II made known to the general of the Augustinian order in 1604 his wish — practically a command — that the superior of the Bohemian monasteries should be himself a Bohemian. Unfortunately the documents of the Roman archives of the order which would further explain this point have been lost — or at least have escaped our researches up to the present. In any event, we have no reason for doubting the statement about Rudolph's disposition in 1604, even though no source is cited for this statement, since it agrees with the earlier testimony. And even under the assumption that the statment were not trustworthy, other reliable documents of the period, which we shall cite, leave no doubt upon this point, that the monasteries of Bohemia and Austria were united into a single province in 1604.

[14]) An excellent example can be cited for the year 1565, when the embarassed provincial, Giacomo d'Elparo, wrote from Vienna on Oct. 12 to the duke of Bavaria, expressing his regret that the the monastery of München had been, without fra Giacomo's knowledge, eight months without a superior! He immediately appointed a vicar by mail. Kreisarchiv, München, Klosterliteralien, Fasz., 408, nº 1.

[15]) Br. 88r.

[16]) B.B., in AA 3 (1909-1910) 391.

§ 5. *Active Vicar General Milensio 1602-1608*

The general of the Augustinian order between 1602 and 1607 was Ippolito Fabriani da Ravenna. He himself had been vicar general in Germany in the nineties of the sixteenth century [17]). In the first year of his generalate, 1602, he appointed as vicar general for the Augustinians in « Germany » — which included in the usage of the Roman superiors all countries of Germanic tongue — the capable and ambitious young native of Laurino in the kingdom of Naples, Felice Milensio [18]). Milensio crossed the Alps in the first year of his administration, which lasted for two terms of three years, that is until 1608 [19]). In his visitations of the various monasteries of the widely extended Bavarian province Milensio — aided by Rudolph's decree of 1604 that the Bohemian monasteries should have a Bohemian superior — summoned for Dec. 1 of this year the superiors of the two Austrian and the five Bohemian monasteries to the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague. We are unable to state whether the two Moravian priors also, who were summoned at the same time, attended the chapter in Prague. But in any case, they proved themselves unwilling to form a part of the new province and succeeding in having themselves recognized as a distinct district, as we hope to show in a later study.

The separation of the two Austrian and the five Bohemian monasteries from the Bavarian province was decreed in the chapter of Dec.1, as well as their formation into the new province of Bohemia and Austria, as it was later officially called, after it was clear that Moravia wished to form no part of it. And naturally, according to the emperor's wish, the unanimously elected new provincial was Johannes Baptist Switavsky a Bochova, with the German name of Kristl von Bochau, and the latinized name of Chrystellius [20]). We shall refer to him by

[17]) *Cf.* Perini D., p. 47.

[18]) We have written his life up until 1608 in the *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, Felice Milensio, Mitgründer des Müllner Klosters, Sein Lebensweg bis 1608*, scheduled for publication soon.

[19]) Even though a successor was appointed for him in the late summer of 1607, Aurelio da Piombino. This superior however visited only the province of Styro-Carinthia and did not present himself in the other northern provinces, where Milensio therefore remained until May 1608 as vicar general.

[20]) AA 3 (1909-1910) 391; Kr. 47-48 for a short biography.

the German name Kristl. This Bohemian provincial was destined to rule the short-lived province for a goodly portion of its duration, as we shall see below. Since his chief interest was Prague and Bohemia rather than the Austrian monasteries of the province, the union was found most displeasing to the Austrian monasteries, which lost no chance to complain about the disadvantageous union with the Bohemian monasteries. So we can see from the start that the province hardly had great prospects of lasting for a long time. And we can hardly be surprised to learn that it existed for only 32 years, Dec. 1604 to January 1637.

By the departure of Milensio from Germany in 1608 and with the death of Rudolph II in 1612, the two persons chiefly involved in the formation of this province disappeared from the scene. The vicar general Milensio seems to have understood the importance not only of the monasteries in Prague where the emperor Rudolph II resided until his death in 1612, but of Vienna also, since this city was the habitual abode of the imperial family. So in his Alphabetum Augustinianum, written between 1602 and 1608, but published in Prague by a bookseller only in 1613, while Milensio himself was in an Italian monastery of his congregation San Giovanni a Carbonara, Milensio devotes fairly long treatment not only to the monasteries of Prague [21]), but to Vienna also [22]). We shall have occasion to cite him for both regions in our present work. Milensio's successors as vicars general in Austria and Bohemia had their interests orientated usually in other directions than Austria, as we shall see. The most striking disadvantage for the Augstrian monasteries from this policy of favoring Bohemia and neglecting Austria was the keenly-felt expulsion from the court monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna in 1630, which we shall describe in § 14.

We should like to give here the list of provincials, or of vicars general, for the province, so that we may see how the Austrian Augustinians at no time succeeded in having a superior from their own midst, but always an Augustinian from the Bohemian part of the province (Kristl) or foreigners from the Italian or the northern Germanic provinces of the order.

[21]) *Alph.* 233-239.

[22]) *Ibid.*, 294-295. The numeration of the pages is very faulty, since this book was brought out in a great hurry. Page 294 is falsely numbered as 394.

§ 6. *Never an Austrian Provincial*

In the absence of the capitular acts of the few provincial chapters celebrated in this province, we shall have to content ourselves with other sources, even though they are not always satisfactory.

1. The first source is the manuscript of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale II. 2590, to which we often refer in the footnotes. This manuscript contains on folio 86rv a short but valuable account written in 1658 at the order of the then prior in Prague, Augustin Beer of Nürnberg, in response to the request for information presented by the gifted French Augustinian mapmaker, Augustin Lubin, of the province of St. Guillaume [23]). The questions and answers occasioned by Lubin's studies are contained in two folio ms. volumes, the first of which is found today in the French Archives Nationales LL. 1472, the second of which is our ms, of Brussels. The volume found in Brussels has much useful material on Hungary, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Ireland [24]) and Latin America. The first volume, described by Franz Roth [25]), gives the lion's share of attention to the Augustinian monasteries of France, with further bits of information about Italy and Spain. We are concerned here only with the manuscript of Brussels, since this alone has material for our present study.

2. The Roman archives of the order, especially the registers of the priors general, known as the Dd series, contain useful bits of information which help us to round out the picture, even though many questions still remain to be solved after we have read them.

3. The handwritten work of the Bohemian Augustinian, Pachomius Kreybich, the full title of which we have given in the list of abbreviations, is quite useful [26]). Kreybich was an industrious, but uncritical writer, who too often contradicts himself. He has however the great merit of having preserved for us many precious historical nuggets, even though they are sometimes placed alongside of unproved statements, which must be checked by other documents, although

[23]) See F. Roth, *Augustinian Historians of the XVIIth Century*, in *Auga.* 6 (1956) 644-658.

[24]) For which however see F.X. Martin, *The Augustinian Friaries in Pre-Reformation Ireland*, in *Auga.* 6 (1956) 354-355.

[25]) *Loc. cit.*, 648-658.

[26]) In spite of many chronological inexactitudes, Kreybich is very useful, especcially when he can be used to supplement jejune archivalia.

these unfortunately are not always available. But at any rate we must be thankful to the industrious friar who certainly had at his disposal sources which no longer exist. When we have no other source than Kreybich for some of our statements, this will appear from the footnotes. And when no reason for the contrary exists, we feel safe in quoting him, especially for the Bohemian part of the province. In this he was naturally more capable and informed than in his treatment of the Austrian members of the province, even though he occasionally gives us even for the latter useful information which fits in well with the facts known to us from other sources, which we shall quote in the course of this study. Kreybich finished his useful work in the year 1800.

Now we can turn our attention directly to the list of superiors of the short-lived province. After Rudolph's declaration that he wished a Bohemian superior for the monasteries in Bohemia, Milensio summoned to the chapter in Prague on Dec. 1, 1604 in his capactiy of vicar general the priors of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia [27]). The chapter elected unanimously Johannes Baptist Kristl as the first provincial of the newly founded province, which came into existence in this chapter. His jurisdiction was supposed to include not only the monasteries of Austria and Bohemia, but those of Moravia and Silesia as well [28]). Leaving for another study the treatment of Moravia which did not remain in the new province (if it ever really formed a part of it), we can only say here that it was evidently the hope of Milensio to recover the monasteries which the order had lost in Silesia in the sixteenth century, although none remained in the hands of the order at this time. These hopes were disappointed, so that our present study has to treat only of the monasteries of Bohemia and Austria, which gave their name to the new province.

Kristl was not new in the role of superior. After his profession in 1582 in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague, he followed his older brother Martin as prior of this monastery, and of the monastery of St. Catherine as well, in 1601. He continued his priorship of the monastery of St. Thomas, even as provincial and vicar general, until his death in 1637 [29]). His close connection with Prague is symbolic of where his chief interests lay. It is true that he occasionally visited as

[27]) *Alph.* 238.
[28]) Kr. 290.
[29]) *Ibid.*, 310.

superior the monastery of Vienna — for which the Viennese confreres paid the expenses, not always with good grace — but there could be little doubt that the apple of his eye was the charming city on the Moldau, not the charming city on the Danube. Since Kristl was destined to be superior of the province between 1604 and 1623 (with only one interval of three years, 1608-1611), and then again from 1633 to 1637, it is clear that the Austrian monasteries of his province were not violating the truth when they complained ià 1626 that they were controlled by a non-Austrian in Prague. And even in the short periods when Kristl was out of office, the superiorship of the province was in the hands of an Italian or a Belgian! Kreybich [30]) characterizes Kristl's first term as provincial (1604-1608) with these words: « He devoted a great deal of labor to recover the lost goods of the monasteries ». But our study will make it clear that no Austrian monasteries were on the list!

After Kristl's first term as provincial had elapsed in 1608, the Italian prior of Melnik, Maestro Gabriele Cariddi da Montolmo, was elected as the new provincial for three years. Just as Kristl while provincial had retained the priorship in Prague, so Cariddi kept his priorship in Melnik during his three years as provincial [31]). This was possible by dispensation, granted usually because of the shortage of brethren — although Milensio assures us that the monastery of Prague contained nearly twenty Augustinians in 1608 [32]). The dynasty of the brothers Switavsky or Kristl in the priorship of Prague was a long one — 1582 to 1637! And Cariddi followed the example of the two brothers in his long priorship of Melnik. He had become prior here in 1594 after the death of the Venetian, Friderico de Michaelis, who had held the same priorship since 1560. Cariddi seems to have given up his priorship in the same way as Kristl in Prague — by his death! This seems to have occurred in 1627 [33]). And since Cariddi's interests seem to have been in Melnik, we have another indication

30) 289.

31) *Br.* 86r.

32) *Alph.* 238.

33) Kr. 304, where this year is given, although Kr. on p. 52 states that he was buried in Melnik on Aug. 26, 1622. Perhaps the date of 1627 is the correct one, for the new prior Albert Körnicher does not appear until 1628; *ibid.*, 305. Cariddi does not seem to have been in Melnik without interruption, since he seems to have been stationed in Prague according to a notice of Oct. 30, 1600 in Dd 52.44r.

that Austrian interests hardly played a leading role during his provincialate which lasted from 1608 to 1611.

When the year 1611 arrived, no provincial chapter was called because of the war amongst the Habsburg brothers, that is the emperor Rudolph II and his brothers who in 1606 had decided to obtain for the archduke Matthias the crown which Rudolph then possessed. The hostilities, which finally led to Rudolph's abdication in 1611 [34]), had broken out in 1608, and it was represented to the prior general in Rome, Giovanni Battista d'Asti, that it was impossible to summon a provincial chapter. Hence on March 19, 1611, the general appointed Kristl as rector of the province, which meant in practice that he was provincial once again — and simultaneously prior in Prague [35]). We might add here that permission was granted on April 15, 1612 to the ex-rpovincial Cariddi to leave Bohemia after his hard labors and return to his native province of the Marchia Anconitana [36]). But in those days as in ours, a permission was not the same as an order. Cariddi chose therefore to continue his hard labors in Bohemia. And while the permission was granted to Cariddi (at the request of some one else?), the vicar Johannes Baptist Kristl also was remembered by the general, who granted him on February 12 of the same year permission to accept any dignities or prelatures outside the order which might be offered [37]).

The spectacle of Kristl's continuance as provincial was renewed in 1614. Quite evidently a provincial chapter was held in Prague in the late spring, since we find in the registers of the prior general Nicola da Sant'Angelo for June 18 the following entry : « The election of Magister Johannes Baptist of Prague [Kristl] as provincial of Bohemia and Moravia (!) is approved. At the same time letters patent are sent, forbidding for the future the election of anyone as provincial who had held this office in the immediately preceding period » [38]). This was clearly a protest against Kristl's long reign as provincial superior [39]), and a prohibition against electing him in the (immediate)

[34]) E. Tomek, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs*, zweiter Band, Innsbruck-Wien 1949, 494-497; Pastor 12.527.

[35]) Dd 56.38.

[36]) *Ibid.*, 228.

[37]) *Ibid.*, 204.

[38]) Dd 58.24v.

[39]) We recall that he had already been provincial from 1604 until 1608, and after Cariddi's term (1608-1611) rector of the province from 1611 to 1614.

future. Yet we shall see that the same general felt obliged to reappoint Kristl in 1617 ! We shall explain in another article the title here given to Kristl of provincial of Bohemia and Moravia, although the latter region now definitely formed no part of the Bohemian-Austrian province.

Kristl had powerful friends, and evidently enjoyed the experience of being constantly reappointed as vicar general or elected as provincial. Just as the now deceased emperor Rudolph II had in 1604 demanded a Bohemian superior for the monasteries in Bohemia, so now in the year 1617 the new emperor Matthias, brother of the deceased Rudolph, wrote to the pope — not to the Augustinian prior general — a letter of recommendation for Kristl, which left the prior general little choice other than to reappoint a superior who was so highly recommended : by the emperor through the pope ! The emperor's letter in its original form is not known to us. but the following text from the general registers for April 5, 1617 shows what the letter contained and what effect it had : « A provincial chapter can not be celebrated in the province of Bohemia and Austria, because of the distance of the monasteries, the lack of a suitable place, wars and revolutions. Hence, after an audience with the pope, who received letters to this effect from the emperor, we confirm by letters patent Magister Johannes Baptist of Prague as provincial for three years » [40]). We see here that the prior general's hand was clearly forced to make this move, which hardly agreed with his protest made three years earlier against Kristl's re-election. We should hardly go wrong when we state that Kristl himself obtained through direct or indirect petition the emperor's letter which led to his own reappointment. Kristl quite evidently had his eye set upon superiorships and even prelatures outside the order, as we recall from the permission granted him on February 12, 1612 to accept such honors [41]). The first reasons given in the general's letter of reappointment in 1617 are hardly better than ridiculous. Was it found out for the first time only in the year 1617 that the distance between the monasteries was so great, and that no (?) suitable place could be found for a chapter ? But the hard-pressed general probably found himself obliged to accept these lame explanations in order to satisfy the pope, who wished to satisfy the emperor, who in all probability wished to satisfy Kristl, or at least the official who favored Kristl !

[40]) Dd 59.96v.

[41]) Dd 56.204.

It seemed therefore in 1617 that Kristl was destined to pass three more years in his beloved Prague as provincial, with occasional trips to Vienna. We can easily imagine how these trips not only served to make the canonical visitation of the Viennese monastery, but also to establish and maintain good relations with the imperial court which now resided again in Vienna. Letters of recommendation from the emperor were most useful, and we have just seen how one such letter from the emperor to the pope had led to Kristl's reappointment in 1617 for another three years. But external events now led to Kristl's decision to depart from Prague. In 1618 Kristl appointed the Bavarian Adeodatus Vischer as his vicar, both as provincial superior and as prior of the two monasteries in Prague [42]). Kristl himself was now absent during four years from Prague « in foreign lands », according to the unfortunately vague expression of Kreybich [43]). It is not impossible that he resided in Vienna a part of this period 1618-1622, but to our knowledge no document exists to prove it. The reason for Kristl's leaving Prague which Kreybich gives us seems to fit in with the situation of the time : his desire to escape from « rebellious heretics ». This was precisely the time of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and we recall that the war began in Bohemia where the famous defenestration of Prague took place on May 23, 1618 [44]). At all events Kristl ruled in absentia (at least from Prague) the Bohemian-Austrian province during four years. Whether the « rebellious heretics » sought to harm Kristl more than his brethren who remained in Prague, we have no way of knowing. What is certain however is that Kristl was not willing to give these « rebellious heretics » a chance to lay hand upon him.

The reader will naturally be curious to know what happened when the time for which Kristl was confirmed as superior ran out. He was again reappointed, although his vicar, Vischer, who had remained on the breach, was now performing the work of superior. The confirmation took place in the general chapter held in Rome during the month of June 1620. The Bohemian-Austrian province was represented in this chapter by the definitor Aurelius Trolius

[42]) Kr. 289 and 310.

[43]) 289, where Kr. literally says about Kristl : Ao. 1618 substituit Ven. P. Adeodatum Vischer, Vicarium suum, dum haereticorum rebellantium furores declinaturus, ad terras exteras proficisceretur.

[44]) E. J. Görlich/F. Romanik, *Geschichte Österreichs*, Innsbruck-Wien 1970, 189.

(sic !) [45]), and by the discrete, Magister Andreas Rupes, whose identity is unknown to us. The provincial himself, Kristl, did not attend the chapter, as is explicitly stated in the acts [46]). But if Kristl was not bodily present, he was certainly very much present in spirit. The first indication was given on June 9, when the provincials of various provinces were elected or confirmed. Though we may be slightly surprised, we are hardly amazed when we read that on this day Johannes Baptist of Prague — naturally Kristl — was confirmed as provincial of Bohemia and Austria for three years [47]). At the time of nomination no reason was given to explain why the newly elected general, Fulgenzo Gallucci, reappointed Kristl, who had now ruled the province for thirteen out of the sixteen years of its existence. But we can be sure that high influence outside the order was once again at work to have Kristl reappointed, even though he was « in foreign lands » and keeping healthily out of reach of the « rebellious heretics ». We would have been surprised if no letter of recommendation had been written for Kristl in this year. And in fact the general's registers for Aug. 12 inform us that on July 19 such a letter was indeed written in Vienna. Its author was none other than the emperor's great chancellor of Bohemia. He warmly recommended in the name of the emperor that Kristl be reappointed as provincial [48]). The next day, Aug. 13, the general wrote his answer — naturally positive — with this pious wish : « God grant that the fallen monasteries of our order in these regions may be again built up ... and that the brethren may by his [Kristl's] example, piety and zeal produce better fruits » [49]). Evidently it was hoped that Kristl could produce such good results even from a distance ! Be that as it may, the province of Bohemia and Austria now found itself with the same superior for three more years, that is until 1623, so that Kristl would by that time have ruled sixteen out of the nineteen years of the province's existence. Once again we see how outside influence palyed a very important part in the ruling of this short-lived province. This time the recommendation came from the official of the new young emperor, Ferdinand II

[45]) This was, if we are not mistaken, Aurelius Tron, of the province of Styro-Carinthia. For a sketch of his life, see GAVIGAN, *theol.* 335-337.

[46]) Dd 62.4r.

[47]) *Ibid.*, 6v.

[48]) *Ibid.*, 41rv.

[49]) *Ibid.*, 41v-42r.

(1619-1637). For reasons at which we can only guess, this young emperor would not renew the recommendation for Kristl in 1623.

This is the proper place to make the first mention of the energetic and capable member of the province of Cologne, Nikolaus Crusenius, This active friar had been on June 9, 1620 appointed provincial of Bavaria [50]), the same day on which Kristl had been reappointed as provincial of Bohemia-Austria. On Nov. 26, 1621, Crusenius was appointed as visitator of the provinces of Bohemia-Austria and of Styro-Carinthia [51]). It seems certain that this visitator did not share the opinion that Kristl was indispensable as the only possible superior of the province whose reins he had held for nineteen years — four of them however away from the centre of activities and the dangers. Just when Crusenius came for the first time into the province of Bohemia-Austria we cannot say, but we can be certain that he had made his visitation before the end of 1622. It would be most interesting to read his visitation reports to the prior general about the province of Bohemia-Austria and about Kristl. But we must confine ourselves to the facts — which are interesting enough!

Kristl's long reign came to an end on May 1, 1623. On this day, Crusenius, in the role of visitator and commissary general, summoned a provincial chapter in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague [52]). As sometimes happened on such occasions at this time, the commissary general himself was elected provincial unamimously [53]). With Crusenius' election, which put an end — even though only temporary — to the long rule of Kristl, which had now lasted sixteen years, a drop of new blood came into the province. We whall see in § 9 that precisely at this time the monastery of Korneuburg was reoccupied in Austria, and the voices of the Austrians would in 1626 become loud in their demands for separation from the Bohemian monasteries. Crusenius was appointed by the emperor to the post of historiographer, and honored with the official title of counsellor [54]). And yet, as we shall see below, the foreigner Crusenius met with bitter opposition within

[50]) *Ibid.*, 6v. For Crusenius' life and publications, see L-B 297.

[51]) Dd 62.195v-197r.

[52]) Br. 86r.

[53]) *Ibid.*, where it is indicated that Kristl held for many years the office of vicar general in the province of Bohemia-Austria.

[54]) *Ibid.*

the province, so that it was considered in Rome unpolitic to reconfirm him at the end of three years in 1626.

When the year 1626 arrived, Crusenius' time was ended. Should a new provincial chapter be celebrated or should the prior general Girolamo de' Ghetti appoint a new vicar general? The prior general decided because of a pestilence to convoke no provincial chapter, and therefore on March 6. 1626 named Maestro Angelico Tapparelli of Trent as vicar general for two years. Tapparelli was accepted by an assembly in Prague in this same year [55]). We shall later see that Tapparelli's appointment by the general occasioned a sharp protest by the Augustinian community of Vienna. Yet, Tapparelli was able to remain two years in the post of vicar general of the province of Bohemia and Austria.

The prior general Ghetti wished to keep Tapparelli, who enjoyed the patronage of the reigning pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Francesco Barberini, in a position of influence, and so named him on June 22, 1628 prior of the Augustinian monastery in Vienna. On Nov. 29 of the same year he named him « perpetual prior » of the same monastery, where Tapparelli hoped to obtain the privilege of using mitre and episcopal cross for solemn functions [56]). Earlier in the same year, on March 27, de' Ghetti had appointed to succeed Tapparelli as vicar general of the Bohemian-Austrian province Felice Milensio of Laurino [57]). Milensio was duly acknowledged on May 7, 1628 in Prague as vicar general [58]). But Milensio had his ambitions set on a bishopric in the kingdom of Naples, for which the emperor Ferdinand II recommended him [59]). Hence as early as February 19, 1629 Milensio resigned as vicar general because of « ill health » [60]), evidently of a sickness for which the good southern air of a bishopric in the Kingdom of Naples was considered beneficial. Although Tapparelli had become during the years 1628-1629 distinctly a persona non grata to the emperor Ferdinand II, the general nonetheless reappointed

[55]) Dd 66.100r.

[56]) 67.120r and 147v.

[57]) *Ibid.*, 81v.

[58]) Br. 86r.

[59]) Original, AV, Nunziatura di Germania 116.33v, Pallotto to Barberini, June 28,1629; *ibid.*, 36r, Barberini to Pallotto, July 29,1629.

[60]) Br. 86r.

him as Milensio's successor in the post of vicar general for the province of Bohemia and Austria. The papal nuntius dared not make public Tapparelli's designation because of the displeasure of the emperor, which he knew would inevitably follow [61]). Hence the general, probably in late May 1629, named Nikolaus Crusenius to the post of provisional superior [62]).

Now a controversy broke out between the general de' Ghetti and the temporary superior Crusenius. The former did not believe that a provincial chapter should be held, but that a vicar general should be appointed, whereas Crusenius claimed that provincial chapter should be held for the election of a provincial [63]). Suffice it to say that the general consented on July 12, 1629 to the calling of a chapter of which he appointed Crusenius president [64]). Today, with the few sources of which we dispose, we do not understand how the capitular fathers reached their decision in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague on Oct. 11, 1629, but we do know what their decision was — they elected as provincial the very person towards whom the emperor had such a marked antipathy : Angelico Tapparelli [65])! Tapparelli had been removed on Sept. 13 of this year from the « perpetual priorship » of Vienna [66]). And now his confreres — decidedly those of Bohemia, not those of Austria! — had elected him provincial. Crusenius died in the monastery of Vienna on Nov. 10 of the same year [67]).

Under this provincialate of Tapparelli, a keenly felt blow was given to the province, especially to its Austrian members. On May 15, 1630 the court monastery and the lovely church of St. Augustine in Vienna were taken from the community which then existed in Vienna and turned over to the discalced Augustinians summoned from Prague. We shall treat of this theme in § 14.

Tapparelli resigned his position as provincial in 1631, one year before his term ran out [68]). Whether representations from the emperor or the emperor's officials helped Tapparelli to reach this decision

[61]) Original, AV, Nunziatura di Germania 118.147, Pallotto to Barberini, May 19, 1629.

[62]) Aa 36a.92r-93v.

[63]) Dd 68.27r.

[65]) Br. 86r.

[66]) Dd 68.40v.

[67]) Br. 86r.

[68]) *Ibid.*

we do not know. But we do know that the emperor wrote on February 13 of this same year 1631 to the prior general to inform him that the definitors of the province had elected a new provincial, Gaspar Premb. Knowing the great force of the emperor's « recommendations », they had asked him to write this letter to the prior general and « request » his confirmation for three years of Premb, whom the electors had praised to the emperor as a worthy candidate [69]). The general, Girolamo Rigoli, answered on March 26 with the only decision that he could make : he naturally confirmed the election and declared Premb to be vicar general (without mentioning the word « provincial ») [70]).

Premb received from the general, along with his confirmation as vicar general, the delegation to represent the order in its attempts to obtain the church of St. Peter in the city of Vienna, which Ferdinand II had offered the Augustinians in place of the Viennese church and monastery of St. Augustine which they had lost in 1630 [71]). It seems very probably that Premb indeed carried the negotiations further as the general wished — and always under the presupposition that the Augustinians' chief object was to recover the church and monastery of St. Augustine — but nothing came of them. The presence of Premb in Vienna by 1633 at the latest seems to result from the fact that he made the canonical visitation of the nearby monastery of Baden in this same year. Here he died of a renal stone on Oct. 29, 1633 [72]).

Through the designation of Premb's successor as vicar general, we learn who had been the first definitor during the preceding years — perhaps many years — Johannes Baptist of Prague, our frequently mentioned Kristl [73]). If we assume that Kristl was only sixteen years old when he made his profession in 1582 [74]), then he was now at least sixty-seven years old in 1633. And since the new general Ippolito

[69]) Dd 69.52rv, where a copy of the emperor's letter is found

[70]) *Ibid.*, 106rv, where the general's answer to the emperor is copied.

[71]) *Ibid.*, 106v-107r.

[72]) Br. 86r; Kr. 85. On this occasion, as on many others when Kreybich speaks about the Bohemian affairs or members of the Bohemian monasteries — Premb himself was from Prague — he is usually, but not invariably, reliable, as results from checking him against other sources. Unfortunately the same can not be said when he refers to the Austrian affairs or members of the Austrian monasteries. Yet we must be thankful for his work, especially when we have no other source to guide us.

[73]) Br. 86r.

[74]) Kr. 47.

Monti reappointed him to the same post on July 1, 1636 [75]), therefore at the age of at least seventy, we can perhpas suspect with good grounds that this helped to provoke another protest by the Austrian Augustinians who had passed long years under Kristl's not very enthusiastically received rule. In fact the emperor Ferdinand II wrote to the general Monti in this year 1636, with the « request » — practically an order — to separate the Austrian Augustinian monasteries from the Bohemian, and to grant to the latter permission to elect their own superiors [76]). The separation began in one sense to take place partially in this very year, at a date which we cannot determine. This results from the words of the general writing to the emperor Ferdinand III on July 20, 1641 [77]). But the formally written decree of separation dates from February 6, 1637 [78]). We could give therefore the year 1636 in one sense at least for the termination of the Bohemian-Austrian province, even though it took place formally in February 1637. But what we have seen above makes us think in any case that the public letters of February 6, 1637 merely ratified the decision made in 1636 to satisfy the emperor's request that the monasteries of the order in Austria be separated from those in Bohemia.

The elderly Kristl was therefore the provincial superior when the union of the Bohemian and Austrian monasteries, decided upon in 1604, was formally dissolved in 1637. He had been the first provincial in 1604 and was the last provincial superior, with the title of vicar general. Of the thirty-two years in which the province had existed he had been its superior for nearly twenty years. He died on July 19, 1637 in Prague, and had reached the age of at least seventy-one [79]). Perhaps this very fact that one man had ruled the province, usually from Prague and following the viewpoint of Prague, is sympolic : for the Augustinians of Austria it had been in their development towards an independent province an unpleasant interval of dependence on distant and foreign superiors. This independence, which they so desired, would be officially and definitely obtained in 1646 [80]).

[75]) Br. 86v.

[76]) See GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 453,458-463, where the correspondence between emperors and generals on this point is published. See also § 16 below.

[77]) See GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 461, and more fully in § 14.

[78]) Dd 72.44r.

[79]) Br. 86v.

[80]) GAVIGAN, *de primo* 320-321.

§ 7. *Centre in Prague*

It must be clear from what we have so far seen that the province of Bohemia and Austria was ruled almost completely from the city of Prague. In this city Kristl remained as prior of the two existing communities during a goodly part of his rule, except for the period 1618-1622 when he sought a less troubled region. But even during these years Kristl's vicar, Adeodatus Vischer, remained in Prague. The only exception in the early years of the province is created by the case of Gabriele Cariddi, who retained the priorship of Stockau during his short period as provincial, 1608-1611 [81]). This preponderance of Prague seems to have been the chief reason why the Austrian Augustinians found their union with the Bohemian monasteries so distasteful, and tried as early as 1626 — and perhaps even earlier — to shake it off. We recall that the Austrian monasteries between 1604 and 1623 (when Korneuburg was recovered) were only two : Vienna and Baden. We shall see from the relations between Vienna and Prague at this time that the priors of the Viennese monastery, and sometimes those of Baden also, were summoned to Prague. On the other hand, the provincial residing at this time in Prague, Kristl, who ruled for sixteen out of these nineteen years, made occasional journeys to Vienna. These trips caused expenses to the Austrian monasteries, which had to pay travel expenses and hospitality for their not always welcome guests from Prague. The provincial was usually accompanied by at least his secretary and probably by a lay brother also. And sometimes even the prior of the small and unimportant monastery of Baden was summoned to Prague! Or this monastery also had to pay for a provincial visitation! Hence we can to some extent understand the lack of enthusiasm of the Austrian Augustinians over their union with the Bohemian monasteries — to say nothing of the unpleasant realization that no one of their number had a chance of being elected superior of the province. We shall here quote the examples known to us, which show the absolute preponderance of the Bohemian over the Austrian monasteries in this province, particularly before 1623 when Nikolaus Crusenius, an outsider to both groups (since he was from the province of Cologne), became provincial. After his term, the

[81]) Kr. 51.

Viennese monasteries were perhaps more coveted by outside superiors than the monastery in Prague, where Kristl ruled supreme and exclusively until his death in 1637.

Before we begin these examples of contact between the Bohemian and the Austrian monasteries, particularly that of Vienna, it is well to recall that the council for monasteries — the so-called Klosterrat — often guarded with a jealous eye orders which came from Prague or from any other source outside of Vienna. The Augustinians in Vienna found themselves therefore a welcome ally in the Klosterrat for such cases, as we shall now see.

The problem began very shortly after the first provincial chapter of Dec. 1, 1604. Before this chapter the prior of the Augustinian monastery in Vienna had been the Austrian, Silvester Stigler, a native of Mödling, whose name is attested in the priorship on Aug. 17, 1604 [82]). But the provincial chapter held in Prague on Dec. 1, in which Kristl was elected provincial, appointed a new prior for Vienna, Wolfgang Hofmann of Nürnberg. Stigler was sent as prior to the small und unimportant monastery of Baden. Only two weeks later, the archduke Matthias, who attended to the government of Lower Austria while his brother the emperor Rudolf II governed in Bohemia, presented on Dec. 22 an order to the Klosterrat, which was told to make clear to the Augustinian monastery of Vienna and to its secular representatives the archduke's great displeasure over the step which had been taken by the provincial chapter in Prague. This had deprived the prior of the Viennese monastery of his office without any fault on his part and without any previous consultation of the local ruler — Matthias himself. Although no attempt was now made to keep Stigler in his office as prior in Vienna or to prevent Hofmann from taking possession of this priorship, the warning was given that this should not be done in the future, since it was contrary of the customs and to the liberties of the House of Austria [83]).

Further, the new prior Hofmann was admonished on Jan. 17, 1605 by the Klosterrat acting under the orders of archduke Matthias that he was not to accept the formal promise of obedience from his local Augustinian community without previously consulting the archduke. In addition, Hofmann was ordered to entrust the surveillance over

[82]) ASW, Kl. A. 21.26.

[83]) *Ibid.*, 27.

the temporal affairs of the community to some other capable person until further notice [84]). Finally, Hofmann had to consent on the following day, Jan. 16, to the making of a new inventory [85]). Yet another show of force : on Jan. 29 of the same year the Klosterrat decided to permit Hofmann to absent himself during four months from Vienna on a visit to Prague, where he had previously been stationed and where his books were still to be found. The prior had been obliged to ask the land-ruler Matthias for this permission [86]). We must note here that the tension between the archduke Matthias, who resided in Vienna, and his brother the emperor Rudolph II, who resided in Prague, was not completely unwelcome to the Augustinians in Austria, since it strengthened their hopes of being freed from Bohemian rule in the short-lived province.

The edifying death of the prior Wolfgang Hofmann on Sept. 25, 1605 [87]) brought his superiorship in Vienna to a rapid end. It has lasted only nine months. Now Stigler was brought back from Baden in December as prior of the monastery of Vienna [88]). This Austrian had good connections with the local government, including the Klosterrat. A probable result of these good connections was Stigler's continuance in the priorship for fifteen years, that is until 1621, when he resigned because of advancing age [89]), and probably because of his desire to take the leading role in recovering the monastery of Korneuburg, which had been lost in 1545. We are hardly reading into the sources when we state that Prague's influence in the monastery of Vienna was kept in check during Stigler's long period as prior, as some examples show. In his very first year as prior Stigler presented on Aug. 25, 1606 before the archduke Matthias his summons to Prague, which had been made by the vicar general Milensio and the provincial Kristl. The refusal of the Klosterrat on Aug. 31 to allow Stigler to make the trip gives us some very interesting details about the relations between the ruling Augustinians in Prague and the ruled Augustinians in Vienna. The Klosterrat based its refusal — which proabably was exactly what Stigler and other Augustinians in Austria wished — upon the following reasons : every year such a

84) *Ibid.*, 27.2.
85) *Ibid.*, Beilage 2.
86) *Ibid.*
87) ÖNB 7276.IV.16r; ÖNB 12473.299r.
88) ASW, Kl. A. 21.29.
89) Dd 62.122rv.

summons came from Prague (therefore 1604, 1605 and 1606); the journey cost the monastery in Vienna, which was poor and had many debts, too much money; and the wine vintage, the chief source of the monastery's income, stood before the door and therefore rendered necessary the presence of prior Stigler [90]). If the Bohemian Augustinian Kristl understood the manner of obtaining letters of recommendation to remain in office, as we saw in § 6, the Augustinians in Austria showed their capability in following similar methods to hold certain demands from Prague within bounds. Already in 1606 we find a premonition that the Augustinians in Austria find it unpleasant to be ruled from Prague!

Felice Milensio finished in May or June 1608 his labors as vicar general in Bohemia and Austria [91]). His successor in the post of vicar general was Johannes Baptist Kristl, who seems to have been appointed in the same year 1608. This results from the fact that Kristl is mentioned as Milensio's successor in this post, which « he held for a long time and with good results » — according to the Bohemian version [92])! The nomination seems certainly to have taken place in any case by 1609, since Gabriele Cariddi da Montolmo, who became provincial in 1608, complained early in 1609 that Kristl employed the title of vicar general for Bohemia, whereas the prior of Brünn, Johann Vinzenz Barnabé, employed the same title for Moravia. The only answer that the Augustinian curia in Rome could give Cariddi on May 2 was that the prior general had conferred these two titles, because Kristl had done marvellous work to restore the monastery in Prague, and because Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein, bishopf of Olmütz, had requested the title of vicar general in Moravia for Barnabé through the Cardinal Protector [93]). Small consolation for Cariddi, and an indication that the great Kristl — like Shakespeare's Caesar — was mighty yet! Since Kristl became provincial again in 1611 and held the reins of of the province in his hands until 1623, as we have seen in § 6, we believe that Kristl was the chief individual with whom the Austrian Augustinians were dissatisfied between 1604 and 1623, when the Fleming Nikolaus Crusenius became the new provincial. But even this

[90]) ASW, Kl. A. 21.30.

[91]) *Cf.*, AV, Secreteria di Stato, Germania 19.7rv.

[92]) Br. 86r.

[93]) Dd 55.33v.

change of superiors did not still the Austrians' desire to have their own independent province.

Probably towards or during the second half of 1621, Kristl's vicar in Prague, Adeodatus Vischer of Seemanshausen, became prior of the monastery in Vienna, in which he certainly appears by February 21, 1622. But on this day, an Italian-speaking Augustinian, Carlo Tirello, who belonged by profession to the monastery of Brünn in Moravia, entered Vienna, appointed by the prior general to the priorship of the local monastery. Why the general Gallucci had named the prior for Vienna, instead of leaving it to the provincial or vicar general in Prague, we are unable to explain fully, even though the prior general often expressed his desire to name the prior of this monastery, which was a « general convent », that is, one subject immediately to the prior general. But the general had unwillingly stirred up a hornets' nest by appointing as prior in Vienna a person who could not speak German! The Klosterrat on March 22 advised decidedly against accepting Tirello and in favor of keeping the German Vischer as prior. On April 9, the decision was ratified, and Tirello was rejected [94]).

Vischer's priorate seems to have lasted until 1623 or 1624. We recall that Nikolaus Crusenius was elected provincial in Prague on May 1, 1623. He appointed as prior in the monastery of St. Catherine in Prague, now separated from the community of St. Thomas in the same city, Cornelius de Kort, better known by his latinized name Curtius [95]). But in the following year 1624 he transferred Curtius to the priorship in Vienna [96]).

But even before Vischer's priorship was ended, yet another summons to Prague came to the Austrian Augustinians in April 1623 [97]). This time, not only the prior of Vienna, but also the prior of Baden, and the former prior of Vienna, Silvester Stigler, were summoned to Prague. The reason was, almost certainly, to attend the provincial chapter which on May 1 was to be celebrated in Prague, and in which Crusenius was elected provincial. This meant that not only Adeodatus Vischer, like his predecessors in the priorship, and Silvester Stigler, who had been fifteen years prior in Vienna and played

94) ASW, Kl. A. 21.31.

95) Kr. 322; AA 3 (1909-1910) 380.

96) *Cf.* Hofkammerarchiv, Wien, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten W61/B/2. 405, where Curtius appears as prior in Vienna on June 13,1625.

97) ASW, Kl. A. 21.32.

in this year a leading part in regaining the monastery of Korneuburg, were summoned to Prague, but a third prior as well, from the nearby monastery of Baden. So far as we know, this was still Silvester Kuna, apparently a Viennese, certainly an Austrian, who was definitely prior of Baden in 1621 [98]). Although we have no record to show whether the three Augustinians were allowed to make the journey to Prague, we tend to believe that the permission was granted, since it was an important occasion on which the Austrian Augustinians ought to be represented. Since Crusenius was elected prior provincial on May 1,1623, the long rule of Kristl from out of Prague came to an end — at least temporarily. Crusenius was appointed by the emperor not only to the honor of imperial counsellor, but also to that of historiographer. From the viewpoint of Augustinian history, it is greatly to be regretted that Crusenius died before he wrote the history of Ferdinand II, as he had planned, since he would certainly have spoken to some extent about the relations of the emperor with the order, particularly in Vienna. In any event, Crusenius' election as provincial in 1623 put at least a temporary end to the great dominance of Prague within the Bohemian-Austrian province. We shall see below that the later Italian vicar general Tapparelli put great weight upon becoming prior in Vienna under the eyes of the emperor and his Italian wife, Leonora da Mantova.

§ 8. *Losses in Bohemian Monasteries*

From what we have seen thus far it is clear that the two Austrian monasteries of Vienna and Baden which were united with the five Bohemian monasteries in 1604 were distinctly at a disadvantage. Later we shall explain more fully how they loudly protested in 1626 against this unfavorable union and tried earnestly to free themselves from it. But Bohemia also had its full share of woes at this time. We must not forget that the doctrines of Hus were fanatically held by a great part of the Slavic population here, and that by 1580 the

[98]) Gavigan, *Notes* 595; Kr. 57 and 326, where it is indicated that Kuna became prior of Rotschov in 1627, of Leipa in 1628, and again of Baden in 1630, where he died of consumption on Jan. 19, 1632, apparently in his middle forties. See Matr. 1.489, where it is indicated that Kuna received minor orders in Vienna on Sept. 22, 1607; *ibid.*, 493, where we learn that he was ordained subdeacon in the same city on Apr. 15, 1608.

Germanic element in Bohemia was in the majority protestantized [99]). Hence we should not imagine that everything was rosy for the Bohemian monasteries, and disastrous for the Austrian monasteries only, between 1604 and 1623 when the long rule of Kristl was temporarily ended. In fact, from one viewpoint the Augustinian monasteries were at this time far more fortunate than the Bohemian monasteries of the province, not only because of the powerful Protestant groups in Bohemia, but also because the Thirty Years' War began here in 1618 and led to the destruction and temporarily loss of Augustinian monasteries in Prague, Rotschov, Stockau and Schopka [100]).

It is not our intention here to go into the details of this war, but merely to mention its effects, mediate or immediate, upon the Augustinian monasteries in Bohemia — and later upon the monastery of Korneuburg also, which was recovered by the order in 1623.

We shall begin with the monastery of Schopka or Melnik, since this was the first to suffer from hostile Protestant troops even before the Thrity Years' War. The opportunity for plunder was granted to the Protestant soldiers who were enrolled in Schopka in 1611, when the emperor Rudolph and his brother the archduke Matthias were engaged in fratricidal strife. Rudolf and another of his brothers, archduke Leopold, assembled troops early in 1611 in order to wrest from Matthias the lands which Rudolph had been forced to cede to Matthias in 1608, that is Hungary, Austria and Moravia. Matthias was supported by the Protestant Bohemians who were anxious to keep alive the quarrel between the two brothers, and so was able to hold triumphal entry into Prague on March 24, 1611 [101]). During these troubles the Protestant soldiers who supported Matthias devastated on February 11 the monastery of Schopka and perpetrated horrors equal to those of the savage Turks. They dug up the corpses from the graveyard, removed their clothing, and carried the corpses upon their shoulders in the midst of sacrilegious and ribald jests through the public streets. Fortunately for the prior, Gabriele Cariddi, and his community,

[99]) A. K. Huber, *Der sudetendeutsche Katholizismus*, in *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien* 1 (1967) 43.

[100]) AA 3 (1909-1910) 391, where it is falsely stated however that Taus and Weiswasser were lost at this time of the Thirty Years' War. On the contrary, they had been lost in the preceding century and were recovered after the victory of the White Mountain; see Kr. 313.

[101]) Pastor 12.512-526.

they had already on February 10 taken to flight. In the vain hope of preventing a great deal of damage, they had carefully locked every door of the monastery. The enraged soldiers broke in the windows, climbed up to the roof and destroyed it. They ruined the furniture which they could not carry away and stole whatever was transportable. In the church they broke open the tabernacle, stole the ciborium, and scattered the sacred hosts upon the ground, destroyed the baptismal fount and poured out the sacred oils. Quiet was restored in 1612 when Rudolph died and Matthias was recognized as emperor. The prior Cariddi who as we recall was from 1608 until March 17, 1611 not only prior here but provincial as well [102]), denounced the criminals who had conducted themselves so savagely. These were compelled by the royal government to pay a large sum of damages, so that Cariddi was able to restore at least a part of what had been so barbarously destroyed. Yet he was exposed to constant insults from the Protestant neighbors. It would be interesting to know the exact year of his death which occurred in this monastery where he spent twenty-seven years as prior [103]).

But Schopka's martyrdom at the hands of hostile Protestants was still not finished. In the early days of the Thirty Years' War, that is in 1619, the so-called « Directors of Bohemia », pounced upon the belongings of this convent and sold them to the senate of the city of Schopka. Only a miserable pension was assigned to the prior — probably Cariddi but not necessarily so, since the priors' lists are incomplete and inconsistent — who was allowed to remain in a small cell which seemed like a prison. At the same time the rude rustics of the neighborhood took pleasure in making his life miserable. But after Ferdinand's victory of the White Mountain over the Protestant forces, the emperor appointed the prince Karl von Lichtenstein as imperial plenipotentiary with the task of inquiring into and punishing the crimes of the rebels [104]). Hence the monastery was certainly again in the hands of the Augustinians by 1628, when Albert Körnicher became prior [105]), or perhaps even earlier. Although the Swedes wrought

[102]) Dd 56.38.

[103]) Kr. 52-53, where he states that Cariddi died suddenly here on Aug. 26,1622, and was buried in the monastic church of St. Lawrence. But on p. 304 Kreybich states that Cariddi died here in 1627. *Cf.*, note 33.

[104]) AA 3 (1909-1910) 329; Kr. 56-57.

[105]) Kr. 83 and 305.

great devastation here again in 1639, the order was able to continue monastic life until 1788, when « Brother Sacristan », Joseph II, suppressed it. At the time of suppression there were twelve Augustinians in the community [106]).

Let us now return to the city of Prague, where the Augustinians possessed, as we already know, the two monasteries of St. Thomas and of St. Catherine. The two monasteries had been from 1568 until 1604 under a single prior, Martin Switavsky, and then again in 1614 were again put under the jurisdiction of Switavsky's younger brother, Johannes Baptist, whom we refer to in this study under his German name of Kristl [107]). Religious and racial problems led on May 23, 1618 to the famous defenestration of Prague, which was one of the first violent acts against the Catholic ruler Ferdinand [108]). Various oppressive measures were at once taken against the Catholics, and the archbishop of Prague was driven out [109]). It was certainly on this occasion that Kristl decided to leave Prague to avoid the « rebellious heretics », and left Adeodatus Vischer as his vicar, while he himself left the land. At this time an anti-Catholic work was composed with the German title : Vorschlag zur successiven Ausrottung der römisch-katholischen Religion in Deutschland und an anderen Orten de anno 1618 [110]). So strong were the Calvinists in Prague in the following year 1619 that in December they barbarously ruined priceless art treasures of the cathedral of St. Vitus, with complete agreement of the rebel king of Bohemia, Frederick V. [111]). At this period the Catholic religioun in Prague was considered to be fit only for the lowest social classes, whereas the nobles classes were either Lutheran or Calvinistic [112]). But this situation would last only until Ferdinand's victory in Nov. 1620. Before this time the adversaries of the Habsburgs had been so confident that a rebellious Bohemian army under Count Heinrich Matihias von Thurn marched in June 1619 against Vienna, but found itself unable to lay siege to the city [113]). When the convinced Catholic

106) Kr. 54; AA 3 (1909-1910) 329-330.
107) Kr. 322; AA 3 (1909-1910) 380.
108) E. J. Görlich/F. Romanik, *Geschichte Österreichs*, Innsbruck-Wien 1970, 189.
109) Pastor 12.569.
110) *Ibid.*, note 3.
111) *Ibid.*, 576-577.
112) *Ibid.*, 578-579.
113) *Ibid.*, 569.

Ferdinand II was elected emperor on Aug. 28 of the same year, he was able to assert his right by force of arms. But in order to accomplish this, he had to beat down armed rebellion not only in Bohemia, but in Moravia and Hungary as well. His victory in these lands assured the religious orders in both Bohemia and Austria of the benevolence of the ruler, before whose death which occurred on February 15, 1637 the union of the Augustinian monasteries of Bohemia and Austria was dissolved. But let us now see the results of the Thirty Years' War upon the various monasteries of the Augustinian order, first in Prague and then in the other localities of Bohemia. Of Schopka we have already spoken, since the troubles began there in 1611, as we have seen.

After the famous defenestration of May 23, 1618, the Protestants in Prague seized the monastery of St. Catherine [114]). Kristl fled the land as we already know and left as his vicar the Bavarian Adeodatus Vischer. In fairness to Kristl, it must be said that he was more exposed than his confreres to the hatred of the Protestants because of his favor with the Catholic rulers and of his higher position in the order. That the dangers did not exist merely in Kristl's frightened imagination is tragically proved by the case of the German Augustinian, Thomas Sonnenreiter or Schwanenreiter [115]). Friar Thomas had come from the monastery of Baden to Stockau in a year unknown to us. From Stockau he had been sent to the region of Proseberg to attend to the Catholics there. After laboring as pastor for several years he was stricken by the gout which confined him to bed. Hence in 1621 when a group of Protestant soldiers was unable to frighten him into betraying the where-abouts of the hidden valuables of the church, they set his bed on fire. Although he was freed from death by neighboring Catholics who brought him to the archdeacon Johannes Flaxius, he died a few days later as a result of his burns. Hence, Kristl had not been entirely deceived in his fears that rough treatment lay in store for certain priests! Not only was Kristl for a long time prior of the two Augustinian monasteries in Prague, and provincial or vicar general of the Bohemian-Austrian province, and visitator general within his order; he was also a counsellor of the emperor and protonotary apostolic. In addition he had distinguished himself by his economic measures

[114]) Kr. 56 and 322.

[115]) Kneze (64) uses the former, Kreybich (60) the latter form of his name, but both agree in the gruesome details.

to help the Bohemian monasteries. This same economic capability made it possible for Kristl to hand over to Ferdinand II a substantial contribution for his troops in the Thirty Years's War [116]). Hence we can understand — even if we are not edified — why Kristl chose in 1618 to leave Prague for a less dangerous region and left the less-exposed Adeodatus Vischer in charge.

Vischer kept up a constant campaign to guard the possessions of the monastery of St. Catherine in Prague, which the Protestants had seized [117]). He remained with three other priests in the monastery of St. Thomas in the same city. These three were : the preacher, Nikolaus Hofmayer of Seemanshausen, who appeared as prior of Baden in 1607-1608 [118]; Caspar Springer, the senior of the community [119]); and the Belgian Hendrik Schöller [120]).

It is true that the Protestant « Directors » tried in 1619 to change the local Augustinian monastery of St. Thomas also into a military barracks [121]). But Vischer and his brethren managed to ride the storm and hold out in the monastery building where formerly a community of about twenty had existed [122]).

The victories of Ferdinand's arms over the Bohemian Protestants made it possible for the Augustinians to recover the monastery of St. Catherine by 1623. In this year, the newly elected provincial Crusenius appointed his capable Belgian confrere Cornelius Curtius as prior of the monastery of St. Catherine, which remained a community separated from that of St. Thomas until 1627 — when Kristl again became prior of the two again united monasteries of St. Thomas and St. Catherine [123]). Both of these monasteries were sentenced under Joseph II to be suppressed, but that of St. Thomas was saved and lasted until its suppression by the tyranny of the communists

116) Kr. 48.

117) *Ibid.*, 322.

118) *Ibid.*, 56-57; Gavigan, Notes 595.

119) Kr. 56.

120) His first appearance in the province of Bohemia-Austria seems to belong to the year 1616, and he ended his days as prior of Rotschov in or before 1635; see Kr. 58 and 326.

121) C-L 174.

122) *Alph.* 238.

123) Kr. 322.

on May 4, 1950 [124]). The monastery of St. Catherine was turned over to the ministers of the hard-headed Joseph in 1787 [125]).

After the problems in Prague with the monastery of St. Catherine, the small monastery of Stockau or Pivonka felt the hard hand of greedy enemies. Even earlier in the century, in 1606, the industrious Silesian prior Caspar Malesius had been murdered by a shot in the back of the head from the musket of a Protestant rustic who shot through the window [126]). But the Augustinians remained here in the hostile neighborhood until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. The Protestant troops of the « Winter King », Frederick V of the Palatinate, called themselves « Directors of Bohemia ». With flagrant contempt of human rights they laid hand not only upon the monastery and the furniture in Stockau, but upon all its possessions also, which they turned over in 1619 to Anna Maximiliana von Schwanberg. This « aristocrat » came to the monastery accompanied by an armed band, which expelled the Augustinians from their monastery and took possession of everything in her name. The monks were forced to seek refuge, chiefly in Bavaria. But the defeat of the Protestant forces in the battle of the White Mountain on Nov. 8, 1620 led to the expulsion of the intruder. Not only was she compelled to turn over the Augustinian monastery to its rightful owners, but her own belongings — in great part stolen goods — were auctioned off. From the proceeds of the auction the Augustinians received a part, in order to repair the great damage caused [127]). In the early thirties several members of the community died of the plague which forced the remaining Augustinians to retire to a neighboring town [128]). The monastery was again inhabited by 1635. On May 17, 1787 the community, which numbered thirteen priests and four lay brothers, was forced to hand over to the officials of Joseph II the monastery, of which he had in 1785 decreed the suppression [129]).

Finally, Rotschov also felt the hand of armed Protestants during this period of which we are speaking. Hendrik Schöller was appointed prior here in 1629. But in the following year the Swedish king, Gustavus

[124]) Note added by the former prior, Ambros Franke, in Kr. 312a.
[125]) Kr. 324.
[126]) *Ibid.*, 297; Alph. 231.
[127]) AA 3 (1909-1910) 310
[128]) *Ibid.*; Kr. 297.
[129]) AA 3 (1909-1910) 310-311.

Adolphus, backed up by French funds — since Cardinal Richelieu wished to destroy the power of the Habsburgs — entered into the war against the emperor Ferdinand. During his triumphal march he freely permitted his soldiers to sack churches and monasteries and to commit numberless cruel acts against ecclesiastics, contrary to his promise made explicitly to Richelieu not to do so. Amongst the monasteries destroyed by his soldiers was that of Rotschov, where so much destruction was wrought that weeds grew inside the buildings. The prior Schöller was captured and brought to Prague. Here he was ransomed, and then he returned to Rotschov, which however he found completely devastated [130]). Only in 1635 was a prior Thomas Leo appointed. He remained alone in the devastated monastery. In 1638 Schöller was again appointed prior, but was driven out by the neighboring Protestants. Not until 1641 could the monastery be restored [131]). Although Joseph II placed it on the list of monasteires to be suppressed, it was saved for the Augstinian order and remained in its hands until it was suppressed by a modern tyrant — atheistic communism — after World War II.

§ 9. *Monasteries Regained in Bohemia and Austria*

So we see that the quarrel amongst the Habsburg brothers, the Protestant revolts in Bohemia, and the Thirty Years' War brought their share of havoc to the Augustinian monasteries in Bohemia. We have seen that their monasteries in Prague, Schopka, Stockau and Rotschov felt the heavy and unfriendly hands of Protestant looters. In other words, four out of the five Augustinian monasteries in Bohemia had been subjected to plunder, and even the fifth monastery, that of St. Thomas in Prague, saw its community of priests reduced to four, as we saw in § 8. At the same time, the two Augustinian monasteries in Austria, Vienna and Baden, had not been touched directly by the war. The small young province seemed on the way to dissolution, and this surely strengthened the Austrian Augustinians in their desire to be separated from the Bohemian monasteries and to elect their own superior.

[130]) Kr. 58 and 326.

[131]) *Ibid.*, 326.

Yet there is also a brighter side of the picture, which we shall now consider. During the decade 1620-1630, of the monasteries lost in the sixteenth century, two were recovered in Bohemia and one in Austria. We shall here treat first of the monasteries recovered in Bohemia, those of Taus and Weiswasser, and then of the monastery recovered in Austria, that of Korneuburg.

The monastery of Taus had been destroyed by the Hussites in 1419. An unsuccessful attempt was made to restore it in 1530, but the prior was driven away by the hostile Protestants. But after the victory of the White Mountain on Nov. 8, 1620, the emperor's plenipotentiary, Karl von Lichtenstein, restored the monastery to the Augustinians at thair request. Hendrik Schöller, whom we recall as the later prior of Rotschov, was appointed in 1620 prior in Taus, but the great work of restoration was entrusted in 1621 to a new prior, Albert Körnicher, who seems to have remained here from 1621 to 1628, when he became prior of Schopka [132]). During his priorship in Taus, he dwelt in a nearby house with his confrères, and was able to restore the church sufficiently for divine services. The following prior, the Fleming Urban van Hayden, was appointed in 1628 and seems to have dwelt in the restored monastery, where he has as confrère one priest, Aegidius of Baden, and a lay brother, Jakob [133]). The house was definitely restored, even though the prior van Hayden had anything but a good record [134]), and the Augustinians remained here until the end of World War II when the communists suppressed it.

The next Augustinian monastery in Bohemia of which we speak is that of Weiswasser. On Oct. 18, 1421, two years after their destruction of the Augustinian monastery of Taus, the Hussites of Prague added this monastery also to their sadly famed list. They not only burnt down the monastery, but put the Augustinians who dwelt in it to a cruel death. And again after the pattern of Taus, the Augustinians tried in 1539 to restore this monastery of Weiswasser, but the fanatical neighbors of the monastery either killed or drove out the prior, named Stephan. And, still in accord with the pattern of Taus, the Augustinians tried with success after Ferdinand's victory of the White Mountain in 1620 to recover their foundation here.

[132]) *Ibid.* 54 and 313.

[133]) *Ibid.*, 313.

[134]) GAVIGAN, *A letter from Nicholas Donellan*, in *Auga.* 19 (1969) 308, note 81.

But in this case there was a certain transition, since the Augustinians obtained from the famed imperial general, Albrecht von Wallenstein, the chateau of Bösig, which was turned into a monastery. Here they dwelt from 1624 to 1633. An interesting feature is that the Austrian Nikolaus Pechtold was prior here in Bösig since 1629. Not only did he have with him two Bohemian priests, but five novices as well, of whom at least two were Austrians, Johannes Baptist Brändl and Augustin Gundendorfer [135]). Also interesting is it to note that the Viennese Adam Menzelius was named prior here in 1631. He was the last prior of the short-lived monastery of Bösig, since the founder Wallenstein in 1633 recalled the community from Bösig to Weisswasser [136]). The novitiate however was hardly transferred to Weisswasser, for the new community in Weisswasser under the Belgian prior Urban van Hayden dwelt in a provisory house, since the monastery was not made ready for occupation until 1653 [137]). A Latin school came later into existence in this monastery [138]). Here therefore the order survived the Josephinistic suppression and lasted until the communistic suppression of 1950. Leaving for treatment in § 11 the monastery of Böhmisch Leipa, founded by Wallenstein in 1627, we shall treat here of the one Austrian monastery recovered during the existence of the Bohemian-Austrian province, that of Korneuburg. Founded in 1338, it had suffered greatly from a fire in 1508 and by the year 1544 was in sad condition. Since the Augustinians could not find native priests to direct it and much less to repair it, it was turned over on Dec. 5, 1544 to the city of Korneuburg as a poor house [139]). But amongst the conditions of its temporary surrender was the statement that the monastery should be immediately given back to the Augustinian order, when either the ruler of the land or the Augustinian provincial would again provide religious for the monastery.

One of the chief complaints of the Austrian Augustinians against their union with Bohemia was that it was impossible under the existing circumstances to recover their lost monasteries, as we shall see in § 17. Probably stimulated by seeing how their Bohemian confrères had recovered the monastery of Taus in 1620, the Austrian Augustinians

135) Kr. 67 and 317.
136) *Ibid.*, 317-318.
137) *Ibid.*, 318.
138) Sladek 223.
139) Starzer 589-595; Rennhofer, *Kl.* 515-516.

tried their hand at the same game in 1622. The previous year, the Austrian Silvester Stigler, who had been prior of the monastery in Vienna since 1605 had resigned his priorship, probably in the early days of April [140]). But the sturdy Stigler was not yet ready for retirement. In 1621 or 1622, possibly while the vicar general Kristl was still absent from Prague because of the great dangers there, and therefore while Adeodatus Vischer was still functioning as director of the province, Stigler put in his request to the government to recover the monastery which his predecessors had been forced to give up in 1544. The government gave the order to the city of Korneuburg in 1622 to comply with this request since the Augustinians were now able to supply the needed religious. Through the untiring efforts of the bishop of Vienna, Melchior Klesl, Korneuburg had returned by this time from Lutheranism to Catholicism [141]). After the formal demand had been presented to the city on May 25, 1623, Stigler signed with the representatives of the city on Dec. 14, 1623 an agreement. It was decided to turn over at once to the Augustinians their church, furniture and the vestments, a part of the monastery building, and the remaining parts within three years [142]). A few Augustinians had already by June 12, 1624 taken possession of the front part of the building, which was walled off temporarily by the city so that the religious could practice their devotions without constant disturbance [143]).

Good relations existed between city and monastery, which was at once settled with Augustinian religious. The capable Stigler, from nearby Mödling, was almost certainly the first prior in the restored monastery, and he died here certainly holding that office on Jan. 17, 1631 [144]). This Austrian character of the Augustinians in their newly recovered monastery is confirmed by a document of Jan. 10, 1635, signed by five Augustinian priests, all of them Austrians, including the prior Nikolaus Pechtold, to take over for eight years the local parish of Korneuburg. This had been permitted by the Provost of the Canons Regular of Klosterneuburg, Bernhard, in order to help the Augustinians to rebuild their monastery which a fire had destroyed

140) Dd 62.122rv, d. 5 maii.
141) Zeissl 22.
142) *Ibid.*, 23-24.
143) Starzer 596.
144) Kr. 58.

in 1634 [145]). As a matter of fact, the Augustinians continued to administer the parish even after the contract expired in 1643. The parochial archives of Korneuburg give us in the « Tauffbuch » only Augustinian Hermits until 1643, with the exception of two Augustinian canons, Georg Schäffler and Augustin Matthai, the pastor, in this year 1643. Then again appear Augustinian Hermits alone in 1644, except for the pastor Matthai, and without exception in 1645 until Nov. 9. On this latter date of the year 1645 the Capuchins take over the duties in the parish until Aug. 12, 1646 inclusive. But on the following day, Aug. 13, 1646, the Augustinian Hermits alone begin to appear in the baptismal records. The pastor Matthai had followed in 1645 the example of many citizens, and had left the city before it was attacked by the Swedes, while the Augustinian prior, the Austrian Bertram Strauss, had remained in the city with seven members of his community [146]). Only in 1650 does a Canon Regular, Mark Weber, appear again as pastor.

Even before this time, since New Year's Day 1625, the Augustinian Hermits had accepted the responsability of attending to the two weekly masses which had to be celebrated in the little chapel of St. Nicholas in Korneuburg. In gratitude the now recatholicized city not only gave the Augsutinians the mass stipends, but also a generous amount of free wood, in spite of the hard times occasioned by the Thirty Years' War [147]). With such good relations between city and monastery it is not surprising that three young men of Korneuburg about the years 1620-1630 entered the Augustinian order. All three were in due time ordained priests : Johannes Thomer,JohannesBaptist Brändl, and Silvester Koch [148]).

We have here allowed ourselves to progress a few years outside of the period of the Bohemian-Austrian province (1604-1637), because it is important to see how the successful reoccupation of an Austrian monastery inspired the Austrian Augustinians to make further attempts in the same direction — and to obtain the status of an independent province, which they finally achieved in 1646 [149]).

145) Stiftsarchiv, Klosterneuburg, Karton 76, fol. 260, nº 52.

146) STARZER 598.

147) *Ibid.*, 596.

148) ZEISSL 24.

149) GAVIGAN, *de primo* 308-321.

§ 10. *Studies in the Province*

Today when we speak of studies for the priesthood, we think of studies first in a middle school, followed by studies of philosophy and theology in a university faculty or in the study-house of a particular order with its corps of professors, library, its standard discipline (until very recent years), and a certain number of young men who devote themselves chiefly to studies during a certain number of years. But in the short-lived province of Bohemia-Austria with its seven monasteries, some of which had very few members, we can expect no such regular courses. It is true that both the monasteries of Prague and of Vienna had possessed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries capably directed theological schools, which had contributed many good professors to the universities of Prague and Vienna [150]). But the troubled sixteenth century brought not only theological but vocational and financial problems also to the monasteries of the Augustinians and of all other orders. And even when some steps were taken later in the sixteenth century to improve the situation by at least a modest form of study-house for a particular region, the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) spread death and most literally destruction throughout most German-speaking regions. Silent artes inter bella. Hence, the Augustinians in Germanic lands, just as the members of the other orders, found themselves faced in the first half of the seventeenth century with the struggle for existence, which made studies take a distinctly secondary role — primum vivere, deinde philosophari. For this reason we must state at the very outset of this section that only very modest studies were made in the Bohemian-Austrian province, which came into life at the beginning of the troubled seventeenth century and inherited the heavy burden of the almost complete collapse of vocations and studies of the sixteenth. In our not yet published study, Geschichte des Wiener Augustinerklosters in der nachlutherischen Zeit, we have shown how studies are in the second half of the sixteenth century very rarely mentioned in the monastery of Vienna. By 1546 the monastery had only six members, all of them ordained

[150]) For Prague, see J. Hemmerle, *Nikolaus von Laun, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Prager Universität und des Augustinerordens in Böhmen*, in *Studien zur Geschichte der Karls-Universität zu Prag*, zweiter Band, Salzburg 1954; for Vienna, see Gavigan, *doct.*

priests, with their studies already behind them. After this time we find no trace of studies in the Viennese monastery except for the indirect argument that young men from the monastery were — in very small numbers — ordained to minor and major orders, and hence must have made some preparation at home, with or without teachers, for the examination to be taken before ordination. That no formal study-house existed here at this time seems to be clear from the fact that the general of the order, Andrea Securani, wrote on Oct. 22, 1591 to his vicar general for Germania that he should erect a study-house in the monastery of Vienna. But at the same time a clear indication was given that now fit professors were to be found in the monastery of Vienna : the regent should be the Italian, fra Santi da Rimini [151]). But nothing came of the project, and the appointee to the Regency in Vienna appears shortly later in Italy [152]) ! Hence we believe ourselves able to state that in the Augustinian monastery of Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century studies were for the most part of a private nature, and consisted merely in obtaining the knowledge indispensable for ordination. And this situation did not improve in the first years of the following century. So far as the sources inform us, we know of only one Augustinian ordained in Vienna in the seventeenth century before the foundation of the Bohemian-Austrian province in 1604, that is a certain Ambros, ordained a deacon on Dec. 1, 1602 [153]). Then, after the union with the Bohemian monasteries in 1604, we find only two Augustinians ordained by the year 1608, that is a certain Posidonius, who became a deacon on Sept. 22, 1607, while the Viennese Silvester Kuna received minor orders. The latter received the subdiaconate in Vienna on April 15, 1608 [154]). And now comes the interesting detail : between April 15, 1608 and the end of 1621 not a single Augustinian was ordained in Vienna ! This indicates, and we shall see it more clearly below, that the few young Austrian Augustinian students were then sent to the Bohemian study-house of Prague, about which we shall now speak.

We must state in advance that in Prague also studies were at this time but modestly conducted. Indeed this very reglect of studies

[151]) Dd 49.177r.

[152]) For instance, in the diocese of Trent on Jan. 3,1597; Dd 50.95v. He became provincial of Aemilia on May 27,1608; see AA 10 (1923-1924) 304.

[153]) *Matr.* 1.404.

[154]) *Ibid.*, 489 and 493.

will be one of the bitter complaints brought by the Austrians in 1626 as one of the grounds for obtaining separation from their union with the Bohemian monasteries. For not only in Vienna, but in Prague also studies had sunk deeply in the sixteenth century. The large number of Germanic Augustinian students, who before Luther's rebellion had studied in the houses of the order in Italy, came to an abrupt stop. And since the Bohemian monasteries also suffered great losses from Protestantism in the sixteenth century, the studies here declined with the decline in the number of the friars. Just as in Germany and Austria, so in Bohemia and Moravia also, the Augustinians and other orders found themselves obliged to send many Italian friars to populate their thinly populated northern monasteries. We could cite name after name of Italian friars of different orders sent northwards between 1560 and 1630, but content ourselves here with the reference to the report of the Dominican visitator, Feliciano Ninguarda, where he constantly speaks of the Italian frati in many northern monasteries [155]).

Although the monastery of Brünn in Moravia, of which we shall briefly treat in a later study, does not concern us directly here, we cannot refrain from citing one example from this Augustinian monastery, which had been thoretically included in the union of 1604. The example will show us how studies had declined in Brünn by the year 1591. On March 30 of this year, the bishop (Stanislaus of Olmütz) wrote to the prior and community of Brünn about the candidate, friar Thomas, whom the monastery had sent to him for the examination in theology before ordination to the priesthood. The bishop makes it clear that he has allowed friar Thomas to be considered as approved in the examination in spite of his pitiful lack of knowledge. Why then has the bishop approved him? Because he realizes that the monastery needs him, and the bishop has been assured that the new priest will have no care of souls, but will simply be employed for celebrating mass and for helping out in the sacred functions. But the bishop feels himself at the same time obliged to request the monastery to devote more care to the preparation of the priests who are sent to him for approbation. So, he hopes, will not only the decadent piety and learning of the friars of this monastery be ended, but also their authority and good name amongst their neighbors will be increased [156]).

[155]) See K. Schellhass, *Der Dominikaner Feliciano Ninguarda und die Gegenreformation in Süddeutschland und Österreich 1560-1583*, 2 volumes, Rome 1930-1939.

[156]) Janetschek 184-185, where he guotes the Latin letter written by the bishop, which in 1898 was conserved in the episcopal archives in Kremsier.

But what was the situation in the Bohemian monasteries in the late sixteenth century, so far as studies were concerned? Here also the decline was lamentable. It is true that a few Bohemian friars were sent at this time to the Italian study-houses of the order, where they certainly received a better education than any Augustinian monastery in Bohemia at this time could give them. So, for example, we find Johannes Baptist Kristl located as a student in the Augustinian study-house of Padua on May 16, 1592 [157]). He was promoted from the degree of lector to that of bachelor on May 28, 1602 [158]), and on July 3 of the following year 1603 both Kristl and Wolfgang Hofmann were given permission to obtain the master's degree in theology [159]). But we must be careful not to fall into the error of thinking that these two magistri in theology were destined for a teaching career in matters theological! We know that Kristl became provincial in 1604, and Hofmann became prior of Vienna in the same year, and it is only just to state here that the coveted magisterium was too often looked upon more as a means of political advancement than as a stimulus to further study. When on April 24, 1606 the indignant friars of the Venetian study house wrote a letter to the pope to complain that most of those who were to be promoted to the magisterium in the next general chapter were ignorant persons, who were unworthy of the degree [160]), it is hard to believe that the letter contained nothing but falsehoods! In any event, Hofmann died in 1605, whereas Kristl died in 1637. Neither of them left even a modest work on theology, in which they held the magisterium. Kristl's prowess, as we have seen, was economical rather than theological!

What then was done for theological studies in the hard-hit Bohemian monasteries in the latter part of the sixteenth century? The munificence of a really great pope, Gregory XIII, after whom our present-day calendar is named, came to the aid of the Augustinians and of other orders, whose study-houses in the north had declined. Not content with his great expenditures for higher education in Rome, where even today the excellent Università Gregoriana perpetuates his name [161]), the far-seeing pope gave great aid at the same time for

157) Dd 48.178v.

158) Dd 53.11v.

159) *Ibid.*, 72r.

160) AV, Fondo Borghese III 132b, 79r-80v.

161) See PASTOR 9.179-184 for the pope's foundations in Rome in the 1570's.

rebuilding the theological institutions in the northern lands also, where the decline caused by the upheavals of the times was so great [162]). He included the Augustinians also in his generosity [163] under the provincialate of the Portuguese Augustin de Castro (therefore between 1578 and 1581), by making a financial contribution to restore the study-house of the Augustinians in Prague [164]). Here an institute of theology was to be founded, or more correctly restored, in the monastery of St. Thomas in order to give the necessary training to all the clerical students of Bohemia and of the still remaining monasteries in Moravia — which were at this time only two, those of Brünn and of Gewitsch. But we have already seen how miserably neglected the theological studies were in Brünn at this time, through the frank comments of the bishop of Olmütz on March 30, 1591. Even if we did not have this episcopal testimony to the little care devoted by the then prior of Brünn, Augustin Clementin of Fiume, to theological studies, we would know about it from a source within the order. Anton Kerbeeck of Louvain, provincial in Germanic regions, wrote from Prague on July 21, 1586 a letter to the prior general of the Augustinians, Taddeo da Perugia. He complained about one prior in Moravia, Augustin Clementin the prior of Brünn, and about one Italian prior of the Bohemian monastery of Melnik, Federico de Michaelis. Neither of these priors, complained Kerbeeck, deemed it worth the effort to contributed towards the foundation of the Augustinian seminary. Nor were these the only priors who showed little interest! But Kerbeeck's particular annoyance was caused by the two whom we have mentioned [164]).

But some steps were certainly taken, as Milensio, who personally dwelt in Prague as visitator, explicitly informs us : between 1603 and 1608, when Milensio finished his Alphabetum, the monastery of St. Thomas was enriched with a new dormitory, a library, workshops, cloisters and chapel, under the direction of Kristl, who had become prior here in 1601 [165]). From all that we read about Kristl, we become more and more convinced that the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague was the apple of his eye, and that he unquestionably raised its material condition. But from the contemporary sources, which we cite in the present study, we are less well informed that Kristl brought this

[162]) *Ibid.*, 488-490.
[163]) Clm 8423.225.
[164]) *Ibid.*
[165]) *Alph.* 238; Kr. 310.

monastery or any other to a high degree of spirituality or scholarship. But we must also, in justice to Kristl, recall that the times were more than difficult! And certainly something was done to restore the library of St. Thomas in Prague, and we know that this particularly interested the visitator Milensio [166]).

After these preparations the monastery of St. Catherine in Prague was designated as the house of philosophical studies in 1604, presumably with the intention of reserving theological studies for the monastery of St. Thomas in the same city. A member of the Moravian monastery of Brünn, Hippolytus Scultetus, was appointed prior and professor of St. Catherine's, with the task of teaching philosophy to the clerical students who had just made their profession [167]). How long he stayed here we can not say with certainty, but it would hardly have been a very long time, since he took sick and was transferred to Stockau, where he died on Jan. 17, 1607 [168]). We know of no successor in St. Catherine's. It is quite possible that the very few students were simply sent to the monastery of St. Thomas in the same city, where theological studies seem certainly to have been taught by 1605, if not earlier, since we find at least four clerical students, as well as one novice here in this year [169]). It is true that one deacon from Moravia, friar Sigismund, was at this time in Rotschov [170]), but this could be explained as a measure of emergency, rather than of policy. We recall that no Augustinians were ordained in Vienna between April 1608 and December 1629. This, combined with the fact that we find Augustinian students in Prague during these years leads to the conclusion that the young men both of the Bohemian and of the Austrian monasteries during these years studied their theology — such as it was — in Prague. Thus we find Austrian Augustinians noted as students in Prague for the years 1607, 1612 and 1614 [171]). Add to this the fact that it is explicitly stated of some other Augustinians that they studied their theology in Prague [172]), and it is hard to escape the conclusion that this was at least the prevailing practice. All these

166) *Alph.* 247-248.
167) Kr. 322.
168) Kneze 26.
169) Kr. 54-55.
170) *Ibid.*, 55.
171) *Ibid.* 55-58.
172) For instance, Kreybich 65-67.

courses of theology in Prague were probably given — and in some cases with absolute certainty — in the monastery of St. Thomas. Thus, Kreybich says about the Austrian Aurelius Genzinger : « he belonged to the community of the new monastery in Vienna, after he had completed his studies in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague » [173]). Kreybich seems to assign Genzinger's stay in Prague to the thirteies of the seventeenth century. For the year 1623 we find it stated that the Bavarian Johannes Baptist Brandexel had made both his novitiate and his studies in the monastery of St. Thomas [174]). For the early thirties we find an Italian, Alfonso de' Beltrami, studying theology in Prague, as well as a Silesian, Donatus Molitor, and two young Austrians. One of the Austrians was a convert from Judaism, named Balthasar, the other was the future provincial, Caesarius Syrott [175]).

If all these indications that the studies were made in Bohemia and not in Austria were not sufficient, we have on record an explicit complaint made by the Austrian Augstinians in April 1626 as one of the reasons why they wished to be separated from the Bohemian monasteries. In simple, clear Latin they state as one of their alleged reasons that the Austrians are sent to Bohemia, « where studies are neglected and morals are ruined » [176]).

Yet, it can not be said that all the studies between 1604 and 1626 took place in Prague, or even exclusively in Bohemia. There was at least in the years 1623 and 1624 some modest attempts made at founding a separate Austrian novitiate and study-house in the monastery of Baden. Vienna was out of the question at this time for lack of proper space, as is clear from the report of the discalced Augustinians, who took over this monastery on May 15, 1630, and found only eight or ten habitable rooms [177]). Hence an attempt was made in the monastery of Baden, where the prior in 1623 was quite certainly the Austrian Silvester Kuna or the Austrian Felix Neumiller. The

[173]) 67. We might add here that the title of baccalaureus was conferred by the prior general on Jan. 6,1618 upon three members of the province : Nikolaus Hoffmair, Adeodatus Vischer, and Gaspar Springer; Dd 60.2v. But it is hard to believe that these degrees were meant for teaching purposes, when we look at the activities of these three.

[174]) Kr. 85.

[175]) *Ibid.*, 175.

[176]) ASW. Kl. A. 21, 33.

[177]) A. Fidler, *Austria Sacra : Geschichte der ganzen österreichischen, klösterlichen und weltlichen Klerisey beyderley Geschlechtes*, 9.Band, Wien 1788, 319.

former was prior here in 1621 [178]), whereas the latter died here as prior on February 6, 1625 [179]). Another interesting feature is that the lector of philosophy and theology, and then later subprior and master of novices in Baden was none other than the first Austrian Augustinian to be ordained in Vienna after the long interval which began in April 1608 and ended only on Dec. 18, 1621, when Nikolaus Pechtold was ordained a subdeacon in the cathedral of St. Stephan [180]). Since his ordination to the diaconate took place in the same cathedral on March 12, 1622 [181]), we can be sure that he was ordained a priest either in this year or by 1623 at the latest. A confirmation of this activity in Baden, which we have taken from Kreybich [182]), is confirmed by the fact that the Viennese Augustin Messner, ordained in Vienna on June 10, 1623, is called a professed of the monastery of Baden [183]).

But this employment of the monastery of Baden seems to have lasted only a few years, since the master of novices, Nikolaus Pechtold, was tranferred as prior in 1629 to the newly-founded (1624) monastery of Bösig, where the new master of novices the Bohemian Simplician Blasius had five novices, of whom two and perhaps more were certainly Austrians [184]). And still later, about 1635, at least two more Austrian novices, Johannes Pannitz and Theodor Kettner, made their novitiate in Baden, whereas at the same time two other Austrians, Aurelius Genzinger and Johannes Baptist Brändel, finished their studies in Prague [185]). Since the separation of the Austrian and the Bohemian monasteries took place formally in 1637, we can be sure that no more Austrian subjects were sent after this date to Bohemian novitiates or study-houses, since these had been openly criticized by the Austrians eleven years earlier, as we have already mentioned. And even before the separation, for instance in 1634 and 1635, we find two Augustinians ordained in Vienna, who are said to come from the monastery of Baden [186]).

178) Gavigan, *Notes* 595.
179) Kr. 57.
180) *Matr.* 1.590.
181) *Ibid.*, 595.
182) 61.
183) *Matr.* 1.602.
184) Kr. 317.
185) *Ibid.*, 67.
186) *Matr.* 1.783 and 800.

Lastly we must mention that Vienna also was destined to receive novices, at least in the year 1629-1630, since the Belgian Jan Tresnier appears here as master of novices in Jan. 1630, and the Austrian Nikolaus Kolbius is found in the same office in May of this year [187]). It is possible therefore that a few novices were on hand in Vienna when the Augstinians lost this monastery to their discalced, or barefoot, brethren on May 15, 1630.

The picture of studies therefore was hardly a complete or unified one, as we now know. The two monasteries in Prague, Vienna, Baden' Bösig and Rotschov housed novices and professed clerics during these years, sometimes even simultaneously. Hence we are hardly indulging in undue pessimism when we state that the level of studies for the candidates of the Bohemian-Austrian province was hardly a high one, and that it sufficiently justified the Austrian Augstinians' complaint that studies were neglected in the province. An unwelcome, but objective, confirmation of this judgment is found in the words of the papal nuntius, Pallotto, in Vienna on June 30, 1629 in a letter to the pope's nephew Cardinal Barberini. We translate a few words from the Italian : « ... this order [the Augustinians of Vienna] finds itself in a very poor condition in these regions, with no observance, no spirit, no scholarship, no vocations » [188]). In fairness however we must state that this low level to which studies in the northern Augustinian monasteries had fallen was by no means a monopoly of the Augustinian order. Both the other older orders and the secular clergy in the same regions experienced the same difficulty as the Augustinians in restoring observance and the level of studies [189]). And this restoration simply could not take place overnight. In several dioceses, in spite of earnest attempts by zealous bishops, no satisfactory seminary could be developed before the eighteenth century [190]). Hence we must not be too surprised that a small and short-lived province, such as we are here describing, found itself confronted by the same difficulties which other orders and most northern dioceses of the time had to face.

[187]) Gavigan, *Übergabe* 147; Giovanni Bartolomeo di S. Claudia, *Lustri storiali de'Scalzi Agostiniani eremiti della congregazione d'Italia e Germania*, Mialano 1700, 278-279.

[188]) AV, Nunziatura di Germania 118.216r.

[189]) See Pastor 9.483-490.

[190]) A. H. Raab, in H. Jedin, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 5. Band, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970, 175-180.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, when both the Austrian and the Bohemian monasteries existed as independent provinces, they reached a level of observance and studies which was at least satisfactory. Furthermore, we shall now refer in § 11 to a little known contribution made since 1627 by the small province to pre-university education, which deserves honorable mention. Of the short-lived Latin school in Korneuburg, we shall speak briefly in § 12.

§ 11. *Gymnasium in Leipa*

We already know that the Bohemian monasteries of Taus and Weiswasser and the Austrian monastery of Korneuburg were recovered in the twenties of the seventeenth century. Now, however, we come to a very creditable work begun in 1627 by the members of both groups, the Bohemian and the Austrian. In this year, Albrecht von Wallenstein, the famed general of Ferdinand II, founded not only amonastery for the Augustinians in Böhmisch Leipa, but a gymnasium for the education of boys as well. On March 12 of this year Wallenstein signed the act of foundation in his palace in Prague [191]). Here Wallenstein declared that it was his desire that ten or twelve Augustinians should give instruction to the secular youth in religion and in the Latin language [192]). This Latin school developed into a humanistic gymnasium which had great influence in northern Bohemia and turned out many generations of pupils who were outstanding both in church and in state, in science and in art [193]). Nearly all priests of northern Bohemia in many generations passed through this gymnasium [194]). Until 1881 it remained in the hands of the Augstinian order. But on Dec. 2 of this year it was taken over by the state, and this change became active in the school year 1882-1883 [195]). But what interests us particularly here is the history of the monastery and school during

[191]) C. Pierer, *Die Urkunde über Wallensteins Kloster-Gründung in Böhmisch-Leipa*, Leipa 1927, where a German translation and description of the Latin text is given. The Latin text was at that time kept in the archives of the local Augustinian monastery.

[192]) *Ibid.*, 5.

[193]) *Ibid.*, 8.

[194]) Sladek 223.

[195]) Pierer, *op. cit.*, 9.

the period in which the Augustinian monasteries of Bohemia and Austria were united.

Since the Bohemian monasteries of the Augustinians had received such fearful blows first from the Hussites in the fifteenth century, and then from the Protestants in the sixteenth century, they were at the beginning of the seventeenth century in no favorable position to promote studies, theological or otherwise, if left to their own resources, as we believe is abundantly clear from the preceding section of our study. But we may recall here that outside help had been sent in the form of Augustinian friars from other provinces since the second half of the sixteenth century. These friars came chiefly from Italy and Belgium, which then belonged to the Augustinian province of Cologne. When the Bohemian-Austrian province was founded in 1604 out of monasteries then separated from the Bavarian province, it was stipulated that, when necessary, friars from Bavaria should be sent to help the monasteries of this new province [196]). Hence we recall names of Italians, such as the provincial Gabriele Cariddi da Montolmo (1608-1611); of Bavarians, such as Adeodatus Vischer, Kristl's vicar (1618-1622); of Flemings, such as the provincial Nikolaus Crusenius (1623-1626). Now in connection with Leipa, we wish to make special honorable mention of a Belgian confrère, Paul Cnoop, usually referred to by his Latin name Conopaeus [197]). He came from the Augustinian province of Cologne which in the first half of the seventeenth century witnessed a great renaissance that more than compensated for the heavy blows dealt to it by the Calvinists in the sixteenth century. No less than twenty-two colleges, which offered an outstanding pre-university education, were founded by the Belgian Augustinians in the seventeenth century [198]). The gifted and energetic young Augustinian Conopaeus, born on Oct. 2, 1595, had been for a time court chaplain to Duke Albrecht von Wallenstein, the founder of the Augustinian monastery school of Leipa. Hence it is most probable that Wallenstein's admiration of this sturdy and edifying friar led him to confer this favor upon the Augustinian order after he had become rich and famous through his victories gained for the emperor Ferdinand II. Conopaeus became officially a member of the Bohemian-Austrian province in 1626. When therefore Wallenstein founded the

[196]) Kr. 53.

[197]) For his life and works, see a brief treatment in L-B 305.

[198]) A. Braem/N. Teeuwen, *Belgica Augustiniana illustrata*, Louvain 1956, 21-24.

monastery of Leipa in 1627, he arranged that Conopaeus should be its first director. A better choice could hardly have been made. Conopaeus was a man of piety, learning, industry and indomitable courage — qualities which were greatly needed in the position in which he found himself, as we shall now see. The school was divided into six classes. Conopaeus himself served as director of studies and as professor, along with several other Augustinians, whom we shall briefly mention. Just as his Belgian confreres did in the Augustinian schools of his native Belgium, so too Conopaeus wrote for his students a Latin grammar, published by the printer of Prague, Paul Sessius [199]). Not content with these feats, Conopaeus set up an Augustinian printing press in Leipa with which he brought out not only textbooks for the school, but also two spiritual works, one based on the life of the Savior, the other dedicated to prayers in honor of the Savior's Virgin Mother. When the Austrian, Silvester Kuna, prior in Leipa since 1628, was retransferred as prior to Baden in 1630, Conopaeus became vicar prior of the monastery of Leipa, so that even the office of superior was added to his already numerous occupations. Since the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus had entered the Thirty Years' War in the same year 1630 and invaded Bohemia, Conopaeus now began a martyrdom which made his excellent qualities stand out in even greater relief than heretofore. The barbarous Swedish soldiers destroyed his printing press in order to make bullets for their muskets. Both in the years 1630 and 1634 Conopaeus had to endure untold harships from the brutal Swedish troops. Althogh he usually hid in the woods during the day and came only by night into the city to keep alive the courage of the few Catholics and to administer the sacraments to them, the Swedes finally captured him and wounded one of his hands so severely that it had to be amputated. But this could not cool the ardor of the fervent Conopaeus who continued his apostolatic ministry after the withdrawal of the fanatical Swedes, not only in the school but also in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the city of Leipa. Here he

[199]) The title is found in the accusative case in L-B 305. We give it here in the nominative : Etymologia latinae grammatices, nominum praecipue, et verborum proprietates facili modo explanans. Two other textbooks of Conopaeus are here cited : Rudimenta, sive principia latinae grammatices, necnon Syntaxis latinae linguae, Leipa 1631; and Grammatica linguae latinae, in quatuor libros distributa, et classibus Augustinianis accomodata, no date or place given.

suffered a stroke while preaching a sermon and died in the church itself on Oct. 12, 1635, still young in years but rich in merits [200]).

The young Augustinian community of Leipa could in later years really claim that it had come per aspera ad astra — from the depths to the heights. It had lost its great benefactor Wallenstein by his sudden death in 1634, it had lost its dynamic leader Conopaeus by his sudden death in 1635, it had been plundered on several occasions by the savage Swedes. But it proved that Conopaeus was not the only member of the community who was capable of working, even under great obstacles. In a providential way, several young Augustinians were employed, including at least one Austrian, before the Austrian and the Bohemian monasteries were separated in 1637. So we find as young professors of the school of Leipa in 1635 under the new prefect, the Moravian Fulgenz Kavka, who had served under Conopaeus and succeeded him as prefect of the school in which post he acquitted himself creditably for many years [201]), these other Augustinians : the Austrian (or Bavarian ?) Augustin Mellius, a professed cleric not yet in major orders [202]); the Austrian Christian Weber, or Sartorius, who lated finished his theology in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague [203]); a Bavarian professed cleric, Wilhelm [204]). Possibly one Italian cleric also, Fulgenzo da Monte Verona, acted as professor, but this is less certain [205]). At all events, we see the system of using young clerics as teachers of youth, which even in our day is employed by some institutes. The separation of the Bohemian and the Austrian monasteries in 1637 led naturally to the withdrawal of the Austrians, but not to the failure of the gymnasium.

§ 12. *Emphasis on Care of Souls*

We have now seen that the short-lived province of Bohemia-Austria had some system of preparing candidates for the priesthood, but we find no emphasis upon higher studies. Rather the tendency at this time was — as the troubled times demanded — one of resto-

[200]) Kr. 63 and 329.
[201]) Kr. 87 and 329.
[202]) *Ibid.*, 329.
[203]) *Ibid.*, 68 and 329.
[204]) *Ibid.*, 66.
[205]) *Ibid.*

ration or of recuperation. Ruined churches and monasteries had to be rebuilt, and lost foundations had to be recovered. We know from the earlier parts of this study that precisely this was accomplished. We know of only one Bohemian doctor — or, more strictly, master — in theology from the Bohemian monasteries in this period, Johannes Baptist Kristl. And we must hasten to add that his magisterium responded by no means to the desire to pursue higher theological studies, but rather to the desirable ornamentation which was expected of major superiors at this time. His labors were definitely upon material, not theological lines. Here is a translation of the Latin of Crusenius about 1623, when he refers to Kristl and shows along what lines his undoubtedly worthy labors tended : « I cannot but mention, while speaking of Bohemia, the diligence and industry of the Very Rev. Father Master Johannes Baptist Cristellius, Protonotary Apostolic, and Prior Provincial in Bohemia. By his many and great labors and with the help of the emperor Rudolph II, he restored to their former beauty and adorned with new splendor the church and monasteryof Prague. The former had been weakened by its great age, the latter greatly damaged by Hussite fury » [206]). Along these lines Kristl was undeniable capable !

A German of the Bavarian province, the convert Wolfgang Hofmann, became a member of the Bohemian-Austrian province, when it was founded in 1604, and became prior of Vienna in the provincial chapter. He obtained his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1605 and died in the same year [207]). The next doctorate obtained by an Augustinian in the university of Vienna was granted in 1626 to the north Italian Carlo Antonio Barbieri, who remained only a short time in the province before returning to Italy [208]). Two Italian provincials of the Bohemian-Austrian province, Gabriele Cariddi and Angelico Tapparelli, obtained the master's title in theology from the order, as did the Croat prior of Vienna, Johannes Baptist Markowitz. But theological studies were, to put it mildly, not the specialty of these magistri ! The writer of these pages, if he may present his humble opinion, thinks that the Augustinian order has done well to abolish this internal honorific title, which history shows was conferred too

[206]) C-L 187.

[207]) ÖNB 124732. 99r.

[208]) Gavigan, *doct.* 291.

often and with anything but scientific criteria upon persons whose theological incapacity made the title often laughable.

But it does seem justified to state the small and short-lived province of Bohemia-Austria made a modest indeed, but real and useful contribution to the care of souls and so to the Catholic Reformation of the seventeenth century. This does not exclude human imperfections [209]). But what human society is completely free from such weaknesses? In other monasteries also we could give examples where the actuality was far below the ideal. Nonetheless we wish to avoid the mistake of generalizing from islated unpleasant facts to the easy, but uncertain and false, conclusion that the whole picture was unpleasant. Ab uno disce omnes is the name well given to a fallacy. Precisely because such unpleasant facts derserve a special mention in the chronicles and archives of religious orders, we see that they were exceptional rather than ordinary. Just as today the quiet, orderly citizen in a large city never appears in the newspapers where the criminals make headlines, so in the history of religious congregations : the observant and orderly life of most members deserves no special mention in the archives, since such lives are taken for granted, whereas one or two scandalous members are almost certainly destined to be recorded in its history. In fact, however, enough detailed material is at hand to show that a modest but real contribution to the care of souls was made by the Augustinian convents, both of the Bohemian and of the Austian monasteries. We believe it can be represented under the three headings of reestablishment, preaching and parochial work, and education.

A. Reestablishment : The first contribution made by this Augustinian province to the care of souls consisted in their reestablishment of lost or depredated monasteries. Thus, we must say, in justice to Johannes Baptist Kristl, who seems to have been quite ambitious, that he succeeded in rebuilding the central Augustinian monastery of the province, St. Thomas' in Prague, and that he kept up for years a not unsuccessful battle to keep the order afloat in a region where Catholicism had been terribly weakened, first by Hussitism and then by Protestantism, which almost succeeded in wiping it out completely. His long rule in the province represented certain weaknesses indeed, especially from the viewpoint of the somewhat neglected Austrians,

[209]) We have given one sad example of them in our study *Ubergabe.*

but the fact remains that the Augustinians in these regions came out of the Thirty Years' War in better condition than they had been at the time of the province's founding in 1604. We recall from § 9 that the monasteries of Taus and Weiswasser were recovered under his regime, even though he ruled at the time of their recovery through his Bavarian vicar, Adeodatus Vischer.

A word of recognition seems due to the Italian Gabriele Cariddi also, at least from the material angle, for his work in restoring the monastery of Schopka. Here he labored twenty-seven years as prior, and was successful in restoring the great damage inflicted by rebels in 1611, as we have already seen. But his labors were always hampered by the anti-Catholic neighborhood. He as buried in the church of St. Lawrence, where he had labored so long [210]).

In the monastery of Vienna, the fifteen-year priorship of the Austrian Silvester Stigler (1606-1621) represented a period of good relations with the civil government, which had not existed for a long time, at least to such a favorable extent. The efforts of Stigler and of other Austrian Augustinians succeeded in bringing back to the order in 1625 the lost monastery of Korneuburg, where the community displayed a very creditable labor, as we saw in § 9.

In Baden also, which had been strongly protestantized, the small community succeeded in rebuilding the sadly neglected monastery and in helping to recatholicize the region [211]).

B. Preaching and parochial work : In the monasteries of both Bohemia and Austria good results in the care of souls can be noted. We have already referred in § 8 to the case of Thomas Sonnenreiter, who served for years as the pastor of Proseberg, where he had been sent from the monastery of Schopka, and who died as a result of burns inflicted on him by heretics. At least two outstanding preachers in the German tongue were to be found in the province.

The first is the Nürnberger convert from Lutheranism, Wolfgang Hofmann. His first mention in Prague dates from the year 1588. Here he showed great talent as a controversial preacher in the Church of St. Thomas, and succeeded in leading many back to the Catholic church to which he himself had been converted. On Jan. 1, 1596, with the consent of the local archbishop, Zbinko Berka, he was able

[210]) Kr. 51-52.

[211]) U. Anzinger, *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Baden*, in *Auga.* 18 (1968) 320-325.

to reobtain parochial rights for this Augustinian church and to assist publicly at marriages. This right had been lost during the religious troubles before his time [212]). Hofmann's transfer from Prague to Vienna as prior in 1604 deprived the pulpit of St. Thomas of this convincing German preacher, so that Capuchins took over the pulpit in the Augustinian church. But Kristl as vicar general brought Augustinian preachers back to this pulpit in 1632 in a very difficult part of the Thirty Years' War.

The other preacher in the German language who obtained celebrity by his conversions was the native of Prague, Gaspar Premb. He made his novitiate about 1613 in the monastery of St. Thomas and quite probably his theological studies also. When the monastery of Taus had been recovered in 1620, he revealed himself as such a popular preacher here, that not only the Protestants of the immediate vicinity, but even other non-Catholic rustics from a distance came to his sermons and returned to the Catholic faith. He because first vicar prior and then in 1627 prior in the monastery of Stockau, from which he was able to send substantial material help for the still-developing monastery of Taus. He became in 1631 vicar general of Bohemia after the resignation of Angelico Tapparelli, and seems to have had more understanding than some of his predecessors for the problems of the Austrian monasteries. He died on visitation in Baden on Oct. 29, 1633. An inscription in the Augustinian church of Taus stated that he had led the whole population of this city back to Catholicism [213]).

Another contribution to the care of souls was the taking over of the parish in Korneuburg in 1635, twelve years after the Augustinians had regained their monastery here. We recall from § 9 that this parish work lasted beyond the eight years stipulated in the contract of 1635, and that the friars made a good impression upon the population by remaining in the city and attending to the care of souls even during the Swedish attacks. Up to our own days the parish archives give us long lists of Augustinians who baptised and assisted at marriages here. We may recall once again from § 9 that the friars here later took over the two weekly masses in the chapel of St. Nicholas also.

C. Education : In addition to the small institutes for philosophy and theology which existed in Prague and to the makeshift studies in

[212]) Kr. 49-50.

[213]) *Ibid.*, 84-85 and 297.

Baden to which we have referred in § 10, the most serious effort made by the young province in the apostolate of education was the school of Leipa, which with its six classes developed into a successful and highly useful German gymnasium for northern Bohemia. Certainly the province was fortunate that such a gifted man as Paul Conopaeus became in 1627 the first prefect of this school, which lived on after his death in 1635. We recall here the Latin school of Weiswasser also which survived down to our own days.

Not only in Bohemia but in Austria also the Augustinians opened a Latin school, that of Korneuburg before the year 1634. Zeissl [214]) says that it was opened almost immediately after the Augustinians recovered their monastery here in 1623. He may indeed be right, as he certainly is right when he refers to the three young men of the locality who entered the Augustinian order. Quite probably the school attracted vocations. When the monastery burnt down in 1634, the school had to be suspended. After the Augustinians had again moved into their restored monastery in 1635, it was decided to resume the school also in the monastery. The school was therefore solemnly opened on the feast of the translation of the relics of St. Augustine, February 28, 1636 under the direction of friar Christian Weber, who in true magisterial style employed the latinized name of Textor or Sartorius. Under the former name he received the diaconate in the Schottenkirche of Vienna on March 19, 1639, and the priesthood in St. Stephen's cathedral on April 9 of the same year [215]). In any case the students of the school were able to present a play by Christmas of the year of reopening, 1636 [216]). The school seems not to have survived the Swedish attacks of 1645, since we find no reference to its directors or teachers in the chapter acts which begin in 1646.

We need not refer here to the chair of moral theology in the University of Vienna, which the Augustinians began to occupy in 1640 [217]), since this took place after the separation of the Bohemian

214) *Ibid.*, 24.

215) *Matr.* 2.24c and 24h. Hence we are curious to know where Professor Zeissl (25) found the reason for calling friar Christian « a pedagogue who was well known in his day ». We have seen him as a young teacher in Leipa in the year 1635.

216) Starzer 567; Zeissl 24-25.

217) K. Hormann, *Die ersten Inhaber der ersten moraltheologischen Lehrkanzel 1622-1640*, offprint from *Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien*, 2. Band, Graz-Köln 1965, 38.

and the Austrian monasteries. For the same reason, we make no detailed mention of the school within the city of Vienna, where the Belgian Patritius de Rau began classes in philosophy and theology about 1637 [218]). But sufficient has been said to indicate that the small province of Bohemia-Austria, in spite of its few subjects — which we estimate at about fifty — and in spite of the very difficult times in which it existed, made its modest contribution to the Catholic Reformation in the seventeenth century.

§ 13. *Attempt at separation 1626*

Tragically enough, the Austrian monasteries, including that of Vienna, seem not to have been given their due amount of attention while the Austrian and the Bohemian monasteries werd united. This led in 1630 to the heart-breaking loss of the beautiful church of St. Augustine in the imperial city and of the Augustinian monastery alongside of it to the discalced Augustinians. We shall attempt to describe this loss briefly in § 14. Here we must first explain how even before 1630 the Austrian Augustinians felt very dissatisfied with « foreign » direction, and by « foreign » they meant not only elements out of Italy or Belgium, but out of Bohemia also! In this local consciousness the Augustinians were undeniably aided by the civil government, as we have already seen in § 7 for the years 1604 to 1623. Under the long priorship of Silvester Stigler (1606-1621) the Austrian Augustinians had learned by experience in just what ways they could assure themselves of good support from the Klosterrat and other instruments of the government in their problems with superiors in Prague. We recall also how Carlo Tirello, the general's appointee to the priorship of Vienna, had been rejected by the Klosterrat and the emperor himself — at the instigation of the convent of Vienna — in 1622. Another indication that the Austrian Augustinians had learned how to express their wishes in the proper place!

By 1626 the Austrian Augustinians believed that the opportunity had come to make with the help of the emperor Ferdinand II and his Klosterrat a triple stroke. The prior general Ghetti had appointed on March 6 of this year Angelico Tapparelli of Trent as vicar general for the province of Bohemia and Austria, to succeed the Fleming

[218]) Gavigan, de primo 287.

Nikolaus Crusenius, whose term of three years as elected provincial had elapsed [219]). The Austrian Augustinians, in whose memories the rejection of the Italian appointee to the priorship of Vienna in 1623 was still fresh, saw their chance! On April 18, they presented to the emperor a threefold petition : first, to refuse approbation to the Italian vicar general, Tapparelli; second, to be separated from the Bohemian monasteries; third, to elect their own provincial, that is, to be erected into an independent province of Austria [220]). Since the monastery of Korneuburg had been recovered in 1623, and therefore made the third Austiran monastery; and since hope remained of recovering the lost monasteries of Marchegg and Bruck an der Leitha, the new Austrian province would have consisted of five monasteries, if the wishes of the Austrians had been at this time fulfilled. But the monastery of Marchegg was never recovered [221]), and that of Bruck was not recovered until 1642 [222]). The Austrian monasteries of 1626 remained for the time being united with the Bohemian monasteries in a single province. Hence, the wish of the Austrians to elect their own provincial was not granted at this time, and ,even more impor- important, the general's appointee as vicar general, Angelico Tapparelli, was approved for the coming two years, in spite of the Austrian's strong protest against his appointment, and in spite of their written relation of all the woes caused in the past to Austrian monasteries by foreign superiors [223]).

One point of great interest which we must bring out here for the year 1626 is « the list of reasons because of which the fathers and brothers of the province of Austria wish to be separated from the Bohemian province » [224]). These reasons were presented in Latin when the Austrians made their unsuccessful attempt in April 1626 which we have just related. We shall present all five of the reasons, since they give a valuable insight into the long smouldering dissatisfaction of the Austrians, who show here their conviction that the union with Bohemia is disadvantageous to them and therefore should be dissolved. We shall simply enumerate the reasons without detailed commentary

[219]) Dd 66.100r.
[220]) ASW, Kl.A. 21,33.
[221]) Gavigan, *Epp.* 445.
[222]) Rennhofer, *Kl.* 498.
[223]) As in note 220.
[224]) *Ibid.*, Beilage 2.

upon their objectivity, since we believe that the present study is itself in great part a commentary on these petitions which, like so many similar petitions, place too much emphasis upon the aspect which is distasteful and therefore present chiefly one side of the picture. The reasons are :

1. The Austrians are sent to Bohemia, where studies are neglected and morals corrupted.

2. Much money is spent for the journeys of the provincial, who often visits Vienna [225]).

3. Affairs of major importance are handled too slowly.

4. The superiors of Bohemia threaten the ruin of the Austrian monasteries.

5. Without this separation the Austrians are unable to recover their lost monasteries or to accept the new ones which are offered.

What we have seen up to now in our present study will help us to realize that these five complaints indeed had a basis in reality, even though here and there the other party could make certain necessary restrictions and even point out advantages for Austria fom their union. But the complaints are historically most valuable for the insight they give us into the attitude of the Austrian Augustinians in 1626 towards their union with Bohemia. To put it mildly, they were against it !

§ 14. *Loss of St. Augustine's in Vienna*

We have elsewhare devoted a special study to this subject [226]). Here we shall merely relate the chief reasons which made the emperor Ferdinand II and his wife, Leonora da Mantova, dissatisfied with the friars of St. Augustine in Vienna. By June 1629 the emperor and his wife had decided to request the pope to expel the friars then dwelling in St. Augustine's, who belonged to the original, that is the calced, Augustinians, and to introduce in their place a reform branch of the

[225]) This would prove that both Kristl and Crusenius had often made the journey from Prague to Vienna and back again. Crusenius seems to have resided as provincial frequently if not habitually in Prague, since Kreybich (59), who is usually well informed on Bohemian occurrences in the order, states that Crusenius designated Adeodatus Vischer as vicar provincial in his absence.

[226]) *Übergabe.*

same order, known as the discalced or barefoot Augustinians [227]). Ferdinand II communicated his plans and his reasons to the papal nuntius in Vienna, Giovanni Battista Pallotto, who wrote on June 30, 1629 to the pope's nephew Cardinal Barberini the following words, which sum up Ferdinand and Leonora's reasons, and which we translate from the Italian : « Their Majesties [Ferdinand II and Leonora] have considered that the order [the calced Augustinians] is in a miserable state in these regions, with no observance, no religious spirit, no learning, no subjects, so that they give a bad example » [228]).

Just as in the case of the five complaints made by the Austrian Augustinians in 1626 against their Bohemian confrères, so here too certain restrictions must be made in favor of the objective truth. Thus, it is only fair to state, in commentary on the emperor's belief that no religious spirit was to be found in 1629 in the monastsry of Vienna, that one member of the Augustinian community, precisely at the time of Palloto's letter, was the young priest, Karl Goubault, who died in 1636 in the odor of sanctity [229])! Hence it would be certainly false to say that Pallotto's (or Ferdinand's) criticisms were justified in each and every case of the ten or twelve Augustianians who at this time made up the community of St. Augustine's in Vienna. Yet, Pallotto's strictures were certainly not completely devoid of truth, and we could here note other members of the community of 1629, to whom these criticisms could be directly applied [230]). The sad state of affairs had set in shortly after Luther's outbreak against the church in 1517. For about a century therefore, the Augustinians in Vienna had found themselves hard hit by the troubled times, which caused this and many other monasteries of different orders to be lost, either permanently or temporarily. In spite of various efforts from inside to restore to the monastery of St. Augustine's in Vienna its former vitality, the success had been limited both by the great difficulties of the times and by human weakness.

On the other hand, the discalced Augustinians, founded only in 1593, were a new reformed branch of the order, enjoying the spring-

227) For the latter, *cf.*, GAVIGAN, *Disc.*

228) AV, Nunziatura di Germania 118.216r.

229) *Übergabe*, note 131.

230) *Ibid.*, 147, with accompanying sources.

time of youth, enthusiasm and energy [231]). Hence it is our sincere opinion that the introduction of the discalced Augustinians into the monastery of St. Augustine in Vienna at this time really was, under the then prevailing conditions, a great step forward in bringing a better religious spirit intoa decadent house. And hard blow though it was, it was a useful lesson for the calced Augustinians, whose eyes were rudely opened by the unpleasant surprise that met them on May 15, 1630. On this day the community was called together by the papal nuntius into their chapter room. Pallotto read to them a papal brief, dated March 23 of the same year. It ordered the calced Augustinians, under pain of excommunication, to turn over to their discalced brethren — four of whom had been secretly residing for a few days with the nearby Capuchins — the church and monastery of St. Augustine [232]).

§ 15. *New church and monastery on the Landstrasse, 1636*

The years between 1630 and 1636 for the calced Augustinians in Vienna are not easy to describe. We have the assurance of the papal nuntius Pallotto, who wrote on June 23, 1630 to Cardinal Barberini, that the calced Augustinians, immediately after the reading of the papal brief on May 15, left their monastery [233]). Five days later the expelled prior, Johannes Baptist Markowitz of Fiume, decided on a bold but senseless move, inspired by the absence of Pallotto from Vienna. Markowitz went in company with several confrères to the monastery of St. Augustine on May 20, and expelled the four discalced Augustinians who had been introduced there on May 15! Then he went to the room which he had previously occuped, opened and tore the seals which the nuntius had placed there. The emperor at once informed the nuntius, who immediately returned to Vienna and ordered Markowitz and his « most guilty complices » to be im-

[231]) *Cf.* Gavigan, *Disc.* 503-509 for a sketch of their origin and spread to Prague. In the same study, however, some attempt is made to avoid the contrary extreme of supposing, as some chroniclers of the discalced would have us believe, that everything amongst the discalced was ideal. Not only the calced Augustinians, but their discalced brethren also had not angels., but human beings in their ranks! *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 510, for the first apostasy amongst the discalced of Vienna in 1640, only ten years after their entry.

[232]) *Übergabe* 147, with accompanying texts.

[233]) ANV 8.152v; *cf.*, Übergabe 148.

prisoned in various monasteries throughout the city, where they were to await their trial. Markowitz was sent back to his native region and to the Augustinian province of Styro-Carinthia, and expressly forbidden ever to return to Vienna [234]).

The Viennese, or rather the ex-Viennese, calced Augustinians were now in an unpleasant situation. The desire of Ferdinand II had been that the expelled members of the community of St.Augustine should do one of two things : either pass over to the barefoot branch of their order, with its more austere life, or go into one of the neighboring Augustinian monasteries in Baden or Korneuburg [235]). In all probability, the latter was done for the time being, so that the expelled Viennese community was divided, some going to Baden, others to Korneuburg. The former monastery had previously housed only two Augustinians, the latter only four [236]). Still others returned to their native provinces, for example, the two Belgian members of the community [237]). And naturally the possibility of sending some — particularly the young clerical students — to Bohemian monasteries still remained. As a matter of fact, some of the expelled Augustinians found their way to Bohemia, for instance the Viennese Nikolaus Kolbius, who became prior of Leipa in 1638 and died here in 1642 [238]).

Not a single member of the expelled Viennese community passed over to the barefoot branch of the order in Vienna, although this had been precisely the way in which the discalced were founded and developed in 1593 and later [239]). But now by 1630 this new discalced community had begun to take on the character of interlopers and rivals ! Hence, we know of no single instance of such transfer in Vienna during the entire period of nearly two centuries in which Augustinians of both branches lived in Vienna [240]).

234) Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb. lat. 6219.151v.

235) *Übergabe* 144, with accompanying texts.

236) *Ibid.*

237) Kr. 64-65.

238) Kr. 65.

239) Gavigan, *Disc.* 505-508.

240) The formal disappearance of the discalced Augustinians in St. Augustine's took place in 1836 ; *cf.*, Gavigan, *Disc.* 580. At this time the few remaining calced Augustinians in Vienna had become secular priests for reasons which we have explained in *theol.*, part VIII, where we write about the last vicar-provincial of the calced Augustinians in Vienna, Melchior König.

What finally happened is briefly this : the Augustinians made several unsuccessful attempts in the 1630's to recover the court monastery and church of St. Augustine's in Vienna. We hope to publish a study on this subject in the not too distant future. Another possibility of a Viennese foundation offered itself in 1631, when the emperor Ferdinand II was disposed to turn over to the calced Augustinians the Viennese church of St. Peter's. But this also came to naught. A temporary dwelling in the so-called Karmelitenhaus — today the address would be Salvatorgasse 6 — fits in well with the little that we know about this period. But by 1636 it was decided, although with reluctance, to accept a site outside the city walls on the so-called Landstrasse [241]). And we recall that this year 1636 was the year in in which the first definite steps were made to esparate the Austrian Augustinian monasteries from the Bohemian. But we shall speak of this separation in § 16. From their new foundation on the Landstrasse with the beautiful baroque church which they here erected, the Augustinians would carry on as an independent province an active apostolate of prayer, preaching, teaching, writing and care of souls.

§ 16. *Separation of Bohemia and Austria 1637*

It is by now no secret to us that the Austrian monasteries had long been chafing under the yoke of membership in a province which gave more attention to the Bohemian than to the Austrian monasteries. The five reasons which they brought forward in 1626 did not succeed in bringing about the desired separation at this time, but their memory lingered on. We saw in § 13 how the Austrian Augustinians aspired at this time not only to be separated from Bohemia, but also to develop into a full-fledged province. And they doggedly continued their requests and their activities until they obtained both desired ends : the separation from Bohemia in 1637, of which we shall now speak; and the recognition as a full-fledged province which they obtained in 1646, and about which we have written elsewhere [242]). So far as we know the desire to dissolve the province lay only with

[241]) Dd 69.107r, d. 26 martii 1631, where mention if made of Ferdinand's offer of the church of St. Peter; Dd 73.135, d. 10 oct. 1636, where it is mentioned that Curtius becomes the superior of the new monastery on the Landstrasse.

[242]) Gavigan, De *primo*.

the Austrians. It may be indeed that some or even most Bohemian Augustinians had the same desire, but no sources known to us confirm such a belief. The document of 1626, which we already know, was a completely Austrian affair. And we shall now see that the Austrian emperor Ferdinand II in 1636 made himself the spokesman of the chief idea expressed in the document of 1626, that is, separation from the Bohemian monasteries. It is true that the letter in which Ferdinand so wrote has been lost, but its contents can be certainly reconstructed from the answer of the Augustinian prior general, Ippolito Monti, and from two later letters, which were written in 1641, the first by the new emperor Ferdinand II, and the second written by Monti [243]).

We are informed in a general way about the contents of Ferdinand's lost letter of 1636 by the answer of Monti, written on July 5 of the same year, from which we may conclude that the emperor's letter was written probably in May or early June. So writes Monti to Ferdinand in the letter by which he annouces his election to the generalship in May : « I have read with reverence the letter of Your Majesty and with the greatest readiness I have desired to carry out your wishes » [244]). The following words of the general in the same letter indicate that he intended to visit Vienna personally in the autumn of 1637 [245]) but his plans had to be changed because the cardinal protector of the order died, while Monti was in Siena on visitation [246]).

Now is the time to quote the letter of Ferdinand III written on June 24, 1641, and the general's answer of the following month, which make clear just what Ferdinand II had requested — or rather demanded — in 1636 : separation of the Austrian and the Bohemian monasteries, and the permission to elect Austrian superiors. Ferdinand III wrote on June 24, 1641, after having mentioned the great

243) Gavigan, *Epp.* 453,458-463, where all three letters are published with commentary. The general's letter of 1636 is found in Dd 73.97; the emperor Ferdinand's letter of 1641 in Dd 77.41v-42v; the general's answer of 1641 *ibid.*, 43r-44v. Several other letters confirm what we have kere stated, and we quote them also here. But the three letters specially mentioned are the most important. We have published in Epp.the Latin texts as found in the Dd registers with a few corrections from the ASW, Kl.A. 22,2, Beilage 1. Here we shall present the citations not from the Latin text but in our English translation.

244) Dd 73.97; Gavigan, *Epp.* 453.

245) *Ibid.*

246) *Ibid.*, 149r.

damage caused in Austrian monasteries by foreign superiors, as follows : « Hence our revered father ... in his zeal for piety and religion often made known his will that the first choice be given to natives of the country in appointing superiors ... and our above-mentioned revered father did not fail to write a letter to you about this very point in 1636, as you no doubt recall » [247]. Hence we see what the emperor's wish had been in the first half of 1636. This helps us better to understand the later events of the same year.

We shall now see that the general on Oct. 10, 1636 took the first step known to us in the authoritative separation of the Austrian from the Bohemian monasteries. On this day he sent the command to two outstanding Belgian Augustinians to leave their native region and betake themselves at once to Vienna. They were Cornelius Curtius, who was on this day named commisssary general in the new monastery of Sts. Sebastian and Rochus on the Landstrasse in Vienna, which the general himself wished to visit personally — but we have already seen that the general's plan of visitation had to be given up. The second Belgian who received an appointment for Vienna on Oct. 10 was Ignatius Dycker, who was named vicar or assistant to Curtius for the same monastery [248]). The authority explicitly given to Curtius in the letter of nomination makes it clear that he was given a free hand to make whatever changes seemed necessary for the reformation and observance of the new Viennese monastery, with absolutely no mention of any necessity of consulting the vicar general of the Austrian-Bohemian province, the aged Kristl, residing in his beloved Prague [249]).

Hence the first step towards separation had been taken on Oct. 10. What the prior general would have done if he had not been forced to cancel his proposed personal visitation in Austria is a matter of conjecture, which we may fortunately omit here and content ourselves with the facts. The development of affairs between October and December 1636 caused the prior general to take another step which meant the de facto separation, at least for the time being, of the monastery of Vienna from the Bohemian monasteries. The aged Curtius was replaced by a new superior, Ignatius Dycker, as the general explicitly declares in a later letter which explains his actions at this time.

[247]) Dd 77.42r; GAVIGAN, *Epp.* 459.

[248]) Dd 73.135-136.

[249]) *Ibid.*

[250]) Dd 72.57r.

We translate here from the Italian the words written on March 23, 1637 to the bishop of Vienna : « I have recalled P. Curtius and have sent in his place P. Ignatius [Dycker], a truly exemplary religious, and most active in promoting reform, and he has brought with him some confreres » [251]). Hence the further separation, at least temporary, of the chief monastery of Austria (that of Vienna), already indicated by the letters of appointment for Curtius and Dycker on Oct. 10, was confirmed by this letter of Dec. 23, 1636. Likewise it could be stated in one sense that the year 1636 marked the end of the Bohemian-Austrian province, especially if we consider the next letter of the prior general by which he explicitly declares on Jan. 16, 1637 that the Austrian monasteries are no longer under the rule of a Bohemian superior. But since nothing had been explicitly said, so far as we know, about the separation of all the Austrian monasteries from Bohemia by the end of 1636, it seems better to place the definite and juridical separation of the Bohemian and the Austrian monasteries in 1637.

These are the exact words of the general on Jan. 16, 1637, which we translate from his register : « We write to Magister Cornelius Curtius that he should write, with our authority and by our command, to the priors of Austria [here Baden and Korneuburg are certainly included] that they should recognize as vicar general our vicar general of Vienna [Dycker]. They shall no longer recognize the vicar general of Bohemia [Kristl], from whose territory we completely separate them, subjecting them to the vicar general in Vienna » [252]). The end of the Bohemian-Austrian province was an accomplished fact ! To dispel any possible doubts about the matter, the general made the official declaration for all on February 6 : « Public letters are given in which, for just reasons and at the request of those concerned, the monasteries of Austria are separated from the rule of Bohemia. The monasteries of Austria are united, and for the future subjected to the jurisdiction of our vicar general for the time being in Vienna, since the Bohemians and the Austrians did not get along well together, and it is conducive to the public welfare » [253]).

And now, in order to dispel any possible doubt about the role of the Austrian emperor, Ferdinand II, in this arrangement, we can

[251]) *Ibid.*, 31v.
[252]) *Ibid.*, 38v.
[253]) *Ibid.*, 44r.

quote here the words of the prior general Monti in a letter written on July 20, 1641 to the new emperor Ferdinand III : « When your most august predecessor, Ferdinand II ... in 1636 clemently indicated how it would please him greatly if our Austrian monasteries, out of desire for better observance, be ruled separately from our Bohemian monasteries, we obeyed the emperor's will with equal reverence and dispatch » [254]). We see therefore that we have here a clearly indicated case : not cherchez la femme, but cherchez l'empereur ! Just as Rudolph II had helped to bring about the founding of this province in 1604, so had Ferdinand II brought about its dissolution in 1636.

Epilogue

We can rapidly summarize the juridical condition of the monasteries of both regions, which were separated by the emperor's request and the acquiescence of the prior general Monti in 1636-1637. The Bohemian monasteries continued as a separate province under the rule of their vicar general Kristl, from whose jurisdiction the three then existing Austrian monasteries had been removed. The province of Bohemia remained in existence de facto and de jure until the brutal communistic suppression of 1950. Today it exists as a commissariate in Vienna, Stuttgart, Günzburg and Zwiesel. The « springtime of Prague », which was savagedly ended by Russian tanks in 1968, put at least a temporary end to hopes in Bohemia (today a part of Checoslovakia) of resuming full Augustinian life in the monasteries suppressed in 1950, whose juridical existence as a province has not ceased.

The three Austrian monasteries of Vienna, Baden and Korneuburg became, as we saw, a vicariate in 1637, ruled by the newly appointed vicar general Dycker. In 1642 the monastery of Bruck an der Leitha was recovered, and so added a fourth monastery to the union [255]). The development of these four monasteries to a recognized Austrian province in 1646 has been described elsewhare [256]). Late rincreased by the union of the monasteries of Styro-Carinthia in 1653 [257]), and by

[254]) Dd 77.42v ; Gavigan, *Epp.* 460-461.

[255]) Rennhofer, *Kl.* 498.

[256]) Gavigan, *de primo*, especially 308-321.

[257]) Rennhofer, Kl. 521.

the acquisition of several monasteries in Hungary, it became known as the Austro-Hungarian province, which ended as a province in 1812 by the suppression of the two last remaining monasteries in Austria, those of Vienna and Baden. In 1820 the last remaining house, that of Lockenhaus in Hungary of that time — today however part of the Austrian region known as Burgenland — was dissolved [258]).

In this study we have not considered the Augustinian monasteries in Moravia, which according to the plan of founding a new province in 1604 were supposed to form a part of a province which included not only Bohemia and Austria, but Moravia and Silesia as well. Since the story is too long to be told here, we hope to devote a separate study to it in the near future.

J.-J. Gavigan, O.S.A.

[258]) Rennhofer, *KI.* 521.