

Union of the Augustinian Provinces of Austria and Styro-Carinthia 1653*)

§1. Introduction

In previous studies we have explained the evolution of the Austrian Augustinian monasteries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. About 1577, the monasteries of the Augustinians in the regions

*) Abbreviations. AA = *Analecta Augustiniana* 1-35, Roma 1905 sqq. Aa = *Notizie circa le Provincie, Congregationi e conventi di tutta la nostra Religione*, in AGR, Romae 1266 sqq.; AGR = Archivum generale O.S.A., Romae Via S. Uffizio 25; Anzinger = U. Anzinger, *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Baden*, in *Augustiniana* 18 (1968) 262-332; 19 (1969) 128-192 [from the pagination it will be evident which part of this study we are citing]; ASW = Archiv der Stadt Wien, Rathaus (in which we often cite KLA. = *Klosterakten*); AV = Archivio Vaticano, Roma; Clm = codex latinus monacensis; Dd = Registrum priorum generalium, in AGR, Romae 1357 sqq.; GOA = Ordinariatsarchiv, Graz; Bischofplatz 4; Jan. = C. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner-Eremitenstift in Brünn*, Erster Band, Brünn 1898; idem, *Necr.* = *Necrologia patrum et fratrum Ord. Erem. caleeatorum S. Augustini in Vicariatu Moraviae*, Brunae 1894; ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Josephplatz; Quellen = *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, herausgegeben vom Altertumsverein zum Wien, 3 Abteilungen, Wien 1895-1921; Rennhofer = F. Rennhofer, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien, Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Wiens*, Würzburg 1956; idem, *Kl.* = *Augustinerklöster in Österreich*, in *Augustiniana* 6 (1956) 490-536.

Finally, the author of these lines asks the reader's pardon for citing his own publications so often. But it seems better to do so than to refer the modern reader to the manuscripts and to old, often inaccessible books, which are utilized therein. Hence, we use these abbreviations for the works of J.-J. Gavigan, here cited: *Origins* = *Origins of the Augustinian province of Styro-Carinthia*, in *Augustinianum* 11 (1971) 281-354; *St.-Car.* = *The Province of Styro-Carinthia 1606-1653*, AA 35 (1972) 197-301; *Boh.* = *The Augustinian province of Bohemia-Austria, 1604-1637*, in *Augustiniana* 20 (1971) 151-217; *Mor.* = *The Augustinian Province of Austro-Moravia, 1649-1651*, *ibid.* 405-457; *de primo* = *De primo augustiniano rectore provinciae Austriae*, in AA 32 (1969) 255-321; *epp.* = *Epistolae inter priores generales O.S.A. atque imperatores austriacos annis 1635-1671 missae*, in *Augustiniana* 18 (1968) 425-513; *theol.* = *De theologiae professoribus augustinianis universitatis graecensis*, *ibid.* 17 (1967) 333-338, and 18 (1968) 5-47; *Disc.* = *The Discalced Augustinians in Vienna*, *ibid.* 20 (1970) 495-580; *doct.* = *De doctoribus theologiae O.S.A. in universitate vindobonensi*, in *Augustinianum* 5 (1965) 271-364.

of Styria and Carinthia had been separated from the Bavarian province and united into a new independent unit, known as the province of Styro-Carinthia ¹⁾. On Dec. 1, 1604 the monasteries of Lower Austria and Bohemia were united into a single province known as the Bohemian-Austrian, which lasted only until 1637, when the union was formally dissolved at the instant request of the Austrians ²⁾. Between 1637 and 1646, the Austrian monasteries, now amounting to four, had been juridically a vicariate under a vicar general, but were recognized as a complete and independent province on Aug. 10, 1646 ³⁾. This small Austrian province signed on April 19, 1649 an act of union with the two monasteries of the Moravian vicariate. This brought about the formation of the province of Austro-Moravia, which however was by the desire of both parties and especially of Georg Gladić the prior of Brünn, dissolved on April 15, 1651 ⁴⁾. The two Moravian monasteries (Brünn and Gewitsch) automatically returned to the status of a vicariate, whereas the four Austrian monasteries retained the status of a province.

§2. *Two weak provinces*

When the union between the Austrian and the Moravian monasteries was dissolved in 1651, it created — or recreated — a difficult situation for the Augustinians in Austria. The four monasteries now separated from those of Moravia were those of Vienna, Baden, Korneuburg, and Bruck on the Leitha. As we shall see below in §5, these four monasteries were manned by somewhat more than 50 religious — hardly a number sufficient to form an efficient province. But the monasteries of the province of Styro-Carinthia were in an even more difficult position. Here were nominally six monasteries, Gratz, Fürstenfeld, Fiume, Lubiana, Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt. In these six monasteries the number of religious hardly surpassed 50, whereas only one religious resided ha-

¹⁾ Gavigan, *Origins*. For the development of the province of Styro-Carinthia before 1653, see Gavigan, *St.-Car.*

²⁾ Gavigan, *Bohemia* 212-216.

³⁾ Gavigan, *de primo* 320.

⁴⁾ Gavigan, *Moravia* 519-593.

bitually at this time in each of the two last-named monasteries, Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt. The problem in Styro-Carinthia was even more complicated by regional differences, particularly strong in Lubiana and Fiume, both of which were general convents. Finally, the monastery of Fiume enjoyed indeed a good reputation for its lovely climate, but anything other than a good reputation for its religious exemplarity⁵⁾. The last provincial of the province of Styro-Carinthia, Jordan Wieland (1649?-1653) had great difficulties with a faction of this monastery, so that a disastrous visitation in 1652-1653, provoked by these troubles, only added to the problems⁶⁾. Amongst the many sad results of this visitation was the hostility created in the Augustinian prior general Visconti against the provincial of Styro-Carinthia Wieland. The latter therefore could hope for little favor from his prior general. But in the Austrian province the situation was different. Here was a provincial who enjoyed the confidence and the admiration, not only of his prior general, but also of the most important figures in Austria, the emperor Ferdinand III. Hence we shall say a few words about this talented and influential young provincial.

§3. *Alfons Staimos, 1620-1661*

Born in Brünn as a farrier's son, Alfons Staimos, whose name has at least five different spellings, entered the novitiate of Brünn in 1638, from which we might conclude to his birth about the year 1620, and this is confirmed by contemporary sources⁷⁾. We are fortunate in learning by Staimos' own testimony about his age and the place of his theological studies: «I spent four years in Gratz»⁸⁾, where he most probably studied in the Augustinian monastery, in which he surely lived. The place is confirmed by the ordination re-

⁵⁾ Cf. Gavigan, *Origins* 296-301.

⁶⁾ Gavigan, *epp.* 468-471 for a brief history of the visitation made by Maestro Francesco Barbabella, of the province of Marchia Anconitana.

⁷⁾ Janetscheck's book *Necrologia* (19), which is unfortunately erroneous here and in many other places, states that Staimos was sixty-five years old when he died in 1661. This would place his birth in 1596. If this were true, then Staimos would have become a novice at the age of forty-two, since Janetscheck states that he entered the novitiate in 1638.

⁸⁾ AGR, Aa, 36a. 673v.

cords, which prove that Staimos was ordained a subdeacon in the bishop's domestic chapel in Gratz on April 4, 1643 at the age of 23; on May 21, 1644, at the age of 24 he was ordained a deacon in the same chapel; finally he was ordained to the priesthood on March 31, 1646 at the age of 26 in the same chapel ⁹⁾. Staimos was the subprior of Brünn at 29, when the act of union between the Moravian and the Austrian monasteries was signed on April 19, 1649 ¹⁰⁾. When the first and only provincial chapter of the Austro-Moravian province was held in the monastery of Korneuburg on Nov. 27, 1649, Staimos was wisely appointed preacher of the new Augustinian monastery on the Landstrasse in Vienna ¹¹⁾. Indeed on Nov. 20, the prior general Visconti had already designated Staimos as the prior on the Landstrasse, but this news had not yet reached the chapter which began only seven days later ¹²⁾. Probably the appointment reached Vienna by Christmas, so that Staimos could begin the new year 1650 as prior in the imperial city at only 30 years of age.

Staimos was undeniably an exceptionally talented controversial preacher, so that his sermons in the new Augustinian church on the Landstrasse soon attracted the pleased attention of the emperor, Ferdinand III, who had him brought on several occasions to the diets of Regensburg. Here he preached before churches filled by impressed non-Catholics, several of whom were led to the Catholic faith ¹³⁾. A particularly enthusiastic letter in praise of Staimos' fine preaching in Regensburg, written by the papal nuntius Pannochieschi to Cardinal Chigi on March 31, 1653, is found in the Vatican Archives ¹⁴⁾. As Abraham a Sancta Clara was unquestionably the best preacher of the discalced Augustinians in Vienna ¹⁵⁾, so was Staimos surely the best preacher of the calced Augustinians in the

⁹⁾ GOA, *Protocollum ordinatum* II 127, 144, and 177.

¹⁰⁾ Dd 84. 305.

¹¹⁾ ÖNB 8466.21r.

¹²⁾ Dd 84.382.

¹³⁾ We give here just one concrete example out of several that could be cited about the influence of Staimos's sermons. The Count Ernst of Hessen wrote on June 17, 1661 a letter to the Capuchin Valerian Magni, stating that his conversion to the Catholic faith began when he had visited from curiosity the famous sermons of Staimos in the Augustinian church of the Landstrasse in Vienna: Jan. 286.

¹⁴⁾ AV, *Nunziatura di Germania* 151.202v-203r.

¹⁵⁾ Gavigan, *Disc.* 528-529.

imperial city, at least in controversial preaching¹⁶). He mounted the pulpits not only of Brünn, Vienna and Regensburg, but of such other important cities as Gratz, Salzburg and Budapest also at the invitation of the emperor or of the local bishops¹⁷).

When the Augustinian prior general Visconti accepted the resignation of Georg Gladich as provincial of Austro-Moravia on April 15, 1651, he appointed on the same day Staimos as rector provincial of the four Austrian monasteries which had been recognized as a province since 1646¹⁸). On May 28 of the same year a new prior of Vienna was appointed in Staimos' place, Caesarius Syrott¹⁹).

§4. *The Austrian convents under Staimos*

As seen above, the Austro-Moravian province had an unbelievably short existence (1649-1651). From the viewpoint of the four Austrian monasteries it represented a «foreign rule», since the provincial Gladich was a Croat from Fiume. Precisely with such foreign domination, the Austrians were completely dissatisfied. We need merely recall here how the Austrian Augustinians had never had an Austrian provincial during the whole time of the duration of the province of Bohemia-Austria (1604-1637). Then between 1637 and 1646 they had existed as a vicariate ruled practically the whole time by Belgians and Italians. Certainly the Austrians themselves had elected Gladich provincial in Nov. 1649. But all that we know about Gladich makes us see that he would hardly have brought the two Moravian monasteries into the union unless he had been assured of a key position in the new province²⁰), so that the Austrians quite probably accepted his superiorship as a necessary burden, which however they expected to see compensated by weighty advantages. Otherwise we simply could not understand why the Austrians not only accepted, but positively desired, union with Moravia in which they surely saw in 1649 a help for their small and struggling province, recognized officially only three years earlier.

¹⁶) See Jan. 286-288 for the work written and published by Staimos, especially *Gratum piperis* which treats of the value of good works.

¹⁷) Jan. 262-277.

¹⁸) Dd 85.182rv.

¹⁹) Ibid.195r.

²⁰) Gavigan, Moravia 585-589.

But these expected advantages quite evidently did not materialize, so that both parties were disposed to accept separation just about one year after the foundation of their new province, even though the chief reason for the separation lay in Gladich. We mention this here, even though it entails a certain repetition, since we can so more easily understand the situation and the viewpoint of Staimos, who found himself in April 1651 as a provincial with only four convents in his province. In one of these convents, that of Vienna, well over half the province lived, and this convent was general, that is, subject immediately to the prior general, not to the provincial! Is it not easy therefore to understand how Staimos would seriously consider and accept ways and means of improving both the quantity and the quality of his province? We shall strive to show how he gladly accepted the plan of realizing this aim through yet another union of the Austrian monasteries (the third within a half century!), this time with the small and hardly thriving province of Styro-Carinthia. Perhaps he recalled the Aristotelian dictum: *corruptio unius est generatio alterius*. So could he reason, the dissolution of the province of Austro-Moravia could be the occasion for the birth of a new province! In any case, the actual events were so: after the dissolution of Austro-Moravia in 1651 came the birth of a new province in 1653.

Staimos was created a master in theology by the prior general Visconti, with Nicholas Donellan, professor of the university of Vienna, as his promotor²¹). No mention was made of an examination, so far as we know, since Staimos' undeniably learned and effective sermons were evidently considered proof of this theological capability. The degree was considered at this time a practically indispensable concomitant of provincials or vicars general, even when their theological competence was often more than doubtful. Staimos however surely deserved the degree far more than many of his contemporaries, whose accomplishments by no means matched his.

More important than a mere honorific title is the last intermediate congregation of the Austrian province before the union with the monasteries of Styro-Carinthia. Such congregations were supposed to be held at mid-term by the provincial, his secretary and his advisers in order to make necessary or advisable changes. Hence on Sept. 10, 1652 the congregation was held in the monastery on the

²¹) ÖNB 8466.30v-31v.

Landstrasse in Vienna. The most important change here made was the election of a new prior for Baden to replace Caesarius Syrott, who had been prior here since 1649, and had been on May 28, 1651 appointed by the general to the priorship of the general convent of Vienna ²²). The definitors chose as Syrott's successor in Baden the native of Eisenstadt, Hieronymus Hufnagel, who on Jan. 1 of this year had ceased to be prior of Gratz, which then belonged to the province of Styro-Carinthia, of which Hufnagel was not a member, since he belonged to the province of Austria ²³). This was not the only example of Hufnagel's living outside of his province. When Staimos was elected prior of Brünn in 1653, Hufnagel accompanied him to Brünn, where he himself would become prior after Staimos' death in 1661 ²⁴). For the monastery of Korneuburg also a new prior had to be found, since Silvester Koch had resigned the priorship here. As his successor the native of Korneuburg was chosen, Johannes Thoma or Thomer ²⁵).

Unquestionably one of the outstanding signs of the benevolence of Ferdinand III towards the Augustinians on the Landstrasse was the so-called Ferdinandeische Stiftung, the Ferdinandeian foundation, of July 1, 1651. Almost certainly influenced by his admiration for Staimos, the emperor stated that he «from his particular fondness and propension towards» the Augustinians determined the annual payment of 1000 gulden, to be paid in quarterly sums of 250 gulden. Of this sum, 750 gulden were for two daily masses in the church on the Landstrasse, of which one was to be sung, and this with particular solemnity and music on the feasts of the saints Sebastian, Rochus, Benno and Rosalia ²⁶). The remaining 250 gulden were for the celebration of two masses for Ferdinand and his ancestors, to be celebrated on Sundays and feast-days in the chapel of St. Bridget «on the Thabor between the Danube bridges» ²⁷). Not only did this foundation widen the sphere of pastoral activities of the Augustinians on the Landstrasse, it brought also a powerful help for their studies, which up to this time had not been able to be strongly developed amongst the Austrian Augustinians after Luther. Since the

²²) Dd 85.143rv.

²⁴) Jan. 297.

²⁵) ÖNB 8466.32r.

²⁶) Quellen I.5.6021a.

²⁷) Ibid. 6021b.

foundation on the Landstrasse in 1636 the regent of studies had been invariably a foreigner ²⁸). Now however the generous help of the emperor made possible, according to this expressed wish, a development of higher studies amongst the Augustinians of Vienna. The parish chronicle states that « professors for the university of Vienna were to be prepared from the ranks of this monastery » ²⁹). The hopes of Ferdinand and surely of the young provincial Staimos were not disappointed. Before the end of the century, eight Augustinians of the Austrian province and three foreign Augustinians had become members of the college of doctors of theology of the university of Vienna ³⁰). Naturally these young doctors could not be turned out overnight. But it must have been encouraging for the Austrian Augustinians in the following decades to see how their countrymen were now obtaining the doctorate in a university where Augustinian doctors from the Austrian lands had formerly been few in number ³¹).

§5. *An informative letter, 1652*

Here we must speak at some length about a most informative and interesting letter, which the provincial Staimos wrote from Vienna on Oct. 26, 1652. Its contents are precious for the candid and exact information — it was a private letter in Latin to the prior general Visconti ³²). The letter expresses two desires : first, Staimos would like to have authority over the general convent of Vienna; second, he backs up the emperor's wish for the union of the province of Austria with that of Styro-Carinthia, and provisionally, Staimos would even favor union, or rather reunion, with the vicariate of Moravia ! We shall now explain these points in detail and shall gain thereby a good insight into the conditions of the monasteries of which Staimos treats.

In the first place, he wishes to have more jurisdiction over the

²⁸) See §14 and notes 109-110 of this study.

²⁹) *Origo templi paroecialis ad S.S. Sebastianum et Rochum in via regia...*, ms in Pfarrarchiv of this church, Vienna, ff. 8-9.

³⁰) Gavigan, doct. 275.

³¹) Ibid.

³²) Original in AGR, Aa 36 a.672-674v; excerpts in Clm 8423.232-235. We shall cite it from the original. The copy is very poorly made and has some errors.

convent of Vienna with its 37 members, well over half the province of Austria. Since this monastery was a general convent, it was subject directly to the prior general, who appointed a local prior. Hence the provincial was hampered in his dealings with the chief convent of his province, in which his authority as provincial was definitely restricted. Staimos proposes therefore that he be named either permanent visitator or commissary general, so that his authority as provincial in Austria be not restricted to only three monasteries with 20 religious ³³).

Why were so many religious in the monastery of Vienna? Not only because the provincial, his secretary and many priests dwelt here, but chiefly because most of the students lived here and were instructed by the Italian regent of studies, Giuseppe Sabbatini, assisted by a second professor, or cursor. Thus in 1651 there were in the monastery on the Landstrasse 13 clerical students and 8 laybrothers ³⁴). When we recall that many tasks were then performed by laybrothers, such as those of porter, sacristan, cellarer, cook, infirmarian, director of woods and vineyards, tailor etc., we shall not be surprised at the presence of eight laybrothers in a single community. In later years this number became ever larger.

The buildings here on the Landstrasse were unfinished, and a debt of 8000 gulden existed in 1652, in spite of which the 37 religious were maintained here. Staimos gives here for the prior general and for posterity an interesting look into the building history of the monastery on the Landstrasse in Vienna: «I should like to finish next year (=1653) the second wing of the monastery, and then all the confreres can sleep in one section» ³⁵). In § 8 we shall speak of the house discipline in Vienna as mirrored in the visitation decrees of Sept. 1651.

But let us see what Staimos says about the other three monasteries of the Austrian province at this time. He gives no long description, but his picture is sharp and clear. The monastery of Bruck on the Leitha has only four religious, and at most only two more could be maintained here. For many years [since 1546, to be exact], this

³³) AGR, Aa 36a.672r. In fact, the general had appointed Staimos visitator general of Vienna on Aug. 12, 1651; ÖNB 8466.29r. But this authority had terminated with the visitation made during Sept. 1651; *ibid.* 29v-30r.

³⁴) ÖNB 8466.20v-21r.

³⁵) AGR, Aa 36a.673v.

monastery had been in secular hands, and had been recovered by the Augustinians only in 1643. The monastery is in a ruined condition, and has not even a roof, says Staimos. With regard to Korneuburg also his picture is a dismal one. The monastery had been devastated by the attacks of the Swedes and then by the artillery of the emperor's army during the thirty years' war. Although the prior Silvester Koch had done excellent work, both from the spiritual and from the material viewpoint, only six religious could be kept here, and this limit was already attained. Finally the convent of Baden bei Wien is referred to. Here there are ten religious, and the building is good ³⁶).

This is the hardly satisfactory condition of the Austrian province, rapidly described by the provincial in late 1652. He uses clear language and calls it a province of four miserable convents! Now let us see what Staimos has to say about the second point.

Staimos believes that it is necessary to unite the province of Austria with that of Styro-Carinthia, «if this [latter] can be called a province» ³⁷). At the very beginning, he states that the emperor (probably acting on Staimos' advice and suggestion) when he had requested the union of the monasteries of Gratz and Fürstenfeld with the province of Austria, by no means intended to exclude the two convents of Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt. Rather the emperor considers these two small convents to be merely appanages of Gratz and Fürstenfeld, since in each of them «only one religious dwells in order to guard those ruins» ³⁸). These are the four (or two!) monasteries of Styro-Carinthia, says Staimos, which the emperor (and Staimos himself) desire to see united with the province of Austria. Even with regard to the principal monastery of Styro-Carinthia, that of Gratz, the metropolitan city of Styria, Staimos has a frank and justified criticism, based upon his personal experiences there during a period of four years, ca. 1642-1646 ³⁹). We shall quote it literally in §6.

Now Staimos embarks on a tirade against a convent which was indeed included in the province of Styro-Carinthia since this province's founding about 1577, but which was a general convent and which

³⁶) The Augustinian house in Baden had been slowly rebuilt during the seventeenth century, after being recovered from the hands of the city: see Anzinger 311-325.

³⁷) AGR, Aa 36a.673v.

³⁸) Ibid. 673r.

³⁹) Cf. note 8.

Staimos himself under no circumstances wished to unite as a compact community with Austria ⁴⁰). As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the monastery of Fiume had been a source of headaches to the priors general of the order because of the disorderly life led there. Various generals, and on one occasion the pope himself (St. Pius V) had adopted reform measures, up to and including the unfortunate visitation to which we have referred in §2 ⁴¹). Leaving for §6 Staimos' detailed testimony about the monastery in Gratz, we offer here a partial translation of Staimos' Latin comment upon the monastery of Fiume and its community, where he energetically explains why he would not wish to include it in the proposed union of Austria and Styro-Carinthia: «because it is today rather a sewer of evils than a monastery of religious. From it came not only the loss of our holy convent of Vienna, but even today because of the evil life of that community — with a few exceptions, but it remains true of the majority — our whole order in Germany is ruined» ⁴²). Staimos gives the prior general in one sentence his advice about Fiume: it should not be admitted into the proposed union, but should remain a general convent under the jurisdiction — and the responsibility — of the prior general himself ⁴³). If however the general wished to insist upon including Fiume in the union with Austria then the community should be completely transferred into other monasteries, whereas religious from other convents should be sent to form a completely new community in Fiume. In §6, we shall quote another broadside of Staimos against the Augustinians of Fiume, in connection with the monastery of Gratz where many of them had been stationed.

Both the emperor Ferdinand III and Staimos urged the union of Austria with Styro-Carinthia (but without Fiume!) to help remedy

⁴⁰) Even after the union of Austria and Styro-Carinthia in 1653, the problem of Fiume caused a long controversy, which was partially settled by the definite incorporation of Fiume into the Austrian province in 1669; Gavigan, epp. 506-507.

⁴¹) See Gavigan, *Origins* 294-297, for the some of the difficulties experienced by the reforming general Seripando, and for the attempts made to reform this unruly community, in whose mild climate a radical mixture of Slavs and Italians produced linguistic advantages and too often disadvantages.

⁴²) AGR, Aa 36a.673r

⁴³) The religious of Fiume, who caused headaches to their superiors were by no means confined to the Augustinians, according to the words of Staimos, who states that the Jesuits had only one religious from this region of Fiume — and that they intended to expel him! See AGR, Aa 36a. 673r.

this sad situation. And what about the two monasteries of Moravia (Brünn and Gewitsch), which during the short period of 1649-1651 had been united with Austria? Here again, Staimos gives a candid and (for Gladich) uncomplimentary opinion: he believes that these two monasteries of Moravia also should be included in a union — under condition that Gladich, the chief cause of the dissolution in 1651, should die ⁴⁴). Staimos had been subprior in Brünn under Gladich before being transferred to Vienna in 1649.

§6. *Conditions in Gratz*

Since the monastery in the former archducal city of Gratz, which even today is the chief city of Styria, was so importantly situated, a few words should be especially dedicated to it here. Once again we shall employ Staimos' letter of Oct. 26, 1652, since Staimos who had passed four years as a student here well knew whereof he spoke. His testimony is useful for helping to see the low level of preaching of the Augustinians in Gratz in those years and the correspondingly low level of their studies — which was naturally reflected in their preaching. Here was in 1652 a community of thirteen religious, of whom four were laybrothers ⁴⁵). Since Staimos himself attributed, as was quite proper, great importance to good preaching, and since he had been so disappointed in the quality of the sermons preached by his Augustinian confreres in Gratz during his time there ca. (1642-1646), it may be well to translate his Latin comments which bring out once again his deservedly low opinion of his confreres from Fiume who were stationed in Gratz. Here is a translation of the words which he wrote on Oct. 26, 1652 with regard to the Augustinians in Gratz: «Is it not an everlasting shame that in the great city of Gratz, we have not a single preacher who can say a pair of words from the pulpit ⁴⁶)? not a single approved confessor? I spent four years in Gratz, and

⁴⁴) AGR, Aa 36a.674v.

⁴⁵) Ibid. 673v.

⁴⁶) So far as we can judge from the names of the priests appointed to Gratz after the union of 1653, the preachers of the Augustinian church there could preach in these languages as their mother tongues: German, Italian, Slovene and Spanish(?). The name Herrera is surely Spanish, but we realise that such leads may be deceptive. Cf. ÖNB 8466.39r for the names of the priests of Gratz after the chapter of 1653.

know all those persons, since I was provincial secretary. Except for the regent there, Joseph Tremanini ⁴⁷⁾, the prior of Fiume [Georg Roglievich] ⁴⁸⁾, and Maestro Paolini Paolini ⁴⁹⁾, there is no one who knows anything about theology or even about philosophy. Absolutely no one of our priests from Fiume, outside of these here mentioned, could with a safe conscience be approved for hearing confessions » ⁵⁰⁾. All three of the priests here mentioned had made their studies in Italy. Staimos makes no attempt to conceal his poor opinion about the theological preparation of the other priests of their community. None of these three wrote anything, so far as we know.

Naturally, Staimos hoped to improve these conditions by the proposed union with Austria. Was it not yet another reflection upon the theological ignorance in the province of Styria-Carinthia that the regent, Tremanini of Fiume, was replaced by a complete foreigner, who could not remain in his native land because of the religious persecution there? More than a year before Staimos' letter, the young Irishman Mark Forstall had been declared regent of studies in Gratz on July 17, 1651, although he had received the baccalaureate in theology as late as Jan. 2 of the same year ⁵¹⁾. A formal school of theology and philosophy had been founded by the prior general on March 31, 1650, for the convents of Prague and Gratz ⁵²⁾. We know from Staimos' letter that Joseph Tremanini was the first regent. But he remained only a short time in this function, as is clear from the date of Forstall's appointment ⁵³⁾.

We see therefore from Staimos' remarks about Gratz and the

⁴⁷⁾ But we shall see (immediately above note 51) that Tremanini had already been replaced by Mark Forstall on July 17, 1651. Possibly Staimos was at the time of writing (Oct. 1652) ignorant of this replacement of Tremanini by Forstall. Since Staimos is here speaking of natives of Fiume, it seems less probable that he designated the Irishman Forstall by the title of « regent ».

⁴⁸⁾ Dd 86.89v, where Roglievich is mentioned as prior of Fiume on Sept. 2, 1651.

⁴⁹⁾ For Paolini, see Gavigan, *Styro-Carinthia* 234-244.

⁵⁰⁾ AGR, Aa 36a.673v.

⁵¹⁾ Dd 85.144r; Dd 86.70rv.

⁵²⁾ Dd 84.536.

⁵³⁾ For Forstall's career, crowned by a bishopric in his native Ireland, see Gavigan *doct.* 298-301. Further information about Tremanini in *Augustinianum* 6 (1966) 268, note 17, where we have offered short sketches of various Augustinians of Austria and Styro-Carinthia.

other monasteries of the province of Styria-Carinthia (except Fiume) what he believed to be the proper solution: to unite the four monasteries of Gratz, Fürstenfeld, Hohenmauten, and Völkermarkt with the province of Austria for the mutual strengthening of two small provinces.

The monastery of Lubiana also could have been included in this proposition. Staimos however keeps almost complete silence about this monastery in his informative and candid letter to the prior general. We can only draw the conclusion that Staimos at the time of writing this letter did not envisage the inclusion of this general convent, which had been since its founding in 1623 under strictly one-man rule, first of the «perpetual prior» Juresich, and then after Juresich's death in 1635, of a second «perpetual prior», Johannes Hozheuar, who held this title until his death on Feb. 28, 1678. It is true that the monastery of Lubiana had been considered definitively a part of the province of Styro-Carinthia for some years after its foundation in 1623, but the perpetual priors manifested separatist tendencies. In June 1645, even the right of the provincial of Styro-Carinthia to visitate Lubiana every three years was taken away and given to another visitator, who should be named by the prior general⁵⁴). On Oct. 6 of the same year however, the prior general Petrelli granted the monastery of Lubiana, in spite of its exemption from the provincial of Styro-Carinthia, the right to send its prior and its discrete to the provincial chapters of this province⁵⁵). But Hozheuar and his monastery made no use of this privilege in the provincial chapter of 1650⁵⁶), so that Staimos in 1652 simply considered the monastery of Lubiana to form no part of the province of Styro-Carinthia, and explicitly referred to Hozheuar as belonging neither to the province of Austria nor to that of Styro-Carinthia⁵⁷). Practically therefore Staimos judged it better at the time of writing this letter in 1652 to include only the four monasteries above mentioned in the union with Austria and to exclude for weighty reasons the two general convents of Fiume and Lubiana.

⁵⁴) Dd 81.3r.

⁵⁵) Dd 80.CCXX.

⁵⁶) Gavigan, Styro-Carinthia 279-283.

⁵⁷) AGR, Aa 36a.674v.

§7. Visitation in Vienna 1652

It was prescribed by the constitutions of the order that the prior general should visit the provinces during his term, which in this period lasted usually six years. Since the generals often delegated a visitator in their place to distant houses, the general Visconti had appointed Staimos as visitator general for the monastery of Vienna on Aug. 11, 1651⁵⁸⁾. Staimos began his visitation in the month of Sept. 1652 for the community of 37 religious. Since it was customary to issue decrees after a visitation, Staimos followed the custom by issuing six decrees on Sept. 30 before the community assembled in the refectory of the new monastery on the Landstrasse⁵⁹⁾. We shall cite their contents here in summary form, since they give some insight into the problems which then, as now, existed in larger communities.

1. All the decrees made by preceding chapters⁶⁰⁾ are reconfirmed;
2. The divine office should be recited properly, and the prior should be present. The Asperges should be sung before the High Mass on Sunday. All religious who were not priests should receive Holy Communion every Sunday;
3. the prior should sell nothing, make no contracts, and begin no building operations without the consent of his counsellors. These consisted of the confreres who had a vote in the provincial chapter or who were recognized as holders of degrees within the province⁶¹⁾. The counsellors should assemble twice a month;
4. every month the books of the convents' procurator, sacristan, granarist, cellarer, and kitchen-master should be examined by the counsellors. Likewise the book of convent holdings (vineyards, mills forests etc.) should be examined four times a year. This book should be cared for by a priest appointed by the prior;
5. great importance is attached to religious poverty by the prohibition of retaining for twenty-four hours a sum amounting to a half thaler. Those who disobeyed were to be judged as guilty of theft;
6. finally, the prior is forbidden to keep in his care the convent money, and is ordered

⁵⁸⁾ Dd 86.70r.

⁵⁹⁾ The decrees are contained completely in ÖNB 8466.29v-30r.

⁶⁰⁾ Presumably the provincial chapters of 1646 and 1649; see Gavigan, *de primo* 312-314, and Moravia 585-587, for summaries and indication of sources.

⁶¹⁾ Another indication of the importance attached at this time to degrees: lector, bachelor, praesentatus, and magister.

to keep it in a safe place in charge of the « depositarii », in such a way that three keys should be necessary to open it ⁶²). At the same time, the entrance into private rooms was forbidden, outside of cases of real necessity, such as sickness.

These definitions seem to indicate that no great breaches of discipline were to be found at this time on the Landstrasse. Since the wise and diplomatic Irishman, Nicholas Donellan, had become vicar general for Austria in 1643, the spirit seems to have been definitely improved. The short period of Staimos' provincialate (1651-1656) marks an attempt to fortify that which under Donellan's regime had been accomplished. We see from the decrees, which surely reflect the situation found by the visitor Staimos, that the usual human problems had to be mentioned; less careful recitation of divine office in choir, liberties taken by priors and other officials with community funds and projects, a desire to keep money for one's private disposition, a certain carelessness about duties and house rules — they reflect the problems which constantly recurred, and still recur, in the life of religious communities.

We realize the danger of drawing exact conclusions from Staimos' decrees of 1652, but his own assurance justifies us in stating that he found no great or scandalous abuses in this convent of Vienna in 1652. Even granting that he found natural human weaknesses, and recalling the sometimes dark picture of earlier days, Staimos therefore felt reasonably optimistic, as results from his letter of Oct. 26, 1652, so far as the convent of Vienna was concerned, in which Staimos explicitly states that the conditions were quite good ⁶³).

§8. *Imperial letters 1652-1653*

We have already mentioned that Staimos had made an excellent impression upon the emperor Ferdinand III, who had gladly witnessed the rapid rise of the brilliant young preacher, whose services he employed particularly during the imperial diets in Regensburg. We shall now see that the emperor had presented about Sept.

⁶²) This practice was long-standing in many orders, and was abolished by the Augustinian order only in the newest constitutions, which were approved in 1668. Naturally, local customs before this time had differed.

⁶³) AGR, Aa 36a.672r.

1652 to the prior general Visconti the very suggestions repeated in Staimos' letter of Oct. 26 of the same year. It seems hard therefore to escape the conclusion that the emperor had, at least through intermediaries, listened to Staimos' advice and followed it with regard to the union of the two small and ineffective provinces of Austria and Styro-Carinthia into a larger and more capable province. Let us see now the steps taken by the emperor to promote such a union and how his ideas completely corresponded with those of Staimos, who had the great advantage of knowing both provinces well, since he was provincial of Austria, and had lived four years as a not always edified student, and for a time as secretary also, in the province of Styro-Carinthia.

A letter of the prior general Visconti to Ferdinand III on Oct. 29, 1652 shows that the emperor had written to Visconti more than a month before — therefore several weeks before Staimos' letter of Oct. 26 to the prior general — stating his desire that the two monasteries of Gratz and Fürstenfeld be united with the province of Austria ⁶⁴). Visconti wrote on Oct. 5 to Staimos in Vienna, informing him of the contents of the emperor's letter. Staimos answered the general on Oct. 26, and explained as we saw above in §5, that the emperor's request to unite Gratz and Fürstenfeld with Austria by no means excluded that Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt also be united. We recall Staimos' explanation that these two small convents (of one religious each) were simply considered appanages of Gratz and Fürstenfeld. The answer of the prior general Visconti to the emperor on Oct. 29, 1652 points out a slight objection: that the number of Germanic provinces would be lessened by one, and hence the number of Germanic votes in the general chapter — even in more recent times a problem seriously considered from various viewpoints — would be decreased. If however the emperor desires such a union, the prior general is gladly disposed to bring it about ⁶⁵). Probably less than a month after writing this letter to the emperor, Visconti received Staimos' letter written on Oct. 26 from Vienna, which coincided with and even explained the emperor's meaning. Visconti must have noted at once the identity of the views contained

⁶⁴) Dd 87.237; the whole letter is published in Gavigan, epp. 469-471.

⁶⁵) Dd 87.237.

in the emperor's letter written about September with the views of Staimos expressed on Oct. 26.

On the same day that he wrote to the emperor, that is on Oct. 29, 1652, the general wrote to the emperor's confessor also, Johannes Gans, S.J.⁶⁶). Not only does the general here repeat what he had stated in his letter to the emperor about the union of the monasteries in Styro-Carinthia with Austria, he even adds one detail. Since the general did not yet understand that the emperor wished Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt also to be included in the union, he made clear to the emperor's confessor that the two small convents of Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt would, in the event that Gratz and Fürstenfeld were united with Austria, have to be united with neighboring provinces⁶⁷). But after receiving (probably in late November 1652) Staimos' letter of Oct. 26, Visconti understood that not only Gratz and Fürstenfeld, but their two appanages also, Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt, ought to be included in the suggested union between Austria and Styro-Carinthia according to the emperor's will and Staimos' advice.

Now we come to another letter of Ferdinand III to the general Visconti, which again shows how the emperor and Staimos had exactly the same opinion: Austria and Styro-Carinthia should be united, but Fiume excluded from the union. We translate from the Latin the emperor's exact words written from Regensburg on Feb. 3, 1653: « With regard to the union, we desire ardently that it be realized as soon as possible, and that all the monasteries of the order in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, with the sole exception of the convent of Fiume, be incorporated into the province of Austria »⁶⁸). Here we note in the simple enumeration, Styria, Carinthia, and *Carniola* that perhaps another monastery could be added to the list of monasteries which the emperor (and surely Staimos) wished to unite with Austria. The territory of Carniola had at this time only one Augustinian monastery, that of Lubiana⁶⁹). Now it seemed

⁶⁶) See Gavigan, epp. 471, who quotes C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 3, Bruxelles-Paris 1902, 1183-1184.

⁶⁷) Dd 87.238; Gavigan, epp. 472 for full Latin text.

⁶⁸) Dd 87.334; full Latin text in Gavigan, epp. 473-474.

⁶⁹) The Augustinians had lost their monastery here during the Protestant troubles of the sixteenth century, but had made a new foundation in 1623; see Gavigan, *Styro-Carinthia* 224-227.

to be indicated that the emperor wished this monastery also to be included with Austria. At this time it had a community of about twenty, if we may judge by the community of the year 1656, when it had 21 members, of whom 9 were priests, 4 were clerical students, 4 were novices and 4 were laybrothers ⁷⁰). Even a few years after its refounding in 1623 by the province of Styro-Carinthia, it had manifested centrifugal tendencies. Under its two perpetual priors, Georg Juresich (1623-1635) and Johannes Hozheuar (1635-1678), it showed on more than one occasion its desire to go its own way as a general convent completely independent of the province of Styro-Carinthia and, later, from that of Austria also ⁷¹). Even in this year 1653 the union — or its resumption — was due to the Austrian emperor! But now in 1653 there was no immediate possibility of doubt. The emperor had apparently expressed his wish that Lubania also be included in the new provincial union, and so it was done. We shall see below in §13 that the presidency of the first provincial chapter of the fused provinces was exercised by the prior of Lubiana, Hozheuar, who then expressed publicly his willingness to incorporate Lubiana into the union, under condition that he remain as perpetual prior ⁷²), and so it was done. It is most interesting to note that the provinces of the Augustinians in Austria (except for the land of Salzburg, which at this time was not subject to Austria, but formed a prince-bishopric) depended very much for their foundation upon the wishes of the Habsburgs. Thus, in 1577 the determining factor in establishing the province of Styro-Carinthia was the desire of the archduke Karl ⁷³). In 1604 an important part was played by Rudolph II in establishing the province of Bohemia-Austria ⁷⁴). In 1636 the expressed wish of Ferdinand II brought about the dissolution of the same Bohemian-Austrian province ⁷⁵). In 1646 the recognition of Austria as a province was brought about in great part by the protection of Ferdinand III ⁷⁶). Now in 1653 the desire of Ferdinand III brought about the union of the Augustinian provin-

⁷⁰) ÖNB 8466.58r.

⁷¹) Gavigan, epp. 506-507.

⁷²) ÖNB 8466.41r.

⁷³) Gavigan, Origins 312-314.

⁷⁴) Gavigan, Bohemia 155-156; AA 3 (1909-1910) 391.

⁷⁵) Gavigan, Bohemia 210-216.

⁷⁶) Gavigan, de primo 320.

ces of Austria and Styro-Carinthia. Hence, we see that the emperor's part in uniting the two provinces of Austria and Styro-Carinthia by no means represented something exceptional, but rather was part of a larger pattern. If we wished to give a complete picture here, we should point out that the eighteenth-century descendent of the Habsburgs, Joseph II, put an end by his suppressions and the results of his legislation to the Augustinians in Austria ⁷⁷).

§9. *Decision to unite the two provinces*

When the Habsburg emperors transmitted their «wishes» to the superiors of the orders in their territories, it was no secret that these wishes were polite commands, which the superiors usually obeyed with promptness. When therefore the emperor Ferdinand III's letter from Regensburg of Feb. 3, 1653 reached the prior general in Rome, the general unhesitatingly took the step which Alfons Staimos the provincial of Austria was convinced that it was necessary to take for the good of the order, its religious discipline, and its efficiency. On Feb. 22, 1653 therefore the Augustinian prior general Filippo Visconti issued the decree of union of the two provinces ⁷⁸). The general wrote the following week on March 1 to the emperor, informing him that the decree of union had already been sent to the provinces concerned ⁷⁹). It is noteworthy that the very first reason assigned by the prior general in his decree of union of the two provinces is that the emperor Ferdinand II so desired it, and that regular observance would be thus increased: «By various indications, and in accord with the opinion and wish of His Sacred Majesty the emperor, we have learned that the brethren of Styro-Carinthia can be better led to regular observance, if each of their convents, according to location and opportunity, be annexed. Hence with a larger number of brethren and of monasteries the abundance of some may help the indigence of others. Further, the province of Austria, in which the capital

⁷⁷) Gavigan, Disc. 558-579.

⁷⁸) ÖNB 8466.32rv has a copy. The original was surely in the archives of the Augustinians on the Landstrasse in Vienna until the suppression in 1812, when the precious documents were in great part barbarously neglected and destroyed; see Renhofer 258-260.

⁷⁹) Dd 87.337; Latin text in Gavigan, epp. 474.

of the empire is contained, will attain a greatness befitting its location by the addition of several neighboring convents» ⁸⁰).

The union was to take this form: the province of Styro-Carinthia was to be considered as suppressed with the publication of the general's decree of Feb. 22, 1653. All of its members and all its monasteries (except that of Fiume) were now to be considered subject to the rule of the provincial of the Austrian province (Staimos), whom all were now bound to obey as their new provincial superior. The general convent of Fiume and its community were declared subject directly to the prior general (precisely as desired by Staimos and «requested» by the emperor). Finally, all Augustinians were ordered to accept this decree of the prior general under threat of excommunication — the usual stereotyped sanction in such decrees.

It will be noted that Lubiana was not mentioned in this decree, as it had not been mentioned in Staimos' letter of Oct. 26, 1652, and in the letters of Ferdinand III before his letter of Feb. 3, 1653, when he referred to the monasteries not only of Styria and Carinthia, but of Carniola (in which Lubiana was situated) as well ⁸¹). Lubiana was, as we recall, at this time under the strictly one-man-rule of Johannes Hozheuar, the «perpetual prior». It was incorporated, as we shall see, in accordance with the emperor's wish into the united province, under certain conditions in this year 1653 ⁸²).

Hence we see exactly what convents were now to be united into a single province by the prior general's decree of Feb. 22, 1653. The Austrian province, which was to retain its old name, consisted before the union of the four convents of Vienna, Baden, Korneuburg, and Bruck on the Leitha, with about 57 religious. The convents of Styro-Carinthia, the now suppressed province, which were to be united with the Austrian province, were at least four in number: Gratz, Fürstenfeld, Hohenmauten, and Völkermarkt. Only a few more than 22 religious would in this way be added to the now enlarged Austrian province, since the general convent of Fiume was to be definitely left out of the union. But it was possible that the general convent of Lubiana with about 20 religious would join the new province,

⁸⁰) ÖNB 8466.32r.

⁸¹) Dd 87.334; Gavigan, *epp.* 473.

⁸²) Eleven years later, in 1664, Hozheuar wished to separate Lubiana again from the province of Austria. He was forced by the emperor in 1670 to reincorporate it definitely into the province: see Gavigan, *epp.* 506-507; AGR, Aa 36a.545r.

in accordance with the expressed wish of the emperor, not however without certain conditions.

§10. *Convocation of the provincial chapter 1653*

The next step after the decree of union was the convocation of a provincial chapter of the newly fused groups. The prior general named on March 1 the president of the coming chapter, that is, the representative of the general himself, who could not be present. His first choice fell upon the Irish professor of the university of Vienna, Nicholas Donellan, as had been explicitly suggested by Staimos ⁸³). For the case however that Donellan should be unable or unwilling to accept the presidency, the next choice fell upon the prior of the general convent of Lubiana, Johannes Hozheuar ⁸⁴). In fact, Hozheuar presided over the chapter, since Donellan, as on other occasions also ⁸⁵), had other obligations, which made his acceptance difficult.

On March 7, 1653, the prior general took a step to avoid problems in the new province's chapter. He decreed that the ex-provincial of Styro-Carinthia, Jordan Wieland, should enjoy in the chapter all the rights of a past provincial, with one exception: he could not form a part of the new definitory outside of the case that the provincial of Austria, Alfons Staimos, should be elected as provincial of the two provinces now united into one. In this latter case — and this was actually what happened — there would be no objection to Wieland's having a place as past provincial in the new body of definitors. Yet another point was decided at the same time by the prior general and his counsellors. Those who had been definitors of the province of Styro-Carinthia in the last chapter of that province in 1650 should have the right to vote in the first chapter of the newly fused province. Likewise the definitors of the province of Austria elected in their last chapter, that of 1649, should have the right to vote in the coming chapter ⁸⁶).

On March 17, the provincial of Austria, Staimos, sent the letters of convocation to the members of the newly united province,

⁸³) AGR, Aa 36a.674r.

⁸⁴) ÖNB 8466.33rv.

⁸⁵) ÖNB 7236.IV.125rv.

⁸⁶) ÖNB 8466.42v.

announcing that they should come together in the Augustinian monastery of Gratz on Friday before the feast of Pentecost, that is on May 30, to elect a new provincial for the two provinces now united into one ⁸⁷).

§11. *The first provincial chapter 1653*

The chapter began as planned on May 30 in the Augustinian church of St. Paul in Gratz, which even today because of the large number of steps (Stiegen) is called the Stiegenkirche. The provincial of Austria, Staimos, delivered an eloquent sermon, as was his wont. Since it was known that the first choice for the presidency, Nicholas Donellan, had declined this position, the second choice, Johannes Hozheuar of Lubiana, was present for this function. The letters of the general by which he had on March 1 designated Hozheuar as the president of the chapter in case Donellan declined to accept this office were publicly read, and Hozheuar was acknowledged as the president of the chapter. Hozheuar then appointed as judges of causes three members of the Austrian province, Caesarius Syrott, Hieronymus Hufnagel, und Erthinod Cordin, as well as the other officials for the time of the chapter.

On the following day, May 31, vigil of Pentecost, before the assembled capitulars Staimos according to custom resigned the office of provincial. Three scrutators of votes were then chosen by secret ballot, and they swore to keep the secret of the written votes which were cast into an urn. It was then found that Staimos had received every vote except his own. He was immediately confirmed as provincial by the chapter president Hozheuar. After lunch the following definitors were elected: Nicholas Donellan, the Irish professor in the university of Vienna; Mark Forstall, the Irish Augustinian who had come to Gratz as regent of studies in 1651 after his studies in Valladolid and Salamanca; Columban Sifferlinger, hitherto provincial secretary; and Georg Tudorovich, formerly of the province of Styro-Carinthia and prior of Fürstenfeld. One sees at a glance that only one Slavic confrere was thus elected into the definitory, so that the hitherto predominantly Slavic province of

⁸⁷) Ibid. 32v-33r.

Styro-Carinthia now came definitely under Germanic control. It is also remarkable that two Irishmen were chosen as respectively first and second definitors. We cannot explain the full psychological and historical development which lay behind this choice. As the three supplementary definitors were chosen Hieronymus Hufnagel, Georg Turner and Karl Turner, the first two of whom came from the Austrian province, the last from the province of Styro-Carinthia. A Pentecost repose was then granted, to enjoy the feast, and to digest the festal meal and the results of the elections ⁸⁸).

On Pentecost Monday the provincial and his definitors met and made these decisions : ⁸⁹).

1. « Because of their hard labors and merits » the following were accepted as privileged holders of the baccalaureate in the province : Caesarius Syrott, Erthinod Cordin, Columban Sifferlinger and Hieronymus Hufnagel. Even in making this decision however, the definitors granted that the exemptions enjoyed by the holders of titles in the monasteries were not without disadvantages. They explicitly requested the prior general not to allow others in the province to enjoy the privileges of bachelors, since the monasteries were poor and had but few religious, and hence a plethora of exempted confreres caused difficulty. In true baroque style, a simple question was passed over : would it not be worth while to abolish such privileges completely ? Many years were yet to elapse before the Second Vatican Council ⁹⁰).

2. Not only in Gratz, but in other convents also the same equality of portions should be maintained at table which already existed in Vienna and in other Austrian convents.

3. The third definition shows that the question of Lubiana's inclusion in the fused province had already been positively settled, as will be explained in the fifth definition. This is clear from the decision as to what travel expenses should be paid by this convent and

⁸⁸) Ibid. 34rv.

⁸⁹) Ibid. 34v-36r.

⁹⁰) See *Constitutiones ord. erem. S. Augustini, Coloniae Agrippinae 1627*, part V,3, page 330-331 for the teaching function of bachelors at this time. See also the excellent study of D. Gutiérrez, *Los estudios en la orden augustiniiana desde la edad media hasta la contemporánea*, in *AA 33* (1970) 117,n. 126 for a reference to the *magistri « de cathedra »* and *« de pulpito »*, an expression which could be applied to bachelors also.

by others, when confreres must go from one convent to another. Again in true baroque style, which today is in great part overcome by an opposite failure, when young and unproved persons who have no record of achievements expect and demand the extraordinary, the amount given varied according as the traveller was a laybrother, clerical student, «ordinary priest», preacher or lector.

4. Fourthly, the sum of 200 gulden yearly was to be paid proportionally by the different convents to the provincial and his socius for their collection and clothing money.

5. The definitors and the perpetual prior of Lubania, Hozheuar, agreed to the definite inclusion of this monastery in the newly fused province of Austria, under the conditions which will be treated separately and extensively below in §13.

6. It was decided that the inheritances of the confreres should be placed in a common fund of the province under the care of the provincial, according to the custom of the Bavarian province. No one may dispose of this money in whatever way he pleases, and a reckoning must be given of it in the intermediate chapters. Permission to touch this money must come from provincial and definitory, who will see to it that is applied for those whose need is greatest.

7. This gives us an interesting light on the needs of a cold climate. The constitutions of the order should be faithfully observed, except in those points in which the province had received dispensation from the prior general, namely the use of woollen clothing, titles, fasts and the recitation of divine office during the night. At the same time the local customs and rights were to be kept.

8. This shows us that the monastery of Gratz had developed a singularity, which was now forbidden. The convent was ordered to conform itself to the other monasteries of the province: no one was to wear a hat except on journeys. Further, all convents were ordered to observe the common life. The habits of the brethren, both the white and the black, were to be uniform, and not of costly material. Yet the prior might here grant exceptions to «those who performed more work, such as preachers, lectors etc».

9. A special regard is here shown for preachers, of whom Staimos was the best and one of the most active. The so-called «primary preachers» of each larger monastery should receive an extra portion (of food? of wine?) on the days when they preach, and should be given recreation more frequently than the others. In the style

of the day attention was paid to very particular points. Thus, the beard should not be « too long », but rather should befit a religious. Further the cheeks should not be shaved as a background for moustaches. Lastly, an anti-hippie measure : the hair below the tonsure should not be let grow around the ears!

10. Here is a special rule for the monastery of Gratz, which is ordered to sing a mass each day. No money is to be retained by the brethren, in whatever way it may be acquired. Just as Staimos had forbidden the brethren of Vienna on Aug. 15, 1651 to keep more than a half thaler for a single day, so now this rule is repeated for the whole province unless the express permission of the prior be obtained. Should anyone retain a notable sum of money without the express permission of the provincial, he should be considered a violator of his vow and be punished as a holder of property.

11. Gratz is again specially mentioned in this definition. Here the litanies should be sung in the summertime at 7 o'clock, in the winter at 5 o'clock in the evening after compline, after which no one should go to the altar except the priest in surplice with a companion. On Sundays however the custom hitherto prevailing could be followed. No one however should go to the public taverns, under threat of strict punishment. Discrete drinking with friends and benefactors was permitted.

12. Baden is designated for the next intermediate congregation, and Vienna for the following provincial chapter. As socius to the provincial and secretary of the province, Hieronymus Hufnagel was appointed. Finally, the member of the Belgian province, Otto Reinhold de Andrimont, was accepted to filiation in the province of Austria, under condition that he resign his filiation in the Belgian province ⁹¹).

§12. *New appointments*

Although it may seem a bit long and tedious, we believe it useful to offer here the members of the new communities, which were

⁹¹) This restless figure finally left the Austrian province and became titular bishop of Diocaesarea and suffragan of Prague on Sept. 9, 1669, when he was about forty-four years of age, so that his birth (in the castle of Andrimont) can be placed about 1625. After resigning his post of suffragan in 1678, he died in 1678; *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi* 5, Patavii 1962, 185.

appointed for the eight monasteries of the province in 1653, which now received new religious families. Naturally, the ninth monastery, that of Lubiana, was at this time left untouched, since it was not included in the union until the time of chapter, whereas the other eight monasteries had been united, as we recall, by a decree of the prior general on Feb. 22 of this year. If we include the friars of Lubiana in the newly fused province, as is only right to do, we see that the newly fused province had not only more than doubled the number of its monasteries, it had also increased its members from 57 to about 95 ⁹²). It would demand too much space to give the full community of each monastery in the complete history of the newly fused Austrian province, but for this first provincial chapter it seems wise to do so, since it gives us for the first time the full list of the members of the new province, their names and positions — except, as already explained, for the monastery of Lubiana. For brevity's sake we pass over the elections of priors, for which in each case a threefold choice was made by voting, except in the case of the general convents of Vienna and Lubiana. In the former, the prior was to be appointed by the prior general. In the latter, it was naturally the lifelong prior Hozheuar, who in fact held this post until his death exactly 25 years later, in 1678.

Before giving the lists of the communities, it is well to note a few previous decisions. The order of precedence or dignity was established for the monasteries of the newly fused province. They were listed in this order: Vienna, Lubiana, Gratz, Baden, Fürstenfeld, Korneuburg, Völkermarkt, Bruck on the Leitha, and Hohenmauten. Interesting also is it to note that the monastery of Fürstenfeld was quite evidently much better situated economically than the monastery of Gratz, since the former was ordered to help the latter each year by determined quantities of wine, wheat or meal, fat, vegetables, and swine, as well as by four capons on seven specified festal occasions throughout the year. For the expenses of the Irish regent of studies in Gratz, Mark Forstall, twelve scudi annually were assigned to be let out at interest as he might wish. All agreed that

⁹²) We say «about», since we do not know the exact, but only the approximate, number of religious in Lubiana which we take to be about eighteen or twenty at this time. No dispositions were made for its community in this first chapter of 1653, so that the first full list of its members to our knowledge comes from the year 1656, when it had twenty-one friars: ÖNB 8466. 58rv.

the offered foundation in Lockenhaus (then in Hungary, but today in the Austrian region of Burgenland) should be accepted ⁹³).

Here are the appointments of the newly formed communities ⁹⁴:

Vienna : P. Columban Sifferlinger, vicar prior ⁹⁵ ; subprior, to be appointed by the provincial, when the prior general has definitely a new prior or confirmed the present vicar; P. Nicholas Donellan, first deputy of the convent; P. Silvester Koch, procurator of the province in Lower Austria and second deputy of the convent; P. Wilhelm Hehenberger, primary preacher and deputy of the convent; P. Otto Reinhold, master of novices and deputy of the convent ⁹⁶); P. Johannes Bonus Hauswirth, procurator of the local monastery; P. Angelus Widmann, sacristan; P. Gabriel Hufnagel, P. Fulgentius Pichler. *Clerical students* : Fr. Chrysostomus Knipflperger, secondary preacher; Fr. Franz Malfatti, fr. Nikolaus Mair, fr. Augustin Hiffman, Fr. Hippolytus Weis, fr. Maximus Wolscher, fr. Claudius Guérin. *Laybrothers* : F. Paulinus Sigl, f. Valentin a. S. Maria Werl, f. Sebastian Dietl, f. Alypius, f. Donatus Graf, f. Nikolaus Widmann, f. Mark, f. Constantin, f. Honoratus.

Gratz : P. Caesarius Syrott, prior; P. Mark Forstall, regent of studies; P. Bertram Strauss, subprior; P. Wilhelm Prigl; P. Fulgentius de Michaelis; P. Martin Herrera; P. Georg Velanovich; P. Adeodatus, novice. *Clerical students* : Fr. Aegidius Knor, deacon, th.; fr. Cristoph Bartich, deacon, th.; fr. Maximilian Frey, subdeacon, th.; fr. Simon Griesmair, th.; fr. Joseph Prem, th. *Laybrothers* : F. Georg Hoffele, f. Marian Pöppel, f. Paul Heuber, f. Johannes Bonus Schamm.

Fürstenfeld : P. Jordan Wieland, prior; P. Paolino Paolini; P.

⁹³) ÖNB 8466.38r.

⁹⁴) Ibid. 37v-38r.

⁹⁵) Confirmed as prior for three years by the prior general on June 21, 1653; Dd 88.54; ÖNB 8236.42v.

⁹⁶) We do not often find this title of deputy in the Austrian province, but it was a recognized title. According to the constitutions then in vogue (*Constitutiones ord. rem. S. Augustini, Coloniae Agrippinae 1627*, part III, 19, pages 300-303, the deputies were advisors of a particularly important character, to be consulted on all questions which concerned the goods of the community. Only their signatures, not those of the whole community, were required on contracts made by the monastery. Since they were appointed only in the larger convents, we find them in no other convent here mentioned, outside of the major convent of Vienna.

Ammonius Mayer; P. Simon Tudorovich, procurator; P. Georg Turner; (P. Wilhelm Steheperger)⁹⁷). *Clerical student*: Fr. Jordan Span; *Laybrother*: f. Andreas⁹⁸).

Baden: P. Erthinod Cordin, prior; P. Thaddaeus Kettner, sub-prior; P. Augustin Gundendorffer, P. Stephan Obadich, P. Hilarius Härb, *Clerical student*: Fr. Alypius Koberle. *Laybrothers*: F. Adeodatus, f. Simplician.

Völkermarkt: P. Augustin Logar, prior; P. Gabriel Pokorny. *Laybrother*: F. Dionysius.

Korneuburg: P. Karl Turner, prior; P. Christian Weber, vicar; P. Johannes Thoma, parish priest⁹⁹); P. Bonaventura Lindenberger, parish priest; P. Reinhold Hölzl. *Clerical student*: Fr. Jakob. *Laybrothers*: F. Severinus and f. Moritz Burchard, a lay novice¹⁰⁰).

Bruck on the Leitha: P. Amadeus Wallmair, prior; P. Navigius Kirchpacker; P. Nikolaus Werlich. *Laybrother*: F. Felix.

Hohenmauten: P. Nikolaus Premb, prior; P. Rogatus Schwapauer.

(*Lubiana*)¹⁰¹): P. Johannes Hozheuar, perpetual prior; P. Hiero-

⁹⁷) The name was added, and in this form by a later hand. Hehenberger (the usual form of the name) had evidently been stationed first in Vienna by the chapter of 1653, and then very shortly after transferred to Fürstenfeld.

⁹⁸) The presence of a professed cleric here in the house was an unfortunate tradition, taken over from the province of Styro-Carinthia. We can well imagine the theological training that was given — or not given — under such circumstances. The religious training also could hardly thrive under these conditions. The number of clerical students outside of the study houses was fortunately greatly reduced under the provincial Staimos.

⁹⁹) Here in the city of Korneuburg the Augustinians had taken over the parish church from 1635 to 1643, and again from 1645 to 1649; see A. Starzer, *Geschichte der landesfürstlichen Stadt Korneuburg*, Wien 1899, 597.

¹⁰⁰) Added by a later hand are the words: « who later became a priest ».

¹⁰¹) Although no dispositions were made for this convent in the provincial chapter of 1653 of which we are here treating, we offer the reader the names found in the following chapter of the year 1656, contained in ÖNB 8466.58rv. We can be sure that the names of the priests are practically the same for both years 1653 and 1656, and this may be true even of the laybrothers and the clerical students. And the number of religious in the community will hardly have changed considerably in the period of three years. Hence we believe it worth while to offer the list here, even though we give the natural warning that it may not correspond exactly to the community of 1653.

nymus Hufnagel ¹⁰²); P. Edmund, lector ¹⁰³); P. Nikolaus Brem; P. Wilhem Engelitsch; P. Georg Suppanich; P. Theodor Welcher; P. Marin Kiabath; P. Peter Premern. *Clerical students*: Fr. Aegidius, st.; fr. Alfons, st.; fr. Constantin, st.; fr. Ludwig. Four *novices*, whose names are not given. *Laybrothers*: F. Paul, cook; f. Simon; f. Patrick; f. Benedikt.

These long and perhaps wearisome, but not useless, lists enable us to see how the forces of the newly fused province were employed. It will be noted that particularly Gratz received an infusion of German members, numbering both priests and students, so that this important metropolis of Styria no longer deserved the criticism made by Staimos in 1652 that it had no capable preacher. Fürstenfeld also received a sufficient number of German-speaking religious, to enable it to hold sermons in that tongue without difficulty. Hohenmauten also recieved a distinctly strengthened Germanic element, so that only Völkermarkt amongst the monasteries of the former province of Styro-Carinthia remained predominantly Slavonic, excepting naturally the general convent of Lubiana, which had positively stipulated the necessity of a sufficient number of Slavonic priests and brothers. The monasteries of the former Austrian province (that is, of Austria before the union of 1653) remained stocked with chiefly Germanic elements, as it had been before the union, but they were now strengthened by the addition of some Slavonic elements

¹⁰²) Hufnagel became in this year 1653 provincial secretary (ÖNB 8466.36r), and made a journey to Rome in 1654, but passed the winter in Lubiana, since he was taken sick. Returning from Rome in 1655, he became vicar to the perpetual prior Hozheuar. He remained in Lubiana until 1656, and left behind a very unsavory reputation, documented by a letter written against him by the local community on May 24, 1661 (Original text in AGR, Aa 36a.511r). He was appointed by Staimos vicar of Brünn in Moravia in 1656, and was affiliated to the monastery of Brünn on Nov. 25, 1658. On the same date Staimos appointed him perpetual prior of the other Augustinian monastery in Moravia, that of Gewitsch. In 1661, after Staimos' death Hufnagel himself became prior of Brünn; Jan. 278-292. Janetschek's chapter about Hufnagel as prior of Brünn (289-328) has much useful information, but must be used with great caution. The picture given by Janetschek of the Irish Augustinian Mark Forstall is woefully lacking in correctness, to such an extent that it was not even known by Janetscheck that Forstall became the bishop of Kildare in 1676; see Gavigan, doct. 298-302. For further details about Hufnagel, see Gavigan, epp. 495-501, and Augustinianum 6 (1966) 268-269, note 18.

¹⁰³) Almost certainly the Irishman Edmund Lally. who later appears in 1665 as regent in Vienna; ÖNB 8466.130v.

here and there. Let us now examine briefly the way in which Lubiana was brought into the union during the chapter of 1653.

§13. *Inclusion of Lubiana and insistence upon poverty*

We recall that the emperor Ferdinand II had in a letter of Feb. 3, 1653 made known to the Augustinian prior general Visconti that he desired to see the Augustinian monasteries of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola united with the Austrian province. This could strictly mean only Lubiana, since it was at this time the only Augustinian monastery in Carniola properly so called. Since it was a general convent, that is, directly subject to the prior general and, to add to the complications, had been governed already over fifteen years by its energetic and resolute « perpetual prior », Johannes Hozheuar, with more individualism than care for the constitutions, a special treatment had to be reserved for the problem of its union. This treatment was given to the problem during the chapter which began on May 30, 1653. We saw above that Lubiana's inclusion was taken for granted in the fifth definition published in the chapter. The formal document of incorporation was signed on June 4 by the provincial Staimos and his definitors for the province of Austria, and by Hozheuar for the convent of Lubiana. The stipulations were five-fold ¹⁰⁴):

1. The monastery of Lubiana shall remain a general convent.
2. The prior of Lubiana (Hozheuar) shall remain as perpetual prior, because of his great labors in that convent, as he has been declared and recognized by various priors general.
3. The provincial of Austria shall be obliged to keep assigned at all times to the monastery of Lubiana five Slovene priests because of the great number of divine services there, which require native priests. If the provincial fails to do so, the prior of Lubiana can at once present a complaint to the prior general. Furthermore three laybrothers who speak the Slovene tongue must always be in the monastery for the collecting of alms and for domestic administration.
4. The monastery of Lubiana shall have the right to send every second year a Slovene to the novitiate of the province, either for

¹⁰⁴) Concordata provinciae Austriae A.R.P. Joanne Hozheuar priore labacensi ... super incorporatione sui conventus cum provincia; ÖNB 8466.41rv.

the clerical or for the lay state. If he should be found unsuitable for profession, another can be substituted for him, until a sufficient number of religious for the monastery of Lubiana is attained.

5. The provincial of Austria shall be obliged to care for the clerical candidates of Lubiana in studies as though they were his own. For his part, the prior of Lubiana accepts for his monastery all dispositions which are necessary for the proper rule of the monastery, both with regard to visitation and with regard to other uses practised by the monastery of Vienna [which also was a general convent], without prejudice however to the prior general if this latter should not be willing to accept the union. Hozheuar however promised to request the prior general to accept this agreement for the common good of the order.

These specifications were stamped with the seals of the Austrian province and of the monastery of Lubiana, and signed, as mentioned above, by Hozheuar alone for Lubiana and by eight members of the newly fused province of Austria.

On the same day, June 4, a decree was signed by the chapter president Hozheuar and by the provincial Staimos with his definitors, obliging every member of the province, eight days after the arrival of the new priors in their monasteries, to hand in to their prior whatever money he might have. This money was to be placed in a deposit and used, according to the discretion of the prior, for the one who had deposited it. Likewise all priors were obliged to make known to the provincial how much money they possessed. Those who disobeyed were to be considered as proprietors and accordingly punished. This was especially to be urged against any who might have landed holdings, which they did not turn over to the monastery¹⁰⁵). The provincial Staimos seems to have made a sincere attempt to insist upon religious poverty as it was understood in that period¹⁰⁶).

§14. *Acceptance of Lockenhaus 1653*

The provincial chapter of 1653 marked a great step forward for the Augustinians of Austria. With the decision of the prior of

¹⁰⁵) ÖNB 8466.42r.

¹⁰⁶) Cf. B. VAN LUIJK, *Der Augustiner-Eremit Agostino Gioia 1695-1751*, Würzburg 1959, 36-40 for a discussion of the understanding of religious poverty by moralists and others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Lubiana, Johannes Hozheuar, to bring his monastery also into the union, the newly fused province of Austria now contained nine monasteries and about 95 members, compared with four convents and 57 members before the union. The convents of Styro-Carinthia also had gained. Not only had the five convents of Gratz, Fürstenfeld, Lubiana, Hohenmauten and Völkermarkt been transferred into a larger province, so to speak, they had been freed from the heavy and often unpleasant weight of the sixth monastery, that of Fiume, which had been a part of the province of Styro-Carinthia, but which was now, through the wish of Ferdinand III and the counsel of Staimos, kept out of the new provincial union to go its own way as a general convent. It is true that this situation was in a sense definitely changed in 1669, when the harassed prior general Girolamo Valvassori was forced by the emperor Leopold I to assign the monastery of Fiume once and for all — as he thought — to the province of Austria ¹⁰⁷). But this development came sixteen years after the provincial chapter of 1653 about which we are now speaking.

Now we must treat of the foundation of the first Augustinian monastery in Hungary made by the Austrian province. Leuka, called in German Lockenhaus, today in Austrian Burgenland, belonged at this time to Hungary. The Augustinian province of Hungary had comprised over twenty monasteries, but it had been annihilated by the Turks and the Protestants in the sixteenth century. Hence the Austrian province was offered by Count Franz Nádasdy a foundation in Lockenhaus. Since the sixteenth century the great Hungarian landlords like Nádasdy, Batthyány, and Zrinyi had belonged to the strong Protestant movement in this region. But in 1643 the Count Franz Nádasdy was converted to the Catholic faith through the instrumentality of the Irish Augustinian Nicholas Donellan, who was at that time vicar general of the Augustinians in Austria ¹⁰⁸). Nádasdy wished to lead back to the Catholic church the descendants of those whom his ancestors had led away from it. Hence he made the offer to the Augustinians, who now in the chapter of 1653 lent a favorable ear to his interesting proposals, which were five in number ¹⁰⁹):

¹⁰⁷) GAVIGAN, *opp.* 504-505.

¹⁰⁸) J. RITTSTEUER, *Kirche im Grenzraum: ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Diözese Eisenstadt*, Eisenstadt 1969, 240; GAVIGAN, *Donm.* 303.

¹⁰⁹) Contained in ÖNB 8466.45r.

1. The founder Nádasdy will give for twelve religious, of whom at least four shall be priests, 1200 gulden per year, from a debt owed to him by the emperor.

2. For the same foundation Nádasdy will give six measures of grain per year.

3. He will give 120 casks of wine per year, either in kind or through vineyards, which however the Augustinians are not bound to cultivate.

4. With the consent of the bishop, Nádasdy adds the parish also of Lockenhaus to the foundation with all revenues formerly belonging to the parish.

5. When the capital exceeds the sum of 20.000 gulden, the founder will apply that which remains to building purposes.

These five offers were thankfully accepted, and the Augustinians now pledged themselves to the following :

1. With the money assigned, they will build a church and a monastery as soon as the interest is handed over.

2. The Augustinians must keep here two lectors, that is professors, of philosophy and theology. If they are not available in Austria, they must be brought from another province ¹¹⁰), to teach in an internal school which shall be called the Collegium Nadastianum ¹¹¹).

3. The revenues granted by Nádasdy and his family shall not be employed for other monasteries. If more than twelve religious are stationed here, the Augustinian order must provide for them and not lessen the provisions made by the founder for twelve religious.

4. Although the order has the right to appoint the prior freely, each new prior shall present himself to the founder or his descendants.

¹¹⁰) We recall here that even in Gratz, the regent of studies was a foreigner, Mark Forstall, whereas the first six regents in Vienna on the Landstrasse had been foreigner also : the Spaniard Nicolas de Molina, the Belgian de Rau, the Italian Maori, the Irishman Donellan, and the Italians Pontanari and Sabatini. And even later, in 1653, another foreigner, the Irishman Augustine de Burgo was appointed.

¹¹¹) This condition seems to have been fulfilled only in the following century ; see A. Schermann, *Geschichte von Lockenhaus, Pannonhalma* 1936, 112. That the students should be clerics of the Augustinian order seems quite clear from the addition made that the monastery of Bruck on the Leitha would take over the obligation if it should prove impossible in Lockenhaus, and that the eventual students in Bruck would be Augustinian candidates known as alumni nadastiani.

5. The church will be named in honor of St. Nicholas the bishop and of the Augustinian St. Nicholas of Tolentine ¹¹²).

6. The burial crypt will be divided into two parts, the right side for the Nádasdy family, the left side for the Augustinians, who will demand no fees for the burial of the Nádasdy deceased according to national custom with flags and other insignia.

7. For the Nádasdy family two masses will be celebrated each day, of which one will be the daily conventual mass.

8. Every month mass will be offered on a Monday for the emperor Ferdinand III, both during his life and after his death in gratitude for the favors received from him.

9. For Count Franz Nádasdy himself mass will be celebrated for his corporal health yearly during his life, on the day after the feast of St. Francis of Assisi; then, after his death, for the repose of his soul.

A useful, but fortunately unnecessary, addition was made to prove the benevolence of Count Franz Nádasdy towards the Augustinians: in case he should die without male offspring and without accomplishing his intentions for Lockenhaus, then the benefits intended should go to the Augustinian monastery of Bruck on the Leitha, so that twelve religious might be sustained there under the above-mentioned conditions with the title of alumni Nadastiani. Further any members of the Nádasdy family who wish to be buried there will receive their wish.

On June 4, 1653 the provincial of Austria, Staimos, with his definitory, signed during the provincial chapter in Gratz the document containing these mutual rights and obligations. The conditions were approved by the prior general Visconti and his counselors on Aug. 9, 1653 ¹¹³). The same officials of the order had a week earlier, on Aug. 2, approved the acts of the provincial chapter which confirmed for the order a new province by the union of the religious and the monasteries of Austria and Styro-Carinthia.

Caesarius Syrott came as prior in 1655 to Lockenhaus with one priest and one laybrother. They found only sixteen Catholic families

¹¹²) This is a thankful gesture of Nádasdy towards Nicholas Donellan who had been his great helper in entering the Catholic church; cf. Rittsteuer, op. cit. 240. We are assured by Schier also that this was the case; ÖNB 7373.8r.

¹¹³) ÖNB 8466.46rv.

in Lockenhaus, while all the others were Lutherans. Partially helped by Nádasdy, who did for the catholicizing what his forbears had done for the protestantizing of Lockenhaus, the Augustinians were able to report a fully recatholicized region one generation later. They exercised an active pastoral ministry not only in Lockenhaus itself, but took over in 1660 these parishes as well: Steinberg, Pilgersdorf, Oberloisdorf, and Rattendorf. They lent their pastoral aid in these regions also: Müllendorf, Mariasdorf, Lutzmannsburg and Nebersdorf ¹¹⁴).

§15. *Useful union*

The union between the provinces of Austria and Styro-Carinthia stood the hard test of history, so that the Augustinians in Austria could take their full part in the blossoming which marked the later seventeenth and the earlier eighteenth century. Notably enough, the last monastery to disappear through the Josephinistic and Napoleonic upheavals, was that of Lockenhaus, which was suppressed in 1820 ¹¹⁵), eight years after the Augustinian province of Austria and Hungary had ceased to exist by the disappearance in 1812 of the last two Augustinian monasteries in Austria, those of Vienna and of Baden ¹¹⁶).

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¹¹⁴) Rittsteuer, op. cit. 254-255.

¹¹⁵) Schermann, op. cit. 189.

¹¹⁶) We must remember that this refers only to the monasteries of the calced Augustinians, to whom the present study is devoted. The last monastery of the dis-calced Augustinians in Austria, that of St. Augustine in Vienna, was declared extinct in 1836; Gavigan, Disc. 578-579. This monastery was reoccupied by the calced Augustinians in 1951; *ibid.* 580.