

Cardinal Richard Annibaldi

First Protector of the Augustinian Order

1243-1276

(continuation *)

CHAPTER II

The Augustinian Order in the thirteenth century and its re-organization under Cardinal Richard

In 1256, Pope Alexander IV combined five congregations of hermits into the Order of Austin Friars — *Ordo Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* ¹⁴⁶) — which became one of the four large mendicant Orders.

The five congregations were:

1. The Hermits of St. William with their motherhouse in Maleval near Siena.
2. The Hermits of St. William with their motherhouse on Mt. Favali near Pesaro.
3. The Hermits of the desert of Brettino in the diocese of Fano in the March of Ancona.
4. The Brethren of Blessed John Bonus with their motherhouse in Butrioli near Cesana, also in the March of Ancona.
5. The Hermits of St. Augustine.

The first four groups are clearly defined and sufficient historical records are available to follow their development in at least a rough outline, but the fifth group, the Hermits of St. Augustine, have been the source of endless controversies to this day, for they

*) See *Augustiniana*, April 1952, pp. 26-60.

¹⁴⁶) See the following chapter.

alone could be the direct offspring of the monachism established by St. Augustine in Africa, a claim as bitterly denied as it was fervently sustained ¹⁴⁷).

To-day it is generally agreed, that St. Augustine originated a form of monastic life as personally his own as that of any founder of a religious Order ¹⁴⁸). Neither can there be any doubt that his followers brought his kind of common life to the European shores during the persecution of the Vandals and more so during their flight from the onslaught of the Mohammedans. Since no other form of monastic life but that of St. Augustine is historically known in North-Africa it is a useless undertaking to deny the Augustinian origin of those ancient establishments in Spain, France, and Italy which were founded by refugee monks from North-Africa ¹⁴⁹).

An entirely different question is the continuity of Augustinian monasticism throughout the centuries. That it survived is indicated by the large number of manuscripts containing the Rule of St. Augustine, of which the oldest dates back to the seventh century. In all ancient manuscripts the *Regula Prima* better known as the *Disciplina Monasterii* was combined with the *Regula Secunda* or the *Regula ad Servos Dei* which is known to-day as THE Rule of St. Augustine. The latter set forth the inner principles of monasticism while the first regulated the manner of daily life in the monastery and prescribed especially the laws regarding the divine

¹⁴⁷) The dispute became so bitter that in 1484 Pope Sixtus IV concluded it with the *Motu proprio Quia apostolus precepit* (EMPOLI 321). English manuscripts on this question are contained in British Museum Add. 38665 and Lambeth 357. G. SANDERLIN, *John Capgrave speaks up for the Hermits*, *Speculum* 18 (1943), 358-361, forgot to note that Capgrave's main endeavor was «to reforme charite betwix St. Augustine's Heremites and his Chanones» and wrote his *Concordia* for that purpose: *John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and S. Gilbert of Sempringham*, ed. J. J. MUNROE (London, 1910), 146. R. ARBESMANN, OESA, *Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini, the source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine*, *Traditio* I (1943), 341-353.

¹⁴⁸) A. ZUMKELLER, OESA, *Das Mönchtum des hl. Augustinus* (Würzburg 1950).

¹⁴⁹) Vfr. n. 98. B. Bossue in the edition of the life of St. Nuncius, ASS Oct. 22, pp. 598-601, had taken exception to this statement, when he described the hatred of the Vandals for the monks who from time to time visited Carthage. Yet his quotation from Salvian «et si quando aliquis Dei servus, aut de Aegyptiorum coenobiis aut de sacris Hierusalem locis, aut de sanctis eremi venerandisque secretis» seems to make it quite apparent that only the hermits were natives of North-Africa, since the home of the other visiting monks is clearly designated.

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office and the fasts ¹⁵⁰). The separation of the two rules was brought about in the year 1118, when the Holy See granted to the Canons of Springirsbach near Trèves a dispensation from the *Regula Prima* so as to enable them to follow the new papal regulations on the breviary and to accommodate themselves to the rigors of their northern climate. The place of the *Regula Prima* was taken by constitutions of their own making, a procedure which was slowly adopted by all followers of St. Augustine's rule. This general acceptance of the papal decision of 1118 caused chaos in the traditional form of Augustinian monasticism as is evident in the case of Fontaine Géhard (Fons Giardi, to-day Châtillon-sur-Colmont, dep. Mayence) which was the motherhouse of all hermitages in its neighborhood. When William, bishop of Le Mans, gave Fontaine Géhard to the Benedictine monastery Marmoutiers for the purpose of reform, the hermits protested for almost a century that they had observed the Rule of St. Augustine from the beginning of their foundation and wanted to be reformed according to that rule, but Bishop Hamelin, who renewed the donation in 1203, retorted that the hermits had no rule at all, and both Innocent III and Alexander IV decided against them ¹⁵¹).

The case of Fontaine Géhard, whose history can be traced to the first half of the sixth century, clearly indicates that some Augustinian hermitages existed for centuries until monastic reform movements changed their character and name, but to give positive proof for all similar claims is at present impossible, because no

¹⁵⁰) P. MANDONNET, *Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1937), II, 101 sqq.; Vfr. LXXIX sqq.; Th. PURCELL, OESA, *The Rule of St. Augustine, The historical Bulletin* 25 (1946), 5-17; J. C. DICKINSON, *The origin of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England* (London, 1950), Appendix I.

¹⁵¹) L. H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Mâcon, 1939), I, 1172. The important documents are given in L. CELIER, *Catalogue des actes des évêques du Mans jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910). It seems that not the bishop but some of the hermits themselves desired the union with Marmoutiers (CELIER n° 84, 1147), while others were opposed to it. The disagreements following the appeals to the bishops of Le Mans and the Pope produced a form of anarchy, which deprived the whole community for a long time of both a superior and constitutions (CELIER n° 322, 1203) and led to an « existence vagabonde et désordonnée » (CELIER n° 322, 1203). The religious were still protesting in 1260, when Alexander IV again confirmed the decision of Innocent III, which is sufficient proof that Fontaine Géhard was not included in the union of 1256.

critical research has as yet been made and older historians did not have the insight gained by Mandonnet's new evaluation of the decree of 1118. Such an investigation must establish not only the antiquity of a house, but also its foundation and continuous possession by the Hermits of St. Augustine, a task constantly hampered by the loss of documents and the frequent change of ownership or affiliation, often enough imposed by outside powers ¹⁵²).

It is no solution of existing difficulties to pour the vial of ridicule upon any serious effort to lift the curtain which hides Augustinian history between the seventh and eleventh centuries. Other Orders experience the same troubles whenever they write factual history. The French kings for example had commanded that only the Rule of St. Benedict should be allowed in the monasteries of their realm, yet when St. Odilo demanded its observance he was told that no one in France even knew of that rule, but that all monks followed the Rule of St. Columbanus ¹⁵³). On the other hand, many arguments cannot be sustained which were formerly used to prove an Order of Augustinian Hermits which extended over all of Christian Europe before the thirteenth century ¹⁵⁴). Augustinian eremitical life survived in individual houses ¹⁵⁵)

¹⁵²) The importance of continuous possession can be clearly seen in the life of Blessed Hugolin of Gualdo Cattaneo who practiced the eremitical life according to the Rule of St. Benedict near St. John's of Lonterio. This monastery was erected in 1340 and in 1425 united with the Olivetan monastery of Foligno, but in 1437 both places were given to the Augustinians and because one of their monasteries had been in Foligno since 1338, Blessed Hugolin was promptly made an Austin friar, though he had never belonged to that Order: W. HÜMPFNER, *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* V (1933), 186.

One of the most serious losses of ancient documents is recorded under August 2, 1508 in the Register of Aegidius of Viterbo, who had found some very old records, among them the Register of Hugolinus Malabranca and an ancient manuscript containing the earliest history of the Order, in his mother convent of Viterbo and sent them to Rome but they were lost in a vehement storm near Putrioli (TORELLI, preface to vol. II).

¹⁵³) MABILLON's *Annals* for the year 927 quoted in ASS Oct. 22, p. 731.

¹⁵⁴) Before the Cistercians and the Congregation of Cluny there did not exist as firm an affiliation of monasteries with a centralized government as to which we are accustomed. — One of the most cogent arguments is the omission of the Augustinian Hermits in the enumeration of the various Orders, which followed the Rule of S. Augustine, in the *Summa ad omnes status* by Humbert de Romanis O. P. which was written before 1244: K. WENCK, *Das erste Konklave der Papstgeschichte, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* XVIII (1926), 159.

¹⁵⁵) This is also recognized by the Bollandists: ASS Oct. 22, CP 137/138.

or small groups of houses which reappeared in the light of history during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but were little known until the laws of the Fourth Lateran Council had taken effect and forced them into centralized units. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century a large number of hermitages were united in a full-fledged Order, known as « *Fratres Eremitae ordinis sancti Augustini* » and they alone formed the fifth group in the Great Union. Much has been written about this Order and each century seems to have added its share to the general confusion, but Henry Friemar, who knew Lanfranc the first general elected after the Great Union ¹⁵⁶), left no doubt that it was the Congregation of Tuscany, whose first and only protector had been Cardinal Richard, though by 1256 it was a congregation which had burst its local bounds and had started foundations not only to its South but also in Spain and Portugal, France and England. In his *Tract on the origin of the Austins*, Friemar listed the names of some of the priors general before 1256, but in each instance they had been superiors of the Tuscan Congregation ¹⁵⁷). Jordan of Saxony was not as outspoken as his revered master, but clung to the Tuscan theory ¹⁵⁸). The Bollandists Henschen and Carpentier, who wrote excellent histories of the Austin Friars in their lives of St. William and John Bonus followed their footsteps ¹⁵⁹) and G. A. Little, one of the foremost authorities on the history of the friars, agreed with their findings ¹⁶⁰). Though these statements are clear, the history of this congregations is veiled and darkness and the following outline will solve but few of the existing problems.

1. *The protector of the Tuscan hermits.*

Monastic life in general and eremitical life in particular had preserved a great deal of individualism until the Fourth Lateran Council which demanded that all religious communities had to be

¹⁵⁶) AA IV, 325.

¹⁵⁷) Friemar claimed to have found their names in ancient documents or heard about them from older brethren: AA IV, 298.

¹⁵⁸) « *dispersi sunt, quorum quidam venerunt in Tusciam...* » Vfr. 44.

¹⁵⁹) Only five congregations, says Henschen, were mentioned by the Pope in *Licet ecclesiae* of 1256. « *Quinta quae superest congregatio Sti Augustini iam ante sub Innocentio IV coaluerat* »: ASS Febr. 10, p. 483.

¹⁶⁰) *Cambridge Medieval History* VI, 700.

guided by one of the approved rules and that independent houses had to form provincial units with a common superior according to the example set by the Cistercian Order ¹⁶¹). Any existing house or Order which did not comply with this law forfeited its right to further existence. The resulting applications for a rule and the approval by the Holy See mark in many instances the first appearance of religious communities in the annals of history. Many of them preferred the Rule of St. Augustine because it changed but little their former manner of life by allowing them to retain their own constitutions. More difficult and, therefore, more slow proved the formation of provincial units under a common superior, because this meant the surrender of many individual rights, new orientation and stricter supervision. But Rome insisted on this demand and used every opportunity to achieve its goal. When for example in 1231 the hermitages of Lecceto and Montespescchio asked for the Rule of St. Augustine, the bishop of Siena was told to extend it to all hermitages in that region ¹⁶²) thus giving them the impression that they were regarded as one.

The oldest known provincial unit among the Tuscan hermits was the Congregation of Lucca, by historians of the Order often called the Congregation of Lupocavo, which came into existence in 1228 when thirteen hermitages combined in St. Columbanus outside the walls of Lucca ¹⁶³). Their names were:

1. St. Mary's of Spelonca on Mt. Moricone near Lucca.
2. St. James of Cella or Cella di prete Rustico, also called Colledonico near Miati.

¹⁶¹) G. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vol. (Venice, 1758-98), vol. IV, col. 999, can. 12: « In singulis regnis sive provinciis fiat de triennio in triennium salvo iure diocesanorum pontificum, commune capitulum abbatum atque priorum... ad quod universi convenient... apud unum de monasteriis ad hoc aptum, hoc adhibito moderamine, ut nullus eorum plus quam sex evectioes et octo personas adducat. Advocent autem caritative in hujus novitatis primordiis duos Cisterciensis Ordinis abbates vicinos, ad praestandum sibi consilium et auxilium opportunum, cum sint in hujusmodi capitulis celebrandis ex longa consuetudine plenius informati ». Col. 1002: demands that visitors be appointed.

¹⁶²) See Appendix I for the history of these and other houses which will be mentioned in the narrative.

¹⁶³) *Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca I* (*ibid.*, 1872), 6-7. The history of these thirteen hermitages had been written by M. BARSOTTI in his well documented *La coronazione della miracolosissima immagine di Maria Vergine detta del Sasso nella chiesa di S. Agostino di Lucca* (*ibid.*, 1693), 100-185.

3. St. Mary Magdalene's in Valle Buona near Versilia, also called Val-di-Castello.
4. St. Mary's of Monteforte.
5. St. Mary Magdalene's of Valle Buona in Garffagnana.
6. St. George and Galganus of Valle Buona in Garffagnana.
7. St. Francis on the bridge of Chifenti, also known as Ventoso.
8. St. Mary's of the Annuntiation on the mountain of Brancoli.
9. St. Mary's on the mountains of Compito in Valleromita or Fontanella.
10. St. Bartholomew's on Mt. Vorno.
11. St. Michel's of Buti (or Buci) in the district of Cerreto.
12. St. Salvator of Cascina in the mountains of Pisa.
13. S. Mary's of Rupecave (or Lupocavo) near Flesso.

Only a few real-estate transactions and some grants of indulgence speak of their existence and not many men step from this hazy past to leave their names for posterity. Two of them are called priors general, one called John Honestus of Spelunca ruled the Order under Alexander III and the other known as John of Cella held the same position under Innocent III. If these dates of Henry Friemar are correct then their tenure of office preceded the union of 1228 and the latter could, therefore, not have been an entirely new formation but just the affiliation of some houses to an already existing coalition. More than just the name is known of the important friar Stephen, who received the habit in 1203, was made prior of Cataste in 1215 and as such helped to establish S. Galgano by sending four of his brethren to the aid of friar Andrew. He is most probably identical with the friar Stephen who in 1243 went with friar Hugh to Lyon, where Pope Innocent then resided, to request the union of all hermits in Tuscany under one rule and one prior general.

The union of 1244

The pope immediately agreed and ordered Cardinal Richard Annibaldi who was then in charge of the Papal Curia in Rome, to effect this union and for this purpose appointed him *corrector* and *provisor* for the hermits in question ¹⁶⁴). In obedience to the

¹⁶⁴) *Incumbit nobis*, December 16, 1243: BERGER 335 and 336; Vfr. 449. In this papal constitution the Williamites were officially excepted from the union

pope's directives, Richard called a meeting for March 1244, to which all eremitical houses in Tuscany — with the exception of the Williamites — were to send two delegates with full authority to decide in the name of their brethren. This general chapter was held at St. Maria del Popolo in Rome under the presidency of the cardinal who was assisted by the Cistercian abbots of Fossanuova and Fallera, because canon 12 of the Fourth Lateran Council, which introduced general chapters for all religious, had decreed: « In inaugurating this new arrangement let two neighboring abbots of the Cistercian Order be invited to give counsel and opportune assistance since among them the celebration of such chapters is of long standing » ¹⁶⁵).

The acts of this chapter, which as early as 1259 was called the first general chapter of the Order ¹⁶⁶), are no longer extant, but Pope Innocent IV enumerated the most salient points when he confirmed them by *Pia desideria* on March 31, 1244 ¹⁶⁷). The most important point was the general acceptance of an approved Rule to comply with the laws of the Fourth Lateran Council. The assembled fathers had no choice in the matter, since in his letter of convocation the Pope had imposed the Rule of St. Augustine; yet he would scarcely have taken this step, if the majority of hermitages had not previously followed this rule.

Interesting are the details concerning the new habit. The priests were commanded to wear a black habit with a white scapular and black mantle, while the garment of the lay brothers was to be a black habit with a black scapular and a black capouch. Priests and brothers had to gird both habit and scapular with a (leathern ?) cincture. This arrangement in colors was clearly Cistercian with the order of colors for priests being reversed. The fact that the Pope stressed but the matter of clothing indicates that similar complaints must have been made against the Tuscans as had been raised with such vehemence against the Brethren of John Bonus and the Hermits of Brettino. Whenever the Tuscans left their dwellings they had to carry a staff, the sign of the hermit.

and the Rule of St. Augustine was prescribed. The date for the chapter was to be set by Cardinal Richard.

¹⁶⁵) Translation from H. J. SCHROEDER, *Disciplinary decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis, 1937), 253; Vfr. 467.

¹⁶⁶) Vfr. 449.

¹⁶⁷) AA IV, 419; E 165; P 11315.

In the sixteenth century the new constitutions bearing the seal of Innocent IV were still kept at the monastery of Lucca¹⁶⁸), but from the official summary of papal privileges, sent in 1354 by prior general Thomas of Strassburg to all houses of the Order, it becomes evident that the papal document in Lucca was nothing but the original or an official copy of *Pia Desideria*; for Thomas wrote: « Item Alexander IV primas constitutiones nostras aliquas factas de consilio Ricardi sancti Angeli Diaconi Cardinalis et abbatum de Falera et Fosse Nove Cisterciensis Ordinis, repertas in Registro Innocentii Pape IV, confirmavit »¹⁶⁹).

The silence of *Pia desideria* on matters other than apparel is sufficient proof that nothing was added which was not common practice in the united hermitages, and that a thorough investigation of Cistercian practices would contribute little¹⁷⁰), if anything, to the understanding of their mode of life. Much more is to be gained from a detailed study of eremitical rules as the Bollandists have done in the life of John Bonus.

It would be interesting to know the immediate causes, discussions and difficulties connected with the union of 1244. Pope Innocent IV shed little light upon his reasons by the statement: « We did not want you to be any longer like erring sheep without shepherds, which roam behind the tracks made by the flock »¹⁷¹), but seems to point out their former lack of organization. Whether the sentence conveyed a great deal more, we do not know, but the assembled hermits knew and obeyed, though some of them agreed to the union only under special conditions. Thus Aldobrandinus, prior of the hermitage St. Matthew's in Lepori (Florence), became affiliated under the condition that the should remain superior of his foundation for life and receive a regular income¹⁷²), a condition which led to many complications after the Great Union, when the Augustinians accepted absolute poverty.

Dissatisfaction with the new superiors appeared in the her-

¹⁶⁸) AA I, 109.

¹⁶⁹) AA IV, 419.

¹⁷⁰) Father Esteban called attention to the designation of the province as *visitatio* according to the custom of the Cistercians; sometimes it was also called *contrada*: AA VI, 20.

¹⁷¹) « Nos nolentes vos sine pastore sicut oves errantes post gregum vestigia evagari »: E 164.

¹⁷²) AA XI, 100.

mitage St. Mary's of Lupocavo which in 1248 received papal permission that for the time being it could not be forced to the « reception, visitation and financial control of the priors and visitors of the Order of St. Augustine » ¹⁷³). The difficulties, however, were overcome, since in 1250 Lupocavo was still a member of the Tuscan Congregation and it is, therefore, contrary to direct documentary evidence to make Lupocavo the head of a special congregation which joined the Order in 1256 ¹⁷⁴). The Congregation of Lucca, of which Lupocavo had been a member, joined the union of 1244 and did no longer exist as an independent unit, though there might be some doubt about several other houses near Lucca.

Only three superiors general of the Tuscan Congregation are known by name: friar Matthew directed the Order in 1250, friar Aiotus in 1252 and Philip (Dexter) of Parma ruled immediately before 1256 ¹⁷⁵).

With the completion of their union the Tuscans quickly grew in stature through the multitude of privileges which they had obtained through Cardinal Richard and which constituted them a full-fledged religious Order. In 1244 they received the important and much coveted favors contained in the constitution *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* ¹⁷⁶) which placed them directly under Holy See, freed them from all tithes and taxes, gave them the right to elect their own superior general ¹⁷⁷) and bury in their cemetery not only their own members but also lay-people. They depended upon the bishops only for ordinations and the establishment of new houses.

¹⁷³) « ut de cetero ad susceptionem, visitationem et procuracionem priorum et visitatorum ordinis sancti Augustini compelli non possint inviti ». BERGER 3909 (*Cum sicut accepimus* of April 16, 1248).

¹⁷⁴) « Erat anno 1256 caput peculiaris congregationis eremitarum S. Marie de Lupocavo Lucensis diocesis, quam eo anno in unione generali in unum cum aliis congregationibus corpus coaluisse, expressit Pamphilus fol. 30 suae Chronicae Augustinianae »: HERRERA II, 30. TORELLI II (Introduction) and CRUSENIUS I, 240 repeated this tradition, though the sales-agreement of 1250 was known to them.

¹⁷⁵) Aiotus was prior of Colle in 1250, is called prior general at the foundation of Faenza in 1252, and visitor general in 1253, when he united the hermitages of Fultignano and Lecceto (See appendix). Matthew is mentioned in the sales-agreement of 1250 and the name of Philip Dexter of Parma is known only through Henry Friemar: AA IV, 298.

¹⁷⁶) BERGER 658 (April 26, 1244).

¹⁷⁷) The election was to take place after the death of the former general which indicates that their generals were to be chosen for life like those of the Cistercians: AA II, 158.

Another papal decree which continues in force among the Augustinians to this hour granted them the use of the improved Roman breviary¹⁷⁸⁾ which differed from older breviaries mainly by a better arrangement and greater compactness.

A third great advantage gained by the efforts of Cardinal Richard was the establishment of the Order at the center of Christianity. The superiors of the new congregation were frequently called to Rome for consultation with their protector, where they found an extended stay rather difficult because they were obliged to lodge with strangers and had no place to securely store needed references. Richard remedied the situation by giving them the ancient monastery St. Maria del Popolo which had belonged to the Franciscans, a fact until recently unknown to historians of both Orders. The Franciscans moved to *Ara Coeli* which had been owned by Benedictines, who protested their loss, but to no avail¹⁷⁹⁾.

The meager history of the Tuscan Hermits was greatly enriched through the discovery of a sales-agreement executed on May 3, 1250 at their general chapter of Cascina¹⁸⁰⁾ and signed by the superiors present who added to their own names those of their

¹⁷⁸⁾ « et divinum officium secundum ecclesie romane consuetudinem *elegeritis* celebrare, Nos vestris precibus favorabiliter annuentes... ». EMPOLI 165; P 11315 (*Pia desideria* of March 31, 1244). « ... ut observantia moderni officii quod in breviariis vestris exacta diligentia correctum a vobis ex statuto Regulae vestrae iuxta Ecclesiae Romanae morem *excepto Psalterio* celebrare debetis, sitis contenti perpetuo ». EMPOLI 172; P 12991 (*Pio vestro collegio* of July 30, 1248). The two texts imply a difference of opinion within the congregation regarding the obligation of the *Disciplina Monasterii* of St. Augustine (supra note 150). The pope apparently tried to satisfy both groups by sustaining the *Disciplina Monasterii* where the psalms for each canonical hour were prescribed, but otherwise granting them all the advantages of the modern breviary. E. ESTEBAN, *De festis et ritibus sacris Ordinis Er. S. Aug.*, AA VIII, 113 did not examine this question.

¹⁷⁹⁾ The discovery was made by S. Lopez, who proved that this house was given to the Tuscans between 1248-1250: AA IX, 71. F. SCHILLMANN, *Die Formelsammlung des Marinus von Eboli* (Rome, 1929), n° 2200 followed the footsteps of Father Lopez. 1250 is probably the correct date, because Maria del Popolo is not mentioned in the sales-agreement of the Tuscan friars at the their general chapter of 1250.

¹⁸⁰⁾ TORELLI IV, 453 sqq is the only historian to give the entire text which is known only by transcript. S. Lopez correctly proposed the year 1250, instead 1251 as Torelli did, because of the different computation of time in Pisa: AA VIII, 293, n. 1.

houses. Thus we know of the existence of sixty-one foundations, of which only fifteen were designated as hermitages, though all these places should have been called by this name, because the Tuscans had the custom to speak of their settlements as hermitages even after they had moved into the cities. Some of the houses mentioned at this chapter ranked in the following centuries amongst the most prominent in Augustinian history, while others have now been so completely forgotten, that not even a work as detailed as Repetti's, *Dizionario Toscana* ¹⁸¹⁾ mentions them. We give their names and available histories in a special appendix.

Only six hermitages can be proved to precede the thirteenth century. The oldest authentic record is a privilege granted to Lecceto on May, 1144 ¹⁸²⁾ by Pope Lucius II, but this most renowned of all Italian hermitages of the Augustinian Order goes back probably into the eleventh century because the unpublished bull *Pia Postulatio* of July 19, 1255 guaranteed all privileges which it had received since the time of Bishop Walfredus, who ruled the diocese of Siena from 1088-1127 ¹⁸³⁾. Lupocavo (or Rupecave) existed before the year 1153, Acquaviva in 1163 and Spelonca in 1187. The Bollandists doubted that this high antiquity proved the connection with the foundations of refugee hermits from Africa. Their objection was based on the order of Pope Gregory IX to the bishop of Siena on January 3, 1231 to give Lecceto, Montespecchio and other hermitages of his diocese a suitable rule ¹⁸⁴⁾. This command was the answer to the request of these hermits who at their entry renounced their possessions, vowed chastity and obedience and wore the habit of religious, but wanted a rule

¹⁸¹⁾ E. REPETTI, *Dizionario geografico, fisico, storico... della Toscana*, 6 vol. (Florence, 1833-1843).

¹⁸²⁾ P. KEHR, *Italia Pontificia* III (Etruria), pp. 225-226 and appendix (Berlin, 1908). After the above was printed I found one of July 1119. V. Appendix.

¹⁸³⁾ It is preserved in the State Library of Berlin which purchased a great part of the archives of Lecceto in 1865: KEHR, *l. c.* Father R. Schraml sent me a copy. For other houses see appendix.

¹⁸⁴⁾ « Dilecti filii de Monte Speculo et de Silva Lacu fratrum Eremitarum priores Nobis humiliter supplicarunt, ut cum tam ipsi, quam fratres in eisdem locis et aliis tuae Diocesis eremiticam vitam ducentes in ingressu locorum ipsorum abrenuntient propriis, continentiam voveant, promittant obedientiam et sub regulari habitu perpetuo se victuros, quia non habent regulam specialem, secundum quam in divinis officiis quam in aliis vivere debeant, seu delinquentium corrigantur excessus... ». E 125; P 8646.

to regulate the divine office and « other things ». The Bollandists thought this document sufficient proof that the hermits had no rule at all (at least none of the approved rules), but this cannot apply to all Tuscan hermits. The few documents still available reveal that at least some of them followed the Rule of St. Augustine, but met with the same trouble as those at Fontaine Géhard. The Hermits of Morimond e. gr. had kept the Second Rule of St. Augustine, but had accepted the regulations of St. Damian to fill the void created by the loss of the *regula prima* ¹⁸⁵).

The majority of foundations enumerated in the contract of 1250 seems to have been of recent origin and their great number testifies to an abundance of vocations. The increase in membership and the influence of their cardinal protector transplanted the Augustinian Monachism of Tuscany into other parts of Europe and necessitated an extension of its privileges to all their houses « wherever they might be located » ¹⁸⁶). This grant of Pope Innocent IV coincided with the first appearance of Augustinian colonies north of the Alps and does not leave any doubt that at least some of them were established by the Tuscan Congregation.

It is also the first evidence of a very important change which took place during the next few years which consisted in the omission of the words « in Tuscany » and addressing the brethren simply as Hermits of St. Augustine; the change is not apparent in each single instance, but makes its appearance at several occasions and leads to the conclusion that either by common usage or on purpose the Hermits of Tuscany were regarded as *the* Order of St. Augustine, esp. after the expansion into other countries made the local restriction obsolete. For that reason we are convinced that the important constitution *Hiis qui pro animarum* of July 31, 1255 with its detailed system of government was addressed to them

¹⁸⁵) Vide appendix.

¹⁸⁶) « ... fratribus vestris in Tuscia dumtaxat morantibus concessa ad quoslibet alios vestre Religionis et Ordinis fratres ubique constitutos... extendentur... » (*Ut eo liberius*, September 25, 1245: BERGER 1534; AA IV, 473). It was addressed to « Dilectis filiis priori et fratribus eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini » and is clearly directed to the Tuscans. When *Pia desideria* was given in 1244 it was addressed to « Priori et fratribus Eremitarum in Tuscia ordinis sancti Augustini », but when it was renewed on July 1, 1253 (BERGER 6834; P 15035) it was sent to « Visitatori Generali et prioribus et fratribus universis ordinis sancti Augustini ». *Hiis qui pro eo* with long commentary by E. ESTEBAN, AA IV, 369 (P 15965).

and that the contrary view of E. Esteban is not tenable. The only difficulty in assigning this document to the Tuscans exclusively arises from the allotment of the same name to the Zambonini in the year 1252 and this duplication of titles was another means to promote the final union between these two groups. Whether the presence of « friar Raynald de Pulivirasio of the March of Ancona and now visitor of the brethren of the Order of St. Augustine in Tuscany and the Duchy of Spoleto »¹⁸⁷⁾ at sale of property for the convent of Gubbio, which belonged to the Brettini, has any significance or is just accidental is difficult to determine, until further records make their appearance.

The request of the hermits Stephen and Hugh for the union of all hermits in Tuscany had not proceeded from selfish motives but from obedience to papal legislation, which saw in the combination of scattered groups and individual houses a means for better monastic life and a chance to overcome the dangers from migrating heretical preachers through closer affiliation with the Holy See, stricter supervision of individuals and the training of able members for the active care of souls. That this active participation was desired is evident from the various grants to preach and hear confessions after the union of 1244 had been effected¹⁸⁸⁾, and the transfer of the hermitage St. Matthew's of Lepori into the city of Florence signifies the change of ideals and aims which had taken place in the congregation.

2. The Williamites¹⁸⁹⁾

These hermits received their name from St. William of Maleval who died in 1157. He neither founded an Order nor wrote a rule, but his followers tried to imitate as closely as possible his daily life of prayer and mortification as described by his disciple Albertus and these practices were called the *consuetudines Sancti Guilielmi*

¹⁸⁷⁾ AA XVI, 51.

¹⁸⁸⁾ Permission to preach and hear confessions was granted in *Vota devotorum*, March 22, 1244 (TORELLI VII, 646; BERGER 572) and again in *Pia desideria*, March 31, 1244.

¹⁸⁹⁾ The first history of the Order by LA HAYE (P. Samson), *De veritate vitae et ordinis divi Guilelmi quondam Aquinatorum et Pictorum principis* (Paris, 1587) was greatly improved by HENSCHEN in ASS Febr. 10, pp. 474 sqq. A valuable contribution is G. C. A. JUTEN, *De Orde van den H. Guilielmus in Noord- en*

Guilel.
- St. W.
Maleval

and sometimes the rule of St. William. The canonization of this great penitent in 1202 attracted many candidates to the Order, but when very few could live up to its rigor, its rule was mitigated by Gregory IX; thereafter the Order expanded more rapidly, spread into France, Germany and Hungary, but never flourished like the other great Orders. In 1235, at a chapter held in Bernardfagne, Belgium¹⁹⁰), it numbered two houses in France, two in Germany and eight in Belgium in addition to those of Italy, which never exceeded sixteen abbeys and thirteen *praepositurae* (priories ?). At the time of their greatest expansion in 1435, the Williamites possessed only fifty abbeys¹⁹¹).

It is no longer known why and when they were divided into two groups in Italy, each having its own general: one branch subject to the motherhouse of Maleval, also known as *Stabulum Rhodis* and the other to Mount Favali¹⁹²), but all ultramontane houses seem to have been under the jurisdiction of Maleval. In

Zuid-Nederland, Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique XXXII (1906), 45-66 also vols. 31 and 33 for corrections and additions. L. CRICK, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Wilhelmitenorde in België, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* XXX (1939), 155-200. M. HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1933), I, 543 sqq. The Order had but two houses in France: Louvergny, which existed from 1249 to about 1618 and Montrouge (Blancs Manteaux) in Paris, which they received from Philip the Fair in 1298 but lost to the Congregation of St. Maur in 1618: A. HAUDECEUR, *Les Guillelmites et leur fondateur, Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims* XCV (1893-1894), 147-161; J. TRUTMANN - A. M. BURG, *L'Ordre des Guillelmites en Alsace*, in *Archives de l'église d'Alsace*, n. s. II (1947-948), 173-204. Not one of the histories of the individual houses which made their appearance in Germany during the last few decades treated the questions which interest us most in this article and which we shall discuss in the next paragraph. Little is known about the Order in Italy and JUTEN, *Analectes* XXXII, 45 even claims that the Tuscan province is no longer mentioned after 1340. MS 1124 of the Library in Cambrai contains notes on the history of the Williamites between 1251-1348.

¹⁹⁰) JUTEN, *Analectes* XXXII, 45.

¹⁹¹) ASS Febr. 10, p. 481 enumerates 16 abbeys and 13 prepositurae for Italy, 20 foundations in Germany and 14 for France-Belgium.

¹⁹²) *Devotionis augmentum* of August 27, 1251 (BERGER 5468), is directed to « Generali heremi Sancti Benedicti de Monte Fabali ac ceteris prioribus et fratribus heremitis Sancti Guilielmi ». For Maleval: REPETTI II, 73 and for Mt. Favali: COTTINEAU, *Répertoire* II, 1918. Maleval received its name from the creek of the same name (Mala Valle), while the Knights of Rhodes, many of whom retired here after the Second Crusade, caused the place to be called *Stabulum Rhodis*. The monastery is destroyed, the remains of St. William are buried in the parish

obedience to the Council of the Lateran both groups of Williamites chose the Rule of St. Benedict ¹⁹³⁾ and not a single document can be adduced for the claim ¹⁹⁴⁾ that some Williamite houses had followed the Rule of St. Augustine and these only were included in the union of 1256; every available document speaks only of the Rule of St. Benedict and the Pope's command of April 9, 1256 certainly included the houses which followed that rule.

The garment of the Williamites was that of the hermits: a gray woolen habit with very wide and long sleeves and girded by a cincture. Whenever the Williamites left their hermitages, they had to carry a staff ¹⁹⁵⁾, the sign of the hermit. The color of their habit caused no protest from other Orders since they lived off their estates and not by alms-begging.

3. The Brethren of John Bonus

As great a penitent as St. William of Maleval was St. John Bonus ¹⁹⁶⁾ or Zanebonus who was born about 1168 in Mantua,

church of Castiglione della Pescaja, which was located about five miles from St. William's as the hermitage was known in later years. The Austins had a monastery in the immediate neighborhood at Tirli. Mt. Favali lay about three miles from Pesaro.

¹⁹³⁾ E. gr. *Justis petentium* of August 11, 1238 (AUVRAY 4493), *Exigentibus vestris* of April 8, 1248 (BERGER 4282), *Religiosorum molestiis* of January 5, 1249 (P 13154) and *Devotionis augmentum* of August 27, 1251 (BERGER 5468) called them *Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* and in *Justis petentium* Pope Innocent IV declared, that Gregory IX had given them the Benedictine rule according to the customs of the Cistercians.

¹⁹⁴⁾ BSA I, 71 and many others.

¹⁹⁵⁾ « Cum prior et fratres heremitarum in partibus Germaniae ordinis sancti Guilelmi vestiti laneis cucullis et curtis usque ad cavillam seu juncturam pedis cum manicis bene latis et longis, nullo alio superindutis colore nisi quam secum lana earum causa primordialis contraxit, latis quoque et circumcinctis corrigiis desuper cum congruis religioni cultellis, et baculos deferentes in manibus et calciati teneantur incedere... ». *Religiosorum molestiis* of January 5, 1249 (BERGER 4282; P 13154).

¹⁹⁶⁾ The ASS, October 22 contains the biography of John Bonus by Ambrose of Calepio, the eminent Augustinian lexicographer, and the full Acts of the Apostolic Process for the canonization of our saint (quoted in this chapter as Pr.). It was ordered by Innocent IV and held in the years 1251, 1253 and 1253-1254. E. Carpentier, S. J., the editor, says of these acts: « Verum enimvero vehementer erro, si hactenus unus processus canonizationis lumen viderit qui simul tam copiosus sit et antiquus quam processus confectus ad coelitos honores deferendos

where in 1249 he also died. We have no data for his life until 1209 when he retired to Butrioli two miles from Cesena, an episcopal town in Northern Italy, and in the solitude of a cave started a relentless battle with himself in unbelievable mortification and constant prayer. He soon attracted attention and a group of disciples gathered about him « to learn the true service of Christ ». According to the earliest Augustinian chroniclers, one of the disciples was St. Francis of Assisi. In the seventeenth century this claim excited a lively controversy between the famous Franciscan historian L. Wadding and the Augustinian Thomas Herrera¹⁹⁷). It has now been definitely settled through the critical edition of Jordan's work, that the passage about the « Augustinian Monachism of St. Francis » was added to certain Italian manuscripts a hundred years after Jordan had compiled his work¹⁹⁸). A critical text study of Friemar's manuscripts might lead to the same results. The Bollandist Edward Carpentier had come to the right conclusions through the historical evidence of the Acts of the Process of Canonization which leave no doubt that John Bonus started his life of penance about the year 1209, the very year in which St. Francis began his Order. Therefore, he could not have been a disciple of John Bonus whose brethren started to gather only about 1217.

The bull *Admonet nos* of April 15, 1253¹⁹⁹) gives us a clear

B. Joanni Bono ». Since many errors had crept into the various lives of John Bonus, Carpentier wrote an entirely new biography in his *Commentarius praeuius* which we shall quote as CP. The only English life of the Saint may be found in BUTLER's *Lives of the Saints* (ed. Thurston-Atwater, London 1936), X, 312. It is poorly done and repeats a number of errors which were corrected by Carpentier in 1869. The latest life in *Cor unum* VII (1949), 43 sqq. John Bonus did not descend from the noble family of the Bononi; his name was a combination of the name of his father John and his mother Bona. The populace called him Zanebonus and his followers Zambonini (ASS Oct. 22, p. 758), a name we prefer to Gianboniti which has no foundation in the documents.

¹⁹⁷) L. WADDING, *Annales Minorum* II (Quaracchi, 1931), Appendix. Herrera wanted to defend his teacher J. MARQUEZ, whose *Origen de los frayles Eremitanos de la Orden de San Augustin* (Salamanca, 1618) was under attack. When Wadding and Herrera met in Rome they became intimate friends. Herrera calls him « dulcissimus amicus noster » (I, 315).

¹⁹⁸) Vfr. LXV and 445.

¹⁹⁹) CP 141-160; P 14945; BERGER 6493.

outline of the history of the Zanonini. It states that many joined John Bonus when the fame of his conversion became known. As soon as he saw that his disciples were bound to stay, he approached Bishop Otto of Cesena and obtained permission to form a religious community on condition that the bishop and his successors should always have full jurisdiction. John immediately set to work and built a house and small church for his followers; but their number and quality increased to such an extent that he was forced to establish several new hermitages. He now recognized that the foundation of new religious congregation was inevitable, and since he and his brethren did not follow one of the approved rules as demanded by the Lateran Council a delegation was sent to Rome to ask for the Rule of St. Augustine. This was granted about 1225 and from that date the brethren of John Bonus were officially approved and « regarded as regulars » ²⁰⁰). In addition to the approved rule they followed their own constitutions of which only a few details are known ²⁰¹).

After the papal approval John Bonus and his confreres laid aside the habit of penitence and took the habit of the hermits, which consisted of a grey tunic to which a capouch was fastened, and was girded with a cincture ²⁰²). This habit was almost like that of the Franciscans, and since the Zanonini were also mendicants it was unavoidable that they received alms destined for the Franciscans. The resulting quarrel was laid before the papal le-

²⁰⁰) « Cum autem iidem religiosi aliquam de approbatis regulis non haberent, quidam ex eis accedentes ad sedem apostolicam obtinuerunt ab ea B. Augustini regulam sibi dari et sic ex tunc in regularibus observantiis instrui et regulariter se habere ». *Admonet nos* (CP 144).

²⁰¹) « ... secundum tenorem constitutionum ipsius ordinis » (CP 148, 156). Friar Moroël testified that John Bonus reprehended sharply those brethren « qui non observabant regulam et ordinem » (Pr. 173); ordo in this connection means constitutions. Mentioned is the formula of profession (*infra*); dependence upon the bishop; general chapters before which the definitors were elected by the prior general (*infra*). The Brettini also had their definitors elected before the chapter, but by the prior general and the visitors (CP p. 816, n. 1).

²⁰²) « Ferebat unicum cucullam, sive tunicam stamineam » (Pr. 181) grisei coloris (Pr. 237) et cingebatur desuper (Pr. 169). At first John Bonus wore the garment of penance but changed to the habit of the hermits after his congregation had received apostolic approval as was noted by a number of witnesses who said « antequam dictus frater Johannes Bonus assumeret habitum religiosum » (Pr. 197).

gates, Cardinal Thomas of Sabina and Rainald of Ostia, whereupon in 1240 Pope Gregory IX prescribed a black or white habit, a wide cincture and stave ²⁰³).

The Franciscans were also convinced that the similarity of habit deprived them of candidates and did not hesitate to come to Butrioli and take candidates of the Zanonini away to place them in their own Order ²⁰⁴).

Despite these difficulties the Order continued to expand and by 1251 it was divided into three provinces; Lombardy, Treviso and Romandiola ²⁰⁵). The number of brethren can no longer be determined. Only of Butrioli it is known that thirty members dwelt there in 1240 and of Parma it is said, that it had many brethren ²⁰⁶). Augustinian historians claimed that the Zanonini possessed thirty houses in 1231 and about sixty in 1256 ²⁰⁷), but so far we could locate only the twelve hermitages mentioned in the process of canonization ²⁰⁸) and about fourteen more from other sources ²⁰⁹),

²⁰³) Vfr. 453, n. 13, 14 and WADDING III, 42.

²⁰⁴) « Quod a quibusdam fratribus de ordine Minorum passus fuerat tribulationes et persecutiones non modicas (Pr. 37). Friar John (de Barba ?) « vidit dictum fratrem Joannem Bonum pati tribulationem et persecutiones a fratribus Minoribus, auferentibus fratres dicti fratris Joannis Boni, et ducentibus eos ad regulam suam; quam persecutionem et tribulationem sustinuit patienter » (Pr. 294). Carpentier's commentary in this matter is misleading; he apparently overlooked these two passages. The « persecutions » took place in 1240 (Pr. 37, 44) and coincided therefore with the bull *Dudum apparuit*.

²⁰⁵) In 1251 Lanfranc of Milan was called « prior provincialis Lombardiae » (Pr. 109); this territory was also designated with its ancient name *Gallia Cisalpina* (Pr. 10, 22). Frater Dobellus or Dotellus was called « prior provincialis in Romandiola » (Pr. 49) and again « prior provincialis ultra Padum in Romagnola » (Ps. 110). The houses around Cesena must, therefore, have formed the provincia citra Padum, which we shall call Romandiola and the other Treviso, names by which they were known after the Great Union.

²⁰⁶) Pr. 277 (Butrioli) and 81 (Parma).

²⁰⁷) « Nel 1231 contava almeno una trentina di romitori fiorentini ed osservantissimi... Toscana... contava da sola ben 61 monisteri... quella dei Giamboniti, se non sorpassava certo la sorella della Toscana »: BSA I, 42 and 70.

²⁰⁸) Carpentier overlooked Milan which is mentioned several times, e. gr. « Frater Martinus prior fratrum Mediolani » (Pr. 109) but gave good historical sketches of the other eleven houses.

²⁰⁹) One source are the names of cities which were added to those of the brethren though they are not an absolute guarantee of a foundation in that city, because in some cases they signify their hometown only (AA II, 343, n. 2); but since each member became affiliated with the monastery in which he had made

but then found ourselves confronted by a complete lack of historical research for the North-Italian monasteries.

From the remarks scattered throughout the process we can draw a more or less complete picture of the physical aspect of the foundations of John Bonus. All of them were located away from the cities, yet sufficiently close in order to provide for the necessities of life and to find quick refuge behind the city walls during the frequent wars of that period. As the visitor approached the settlement he was received by a brother at the gate and brought to the guesthouse which was built next to the church. Strangers were not admitted to the common refectory, a rule, we find clearly expressed in the constitutions of Brettino. Visitors could enter the church, in whose proximity individual cells of those brethren were located who after a long and thorough preparation were allowed to lead a solitary life. The other members lived at « the house » or monastery. There is also mention made of two cloisters. In the major cloister it was permitted to talk at certain times ; in the minor one which lay close to the cemetery perpetual silence was enforced ²¹⁰).

Though in the beginning most members may have been lay brothers, the number of priests grew quickly and by reason of their training and ordination took over most of the superiorships. They exercised their ministry through preaching ²¹¹), hearing confes-

profession, it was much more frequent to add the name of the town, in which his mother-convent was located. Sometimes both names were used, e. gr. *Frater Ardizzione, presbyterus, natione et conventu Mantuanus* » (Pr. 304) — « *Thaddeus laicus de conventu Cesena, oriundus de Colina* » (Pr. 298). Of the 75 brethren mentioned in the Process only the two lay brothers Bonincuntrus (48) and Deotesalvus (15) are called « de Tuscia », all others bear the name of a city in which then or shortly after the Great Union the Augustinians had a foundation. A few brethren seem to have used their family name, like *Grecus de Disendeis de Mantua* (Pr. 276) or *Johannes de Calesis de Cremona* (272). We shall find similar duplications in the history of the Brettini, appendix III, where we shall return to this question. See also the remarks of E. VAN MOË, *Recherches...*, p. 277, n. 1.

²¹⁰) Porter: Pr. 211, Guesthouse: 6, Chapter: 8, 258, Cloisters: CP p. 776. In the seventeenth century the distinction of minor and maior cloister was still used by the Augustinians of Toulouse: H. RAMET, *Histoire de Toulouse* (*ibid.*, 1935), Index.

²¹¹) Granted by *Vota devotorum* of September 6, 1246: BERGER 2103. Of the nineteen priests mentioned as such in the process seven were superiors. All higher superiors were priests, John Bonus being the only exception. Eight members are designated as lay-brothers, of the remaining 48 Brettini one is named novice, two subdiacons and one diacon.

sions and the recitation of the divine office. The lay-brothers did the housework, collected alms, erected new buildings and practiced their trades. Both priests and brothers were trained to spend much time in prayer and to do hard penance ²¹²). Former social position did not determine a man's place in the community, a poor man could be a priest and a nobleman a brother ²¹³).

Some kind of monastic school at Butrioli is suggested by the presence of subdeacons and deacons ; that members became priests several years after they had joined and most of all by the statement that boys of twelve, fifteen and sixteen years had joined the Order. There was a novitiate but we have no record of its duration ²¹⁴).

Blessed John Bonus directed his community only and alone through the power of his holy personality ; for he was neither ordained nor learned ; in truth he could neither read nor write ²¹⁵). Toward the end of his life difficulties arose due to the unforeseen expansion of his Order and the promise given to the bishop of Cesena, that he should retain full control. While this promise was easily kept in the beginning, it became very burdensome when monasteries were established in other dioceses. The more forward-looking members (especially those in the more distant houses)

²¹²) Mendicancy: Pr. 223 (and note to p. 829) — House-work: 16, 200 — Trades: 63, 82 — Choir: « ... veniebat in ecclesiam ad alias horas diurnas et nocturnas » Pr. 278 — Fasting: 229.

²¹³) The sons of Knight Moroël were lay-brothers (Pr. 171) while Blessed Angelo of Foligno, the son of Bernard, count of Torre and Vignole, was a priest. Born in 1226 he entered the Order of the Zanonini at the age of twenty and died on August 27, 1312. Blessed John Bonus is said to have been his novice-master. He founded the house at Foligno in 1248 and ten years later that of Gualdo Cattaneo, which had belonged to the Benedictines, and in 1275 another at Montefalco: F. PULIGNANI, *Il B. Angelo da Foligno*, in *Archivio per la storia ecclesiastica dell' Umbria* I (1913), 380-389; BUTLER-THURSTON, *Lives* VIII, 340.

²¹⁴) Bonad. (sic) de Cesena was subdeacon (Pr. 245) — fr. Vitalis deacon (Pr. 66) — Fr. Ardizione « fuerat heremita dicti ordinis iam sunt triginta anni elapsi, et quod fuit sacerdos iam sunt viginti septem anni elapsi » (Pr. 304 and *infra* note 220). Nasinbenus was a novice (Pr. 20) and candidates of various ages are mentioned in Pr. 60, 298 etc.

²¹⁵) John Bonus did not take part in the canonical hours « cum ipse J. B. sit idiota ita quod aliquam litteram non cognoscebat » CP 14; Pr. 279, 289 etc. Thomas of Spoleto also called St. Francis of Assisi an « homo idiota », i. e. a man who did not belong to the literati: MGH — SS. XXIX, 580. Sometimes the word *rusticanus* was used in the same sense.

worked, therefore, towards independence from the bishop of Cesena, but were opposed by the brethren of Romandiola and especially those of Butrioli. John Bonus recognized the necessity of a change, but apparently did not want to break his promise to the bishop of Cesena and, therefore, resigned about 1243 from his office of superior general. In his stead he appointed the priest Matthew of Modena as prior of Butrioli and by this very fact as superior general ²¹⁶). Frater Matthew had joined the Order in 1217 and was, therefore, one of the oldest members ²¹⁷). After he had governed the Order for several years, the dissension among the brethren came into the open when a number of novices made profession to him as prior general but not as prior of Butrioli. Thereupon two friars went in 1246 to Lyon, where they obtained from Pope Innocent IV not only a protector in William Fieschi ²¹⁸), Cardinal Deacon of St. Eustace, but also a privilege which was addressed to « the prior of St. Mary's, Butrioli and the priors and brethren subject to him ». By this move they tried to checkmate their confreres, who wanted a superior general not bound to Cesena, but weakened the position of Matthew to such an extent that in 1249 he called a chapter at Ferrara where he laid down his superiorship. The brothers of Romandiola declared the resignation illegal, since he had not first elected the definitors as prescribed by the constitutions whereupon Matthew elected the definitors and again resigned his office. This irritated the opposing party to such an extent that it left the chapter. The remaining brethren elected Frater Hugh (or Hugolinus) of Mantua ²¹⁹) as superior general and decided that the formula of profession should read: « I, N... make profession and promise obedience to God and the Blessed Mary and to you, prior general of the Hermits of John Bonus ». All this

²¹⁶) « In priorem dictae domus et per hoc in generalem totius ordinis » (*Admonet nos*).

²¹⁷) Pr. 89. Salimbene says of him « et cujus (Johannis Boni) filium vidi et cognovi fratrem Matheum Mutinensem et pinguem » MGH-SS. XXXVII, 254. He started his generalcy before 1245. Vide History of Modena, App. II.

²¹⁸) William Fieschi « cui... generalem curam ordinis predicti commisimus » was made cardinal in 1244 and died in 1256: H. SBRALIA, *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Rome, 1759), II, 503.

²¹⁹) In 1251 prior general Hugh arranged for the apostolic process (Pr. 38, 99) and testified concerning the sudden cure of Lanfranc (Pr. 111) but unlike the other witnesses he was not asked about the details of his own life.

was confirmed by the papal delegate, the bishop of Aquileia. The opposition, meanwhile, called another chapter, at which they elected the priest Mark ²²⁰), who was confirmed by the bishop of Cesena ²²¹). Thus the Order was divided into two groups and each superior general excommunicated the subjects of the other, but since both sides thought their position justified by the decision of lawful authority, they did not bother about the excommunication but said Mass, received Holy Orders and made religious profession for three years, before serious doubts arose as to their validity. The friars, therefore, called upon their Cardinal Protector William Fieschi to settle the difficulties, who appointed as his representatives the newly elected bishop of Padua and the Franciscan friar Simon ²²²). Upon their recommendation both superiors general resigned and in 1252 at the Chapter of Bologna Lanfranc of Milan was elected prior general. Cardinal William approved the election and made the following decisions which were confirmed by Rome: The generalate should no longer be bound to a person and place; each newly chosen general would need the confirmation by the Holy See; the Order should be called *Ordo Heremitarum* and the formula of profession should read: « I, N... make profession and promise obedience until death to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and to you, Prior General of the Order of Hermits, and your successors according to the Rule of St. Augustine and the Constitutions of this Order ». Thus the schism came to an end, which at times has been mistaken to the extent that the separated brethren

²²⁰) « Frater Marcus, natione de Cesena, prior fratrum heremitarum conventus Ariminensis » stated in the process of 1253 « quod testis esset bene quadraginta annorum, et quod fuit heremita iam sunt triginta anni et plus, et quod ipse testis presbyter fuerat iam octodecim anni elapsi et quod fuit conversatus cum fratre Joanne Bono per septem annos et amplius... in quibus temporibus fuit ipse testis aliquando prior provincialis, quandoque conventualis dicti ordinis »: Pr. 309. The comparative youth of even these « oldest » members was no doubt a deciding factor for the origin of the schism.

²²¹) Bishop Manginus of Manzano ruled the diocese of Cesena from 1234-1254 (Pr. 169).

²²²) « Electus Paduanus » was John Baptist Forzato who had been appointed in 1250 but through the opposition of Ezzelino could not enter his bishopric until 1256: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, II, 656. Friar Simon is called « lector Mediolanensis » in Wadding's *Annales* VII, 2 (Add. II). For the biography of Lanfranc vide next chapter.

in Lombardy were thought to be the mythical *Congregatio Insubrica* of which we'll speak later.

The Third Order of John Bonus

John Bonus was a lay preacher of great ability ²²³) and regularly addressed the large crowds which came to Butrioli ²²⁴). He strongly defended the church against Emperor Frederic II ²²⁵), continually fought the great heresies of his time and taught his listeners active Christian life. To counteract the Patareni and Cathari, who as a sign of their great piety, constantly repeated prayers which they themselves had made up, he taught his listeners often to repeat the Our Father and the Apostles' Creed ²²⁶). Religious practices are seldom divinely revealed, but come into existence through the needs of the time. The same evils require the same remedies and alert minds will find the same solution independent from each other. If constant repetition of prayers by the heretics was so attractive to the masses, then the Church had to adopt this means to counteract the enemy. At the same time the means had to be superior to anything the enemy had to offer and St. Dominic provided this perfect weapon in the rosary, whose form and effectiveness can be understood only against its historical background. This also applies to the Third Order of John Bonus. His inspired talks brought about the conversion of many heretics and sinners ²²⁷), many of whom entered his Order; others not fit for religious life formed the Brethren (or Sisters) of Penance which included both single and married people. The organization certainly existed before 1226 or even be-

²²³) According to tradition John Bonus had been an actor, before he started his life of penance; this training proved valuable in his new undertaking.

²²⁴) « ... quandoque tanta gentium multitudo confluebat ad dictum heremum (Butrioli) in qua dictus frater Johannes Bonus morabatur quod vix ipsi fratres poterant ibi esse: Pr. 244, 308. Butrioli was easily accessible because it lay on the Via Aemiliana. Clerics and religious, men and women, noblemen, ambassadors, officials of the emperor and even Enzo, the son of Frederic II, came to see him (Pr. 293), to touch him and listen to his sermons (Pr. 4). Through these instructions he also gained many candidates for his Order (Pr. 6, 77, 244).

²²⁵) Pr. 177, 240.

²²⁶) CP p. 82 sqq.

²²⁷) « Et multi, qui primo erant pleni omni lascivia et mundano et carnali amore, verbis et exhortationibus adepti sunt aliquem habitum religionis vel poenitentiae ». Pr. 6, 244, 256.

fore 1221²²⁸). St. Francis of Assisi had started his Third Order under the same name in 1221²²⁹), but there cannot be a doubt that the two groups were distinct and that John Bonus had full control over his disciples²³⁰). They wore a habit which differed from that of his First Order, though we do not know what kind; they also no longer regarded themselves as lay people²³¹). John took great interest in their spiritual welfare and guided them according to sound religious principles.

A few of the Brethren of Penance worked at Butrioli²³²) but most of them lived in Cesena and the other neighboring towns. It seems that some of them lived in common²³³) and it might be that one of these groups were the *Fratres Poenitentiae* who were included in the Great Union of 1256. All the older historians of the Augustinian Order claim that a group of Friars of Penance joined but might have confused them with the Friars of the Sack who were also called *Fratres Poenitentiae Jesu Christi*.

4. The Hermits of Brettino

The motherhouse of this congregation lay on the hill of Brettino about eight kilometers North West of Fano and was suppressed in 1650, when Pope Innocent X ordered all religious houses with

²²⁸) « ... in quibus triginta annis dictus testis (Dominus Maurinus) pluries ivit ad dictum fratrem Joannem Bonum et conversatus fuit cum eo, secundum quod ipse testis fuit frater poenitentiae »: Pr. 203. This would place the Order of Penance in the year 1221, if it were absolutely sure that Maurinus was a brother of Penance throughout the time he knew the saint.

²²⁹) R. HUBER, *A documented history of the Franciscan Order* (Milwaukee, 1944), 36.

²³⁰) ASS 22 Oct. p. 790. They called him minister or prior general of the Brethren of Penance: Pr. 164; CP 87.

²³¹) « Fratre Artusio tunc laico et nunc est frater poenitentiae »: Pr. 5. To make their purpose more constant they put on a special garment: « et ex tunc ipse cum uxore sua sumpserunt habitum fratrum poenitentiae », p. 820.

²³²) « ... et sic dicta Maria in ipso habitu coepit ministrare in vitae necessariis quandoque ipsi fratri Johanni Bono et etiam fratribus qui morabantur in conventu », p. 820. Another sister of penitence by the name of Titia is also mentioned as staying in Butrioli (*ibid.*).

²³³) When some of the Brethren of Penitence had publicly defamed John Bonus, he was forced to justify himself before the bishop of Cesena, but « quod cum iidem fratres qui scandalizabant ipsum, non haberent quid comederent, dictus frater J. B. faciebat eis portare per suos fratres panem et vinum, et hoc

less than six members closed. The Austins tried everything to save their precious historical monument and in their appeals also called attention to the inscription on a stone in Brettino which placed its foundation in the year 431. The stone may still be seen on the cloister walls of the former Augustinian monastery in Fano, but the date is, without question, pure fabrication and antedates the actual origin by centuries. According to some chroniclers several pious men of Fano founded this hermitage between 1200-1215 ²³⁴), but definite historical evidence does not appear until November 26, 1227 when Pope Gregory IX took its members and their church St. Blase under the special protection of the Apostolic See and thus freed them from the continuous requests for taxes and other contributions by which they had been molested. This document of 1227 was a purely local grant for a well established house and does not mark the year of its beginning as has been repeatedly stated ²³⁵). This is even more evident from the papal constitution of the following year which was addressed to the brethren of Brettino « and the other friars subject to them » ²³⁶) and spoke of their

multoties faciebat eis... »: Pr. 65. Since it is not probable that a number of private families suffered such extreme want at the same time, we may conclude that these men lived in common.

²³⁴) We are greatly indebted to Father Benignus Van Luijk O. E. S. A. for his notes on the Brettini which he gathered from a personal visit to their mother-house and in various archives of Italy.

²³⁵) *Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia*: AUVRAY 22186; P 26186. The same papal bull is also cited under November 27, 1226 which would make it the only document given to the Augustinians by Honorius III (P 7616). Th. KOLDE, *Die deutsche Augustiner Kongregation* (Gotha, 1879) follows the false statement of CRUSENIUS, *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich 1623), 114: « quidam enim eremitae arctissimam vitam meditantes ad eremum Bricinensem iuxta Fanum convenerunt solo hoc eremo contenti donec quarto post anno apud Gregorium IX pro confirmatione suarum constitutionum instantes peterent ». Crusenius has a number of such firm reports for which we have no longer any document, and for which he gave no sources as already Herrera complained, who wrote but a few decades later. S. LOPEZ in AA XVII (1940), 541 also takes 1227 as the beginning of the congregation against the clear tenor of the bull. For details reg. the persecution of monasteries in this section, vide P. M. AMIANI, *Memorie storiche della città di Fano* (*ibid.*, 1751), I, 190.

²³⁶) « Cum olim, sicut intelleximus, motu proprio quendam novum ordinem inveneritis et ad ipsius observantiam vos duxerimus obstringendos. Quia tandem illo relicto, cum non essetis de ordinibus approbatis, Beati Augustini regulam recepistis, eamque cupitis in perpetuum irrefragabiliter observare; nos... Vos ab observantia praedicti Ordinis absolventes a Vobis perpetuis temporibus inviola-

congregation as having been established quite a while ago (*olim*) ; it also recognized them as an approved Order, since they had given up their former rule and accepted that of St. Augustine ; the year 1228 marks, therefore, only their official entry into the Augustinian family. Like other Orders they observed only the Second Rule and, consequently, needed Constitutions of their own which the Pope confirmed in 1235 ²³⁷) and in their simplicity and brevity show an only little developed organization : A general chapter was to be held each year at which the definitors were elected by the prior general and the visitors. These visitors together with the visitors of the past year had to correct whatever needed correction in head and members and were to have full liberty in their task. The main stress was laid upon bodily mortifications : all meals were to be taken in common, and lay people were not to be admitted to the refectory. From the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14) until Easter they had to fast i. e. they could eat but one meal a day ; the same applied to all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year. Meat was always forbidden and eggs were served three times a week and not at all during Advent ²³⁸) and Lent. The color and quality of their garments was to be of no concern to them ; they rather should strive for poverty. Four tunics (probably two for summer and two for winter) two scapulars and one cowl were to be granted to each member.

The Brettini practiced mendicancy from their beginning ²³⁹) and none of the Orders united in 1256 insisted as much on poverty as they. Almost every papal document in their favor speaks of their great poverty and a deep reverence for their efforts was expressed in the words of Bishop Matthew of Ascoli « that naked they desired to follow the naked Christ to the very height of poverty » ²⁴⁰). This

biliter observari concedimus ». AMIANI, *Memorie* II, p. XLV gives the date as February 5, 1228, while EMPOLI 123 (P 8288) mentions December 8 of the same year.

²³⁷) *Que omnium conditoris*, March 13, 1235 (P 9856). Innocent IV confirmed it on September 17, 1250 (BERGER 4831 ; P 14059).

²³⁸) Advent is called *quadragesimale sancti Martini* (*ibid.*).

²³⁹) In *Circa opera pietatis* of July 4, 1248 (E 172 ; P 12975) Pope Innocent IV recommended the Brettini to the bishops and said « nec permittatis super elemosynis colligendis ad sustentacionem ipsorum ab aliquibus inferri molestiam aliquam vel gravamen ».

²⁴⁰) Appendix III : Cignano.

love of poverty is best expressed in the lives of their two greatest sons: Blessed Clement of Osimo and St. Nicholas of Tolentino. The latter was converted through a sermon of one of the fathers of Brettino on the words of the Gospel: to leave everything and thus follow Christ; and this ideal made him immune against all the persuasive tactics of his uncle who was a canon in one of the neighboring abbeys ²⁴¹).

The men of Brettino added to their very strict life of penance some extraordinary modes of self-denial. They drove for example a long corridor, which still exists, into the hill and branched off small cubicles on both sides, which were just large enough to let a man lie down ²⁴²); in the neighborhood similar cells still exist which were dedicated to special saints like S. Paterno, the patron of Fano. The only explanation for such cells seems to be that they were places of penance made for the purpose to restrict bodily movement to the greatest possible extent, a torture which became more painful by the addition of the most severe fasting. Such mortification holes are also found in the life of Saint John Bonus.

The holy life of these brethren made such a deep impression upon their contemporaries that they flocked to their houses in great numbers and thus more than thirty new foundations could be established within twenty years and whole religious communities of other Orders like the Augustinian Canons of Fano and the Benedictines of St. Mary Magdelene's in Valle Petrae near the Zaragoza-gate of Bologna joined their brotherhood. When the Bishop of Bologna refused to give his consent to the union of Mary Magdelene's because of the great diversity of the two Orders, he was told that the constitutions of the Brettini were far stricter, whereupon the Pope gave his consent.

The increase in members brought with it a diversity of endeavor, especially the priests, who had joined the community, wanted to exercise their functions and Pope Gregory IX gave them the right to preach and hear confessions provided that the bishop and the pastor of the church had given their consent ²⁴³); a few years later they were granted the privilege to celebrate mass on portable

²⁴¹) N. CONCETTI, O. E. S. A., *Vita di S. Nicolao da Tolentino* (ibid., 1932), 79-82.

²⁴²) Communication of Father B. van Luijk.

²⁴³) *Vota devotorum*, September 24, 1243: BERGER 128.

altars ²⁴⁴). When the much-coveted bull *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* was given them in 1245 ²⁴⁵) they enjoyed the privileges of the other great Orders and shortly afterwards there is evidence that the congregation was divided into provinces ²⁴⁶).

The indifference to the color of their habit, which their constitution demanded and which was approved by the Holy See, brought the brethren into sharp conflict with the Franciscans; for their habits were almost identical and since both Orders depended on mendicancy for their living, the Franciscans felt that they were often deprived of the alms which people had set aside for them. When the rapid expansion of the Brettini demanded a more energetic collection of alms the differences of opinion were bound to come into the open. In 1240 Pope Gregory sent no less than four mandates to the bishops of the March of Ancona ²⁴⁷) to force the Zanonini and « other hermits similar to them » to wear either a white or black habit, but the bishops did not bother the Brettini because they were not mentioned by name. When the letters — despite their sharp language — had failed to bring the desired results, Rome realized that the majority of hermits in the March of Ancona was not constituted by the Zanonini but by the Brettini and demanded of them an immediate change of habit. The prior general of the Brettini, Andrew of Francavilla ²⁴⁸), however, de-

²⁴⁴) *Devotionis augmentum*, September 20, 1250: BERGER 4832. The privilege was to be used only within the precincts of their hermitages and was most probably needed for the priests who led a solitary life.

²⁴⁵) November 3, 1245 and July 30, 1252: BERGER 1603, 5887; it was renewed by Alexander IV on April 10, 1255: P 15792.

²⁴⁶) « Fr. Angelo, prior de Trevisano »: BERGER 4836.

²⁴⁷) *Dudum apparuit*, March 24, 1240 (AUVRAY 5122); *Apparente dudum*, July 18, 1240 (AUVRAY 5260); *Dudum apparuit*, August 18, 1240 (AUVRAY 5277). To avoid further misunderstandings in such matters, the Austins obtained through *Quanto studiosius* of March 20, 1255 (E 1) the right, that they could not be forced to do anything even by apostolic letters « absque mandato Sedis Apostolicæ speciali, faciente plenam et expressam de verbo ad verbum de vobis, vestro Ordine et hac indulgentia mentionem ». In like manner *Pacis vestre* of July 13, 1266 (E 61).

²⁴⁸) P. M. PUPI, *Memorie storiche del conventu di S. Agostino del 1265 al 1600*, Ms of the monastery of Montegiorgio written in 1680 calls him Frater Andreas de Francavilla who ruled Brettino from 1240-1256. Quotation from *La Provincia Agostiniana Picena* (Tolentino, 1933), 69. The papal document just calls him prior general Andrew: *Cum venerabilibus*, August 21, 1240 (AUVRAY 5278); *Licet nobis*, August 23, 1240 (AUVRAY 5279).

manded a hearing in this matter and when it was refused, he did not budge from the Papal Curia, which so annoyed Pope Gregory that he forgot the usual calm language used in official documents and sharply criticized such effrontery ²⁴⁹), but in the end he gave in and demanded only such a change in their habit which would distinguish it from that of the Franciscans, and no longer insisted on either a white or black habit, long sleeves and the wearing of the staff ²⁵⁰). It was the wearing of the staff in particular to which all hermits objected, because it made the populace regard them as robbers ²⁵¹).

Pope Innocent IV did not continue the policy of his predecessor, but favored the Brettini in every respect. Between 1247 and 1252 he granted indulgences to at least fifteen of their houses in order to support their building program and in various disputes as with the Franciscans over Mount Geoffrey or the bishop of Bologna over St. Mary Magdelene's in Valle Petrae he decided in favor of the Brettini; he also approved their Constitutions and renewed their many privileges. The only decision against their wishes concerned their intention to leave Brettino, which both the citizens of Fano and probably some of the brethren themselves opposed.

Pope Alexander IV resumed the question of habit in February 1256, when he commanded the bishops of the March of Ancona to excommunicate all who would not obey, but even after the Great Union had to give them another chance by setting as final date All Saints 1256 and then extended it to Easter 1257 ²⁵²). This is the last we hear from papal sources about the stubborn fight of the Hermits of Brettino for their habit which they had probably worn before the Franciscan Order had been founded.

* * *

²⁴⁹) « Frater Andreas generalis prior maioris partis Eremitarum Marchiae cum quibusdam fratribus suis in nostra presentia constitutus se admitti ad prosecutionem appellationis iam dictae cum instantia postulavit, nos autem frivolem reputantes eandem ipsam super hoc, sic nos debuimus, non duximus audientium »: *Bull. Franc.* II, 284; AUVRAY 5277.

²⁵⁰) AUVRAY 5278/9.

²⁵¹) Vfr. 453.

²⁵²) *Recordamur liquido*, February 22, 1256 (P 10934) and June 17, 1256 (P 16425 and *Bull. Franc.* II, 117 and 138-140); *Litteras nostras*, October 15, 1256 (P 16583).

From the history of these congregations several evident conclusions may be drawn. Each of the Augustinian groups had developed along the same lines, whether they had originated from a common stem like the Zanonini and Brettini or had been welded together into a unit by papal command like the Tuscans. Each constituted a fully developed congregation, free from the jurisdiction of the local bishops and guided by a superior general, whose confirmation was reserved to the Holy See. Each group had rapidly increased and expanded because the holiness of their members attracted a great number of vocations and all three reveal an ever growing tendency towards the active life of the church, a tendency which found the full support of the Holy See.

The differences were mostly noticeable in the form of the habit and the practice of poverty. Some of the old establishments of the Tuscans possessed considerable property from which they gained their livelihood, though its members had to resign all personal possessions ²⁵³). The Brettini on the other hand stressed complete poverty and like the Franciscans lived from the quest of alms. The Zanonini combined both forms and their mode of life became the standard of the Order after the Great Union. The Tuscans and the Zanonini wore the same black habit, while the Brettini still retained a semblance of their former grey garment.

The pre-eminence of the Tuscans was always understood among Augustinians. Their general chapter of 1244 was regarded as the first held by the whole Order ; their constitutions were officially declared to be the first laws for the entire Order ; they contributed the best developed organization and the most privileges. The Zanonini brought the heritage of John Bonus the Saint and nothing can take the place of the example and training of a saint. Their system represented a happy medium between the old and new types of religious ideals, a form which determined the development of the Order after 1256. The Brettini contributed the love of poverty in its strictest form ; and among their brethren lived, at the time of the Union, young St. Nicholas of Tolentino who became the shining light in the infancy of the re-organized Order, and gave it renown as no other member. We eliminated from our considerations the two groups of Williamites because they are of little importance to Augustinian history, since they were allowed to regain

²⁵³) *Hiis qui pro animarum*, July 31, 1255: AA IV, 369-372.

their independence within the year of the Great Union. This evaluation, however, was temporarily rejected when Erasmus not by sound reasons but by his fame had convinced the learned world that the Rule of St. Augustine had never been written by the greatest Doctor of the Church and consequently anyone was regarded as a *vir obscurus* who did not share this false viewpoint²⁵⁴). With the great personality of their founder « eliminated » and their Order torn asunder by the Reformation certain Augustinian historians tried to convince themselves and others, that St. William of Maleval was the reformer of Augustinian eremitical life and thus its second founder²⁵⁵), but this distorted history came to an end, when Henschen in one of the great masterpieces of the *Acta Sanctorum* brought order into the biography of this holy penitent by a careful separation of the lives of at least three saints who bore the same name, but had lived in different centuries. When the Augustinian Order produced again men well versed in the writings of St. Augustine they vigorously fought for the actual foundation of their Order by the saint whose name it bears and this standpoint has remained the heritage of the Order to this hour.

Yet from the history of the three Augustinian congregations united in 1256 it is evident that the present Order of Austin Friars was of Italian origin, because the names of all early superiors which have become known to us are Italian and none of the ultramontane houses, which joined the union, can be proved beyond a doubt to antedate the thirteenth century, but were established when the Italian congregations were fully organized. Equally conclusive is the overwhelming influence of the Italians over the rest of the Order, showing itself not only in the far greater number of houses

²⁵⁴) The proof for these assertions will be brought in the forthcoming book on the Rule of St. Augustine by W. Hümpfner, whose manuscript I consulted.

²⁵⁵) E. gr. J. ALEN, archbishop of Dublin in 1533, *Repertorium viride* (ed. in *Analecta Hibernica*, n° 9 (1940), p. 185: « Fratres Ordinis Augustini. Supple Heremitarum. Ab Innocentio IV confirmatur, sed anno 1157 a Guillelmo Aquitanie et comite Pictaviensi exordium sumpsit. Qui in hac inclita civitate doctrina prefulgerunt, unde in nostro registro f° 41 utroque latere constat de ipsorum prestantia pre ceteris mendicantibus palam », or PAMPHILUS, *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Rome, 1581), fol. 29^{vo}: « Ordinem eremitarum sancti Augustini de ipso Augustino incoceptum, collabentem a S. Guilhelmo trans Alpes, in Italia a B. Johanne Bono instauratum novissime Alexander IV Pontifex Maximus aliorum complurium monachorum et eremitarum congregationibus adjunctis amplificavit ».

but also in the distinction of *capitula generalia* and *capitula generalissima*. The first were held annually and attended only by Italians, while the latter were called together every three years and attended also by the non-Italian provinces ²⁵⁶). Yet at the *capitula generalia* laws were made for all provinces, which would have been impossible if the ultramontane founders had not come from Italy and were still closely united with their mother-province. This custom continued until 1281. By that time the ultramontane houses were occupied by their own nationals and had gained sufficient strength to make a change desirable.

One more important point needs to be explored. In their desire to prove an Order of St. Augustine distinct from the Zambonini and Brettini, but greater than the Tuscans early and late Augustinian historians have made many conjectures regarding its composition. Bishop Pamphilus started the vogue to distinguish:

Congregatio Eremitarum Vallis Hirsutae per Italiam propagata.

Congregatio Eremitarum de Poenitentia Jesu Christi per Italiam et Franciam propagata.

Congregatio Eremitarum Turris Palmarum Firmane diocesis.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sancti Johannis Boni per universam Italiam propagata.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sancti Augustini in loco Sancti Blasii de Brittinis Fanensis diocesis.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sanctae Trinitatis de Centumcellis in Tuscia.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sanctae Mariae de Lupocavo, Lucensis diocesis.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sanctae Mariae de Murceto, Pisanae diocesis.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sancti Jacobi de Monilio, Lucensis diocesis.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sancti Benedicti de Monte Fallio per universam Italiam propagata.

Congregatio Eremitarum Sancti Guilelmi per Franciam, Alemanniam et Illyricum propagata ²⁵⁷).

²⁵⁶) AA VIII, 288 sqq.

²⁵⁷) J. PAMPHILUS, *Chronica*, f. 30. None of the historians before Pamphilus knew anything about these various groups; they are, therefore, in the main, his own construction.

At present we know nothing of the Hermits of the « wooded valley », though it could be the group of hermitages around St. Anthony's in the Woods (or Selvamaggio) since the Tuscan hermitages by their geographical locations suggest a motherhouse for each group.

The Hermits of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, commonly known as Friars of the Sack, were certainly not included in 1256, because they continued as an independent Order until 1274, when they were suppressed by the Second Council of Lyon. The mistake was probably made because many of their important houses were given to the Augustinians and no doubt a good number of their brethren joined the Austin Friars ²⁵⁸).

Torre di Palma in the March of Ancona had followed the Rule of St. Augustine, but in 1232 asked for that of St. William. Whether this was granted is not known, but in 1256 the hermitage was a member of the province of the March of Ancona and so far no proof has been found, that it was the head of a congregation. Torelli enumerated several houses which in his opinion belonged to Torre di Palma, but all of them had been founded by the Brettini ²⁵⁹).

Centumcellae must have been an extremely old foundation, when Henry Friemar thought it the connecting link between St. Augustine and his Hermits and could refer to ancient records for his contention ²⁶⁰). In later years it became known as the place,

²⁵⁸) R. EMERY, *The Friars of the Sack*, in *Speculum* XVIII (1943), 323-334 and H. F. CHITTLE, in *Downside Review*, October 1945, pp. 240-251 and EMERY, *ibid.*, Oct. 1951, pp. 520-521. The mistake of Pamphilus was recognized early by Augustinian historians: Vfr. 452. The Augustinians acquired Lamballe, Orleans, Tournai, Paris, Rouen, Verdun in France and Acre in Syria. To these seven houses should be added Stamford in England (*Cal. of Papal Registers* III, 69) and in France Angers (AFM XIX, 73) and Bayeux (BEZIERS, *Histoire de la ville de Bayeux* (Caen, 1772), 135).

The *Annales Dunstapenses* (MGH. SS. XVIII, p. 512) report the suppression of the Sack Friars and add: « unde multi ex eis ad alias religiones convolarunt ». Though this Order in its entirety did not join the Augustinians, there remains a possibility that members of John Bonus who lived in common and were known as Brethren of the Penitence, joined the Order (*vide supra*).

²⁵⁹) *Cum fratres heremi*, December 5, 1232: AUVRAY 986; TORELLI, Preface to vol. II.

²⁶⁰) « Et cum (sanctus Augustinus) in heremo Tuscie multos fratres heremitas invenisset sancte vite, demum applicuit ad locum nostrum qui dicitur Centumcellis qui fuit, ut dicitur, primus locus conventualis ordinis nostri, et cum illis

where the Order of St. Augustine had its beginning. Its only early record is the application in 1243 for the church of St. Severa, which stood unattended in the open country ²⁶¹). Pope Innocent IV granted the request and since then the monastery was known as S. Severa de Centumcellis. After the Great Union its members founded the house in Corneto with a church in honor of St. Mark. So far no documents have been found which would make it the head of a congregation, but it easily might have formed a province of the Tuscans to which Maria del Popolo in Rome and the more southern houses belonged, of which the bull *Litterae nostrae* of June 17, 1256 speaks, when it mentions establishments not only in the Patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, but also in Campania Marittima and the Kingdom of Sicily ²⁶²).

Murceto or Mulceto in the diocese of Pisa never joined the Augustinians, otherwise its abbot could not have attended the Council of Pisa in the year 1409 ²⁶³). Pamphilus was probably misled by their request of 1244 to change from the Benedictine to the Augustinian Rule ²⁶⁴).

There does not seem to be a single document available for St. James of Monilio, unless it be identical with St. James of Morilio (Mt. Morello) for which exists a real-estate transaction from the year 1244 ²⁶⁵).

Montefallio as the motherhouse of the Neapolitan congregation seems very doubtful, because in 1221 its members joined the Cistercian Order ²⁶⁶). The only reason for adding this monastery

fratribus per biennium morabatur, quibus etiam regulam et modum vivendi tradidit... quod ex antiquis legendis non abbreviatis colligitur»: AA IV, 301; Vfr. 24. The location of Centumcellae is not quite certain. Ordinarily it would be Civitavecchia and Lanteri accepts this version (CRUSENIUS I, 236) but others place it near Corneto, to which it became an anner (CRUSENIUS I, 296).

²⁶¹) *Pium est* of December 15, 1243; *Justis petentium* of March 30, 1244 (BERGER 326, 759).

²⁶²) It was directed to the bishops « per Lombardiam, Tusciam et Roman-diolum ac Tervisinam et Anconitanam Marchias, Campaniam maritimam et regnum Sicilie constitutis ». This is interesting, since it considers all eremitical houses in question as a unit though their union was not yet a reality. Vide E 21; P 16425.

²⁶³) COTTINEAU, *Répertoire* II, 2011.

²⁶⁴) *Cum vos et* of March 26, 1244: BERGER 578; TORELLI IV, 456.

²⁶⁵) Vide Appendix I.

²⁶⁶) TORELLI IV, 247. In 1170 Alexander III reprimanded them for having received boys into their Order who were not yet 14 years old: *ibid.*, p. 81.

could have been the fact that previously to this change it had followed the Rule of St. Augustine.

The entire hypothesis of Pamphilus, therefore, collapses under the weight of historical evidence and the same applies to the theories of Joseph Lanteri and Eustasius Esteban²⁶⁷⁾ who strictly followed the tradition of the Order. They assumed from three to four congregations in Italy which together with the four ultramontane congregations of Hungary, Germany, France-England and Spain-Portugal formed the Order of St. Augustine or as Torelli expressed it the *vere Augustiniani*. Lanteri found the first Italian Congregation in Insubria, which roughly would be the territory of the old duchy of Milan, mentioned as second the Tuscans, as third Torre di Palma and as fourth Montefallio. Despite his extensive knowledge of sources Esteban accepted the mythical congregation of Insubria, because the bull *Ne pro eo* of July 14, 1255 was directed to « Dilectis filiis priori generali et fratribus eremitarum sancti Augustini in Lombardia et Romandiola²⁶⁸⁾, but he forgot to take cognizance of the fact that since *Admonet nos* (1251) the Zanbonini who had most of their houses in these territories, had been given the official title: Order of Hermits and were no longer addressed as Brethren of John Bonus.

The only justification for all these speculations about unknown congregations, which joined the Order, lies in the words of Cardinal Richard that he had received command not only to join the five Orders mentioned in *Licet Ecclesiae* but also such as were known by other names²⁶⁹⁾, but he used this argumentation only against the Poor Catholics of Milan, whom he forced to join the Austins in July 1256. Instead of all kinds of congregations it would be much more in harmony with our present knowledge of history to assume several provinces of the three Augustinian Orders united

²⁶⁷⁾ LANTERI, *Postrema saecula sex religionis Augustinianae* (Tolentino, 1858), 3 vol. See Introduction. ESTEBAN developed his ideas esp. in AA IV, 274 sqq. Even Victor MATORANA, whose *Historia general de los Ermitaños de San Agustín*, 5 vol. (Santiago de Chile, 1912-1913) drew the ire of Esteban for having broken with Augustinian tradition (AA V (1913) sqq.) accepted most of the Italian congregations of Pamphilus (II, 34 sqq.). A. DE ROMANIS, *L'Ordine Agostiniano* (Florence, 1935) broke with this tradition.

²⁶⁸⁾ TORELLI IV, 508; AA IV, 274. Hh. 2 n° 26 in the archives of the General in Rome gives the date August 13, 1248.

²⁶⁹⁾ TORELLI V, 665; « et aliae aliorum vocabulorum nuncupationibus censebantur ».

in 1256 ; such divisions were demanded by the rapid expansion of all three groups, who enjoyed an abundance of vocations.

A study of the available documents reveal not more than three dozen houses in all ultramontane provinces before 1256 and the very recent origin of these houses ; they also indicate that they were founded by either the Tuscans or the Zambonini. In 1243 e. gr. we find a real estate transaction in Portugal signed by Friar Lawrence as prior provincial, Paschasius Dareta as visitor general and John Lombardo as prior of Lisbon ²⁷⁰). Their Italian names leave no doubt as to their origin and the titles of their offices point to the Tuscans whose constitutions provided for the same kind of superiors. These conclusions are further strengthened by the fact that the bull *Quia ex apostolica cura* was given to the Tuscans and to Spain in the same month (April 1244) ²⁷¹). A prior general of Spain is not mentioned in this document ; if he had existed the papal bull would certainly have been addressed to him and thus the contention of Esteban that each of the four ultramontane provinces had its own prior general does not apply to Spain-Portugal. Equally interesting is the fact that the earliest known copy of *Recordamur liquido* of February 1256 belonged to the Franciscans in Cologne ²⁷²) and since this papal decree is nothing but a renewal of *Dudum apparuit* which was directed against the Zambonini, it would indicate that this energetic Order started the houses at the mouth of the Rhine and the rest of Germany and this theory takes the form of proof when one considers that the same bull was sent to the bishops of Bohemia, Moravia and Austria ²⁷³), which terri-

²⁷⁰) TORELLI IV, 379. The Spanish chroniclers J. Jordan and F. Fabrián prefer the Hermits of John Bonus: P. M. VELEZ, *Leyendo nuestras crónicas*, 2 vol. (Escorial, 1932), 697, 777.

²⁷¹) TORELLI IV, 387. The original was in Our Lady of Grace Monastery of Lisbon.

²⁷²) It was addressed to the bishops of Germany: L. KORTH, *Papsturkunden aus dem ehemaligen Minoriten-Archiv von Köln*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, fasc. 16 (1889). Korth states that Potthast did not know this document, though it is quoted in *Bullar. Franc.* II, 117. In passing we would like to mention that *Dudum dilectus filius noster R(ichardus)* of November 5, 1258 which is also missing in Potthast, seems an evident falsification, though its editor does not regard it as such: N. STREGANZ, *Papstbulen im Archiv der nordtirolischen Franziskaner-Ordensprovinz*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N. F. VI (1891), 454.

²⁷³) P 16427.

tories formed then a part of the German empire. This papal letter also eliminates the hermits in this section as an independent congregation with its own general. The existence of houses before 1256 in the German territory of to-day has been denied by many modern historians, but wh'should the great privileges of *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* be sent as early as March 22, 1249²⁷⁴) to the Augustinian Hermits in Germany, if they were non-existent? The many new foundations in Germany immediately after the Great Union would have been impossible if, in most instances, hermitages had not been established near those cities. Records are so rare because these hermitages existed but a few years before they were transferred into the cities.

Historians of the French provinces tried to connect several of their houses with foundations by refugee hermits from North-Africa²⁷⁵), but actually very little is known for the time before 1256. The monastery in Arles preserved the bull *Religiosam vitam* of May 31, 1253, which was directed to « priori et fratribus eremitis ordinis sancti Augustini in ultramontanis partibus » and bore the Vidimus of the bishop of Arles, dated 1255²⁷⁶). On July 5 of the same year Pope Alexander IV sent a command to the prior general of the Augustinian Hermits in France and England to reform his subjects, but this document which Torelli found buried in the archives of St. James in Bologna²⁷⁷) will need to be thoroughly investigated in case it should still be extant, because its contents seem to be without definite purpose.

The early foundations in France were almost without exception located in Languedoc and the English occupied territories of France and some of them like Bordeaux and later Mezins were built by the English nobility, which also introduced the Augustinians into England. This country seemed to be only one where the beginnings

²⁷⁴) BERGER 4430. It was sent to « priori et fratribus heremitis in Alamania » and on the same day to the prior and friars hermits in Hungary; the words *ordinis sancti Augustini* are not used in either document, nor were they used when Urban IV granted the same favors: E 371 (no date), though P 18445 added them without cause.

²⁷⁵) P. Archangel GUIN (died 1672), *Chronologia conventuum provincie Provincie*, Ms 5-H-29 of the dep. Bouches de Rhone, tried to connect Lerins with African Augustinianism and had his own house started by St. Honorius, a monk of Lerins, but could not bring a single proof.

²⁷⁶) HERRERA I, 69.

²⁷⁷) TORELLI IV, 506. *Quia salutem*.

of Augustinian life could be clearly gaged, because on September 3, 1249 King Henry III welcomed « the Friars Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine coming to England » and expressed the wish « that they shall stay in his land and that good be done to them by everyone »²⁷⁸). But anyone familiar with Augustinian history could not expect such good fortune and he is resigned to the fact that at least three documents speak for a much earlier arrival. The first record, generally overlooked by historians, concerns the monastery of Winchester, which was to be transferred into the city in 1352, but this move was strongly opposed by the city council « as the friars for more than two hundred years — it is said — had a suitable house in the suburb of Winchester ». The second document not used by any modern historian, sheds new light on the beginning of London. In the year 1227 King Henry III ordered an inquisition *ad quod damnum* whether he could give the friars hermits of St. Augustine the chapel of St. Lawrence on the road to Clayanger²⁸⁰). John Capgrave, who apparently knew this document, placed, therefore, the beginning of the English province in the year 1230²⁸¹). If these two groups of hermits were really Augustinians then there is no difficulty to place their welcome by the Franciscans at the chapter of Stamford into the year 1239, instead of accepting pure hypotheses²⁸²).

The royal letter of 1249, therefore, seems to concern a new group of Augustinians, probably sent by the Tuscans, for whom Cardinal Richard paved the way. Within a short time houses were established in Clare (1248), London proper (1252), Woodhouse (1250), Huntingdon (bef. 1258), Ludlow (1254), Leicester and Shrewsbury in 1255. Sidingborn (or Shamele) joined in 1255 but was given up a short time later. At the Great Union these houses probably drew older foundations like Winchester and Warrington (?) into their fold, while others which were also populated by hermits of St. Augustine did not join²⁸³).

²⁷⁸) *Cal. Pat. Rolls Henry III 1247-1258*, p. 49.

²⁷⁹) *Close R. Edw. III 1349-1354*, p. 484.

²⁸⁰) P. R. O. C. 143 file I n° 38. Dr. Emery, New York kindly called my attention to this unpublished document.

²⁸¹) *Chronicle of England*, 153.

²⁸²) A. G. LITTLE, *Tractatus fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston De adventu fratrum in Angliam* (Paris, 1909), 129.

²⁸³) Details will be given in my history of the English province which will

John of Gubbio was called in 1260 « vicar general of France, England, Scotland and in the territories and dioceses of Lausanne, Verdun and Cambrai ²⁸⁴). Ireland is not mentioned and, therefore, had not yet entered the orbit of Augustinian history, and the ancient data given for Irish establishments can only apply to the Augustinian Canons, many of whose abbeys were taken over by the hermits in the seventeenth century. No record has been known to former historians of foundations in Scotland, though it was always claimed that at least one house was established there which disappeared before the fifteenth century. It is the old « Berwae » of the Registers of the General or Berwick-upon-Tweed, for which we have the first record in 1299 ²⁸⁵), but which must have existed before 1260, otherwise the appointment of John Gubbio for Scotland would not make sense.

The diocese of Lausanne reached deep into Switzerland and included Fribourg, the first house of the Order in that country. The diocese of Verdun held within its limits Girouet supposedly founded in the tenth century and Verdun established in 1110, but neither claim can be sustained by the slightest evidence. The diocese of Cambrai included not only most of Lorraine where Metz constituted the oldest foundation, but also Belgium where Bruges, Hasselt, Louvain, Maestricht, Malines and Ypres were founded shortly before 1256. It is a matter of mere conjecture what caused this sudden outburst of foundations in Belgium at this period. Could it be that they were established by Italian hermits who could not enter England during its bitter civil wars ?

The union between France and England did no longer exist in 1265 when England held its own chapter and John of Gubbio signed as provincial of France only ²⁸⁶).

As in the case of France nothing definite is known about

appear shortly. A. GWYNN, *The English Austin Friars at the time of Wycleff* (London, 1940).

²⁸⁴) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I (Paris, 1889), 405.

²⁸⁵) HERRERA I, 124; *Liber quotidianus contrarotularius Garderobe...* Eduardi I anno 28, p. 27.

²⁸⁶) On March 21, 1264 John of Gubbio signed himself as « prior provincialis Fr. Er. in regno Francie »: E. FEYS and E. NELIS, *Les cartulaires de la prévôté de Saint-Martin à Ypres*, II, n° 231 and in 1265 the English province held its own provincial chapter: *Chartulary of Clare* (Brit. Mus. Harleian Ms. 4835), fol. 9^{ro}.

Hungary before 1249, when the prior and friars hermits of that country received *Vitam religiosam eligentibus*. The invasions of the Tartars and Turcs destroyed most of the early monastic records and the few left in papal and imperial archives often confuse our Order with the Hermits of the Holy Cross, who were simply called « heremitani » and after their acceptance of the Augustinian Rule « Heremitae Sanctae Crucis (in eremo) ordinis sancti Augustini »²⁸⁸). They were not united in 1256, but kept their independence. Henry Friemar enumerated among the saints of the Augustinian Order immediately after John Bonus, a friar Vitus of Hungary, but does not seem to know anything beyond his name²⁸⁹).

Augustinian monasticism was brought to the Spanish shores by refugee hermits from North-Africa, among whom St. Donatus and St. Nunctus are the most prominent. How long after the Mohammedan conquest of the peninsula this type of religious life continued is impossible to state. The following houses are mentioned as existing before the Great Union: Aquas Vivas (1239), Burgos (1050 !), San Ginès near Cartagena (1217), Carvajal (1050), Cordoba (1236), Valencia (1238) and Sevilla, the famous conventus Hispalensis (1248). Father P. Velez²⁹⁰) who gave a detailed criticism of the histories written of these houses, came to the conclusion, that all facts have to be re-examined. The only secure basis is a royal document from the year 1307, which stated that in all Spain there existed but five Augustinian monasteries: Sevilla, Cordoba, Badajoz, Burgos and Toledo²⁹¹).

²⁸⁷) *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis* (Budapest 1896), I, 252: « frater Andreas prior eremitarum de Buda »; they received the rule of St. Augustine 1263/4: *ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁸⁸) G. FEJER, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, 40 vol. (Budapest 1829-44), VIII (6), p. 29. There is a strong possibility that they are identical with the Hermits of St. Paul: *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, ser. I, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1885), n° 390, but one of their houses precedes the foundation of the Paulini in 1250 by 25 years: FEJER III (2), 34.

²⁸⁹) AA IV, 327. The *Acta Sanctorum Ungariae* II, pp. 49, published *Elogium B. Viti Varadiensis sive Pannonii O. E. S. A. auctore Prospero Chule* [= Cherle], which is without historical value. X. SCHIER, *Memoria Provinciae Hungariae Augustinianae antiquae* (Graz, 1778), 10 quotes sermon 158 of Henry Friemar's, *Sermones de Sanctis*, which is not at my disposal.

²⁹⁰) *Leyendo nuestras cronicas* (Escorial, 1932), 569.

²⁹¹) Th. HERRERA, *Historia del convento de S. Augustin de Salamanca* (Madrid, 1652), p. 2.

Portugal remained a vicariate of Spain until 1482, when it was raised to the status of a province. Its convent S. Ginès outside the gates of Lisbon existed in 1243, but was transferred into the city in 1270 ²⁹²). The very early date for Peñafrma (1140) is based on a purely imaginary pilgrimage of St. William of Maleval and deserves, therefore, no credit, but documents seem to prove not only its own existence but also that of Torres Vedras in 1226 ²⁹³).

To give the exact number of foundations at the end of 1255 for the three Augustinian groups is an impossibility, only a general estimate can be made. Our appendices will show 70 houses in Tuscany proper and another nine in the territories south of it. For the Brettini and Zambonini, whose establishments in the March of Ancona and Romandiola are so intermingled that in many instances they cannot be securely assigned to either Order, we found sixty four, though there should be considerably more, and for the rest of Europe 36 is a sufficiently high figure. The total of 180 houses should be close to the actual number of houses (the Williamites being excluded) which were united in March 1256. The task of unification was, therefore, considerable, but the strong hands of Cardinal Richard, to whom it was entrusted, easily managed it. It was made easier because William Fieschi, the Cardinal protector of the Zambonini had died that very year, and the Brettini never had a special protector, as far as we know. For the successful completion of the task entrusted to him Cardinal Richard followed the pattern set at the union of the Tuscans in the year 1244. That he was its main promotor, as Henschen suggests, is quite probable, but not so much for reasons of personal ambition as from obedience to the laws of the Fourth Lateran Council.

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(To be continued).

²⁹²) HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* II, 509.

²⁹³) *Ibid.* II, 466 (Torres V) and 289-290 (Pennafrma).