

Cardinal Richard Annibaldi

First Protector of the Augustinian Order

1243-1276

(continuation *)

CHAPTER III

The Great Union of 1256 and the establishment of the Augustinian Order in its modern form

On July 15, 1255 Pope Alexander IV sent a letter to all superiors of the Hermits of St. Augustine and St. William ²⁹⁴) by which he commanded each single house to send two delegates with full power to vote in the name of its brethren. The date and place of the meeting was left to Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, who called the chapter to St. Maria del Popolo in Rome for March, 1256. He also presided at the meeting and when he had succeeded in his great work of uniting the assembled Orders, the pope confirmed it by the bull *Licet Ecclesiae* of April 9, 1256 ²⁹⁵) the most important document in the history of the Order and the only record of this event.

Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae

In truly Augustinian fashion it begins with the harmonious unity in the mystical body of Christ despite its individual diversity and stresses the need that each member must be clearly distin-

*) See *Augustiniana*, II (1952), pp. 26-60; 108-149.

²⁹⁴) *Cum quaedam salubria* AA IV, 297; *Vfr.* 451, n. 10; P 15928.

²⁹⁵) Critical edition in AA V, 1-4; translation in *The Tagastan* VII (1943), 55-88.

guishable from the other and have a certain orderly arrangement of its own.

Since all religious in question followed the eremitical life with only very slight differences in profession there was no reason for the diversity of titles and in some cases the dissimilarity in habits and, therefore, the pope himself had decided to incorporate all into one Order under one general. The assembled fathers had agreed to this in principle but had asked that they should not be compelled to receive or have possessions, that they should be freed from the necessity to carry the staff and for this time being, Cardinal Richard should have the authority to provide a prior general for the whole Order. The pope granted all these requests, confirmed the appointment of Lanfranc of Milan as the new prior general and demanded in strict obedience that all should submit to him. He further approved the other acts of the chapter, took the Order under the protection of the Holy See, dispensed from all former vows, professions and obligations, prescribed a black habit and demanded that those houses which had not sent delegates should adhere to this union as members to a body without any pretense and exception.

The bull is a masterpiece of conciliation and restraint. With great tact it scarcely touched the conditions necessitating the union but stressed its advantages and presented the various arrangements as the work of the brethren themselves.

The pope did not even allude to the vision which according to Augustinian historians moved him to unite the hermits. Saint Augustine of Hippo, they claim, appeared several times to Pope Alexander IV having a large head but very small body and pleading with him to make the body fit the head by uniting all hermits under his spiritual leadership. Henry Friemar who is the first to relate the vision knew members of the Order who attended the first general chapter and his testimony, therefore, cannot be slighted, especially when other contemporary documents indicate that the matter was generally known ²⁹⁶).

²⁹⁶) See the excellent discussion in *Vfr.* 450, n. 9. When in 1272 Guadalosti, (bishop of Pistoia 1251-7) gave to the hermits of Vallebuona permission to enter his city, he wrote: « Mire devotionis propositum, vestris studiis non, ut credimus, humanis, immo potius celestibus revelationibus iudicatum, de construenda ecclesia nova infra muros circlarum pistoriensium... » AA XVII, 366.

Guadalosti was an Augustinian Canon: EUBEL, *Hierarchia* I, 246.

The vision, however, does not explain why specifically the five groups mentioned above were united, nor why the Williamites who followed the Rule of St. Benedict and whose viewpoint concerning poverty seemed contrary to the ideals of the majority of brethren, were added. History on the other hand tells us that each of the first four groups had experienced great difficulties within the years immediately preceding the year 1256.

The Williamites had to depose their general John who had proved unfit for his office ; and the resulting quarrel between him and the members of his Order had been brought before the pope ²⁹⁷). They also experienced difficulties in Germany where « fugitives » from the Order had started new houses without permission ²⁹⁸). It might have been the inability to cope with such situations which had caused the friction between the general John and his subjects.

The Zanonini had but in 1253 brought to an end the schism which had divided their Order into the Cesena and Romandiola factions and had given them two generals each of whom excommunicated the other's subjects.

The Brettini were still quarreling with the Franciscans who resented the similarity of habits and the consequent loss of alms. Numerous letters had been sent to the bishops of Northern Italy ; but obedience had always been delayed. The pope hoped to eliminate the confusion in dress, and the scandals and quarrels connected with it, by a union into one Order.

A purely negative attitude, however, would never have given sufficient inspiration and strength to overcome the many difficulties inherent to such unions. A new life-giving force was needed ; it lay in the active apostolate assigned to the Order. The Augustinians were to leave their hermitages and enter the cities to preach and hear confessions. The church needed new forces to combat the many heresies spread by itinerant preachers. The cities had grown quickly ; but the religious care of the many newcomers,

²⁹⁷) « Episcopo Foroliviensi scribit de quaestione quae inter heremitas Ordinis Sancti Guilelmi et fratrem Johannem tunc priorem generalem ipsorum, super ipsius prioris insufficientia exorta est, in qua Hugo tituli Sanctae Sabinae presbyter cardinalis, partibus auditor datus est. Innocentius post cessionem voluntariam eiusdem Joannis, episcopo mandat, ut ' Gubertum ' dicti ordinis fratrem ab ordine electum, si canonica fuerit electio, confirmat »: *Dilecti filii fratres*, August 18, 1254; BERGER 7964.

²⁹⁸) *Monumenta Boica* XXVI, n° 2, October 15, 1250.

particularly in the suburbs had been neglected and thus they offered a fertile field for the sowers of unrest and religious individualism. Had it not been for the Mendicant Orders, the Church in the 13th century would have suffered a debacle as great as it did in the 16th; but it awoke in time to the greatness of its danger through the Albigensian wars and overcame it by pressing all available forces into service. These positive reasons are expressed in *Licet Ecclesiae* by the words: « Ut ex pluribus cuneis acies una con-surgeret fortior, ad hostiles spiritualis nequitiæ impetus conterendos ».

When these reasons were explained to the assembled brethren they unanimously agreed to the union, whereupon Cardinal Richard appointed Lanfranc Settala as the new prior general. He also gave the Order its new name « Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini », but the pope himself prescribed the black habit. There is no mention of new constitutions; the ones used to guarantee the uniformity of profession were probably those of the Tuscans.

The Franciscans were not satisfied with the papal decision which dispensed the Hermits from the wide flowing sleeves, the very broad cincture and the hated staff. They succeeded in having the Bull *Recordamur liquido* renewed which demanded these things and armed with this document they required the bishops to proceed against the Augustinians and to force them to even carry the staff ²⁹⁹). After three months the Augustinians appealed to the Holy See and Alexander IV in *Litteras nostras* wrote to the bishops that they should demand only and alone the wearing of the black habit by all united hermits and should not proceed against recalcitrants until All Saints Day. The opposition to the black habit originated, no doubt, from the apostolic movement which demanded the cheapest possible kind of garment, grey sack-cloth, while the black habit classified its bearers with the old monastic Orders, a concept, which they did not want to take hold of the populace or their own members.

Yet in truth the black habit was quite appropriate, because the Augustinians were fed by both the ancient and the new

²⁹⁹) *Litteras nostras*, June 17, 1256 (P 16425) contains the bull *Recordamur liquido* but restricts it by a few introductory sentences to the new regulations of *Licet Ecclesie*. Vide notes 262 and 273 *supra* concerning *Recordamur liquido*.

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streams of religious ideals and were more than any other Order the connecting link between the two, neither going to the extremes of Franciscan Spiritualism nor held back by the inability of old Orders to conform to the times, while holding fast to the essentials of true monastic life. When the danger of the itinerant heretical preachers had been overcome the church bent every effort to curb the restless ways of the Mendicants by its legislation and certainly her demand that new foundations could not be established unless the sustenance of at least 12 members was guaranteed, greatly decreased the differences between the old and new forms of religious life.

The question of habit was not yet fully settled in 1274 when the Augustinians convened during the time of the Council of Lyon³⁰⁰) and the Chapter of the Roman Province of 1290 had to take firm steps to regulate the dress of the brethren³⁰¹). The early dislike of the black habit did not endure; in the following centuries the spiritual writers of the Order tried to prove it as the true habit of St. Augustine³⁰²), but historical evidence leaves no doubt that it was introduced by the Church itself to distinguish the Augustinians from the Franciscans. Curiously enough the Franciscans changed the color of their habit in later years and to-day the habit of the Franciscan Conventuals can be distinguished from that of the Augustinians only by the white cincture.

³⁰⁰) « ... atque inter se discrepantes circa habitum exteriorem ad concilium accurrisse »: WADDING, *Annales Min.* IV, 452; CRUSENIUS I, 22.

³⁰¹) « Diffinimus et ordinamus quod nullus frater portet pro cingulo cordulam ad modum Minorum fratrum, aut cingulum cum mappis aut cingulum de serico, aut Bursam, aut cirothecas (*sic*) aut muscum aut pater noster de ambra vel cristallo. Quod si quis contrafecerit, per priorem suum talia auferantur, et imponant ei poenitentiam trium dierum in gravioribus culpis »: AA II, 300.

³⁰²) Henry Friemar started the vogue basing his claim on a Pseudo-Ambrosian sermon: AA IV, 300; *Vfr.* 452, n. 11. Later whole books appeared on the subject like Th. BARILARI, OSA, *Speculum carissimum verissimumque utriusque habitus nigri et albi heremiti Augustiniani* (Rimini 1620). The question of the habit became the subject of heated arguments in the controversies with the disclazled Augustinians; e. gr. MAURITIUS A MATRE DEI, *Sacra eremus Augustiniana* (Chambery 1658). Friemar does not know the legend of the appearance of the Blessed Virgin to St. Monika showing her the habit of widowhood, which she herself had worn, and which was, of course, like the habit of the Augustinian nuns.

The first Prior General and his Vicars

The assembled fathers had not dared to elect a general, but had asked the pope that Cardinal Richard should appoint him and the protector chose Lanfranc Settala, the general of the Zambonini. He was not chosen, because his Order was the largest as Salimbene would like us to believe³⁰³) but for the great renown and deep respect he had gained³⁰⁴). Writers have always given him the title 'Blessed' and he certainly lies buried like a saint in St. Mark's of Milan³⁰⁵), but action to have this title off-

³⁰³) SALIMBENE wrote (MGH-SS XXXII, 254): «... cum prius omnes Heremite in quinque diversitatibus discrepantibus partirentur, ut oculis meis vidi. Nam erant Heremite qui dicebantur Sancti Augustini et Heremite qui dicebantur Sancti Guilelmi et illi de Favali et Britti et Jambonitani. Fuit enim quidam Joannes Bonus qui fuit tempore beati Francisci, qui congregationem Heremitarum fecit; cuius corpus diebus meis Mantue est sepultum, et cujus filium vidi et cognovi fratrem Mateum Mutinensem et pinguem. *Ad congregationem istius ultimi omnes alie sunt reducte, ut in illa unione primitus caput esset.* Verumtamen impleta est scriptura que dicit Jerem. XV 'numquid federabitur ferrum ferro ab aquilone et es?'. Nam quod nova testa capit inveterata sapit». The passage is typically Salimbene. His sarcastic pen easily finds a derogatory word for those he dislikes and he gives one reason for his personal dislike of the Augustinians p. 400: «Caput vero Helysei habere non potui quia Heremitani sine licentia abstulerunt et asportaverunt illud». Despite these shortcomings, Salimbene's report carries considerable weight in evaluating the popular opinion of his day and, no doubt, expresses the mind of the people about Mantua, where the Brethren of John Bonus most probably fostered this notion.

The Austins were not entirely innocent in the creation of the animosity so clearly expressed by Salimbene. L. KORTH, in *Mitteilungen Stadtarchiv Köln* XVI (1889), n° 23 published for the first time the bull *A vestra sollicitate*, March 30, 1259 in which Alexander IV admonished the Augustinians to avoid anything which might irritate the Franciscans, and expressed surprise that they circumvented his command not to accept any Franciscans into their Order by having them first make profession according to the Rule of St. Benedict or the like and then receiving them.

³⁰⁴) «propter magnam famam et personae reverentiam»: AA IV, 425. Since Henry Friemar personally knew Lanfranc, his testimony is especially valuable.

³⁰⁵) The former inscription «Hic sunt ossa B. Lanfranchi Septala Mediolanensis...» as reported in various histories (e. gr. TORELL IV, 690-4) has unfortunately been changed by some well-meaning person, who was not familiar with the laws of the church reg. the veneration of the Blessed.

HERRERA II, 4 reported that since 1466 there existed a picture of Lanfranc in the church of St. Mary's of Cella, surrounded with a halo and the inscription: «B. Lanfranchus de Mediolano».

cially recognized has not yet been taken, even though it should be an easy matter and certainly a task of filial respect to do so.

Without giving any sources Torelli ³⁰⁶) and others stated that he was born in Milan of the noble family of the Settala or Settara ³⁰⁷), entered the Congregation of John Bonus and received the habit at SS. James and Philip on the right side of the river Savena near Milan, where the hermits dwelt before they entered the city. The first secure data are to be found in the Process of Canonization of John Bonus ³⁰⁸), which reveal that Lanfranc was priest and stayed with the saint in Butrioli from February to August 1241. It is rather tempting to regard this period as the time of his novitiate, but he does not say so and the whole chronology of his later life speaks against it, unless St. John Bonus was so pressed for good superiors that he appointed even very young men to high positions ³⁰⁹). Between the years 1245 and 1249 Lanfranc suffered from a very abhorrent skin disease which was thought to be incipient leprosy ³¹⁰), but was able to work as secretary to general Hugo in Venice, Bologna, Ferrara and Milan. When John Bonus died on October 23, 1249, Lanfranc was in Mantua and prayed at the open coffin with such devotion and confidence in the intercession of his holy founder, that on the ninth day he saw himself suddenly and so completely cured from his disease, that not a sign of it remained on his body ³¹¹). This beautiful prayer of resignation is

³⁰⁶) TORELLI IV, 694.

³⁰⁷) About the Settala family and their monument in St. Mark's v. *Archivio Storico Lombardico*, ser. 3, XVI, 61 and the literature quoted there.

³⁰⁸) ASS Oct. 22, n^{os} 109-111 and 259.

³⁰⁹) Note 220 *supra*. It could also be that Lanfranc was more mature, when he entered, than the average candidate would be.

³¹⁰) « Quadam turpi et horribili aegritudine, quae dicebatur morphea, quae quidem infirmitas membrum seu principium leprae erat. Discurrebat enim ipsa infirmitas per totum corpus ipsius a genibus supra, excoriando cutem superioris corporis dum scalpebat, et faciendo sibi carnem rubicundam etiam cum sudebat » (*Process* 109).

³¹¹) « Obsecro te, pater mi, quod si maior honor Dei est, et melius animae meae intercedere digneris pro me ad Dominum, ut suis precibus et meritis liberet me ab infirmitate mea; credens firmiter, quod si dictus fr. Johannes Bonus rogaret pro eo, quod ipse liberaretur ab infirmitate praedicta. Et dixit testis, quod post novem dies antequam ipsa arca obturata foret, perpendit et vidit sanitatem sibi redditam et integre restitutam, ita vere quod nulla vestigia seu stigmata infirmitatis praedictae in ejus corpore videbantur: quod quidem verum est prout ego notarius et D. A. episcopus venerabilis Mutinensis et prior S. Marci vidimus

the only view we can gain of his inner life, but it reveals a degree of submission which is possessed only by saints.

Two years later he was provincial of Lombardy and in 1254 he was responsible for the erection of the magnificent church Saint Mark's³¹²) which has remained the property of the Order through the centuries. When the schism within his Order came to an end, he was elected general and this choice characterizes him as a man who through long and bitter sickness had acquired the necessary patience to bear with the warring factions and slowly restore full harmony among them. The pope described him as a « vir utique providus et discretus ac in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectus »³¹³). The first general of the newly united hermits had experience in the government of the Order, whether it concerned the direction of its men or the erection of new buildings and he was a strong and attractive personality as only saints can be. A man of such character and ability was required at the moment rather than a man of high learning in order to effect a full and complete union, the transfer into the cities with its tremendous building program and the education of the youth of the Order to enable it to partake in the active life of the church and fight against the heresies of the day.

The foremost task was the union of all the houses which had not sent delegates to the first general chapter and to achieve a full central government, and for that purpose he sent his vicars to the various countries.

Crusenius, whose lucid history of the Order still ranks amongst the best, is the only author for the statement that as a result of this papal command Lanfranc immediately sent Italian hermits to the ultramontane establishments: Guido Salanus and later Andrew of Siena to Germany, Mark Ventonus and after him Peter of Gubbio to France, John Lombardo and Paschasius Daretta to Spain and Albertin of Verona and William of Sengham to

manifeste aliqua non esse signa in corpore ipsius testis occasione praedicta, cum idem nobis suum corpus honeste nudatum plenius demonstrasset » (*Process* n° 109).

³¹²) Vitt. ADAMI, *Spigolature di archivio sulla chiesa e convento di S. Marco in Milano*, *Archivio Stor. Lombard.*, ser. 7, vol. III (1938), 436-447.

³¹³) *Apostolicae sedis provisio*, April 9, 1256: P 16335, which contains the command to all provincials, priors and brethren to obey the new general. From the dating of this bull it is evident that *Licet ecclesie* was published April 9 and not May 4 as most editors stated: AA IV, 441-443.

England³¹⁴). This narrative of Crusenius does not seem to be a mere concoction, because some of the statements can be proved by documents; it must have been based upon a source unknown to us. If we accept his account we would have to conclude that none of the ultramontane communities was represented at the first general chapter and that Lanfranc sent delegates who were ignorant of the language, the usages and customs of these nations³¹⁵); but we know that Paschasius Daretæ and John Lombardo worked in Spain as early as 1243 and there is an early though unconfirmed report that William Sengham had joined the first Augustinians who had been sent by Lanfranc to England in 1252 to look for sites to establish new houses³¹⁶). The uncertain history of the first vicars general as related by Crusenius should, therefore, be replaced by the more probable one, that these men were the representatives of the ultramontane houses at the general chapter of 1256, were well acquainted with conditions in their provinces, and probably had founded many of the early houses. The work of Guido Salanus will be given a more detailed description in the

³¹⁴) « Certum etiam est ad externas nationes statim Italos fuisse dimissos, viros zelo ac pietate ferventes, qui ibidem tunc monasteria erecta dirigerent, nova conquirerent, unita realiter possiderent... »: CRUSENIUS I, 8.

³¹⁵) S. LOPEZ, *Cenni Storici sulla provincia Agostiniana dell'Umbria, Jubilee Booklet Al molto Rev. Costanze Marcelloni* (1933), 18: « ... d'inviare là dei frati italiani, probabilissamente ignoranti di quelle lingue ed usi e costumi ? » Lopez says of Crusenius that his statement cannot be proved by contemporary or later documents and Herrera who wrote a few years after him, complained, that he could not find the source for Crusenius' narrative.

³¹⁶) « Sunt tamen qui Augustinianis fratribus istum in primo eorum ad Angliam accessu, se mox adiunxisse ferant... Porro Lanfrancus Mediolanensis primus eorum praeses generalis, illos fratres A. D. 1252 ad Angliam pro quaerendis illic sedibus misit, antequam essent ab Alexandro IV, Romano Pontifice, post sui Augustini apparitionem ecstaticam admissi, ut ex eius bulla claret... »: BALE, *Scriptorum Illustrum Brytaniae* pp. 302-3 found his narrative in Thomas Colby's *Collectanea*, written about 1400. Colby could have gathered his notes from the *Registrum theologorum Ordinis Eremitarum Divi Augustini* in the library of the Austins in London, which apparently contained biographical data: J. BALE, *Index Britanniae Scriptores*, ed. POOLE-BATESON, Oxford, 1902, pp. 186-7. Best account of Sengham's works in J. COX RUSSEL, *Dictionary of Writers of 13th century England* (London, 1936) in *London Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, suppl. 3. We very much suspect that the *Liber Historiarum venerabilis fratris Willelmi de Clare*, which friar Thomas of Tyfford borrowed from the Austins of Clare in 1299 was written by SENGHAM: *Chartulary of Clare*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 4835, fol. 41r.

next paragraph; the false identification of Bl. Peter of Gubbio with John of Gubbio has been corrected by Father Mattioli³¹⁷) but we do not have a solitary document for the activities of Mark Ventonus, Andrew of Siena, and Albertin of Verona.

Crusenius also claims that all Italy formed one province but was almost immediately sub-divided into the provinces of Lombardy, Romandiola, March of Ancona, Pisa and Lucca³¹⁸). It is far more probable that the three provinces of the Zanbonini³¹⁹): Lombardy, Treviso and Romandiola were retained as well as the March of Ancona, where the hermits of Brettino prevailed. The Tuscans were divided into several provinces, though we find the first document of the province of Pisa only in 1259 and a year later one for the province of Siena. The provinces of Rome and Naples were no doubt in existence at the first general chapter, though we have the first indication of their existence only in 1274³²⁰). France-England, Hungary, Spain and Germany formed the other provinces giving us a total of twelve provinces at the time of the Great Union.

So far only one record has been found which bears the signature of Lanfranc³²¹) and since it concerns the establishment of a house of studies in Paris³²²), then the center of Theology, it shows the zeal with which he tried to give the youth of the Order

³¹⁷) AA VI, 53-58.

³¹⁸) CRUSENIUS I, 8.

³¹⁹) v. note 205.

³²⁰) AA VII, 18 sqq. where data for all provinces are given.

³²¹) AA. XII, 158.

³²²) A detailed history of the Grand Couvent St. Anne's in Paris and the two foundations on Montmartre (1259) and in Chardonnet (1285) has not yet been written. Its chartulary (LL 1471 in the Archives Nationales) was used for the first time by E. RAUNÉ, *Epitaphier du vieux Paris* I (*ibid.*, 1890), 151-219, but was unknown to BERTY-TISSERANT, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris* (*ibid.*, 1887), 241-262. These two writers give a better account than most histories of Paris. A detail in the life of Blessed Angelus de Furcio has been overlooked by all biographers of Giles: « Qui (Egidius) sibi mox eum (Angelum) recepit in socium et in suum pariter hospitium: erat enim domus ipsius ordinis (Montmartre) in ipsa Parisiensi civitate nimis distans a contrata seu parte civitatis ubi studium regebatur; qua de re cuncti tunc temporis pro studio accedentes per conducta hospitia propriis in omnibus sumtibus permanebant »: ASS Febr. I, p. 936.

Valuable material for the history of the Parisian house may also be found in the Angelica, Rome: Cod. 1416, the Public Library of Lyon: Mss. 199, 841 and in Toulouse: *Catalogue de l'histoire de France* V, Paris, 1858, chap. V.

the best possible education. A few years before his death ³²³) he sent Giles of Rome to that newly established house thus giving his Order the most famous theologian it ever produced.

The Difficulties after the Union

1. *The secession of the Williamites.*

Reflex: nicht alles freiwillig
The decisions of the General Chapter of 1256 deprived the Williamites not only of their former mode of life but also of their name and habit, a sure sign that they formed a small minority in this gathering and Jordan of Saxony was justified in the case of the Williamites, at least, to change the text of *Licet Ecclesiae* from « universas domos et congregationes vestras in unam ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini professionem counivit » to « Ordini Eremitarum Sancti Augustini concorporavit et univit » ³²⁴). The Augustinian element certainly prevailed.

The Williamites bitterly resented the changes imposed upon them and though Cardinal Richard reported to the pope of the unanimous consent of the Chapter ³²⁵), the Williamites claimed, that they had not agreed to the union, but opposed it ³²⁶). As soon as their delegates returned, they bent every effort to regain their former independence and succeeded in the same year ³²⁷). They based their protest on the old and approved principle, that a monk can change from his Order only to one of stricter observance, but not to a milder form ³²⁸). While this legal reason did

³²³) Giles went to Paris probably at the age of 16, which would indicate the year 1261. V. the chronology of his life by G. BRUNI in *Collezione di Testi Filosofici inediti e rari* XIII (Naples, 1935); MOÉ, *Recherches*, 290 and 307, n. 3. Since most records esp. of general and provincial chapters are missing until 1274, we cannot give a detailed account of the education within the Order at this period. For an excellent treatise of it about the beginning of the 14th century v. A. ZUMKELLER, OSA, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre* (Würzburg, 1941), 47-72.

³²⁴) Vfr. 47. The contemporaries had no doubt that Jordan's opinion was correct. V. note 329 *infra*.

³²⁵) « de communi capituli assensu... unanimes consenserunt »: *Licet Ecclesie*.

³²⁶) « quod unioni non consenserunt imo contradixerunt »: *Ea quae iudicio* of August 29, 1266: P 19807.

³²⁷) *Licet olim pro*, August 22, 1256: P 16528, RONCIÈRE 1452.

³²⁸) *Vestre religionis meritis* (February 19, 1263: ASS Febr. 10, appendix 26) repeats the accusations of the superior of the Williamites: « Nonnulli tamen ex

not seem conclusive in their case, since Pope Gregory IX had greatly mitigated their austerity, its general correctness could not be denied. Certain compromises had to be made at the Great Union in order to satisfy all groups. An added reason for the separation seems to have been a question of poverty. The Williamites accustomed to the Benedictine form of self-sustenance and, therefore, opposed to alms-begging, were threatened with serious losses because *Licet Ecclesiae* demanded absolute poverty according to the Franciscan ideal. Thus Duke Ulrich III of Carinthia withdrew in October 1256 his former bequests to the Williamites in Windischgrätz, « because through their transmutation into the Augustinian Order, they were no longer permitted to have such possessions »³²⁹).

Since the union had been in effect but six months, it seemed like an easy task to re-establish the former independence, but this was not the case due to the fact, that in several instances the Williamites had hermitages near the same towns where the Augustinians lived. Immediately after the Great Union the hermitages of both groups were sold and the united brethren moved into the city, where they built a new monastery. In such cases the Williamites always lost out, though their losses in Italy were limited. It was different, however, where only a former Williamite house was in question, but even then great difficulties could arise, when it had been transferred or newly built with Augustinian money and in such cases one could scarcely speak of a Williamite foundation. This was particularly the case in Germany and Bohemia, where none of the Williamite houses had been established before 1250 and had been, therefore, only in their formative stage. The first German provincial, Guido Salanus, was not willing to let the fruits of his hard labor slide from his rightful ownership and when the priors of the former Williamite houses of Schöenthal

vobis, assumpta audacia, quod sub leviori pugna de antiqui hostis versutiis facilius triumphabunt, humanae fragilitatis seducti consilio ad mitioris ordinis observantiam aspirantes, ad Ordinem Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini proprio motu se transferre praesumpserunt ».

³²⁹) « Hinc est quod, cum dilectis nobis fratribus ordinis sancti Guilelmi quasdam possessiones apud Grez donassemus pro nostre anime remedio incolendas et cum propter transmutationem in ordinem sancti Augustini factam in capitulo generali per dominum papam talibus possessionibus non liceat eis uti... »: A. VON JAKSCH, *Monumenta historica Ducatus Carinthiae* (Klagenfurt, 1906), IV, n° 2639.

and Seemannshausen tried to return to the Williamite fold, he resisted them with all his energy. The case was brought before Leo Thundorfer, bishop of Ratisbon, who decided in favor of Guido; but the two priors abided by his decision only, when he called in the local priors of the Dominicans and Franciscans to testify that they had not acted on their own free will but ceded only to higher authority³³⁰). The general of the Williamites appealed the case to Rome and after many negotiations Stephen of Hungary, cardinal protector of the Williamites, decided « according to the will of Cardinal Richard »³³¹) that all houses of the Williamites should return to their former status with the exception of those in the kingdom of Germany and Hungary, but even here Porta Coeli in Weissenborn (Thuringia)³³²) and Mariakron near Tübingen³³³) should remain in their possession. The Augustinians in Weissenborn would not believe this document and refused to

³³⁰) *Monumenta Boica* XXVI, n° 14; AA XIII, 520.

³³¹) « De voluntate dicti domini Richardi sancti Angeli diaconi cardinalis, cui curam predicti ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini eadem Sedes commisit, tamquam in arbitrum abitratorem, et amicabilem compositorem super causis litibus et questionibus ejusdem, que erant, vel esse possent super predictis ». This long papal document *Ea que iudicio* is dated, Aug. 29, 1266. Sources in *Vfr.* 452. The text is also published in FÉJER, *Cod. dipl. Hungariae* IV, 3, 347-358 and M. FELIBIEN, *Histoire de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1725), III, 234-238, but is missing in Empoli.

³³²) This Porta Coeli is different from Himmelspforte near Helmstadt in Brunswick, and Porta Coeli, De Hemelsche Poort in Belgium, which was also called Baseldonck and its members Baselaars, and which was the oldest house of the Williamites in the ultramontane countries, founded 1205: *Analectes* XXXII (1906), 46.

³³³) Most of the editors of *Ea quae iudicio* read « Corona Marie de Fuvisene, Constantiensis Diocesis », but after a careful examination of the original papal register Bernouilli could clearly read *Tuwingene* i. e. Tübingen: *Württembergisches Urkundenbuch* (Stuttgart, 1833 sqq.) VI, 508. It is the monastery Mariakron in Oberried, whose history by F. GIESLER, *Die Geschichte des Wilhelmitenklosters in Oberried* (Freiburg, 1912) offers nothing for our period. A. Neuscheler of the University Library, Tübingen kindly called my attention to the document of its foundation on May 25, 1252 printed in M. GERBERT, *Historia Magnae Silvae Ordinis sancti Benedicti coloniae* (St. Blasius, 1788) III, 157 and the literature until 1904 in F. X. KRAUS, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogtums Baden* (Freiburg, 1904) VI, I, p. 316.

The Austins entered the city of Tübingen in January 1262. « Quod nos ad ampliandum divini nominis cultum et remedium animarum nostrarum viros religiosos fratres ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini locavimus infra muros nostre civitatis »: *Württemberg. UB* VI, 45.

leave, until forced to do so under threat of excommunication³³⁴). When the smoke of battle had lifted, the Augustinians found themselves in the possession of Pivonia (Stockau) and Insula Marie in Bohemia, Lixtin in the diocese of Kamin, Mindelheim in the Diocese of Augsburg, Seemannshausen and Schönthal in the Diocese of Regensburg and « some others ». Amongst the latter I could find only Saros in Hungary, which was called still in 1278 « conventus fratrum Gyllumitarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini de Saros », Windischgrätz and Völkermarkt in Austria³³⁵), but Himmelspforte near Helmstadt belonged to the Augustinians before 1253 and there is no indication that it was a Williamite foundation.

Of practically all these former Williamite houses we can prove, that the Augustinians had transferred them into the cities or rebuilt them and this is the only reason why they were assigned to them and the simple solution of the riddle which had plagued the older historians of the Order, and had caused them to distinguish Williamites with the Augustinian rule, who were affiliated, and Williamites without it, who remained independent, a solution which is contrary to all known historical facts as shown in the history of the Order.

Since this papal decision Augustinians and Williamites went their separate ways. It is, however, evident, that the few houses which the Williamites lost in Germany and Hungary, none of which had passed the first stage of development, could not mean the crippling blow from which the Order never recovered³³⁶). They flourished in the Netherlands and found much papal support in Italy towards the end of the 13th century but when the Reformation had taken most of the houses in Germany and the Congregation of St. Maur deprived them of their important house in

³³⁴) O. DOBENECKER, *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae* (Jena, 1925) III, n° 3518. The foundation of the monastery is placed, as a rule, in the year 1253: W. REIN, *Burg Scharfenberg und Kloster Weissenborn*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* VI (1865), 285-300 with a record of the available documents. The archivist of the Thüringisches Landeshauptarchiv, Weimar, called my attention to some documents in Gotha. The monastery was dissolved at the time of the Reformation.

³³⁵) V. appendix.

³³⁶) « Die Zahl der zurückgebliebenen Klöster war im Verhältnis zu denen, die den Augustinern blieben, nur klein und niemals konnte sich der Orden von diesem Schläge erholen »: REIN in *Archiv für sächsische Geschichte* III (1865), 202.

Paris ³³⁷), they led but a lingering existence and disappeared during the secularization at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Williamites of Favali also fell away, since they were never again mentioned as members of the Augustinian Order after the Great Union. The Bollandists supposed that they were re-united with Maleval, but we doubt this since in 1390 Monte Favali was a member of the Cistercian Order ³³⁸). To-day only one trace of the former connection between the two Orders remains: the liturgy of the Augustinians keeps alive the memory of St. William ³³⁹).

It has been said that the Brettini also fell away ³⁴⁰), because two popes had to order them to remain in the place where they were located, but a closer study of their history shows that this command did not concern their whole Congregation but only the house in Brettino, where great difficulties had arisen, when the Augustinians wanted to move into the nearby city of Fano, but were bitterly opposed by some adversaries, who found their best helpers in some of the older brethren who wanted to continue their former penitential life.

2. The Poor Catholics.

The successful « revolution » of the Williamites brought to an end the far-reaching plan of Cardinal Richard Annibaldi to unite all branches of Hermits into one great, active Order. The language of the papal document is unmistakable in this matter: « Ri-

³³⁷) The chapter of Wallincourt held Nov. 10, 1619 imposed a levy on all monasteries in order to regain the house in Paris, which had been lost « per simplicitatem aliquorum fratrum et fraudem quorundam Benedictinorum »: JUTEN, *Analectes* 46.

« Hodie (1623) in tota Germania vix duo reperiuntur Guillermitarum coenobia, in Belgio circiter sex supersunt, in Gallia totidem, ac in his paucissimi religiosi »: CRUSENIUS I, 17. By an ironic quirk of history the motherhouse of Maleval was given to the Augustinians: *Histoire des ordres monastiques religieux et militaires* (Paris, 1721) VI, 142.

³³⁸) « Mons Fabuli, Faballo (de Monte Fabuli) monasterium sancti Benedicti, Cisterc. Ordinis, Pensauriensis diocesis »: P. KROFTA, *Acta Urbani VI et Bonifatii IX* (Prague, 1905), n° 365.

³³⁹) ASS, Febr. 10, paragr. 8 claim that Gregory XIII granted the feast of St. William to the Austins on July 25, 1556, but it was celebrated by them as early as 1291: AA V, 77, also VIII, 192 and XVI, 167.

³⁴⁰) Thus KOLDE, *Deutsche Aug. Kongreg.* 13; LITTLE in *Cambr. Med. Hist.* VI, 760 and MONAGHAN in *The Tagastan* XIV (1951), 27.

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chardus... qui auctoritate nostra omnes heremitas *cuiuscumque ordinis* uniens » ³⁴¹). It shows that Richard did not plan to unite only Augustinians — as has been the constant tradition of the Order — but to unite hermits and did not care whether they belonged to one type of Order or another. He failed in this and his failure was inevitable because only homogenous groups can be welded into a body that is uniform in its outlook and action.

Before the cardinal recognized this truth he tried to make up for the loss suffered by the secession of the Williamites by the aggregation of the Por Catholics of Milan, the remainder of a much misunderstood and maligned Order of mendicants.

The Poor Catholics of Milan ³⁴²) were a group of Waldenses converted after the great disputation held in 1207 at Pamiers before bishop Diego of Osma, who was accompanied by St. Dominic. After a minute profession of faith and personal meeting with Pope Innocent III the leader of these converts, Durandus Huesca, received permission for himself and his followers to outwardly continue their former manner of life, which consisted in the complete acceptance of the Apostolic life by the practice of poverty and the observance of the Evangelical counsels without binding themselves to any of the old monastic rules. Their main task consisted in preaching the Gospel of Penance and a thorough religious training of the populace through their so-called *scholae* which may be compared to the study clubs or the cell movement of today, but proved far more effective, because the men and women who joined the *scholae* submitted in all things to the direction of their teachers. Sometimes the members of these *scholae* lived in common, gave their possessions to the poor, promised chastity and obedience, did penance and practiced charity ; they were without question enkindled by an active, vital Christianity. Pope Innocent III wanting to preserve the great religious values of this movement, and having purged it from its heretical elements tried to break the power of the Waldenses by using their own weapons against them. The farsighted pope was not understood, because the average man could not comprehend how a religious community could be approved which wore the same garments as the Wal-

³⁴¹) *Iustus petentium*, Oct. 23, 1257: LOYE-CENIVAL 2299.

³⁴²) J. B. PIERRON, *Die Katholischen Armen* (Freiburg, 1911); H. GRUNDMANN, *Religiöse Bewegungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1935).

denses, used the same methods of preaching and instruction and like these condemned heretics fought against the love of money among laymen and clerics. Complaints poured into Rome that the Poor Catholics admitted unconverted Waldenses to their services and accepted escaped monks into their ranks ; that they kept many from the regular parish services and proved their heretical inclinations by denying secular powers the right of capital punishment. Innocent III answered that the accusers were driving religious men and women from the church by false accusations of heresy, and were keeping others from the church by harsh and antiquated methods of conversion. Soon, however, there was no need for further argument. The new Orders of Mendicant Friars by their street preaching, their poverty, their apostolic zeal and Third Orders fought the heretics most effectively ; and when in 1247 the bishops of Narbonne and Elne complained in Rome that the Poor Catholics preached without permission and spread false doctrines, Pope Innocent IV forbade them to preach and demanded their entrance into one of the approved Orders. As a consequence their province of Lombardy with St. Augustine's in Milan as mother-house joined the Augustinian hermits in 1257 by command of Cardinal Richard ³⁴³).

Whether this entirely new element with its strong inclination towards the active life and its modern ideas of religious care of souls spurred the re-organized Order of Austins to a more effective realization of its new tasks would be an interesting bit of research, if material for it were available ; neither is anything known at present about the number of houses and brethren, who were affiliated.

Like the Williamites who had been united against their will, the Poor Catholics of Milan also tried to regain their independence. According tot Giulini ³⁴⁴), the famous historian of Milan, the members of St. Augustine's had been transferred into St. Mark's and some Austins had taken over the management of their church and convent. When the Poor Catholics became dissatisfied with the new arrangement, they returned in the middle of the night to St. Augustine's, drove the Hermits from it by force of arms and due to the unsettled conditions within the archdiocese and the city they were able to keep their independence until 1272 when

³⁴³) LOYE-CENIVAL 2299.

³⁴⁴) *Memorie spettanti alla storia... di Milano* (ibid., 1764-1774) VIII, 134-5.

they submitted anew to the Austins. They, however, did not submit from a recognition of their guilt as Torelli believed, but the ten remaining members of St. Augustine's bowed to the force of the rulers of Milan³⁴⁵). In order to avoid further scandals the convent was destroyed, probably in the same year, but the church of St. Augustine's continued to exist for some time and fell victim to some other circumstances some time during the 14th century.

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(To be continued).

³⁴⁵) Odo Visconti, archbishop of Milan, gave on November 24, 1272 his vicar Aliprando Visconti the command « ut fratres de S. Marco Mediolani in possessionem inducat loci Sancti Augustini alias fratrum pauperum Catholicorum »: E. LATTES, *Repertorio diplomatico Visconteo* (Milan, 1911) I, n° 13; L. ZANONI, *Valdesi a Milano nel secolo XIII*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 39 (1912); Torelli IV, 545, 607.