

Cardinal Richard Annibaldi

First Protector of the Augustinian Order

1243-1276

(continuation *)

3. Interior Difficulties.

The secession of the Williamites and its aftermath was still agitating the minds and hearts when new problems arose among the remaining brethren, which originated from the demands of the new apostolic task, the practice of poverty and the transfer into the cities. The best account of the first difficulty was given by Jordan of Saxony ³⁴⁶):

« Pope Alexander commanded that the brethren should move into the cities and help the people to bring forth worthy fruit by preaching, teaching, hearing confessions and the example of a good life. But some brethren proved difficult. They preferred to continue their life of solitude rather than expose themselves to the dangers of the world ».

« The Pope wanted to satisfy them and yet draw the Order into the active life. He, therefore, ordered that those who had a strong inclination to the eremitical life could remain in their former hermitages, if it so pleased the superiors; but those who were capable of practicing the active life, would have to live in the cities to preach to the people and hear the confessions of the faithful ».

The vow of poverty was another source of dispute. Before 1256 some of the united Orders, probably following the example of the early Franciscans had taken the vow of absolute (spon-

*) See *Augustiniana*, II (1952), 26-60; 108-149; 230-247.

³⁴⁶) *Vfr.* 57-58.

tance) poverty and this high ideal was guaranteed in *Licet Ecclesiae*. While its observance was comparatively easy for those who dwelt in cities, it proved rather burdensome, and in some cases almost intolerable, in out-of-the-way places. There the daily needs could be provided only through farms and gardens³⁴⁷). Yet the uniformity of the Order demanded equal practice by all members, whereupon, in an important decision, Cardinal Richard gave the Order the right to possess needed property. This was confirmed by Alexander IV on June 13, 1257 in the constitution *Iis quae nostri auctoritate*³⁴⁸) and thus the question which caused so much trouble among the Franciscans was settled for the Augustinians before any contrary agitation could set in.

A third difficulty and one of the reasons for the union not mentioned by either *Licet Ecclesie* or Jordan of Saxony, but quite apparent from subsequent events, was the multiplication of eremitical foundations in or near the same city. This was quickly solved by the order of Pope Alexander IV, that in all places where the different groups had formerly a house only one should be retained and the others sold³⁴⁹). This decision promoted the intermingling of the brethren and gave the one remaining foundation more members, more influence and the necessary funds to erect or enlarge the common monastery. A typical case is Faenza, where the Zanbonini had St. Albert in Tagliavera, the Brittini St. Mary Magdalene in Bondiolo and the Tuscans St. Augustine of Malta. In 1256 these three houses located outside the city were dissolved and its members united in St. John Sclavo near the Montara Gate³⁵⁰). The transfers made great monetary demands on the Order and exhausted its resources. The documents of the period speak frequently of the extreme poverty of the religious and the need for their support. To alleviate their wants popes and bishops encouraged the faithful to greater generosity by the grant of many indulgences for contributors. When the Austins increased their own

³⁴⁷) *Vfr.* 342-344.

³⁴⁸) AA III, 29-31.

³⁴⁹) « Nos attendentes quod in eodem loco plures domos vestri ordinis habere non congruat... indulgemus, ut... uno locorum ipsorum qui commodior fuerit reservato, reliquum vendere seu commutare, distrahere aut alias etiam alienare libere valeatis »: *Cum sicut vestra*, April 12, 1256, RONCIERE 1314; AA IV, 441.

³⁵⁰) BSA IV, 55.

efforts in gathering alms they felt the ever increasing resistance against all Mendicant Orders turned on them, but when they were refused admittance because their very name should tell them to remain in their hermitages, Pope Clement IV sent letters ³⁵¹⁾ to the bishops of Germany, Aquitaine (Southern France) and Spain with the request not to hinder the Augustinians to enter the cities but to give them their fullest support. While this ended the official opposition, it did not protect the Order against irresponsible individuals who destroyed their houses in Vienna, Erfurt, Nuremberg and other places ³⁵²⁾, nor free them from the necessity of coming to an understanding with the parishes or Cathedral Chapters into whose territories they moved and which justly feared not only their competition but also the loss of revenue through their exemption from taxes and the burial rights within their churches. The most detailed precautions were taken to safeguard previous rights, the contracts were solemnly signed and sometimes even submitted to Rome to guarantee their enforcement ³⁵³⁾.

The Work of Cardinal Richard

When we speak of the pope and his decrees we must always bear in mind that most papal constitutions were prepared by

³⁵¹⁾ *Iis qui relictis*, June 30, 1268 to Germany (Württ. UB. VI, n° 1978) to Aquitaine (AA V, 354) to Spain (*Gratia conditoris*, June 9, 1268: AA V, 423). Even stricter is *Rem in oculis*, April 4, 1268 (TORELLI IV, 741-2) which was directed to all ecclesiastical authorities and in which the pope used the expression « gravamen indebitum tolerare non intendimus et debemus... auctoritate praesentium districtius prohibemus ». In addition the Pope protected the Austins in Reggio (TORELLI IV, 711), Pisa (*ib.* 720), Louvain (*ib.* 330), Treviso (HERRERA II, 466-7) and supported their building program in Verona (TORELLI IV, 675-6), Bologna (*ib.* 735-6), Teramo (*ib.* 745), Perugia (*ib.* 676), Treviso (HERRERA II, 466-7) and Rosia (REPETTI II, 274).

³⁵²⁾ « Otho dictus de foro, Otho iudex et quidam alii maligno incitati spiritu nostram domum (Vienna) damnabili praesumptione destruxerunt anno 1266 », SCHIER, *De monasteriis Austriae notitia* 60. — « Anno Domini 1273 consules et iudices Erfordi cum universitate confregerunt domum fratrum Augustiniensium non permittentes ipsos in Erfordia habitare » *Chronica Sti Petri Erforensis*, MGH SS. XXX (I), 406. — « Destructa fuit domus Sancti Augustini in Nulenberg (Nurenberg) a populo, rege minime prohibente », *Annales Basileenses*, MGH SS. XVII, 198.

³⁵³⁾ As in the case of Ypres of April 22, 1265: E. FEYS and E. NELIS, *Les cartulaires de la prévôté de Saint-Martin à Ypres* (Bruges, 1880) II, 238; and for

Cardinal Richard. He had been given « the care, disposition and government of the Order in full measure » and this absolute control combined with his position as one of the leading cardinals of the Curia made his government most effective, if not dictatorial. Pope Alexander IV was pleased with his work and, therefore, reappointed him cardinal protector of the Augustinians in 1257, a position which he retained until his death. The pope also declared that Richard's jurisdiction was the same as that enjoyed by the cardinal protector of the Franciscans³⁵⁴).

Cardinal Richard regarded as one of his main tasks « a constant care to explain point by point what in the Apostolic decree of the Great Union remained hard to understand and under certain conditions difficult to apply ». This explanation could take the form of entirely new legislation as in the case of the observance of poverty, but it also resulted in the granting of many benefits which established the Order as a strong, international organization. Alexander IV alone published over seventy bulls in its favor and they were filled with praise for the Order³⁵⁵). Such esteem on the part of the Holy See was an important recommendation for the establishment of new houses and the obtaining of other favors. This praise, repeated time and again in contemporary docu-

Louvain on May 11, 1268, Archiv. Conv. Gand., Ms. J. Rivii, fol. 36; Oxford under Gregory X: LITTLE in *Vict. Co. Hist.-Oxford*, II, 143.

³⁵⁴) *Inter alias solitudines*, March 28, 1257: LOYE-CENIVAL 1874. The letter of the cardinal is enclosed. The *Bullarium Franciscanum* gives no documents concerning the cardinal protector until May 1263, when John Gaetan Orsini followed Gregory IX and Alexander IV in this position. The papal appointment gave Gaetan « gubernationem et correctionem dicti ordinis » with the right « ordinandi, statuendi, et faciendi omnia per te vel alium seu alios, tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus, quae ad salubrem statum memorati ordinis generaliter et specialiter expedire videris... et alia exercere quae dicti fratres eorumdem predecessorum gerebant » (The last part of the original is mutilated). SBRALEA, *Bull. Franc.* II (Rome, 1761), 467-8.

³⁵⁵) « Sic ordo fratrum heremitarum Sti Augustini a suis primordiis gratia cooperante divina de virtute in virtutem successive profecit, quod velut lignum fructiferum in ecclesie agro plantatum flores proferens copiosius honestatis et producens uberius fructum vite, precelsa regularis observantie sanctimonia et preclaris virtutum operibus specialiter extitit insignitum »: *Sic Ordo fratrum* of April 10, 1258: EMPOLI 30, LOYE-CENIVAL 2505, POTTHAST 17232.

See also *Caelestis amor patriae*, June 14, 1255, POTTHAST 15922 and *Vobis assidue*, April 27, 1256, POTTHAST 16346, EMPOLI 17.

ments³⁵⁶), was not flattery but a well deserved recognition of the holiness of its members. About the year 1256 St. Nicholas of Tolentine entered the Order³⁵⁷) and in the first 50 years of its existence the Order counted no less than sixty saints and blessed, of whom two thirds still await the official approbation of the church. It was this holiness of life and the zeal for souls which gave the Order its tremendous impetus.

Cardinal Richard helped the effective spread of the Order. We noted several times in Chapter I how foundations were due to his influence and political connections. He also gave the Augustinians the Benedictine Monastery St. Bartholomew « de Gestinga in monte Fulconii » in Diocese of Arezzo³⁵⁸), obtained for them, St. Nicholas in Spoleto in 1265³⁵⁹) and established them at his own castle Molara in 1274³⁶⁰).

³⁵⁶) E. g. Bishop Henry of Basel wrote on Sept. 18, 1269: « In generalem Christi fidelium notitiam jam devenit quod dilecti filii prior et fratres domus Mulnhusensis ordinis sancti Augustini, nostre diocesis, pro innocentia sue vite ac religionis sacre meritis occurrant gratissimi oculis maiestatis... ipsorumque adhuc ferventer expirat affectio, ut per eorum ministerium salus deo gratissime proveniat animarum »: X. MOSSMANN, *Cartulaire de Mulhouse* (Strassburg, 1883) I, n° 84; or « Per quorum doctrinam, vitam ac conversationem non solum nostra civitas immo tota terra recipit salutis augmentum ». Document for the foundation of Gmünd A. D. 1284: *Württ. UB. VIII*, n° 3300.

³⁵⁷) N. CONCETTI, *Vita di S. Nicola da Tolentino* (ib. 1932) made use of the re-discovered Apostolic Process of Canonization; its three volumes are being prepared for publication.

³⁵⁸) *Sic ordo fratrum*, April 10, 1258: P 17232. The monastery was better known as St. Bartholomew's de Sestinga and later as badia vecchia di Colonna (di Buriano, Massa Marittima); it was founded before 1055, when its first document is known: SCHNEIDER F., *Regestum Senense* (Rome, 1911), n° 51 (also 67, 75, 141, 289, 301). REPETTI, *Dizionario... Toscana I*, 192 and 785, made several mistakes. It remained in the hands of the Order until its suppression by Leopold I.

³⁵⁹) Bishop Bartholomew Voratus of Spoleto gave to the Augustinians the church of St. Nicholas upon the request of Cardinal Richard: TORELLI IV, 714.

³⁶⁰) « In loco novo in Castro Molarie tunc accepto »: AA II, 225. A studium was immediately established in the house as appears from the acts of the provincial chapter held in Civitavecchia in 1275: « Diffinimus quod frater Leonardus de Viterbio legat in conventu de Molara: l. c. 227. In 1427 Martin V forced the Annibaldi to sell Molara to the Colonna and in the war of 1431 between the Colonna and Eugene IV, Molara was completely destroyed and not rebuilt. Pius II called it *deserta* in 1463: *Archivio IX*, 396, and RE in *Enciclopedia Italiana VII* (1929), 394. With the castle the monastery was also destroyed, at least nothing is known about it afterwards: Crusenius I, 299.

On the other hand he kept a firm hold on the government of the Order. In 1270 he commanded the provincial of Pisa to settle the differences between the convent of Prato and the chapter of that city³⁶¹). He presided not only at the general chapters of Molaria in 1274 and 1275, but also at the provincial chapter of Corneto in 1274³⁶²). At these chapters he appointed the provincial of the Roman province, made Mathew of Viterbo the first prior of Molaria and Father Symon prior of Corneto. Since we have no records of chapters before 1274 these last few acts of his direction are rather revealing of how he made full use of his complete jurisdiction even in cases where it was apparently not necessary and where the democratic ways of the Constitutions could have prevailed. It must also have been rather irritating, when he demanded strict fulfillment of agreements which were no longer in harmony with the new laws of the Order as in the case of Aldobrandinus, prior of the hermitage St. Matthew's of Lepori near Florence, who had joined the union of Tuscan hermits of 1244 under the condition that he should remain prior and receive a personal income for life. This arrangement had been ratified by a general chapter probably that of 1244. When the agreement was broken, Aldobrandinus and his companion, friar Augustine, appealed to the cardinal protector, who wrote to Aitutus, provincial of Pisa: « Now for the last time we strictly command you by the full force of the vow of obedience that the above order be firmly kept and effectively carried out ». In the same letter he demanded restitution of the income, of which these two friars had been deprived, and stated, that he did not want these old men to come to him again crying over their difficulties, « a thing, which would provoke us to very great anger »³⁶³).

Such constant interference in the government of the Order, such decisions which proceeded from purely canonical thinking rather than the necessity of sustaining discipline and striving for religious perfection were no doubt the main reasons which prompted the abdication of the third general of the Order, Blessed Clement

³⁶¹) AA VIII, 286; XVIII, 404 and *appendix*.

³⁶²) AA II, 225-6.

³⁶³) AA XII, 100. Cardinal Richard authorized the sale and transfer of St. Matthew's into S. Spirito, Florence: *ib.* 107. St. Matthew's existed before 1233: DAVIDSSOHN, *Forschungen... Florenz* IV, 491.

of Osimo, after he had served but one term. He could not develop his great leadership as long as the cardinal was alive and thought it wiser to resign than to resist. His predecessor Guido Salanus equally felt the heavy hand of Richard, when in the matter of the Williamite controversy he had to keep complete silence, if he did not want to pay a fine of thousand marcs silver ³⁶⁴).

The second general: Guido of Stagia or Salanus 1265-1271 ³⁶⁵)

There is a strange uncertainty about this second general among the historians of the Order. They thought that Guido Salanus, the first provincial of Germany, and Guido of Stagia, the prior general, were two different persons and, therefore, did not dare to combine certain well-known facts. But they are not two separate persons, but one and the same man as is evident from the seal of Guido which he used as prior provincial of Germany in 1264 and which reads: « *Sigillum Fratris Guidonis de Stagia Ordinis Heremitarum* » ³⁶⁶). Guido originated either from the town of Stagia or the ancient hermitage St. Anthony of the Woods (Bosco) which was located nearby and was sometimes known by the name Stagia. The name Salanus probably indicates his family. Most historians identify him with Guido, prior of SS. George and Galganus of Vallebuona, Garfagnana in the years 1243-1250 ³⁶⁷) who showed great energy in the material progress of his house and this excellent management must have caused his appointment as first provincial of Germany, where he fought successfully against the Williamites, and established new monasteries in over thirty cities ³⁶⁸). Nowhere was the Order as successful and advanced so rapidly and this directed everyones attention to him as the best candidate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lanfranc in 1264. Before he left for the general chapter which was held the following year in Perugia ³⁶⁹), he introduced an entirely new element into the Order,

³⁶⁴) Ea quae iudicio v. note 331 *supra*.

³⁶⁵) Biographies in TORELLI IV, 453 and BSA II, 47.

³⁶⁶) *Württ. UB* VII, 487.

³⁶⁷) D. PACHI, *Ricerche istoriche... della Garfagnana* (Modena, 1785), 95.

³⁶⁸) The German province included also all Eastern countries like Poland, Bohemia, Austria etc. *V. appendix*.

³⁶⁹) The first known document of Guido as prior general was written at the

when on May 27, 1264 by an official act of the provincial chapter held at Seemannshausen, he took the cloistered nuns of Oberndorf, Württemberg under the protection of the Order and made them participants of all its spiritual graces and privileges ³⁷⁰). Until of late it had been believed that St. Mary Magdalene's in Viterbo, which Blessed Clement received into the Order in 1291, had been the first sisterhood under the jurisdiction of the Augustinians ³⁷¹). There must have been several other houses beside Oberndorf and Viterbo, because in 1291 Pope Nicholas IV freed all convents of sisters under the care of Augustinian Hermits from levies of papal delegates ³⁷²), a document which seems to have been unknown to former writers of the Order. In the following centuries the care and affiliation of sisterhoods was cultivated mainly in Spain and Italy and shed great lustre upon the Order through saints like St. Clare of Montefalco and St. Rita of Cascia and many Blessed, but a detailed history of this work has not yet been written.

Guido continued the policy of his predecessor for a sound education of the youth of the Order and in 1268 established a house at Oxford ³⁷³), which became intimately united with the life of the university and housed for more than two hundred years its schools of Grammar and Theology. King Henry III has generally been regarded as its founder, but his generosity towards this house had its roots not only in his well-known love for the Mendicants and the debt of gratitude he owed Cardinal Richard, but also in his desire to provide more room for the quickly expanding university, which was to overshadow in fame even Paris during the 14th century.

Henry Friemar described Guido as a « vir utique strenuus et discretus », a man of energy and prudence, a description which fully harmonizes with the few known facts. Formerly he was thought to have died in 1269, but a newly discovered document shows

general chapter of Perugia on May 8, 1265 and confirmed the agreement between the chapter St. Martin of Ypres and John of Gubbio, prior provincial of France: FEYS-NELIS, *Les cartulaires* II, n° 240.

³⁷⁰) Württ. UB VI, n° 1748; VII, p. 483; *The Tagastan* X (1946), 25.

³⁷¹) AA I, 372.

³⁷²) J. KRUEWIG, *Das Archiv der Universität und des Jesuitenkollegiums*, in *Mitteilungen Stadtarchiv Köln* XXXI (1911), 79.

³⁷³) Document of foundation in *Charter Roll 52 Henry III* (C 53/57 m 7). LITTLE in *Victoria County History-Oxford* II (London, 1907), 143-148.

him still alive on April 25, 1270³⁷⁴), and it is, therefore, quite probable that he was identical with the Austin friar Guido, who was made patriarch of Grado on August 7, 1278³⁷⁵), and died ten years later. An unknown Augustinian would scarcely have been appointed to so high a dignity, but a former general, who had shown great ability under difficult circumstances, would be thought the right man to straighten out the troubles which had arisen among the canons of Grado's chapter, who could not agree on a successor and left the appointment to the pope.

*The third general: Blessed Clement of Osimo*³⁷⁶)
(first term 1271-1274)

Due to the lack of a family name it became customary amongst religious of the 13th century to add the name of their town or monastery to their first names in order to distinguish one member from the other. In the case of Blessed Clement both names are used until to-day. From his home-town he derived the addition « of St. Elpidio », and from his monastery that « of Osimo ». This monastery was located in the March of Ancona, where the Brettini had the most possessions and in the selection of the new general the thought might have played a role that after the Zanonini and Tuscans also this important Congregation should be considered.

We know nothing about the early years of Bl. Clement and his greatness as general can be witnessed only in his second term (1284-1291) since very few documents have come down to us from his first period. When the general chapter was held at the castle of Molara in 1274, Clement resigned and there is not a single indication that an effort was made to retain him. We have mentioned his natural opposition to the dictatorial way with which Richard directed the Order, but there might also have been a matter of political expediency, which made it wise for him to retire and silently bear the guilt of others in order to avoid greater harm for his beloved Order. We conclude this from the accounts of two Franciscan chroniclers, of whom the first relates that the Augustinians came in great numbers but all kinds of habits to the General

³⁷⁴) AA VIII, 284.

³⁷⁵) *Ad universalis ecclesie regimen*: GAY 119.

³⁷⁶) BSA II, 47.

Council of Lyon in France, whereupon Pope Gregory X delegated Cardinal Bonaventura to bring this matter to a final solution, but the saint had died before he could accomplish the assigned task ³⁷⁷). The second report is from the pen of the contemporary Salimbene Adami, the most lively but not always trustworthy chronicler of the 13th century. He says, that the Pope wanted to dissolve the Augustinians together with the Carmelites like he did other minor mendicants groups, but that Cardinal Richard had resisted him with such force that he desisted ³⁷⁸). But Cardinal Richard was not even at the Council ³⁷⁹); how then could he resist the Pope? Furthermore Salimbene had stated that Richard was disgraced and had been deprived of his red hat by Pope Gregory X; would a disgraced cardinal have such influence? Yet it is also certain that a most bitter fight was waged against the various Orders and the assembled bishops insisted that the canon of the Lateran Council of 1215 be carried out which had forbidden the foundation of new Orders and ordered that if anyone should contravene this law, his foundation should be suppressed. Some episcopal delegates might have included in their demands the Augustinians since in their modern form they certainly had originated after the Lateran Council, but the representatives of the Order could claim that their foundation preceded the year 1215 and the canon did, therefore, not apply to them.

Salimbene's narrative has some truth to it but it is a combination of separate items as appears from two records of the conciliar statutes, one being a draft, the other the official publication; the one being read to the fathers at the council, the other being published in Rome. The draft read:

Ceterum Carmelitarum et heremitarum Sti Augustini ordines qui se asserunt ante dictum concilium institutos in suo statu remanere concedimus, donec de ipsis fuerit aliter ordinatum ³⁸⁰).

³⁷⁷) WADDING, *Annales Minorum* V, 452.

³⁷⁸) « Voluit etiam (Gregorius) cassare et ad nihilum redigere Heremitarum ordinem; sed interventu domni Ricardi, Romane curie cardinalis, qui erat eorum ordinis gubernator, abstinuit se, ne faceret, quod volebat »: MGH-SS XXXII, 253-255.

³⁷⁹) Note 138 *supra*.

³⁸⁰) St. KUTTNER, *Conciliar Law in the making*, in *Miscellanea Paschini* II (Rome, 1949), 74.

The official publication was much more positive and said:

Ceterum Carmelitarum et Eremitarum S. Augustini Ordines quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, in suo statu manere concedimus, donec de ipsis aliter fuerit ordinatum ³⁸¹).

It might very easily be possible that Cardinal Richard was responsible for this change in favor of the two Orders, when he could convince the pope that he personally had known many an Augustinian house which had existed before 1215.

Thus a point of greatest danger was safely passed and Augustinians must ever thank their protector that the ship of their Order navigated it without shipwreck, but Blessed Clement must have been deeply shocked and humiliated at the thought how narrowly disaster had been avoided and that principally the members of his own former congregation, which had longest resisted any change in habit, were a main factor in the pope's disfavorable attitude. It is scarcely a coincidence, that Friemar stressed his kindness: « Name and character were identical » ³⁸²). Did Blessed Clement think himself kind to the point of weakness which hindered him from keeping the recalcitrant elements in line? One thing he learned from his bitter experience: The Order needed unity and when he was re-elected in 1284 he made unity his principal aim.

The law that a general of the Austins should not be allowed to accept a lower office after the end of his term, did not yet exist and thus we find Clement and James of Perugia as visitors general of the Roman Province in 1277 ³⁸³).

The successor of Blessed Clement, Francis of Reggio (1274-1283) plays an unimportant role in our present treatise since Cardinal Richard died two years after he had taken office. Friemar called him a « *vir magnae reverentiae et mirae facundiae ac honestatis eximiae* » ³⁸⁴), but did not bring a single example for these virtues.

At the end of his life Cardinal Richard saw the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine well established in all parts of Europe. Its inner transformation had taken root and the name hermits applied to them in name only because they were active in every

³⁸¹) P 20950.

³⁸²) « qui utique a re nomen accepit ». AA IV, 325.

³⁸³) AA II, 228.

³⁸⁴) AA IV, 325.

enterprise of the church. The laws which were to govern them for more than 300 years received their final form in 1274 under the experienced guidance of Cardinal Richard and through the efforts of Blessed Clement Osimo and Bl. Augustinus Novellus³⁸⁵). He saw a bright future for the Order, to which he had given so much personal attention, in such brilliant theologians as Giles of Rome and James of Viterbo, in the splendid discipline and great sanctity which flourished in all provinces.

The transfer into the cities was not yet complete but well on its way and many new houses had been established. The Order counted in 1276, the year of Richard's death, 16 houses in England, 14 in France, 7 in Holland and Belgium, 28 in Germany, 5 in Spain, 4 in Portugal, 2 (4 ?) in Austria, 3 in Switzerland, 4 in Czechoslovakia and 5 in Hungary, a total of 88 in the ultramontane territories. The exact number of foundations in Italy cannot be fully ascertained, because so little is known about the fate of former hermitages but the existence of at least 130 establishments in all Italy seems to be guaranteed. The Order, therefore, had grown from 200 to 300 houses between the years 1256 and 1278.

The work of Richard Annibaldi has continued to this hour. Without his influence, guidance and restraint the union of 1256 might have become a failure. He can truly be regarded as the father of the reorganized Order of St. Augustine.

Cardinal Richard — His influence and character

No cardinal of the thirteenth century equalled Richard's long term in office and few surpassed him in political importance. His insistence brought about the coming of the count of Anjou who established the French dominion in Italy which in turn led to the Avignonese captivity of the popes with all its harm to the church at large ; but no one could foresee this development. Cardinal Richard had only wanted to save the political freedom of both church and Rome.

Better known has been his role as cardinal protector of the Augustinian Order ; this work has kept his memory alive through the centuries ; principally due to his efforts the Great Union of

³⁸⁵) AA I, 109-117; Vfr. 466.

1256 took place, gained form and was preserved. Richard never neglected this task but promoted the welfare of « his » Order with fatherly love and every means at his disposal. None of the cardinal protectors of the following centuries ever again had the complete control of the Order as Richard ³⁸⁶), but neither did they accomplish as much for its welfare.

We could only indicate his third great aim: to establish the house of Annibaldi amongst the most powerful in Rome. He had practically succeeded in this goal at the time of his death; but Boniface VIII undid his work by forcing the Annibaldi to sell their most valuable and important possessions to his own house, the Gaëtani. Four hundred years after Cardinal Richard's death his coat of arms — two lions and five rings — was still used by all Annibaldi as their own ³⁸⁷). It was a clear recognition that the Annibaldi regarded him as their greatest representative.

The love of his family and his pride in their might was well known ³⁸⁸); it caused the only altercation with a pope (Clement IV) amidst a multitude of proofs that he was a member of the innermost circle of the popes under whom he served. The love of his family made him blind in the case of his wastrel nephew Saullus Surdus, who turned into a murderer ³⁸⁹).

Richard's strong will is evident from a number of documents which record that a decision was reached « according to the will

³⁸⁶) MOÉ, *Recherches* 297-8. The next known successor of our cardinal was Bernard de Languissel, cardinal bishop of Porto, whom Nicholas IV appointed on June 30, 1288; LANGLOIS 170. « Due to the fact that at times the Cardinal Protectors mingled too much in the interior government of the Order's affairs, Gregory XI in 1375 forbade them to suspend or dispense from the Statutes of the Order or on their own initiative to install or depose superiors... Gregory XI, Sixtus IV and Julius II were obliged to re-inculcate the observance of these wise precautions of their predecessors »: HUBER, *History Francisc. Order* 666.

³⁸⁷) Decision of the Roman Rota of June 12, 1651: AMAYDEN, *Famiglie Romane* I, 67.

³⁸⁸) « Scitur enim quod polletis prosapia, generis potentia prominetis, multisque facultatibus habundatis et ut concludam breviter potentes estis et magni »: BATZER, *Pofi* 133. The letter of course stressed the points which appealed most to the cardinal. V. note 105 *supra*.

³⁸⁹) « Fuerat quippe sub multae lubricae delectationis libertate nutritus et ex eo maxime, quod nepos erat Domini Richardi de Aniballis, Sancti Angeli Diaconi Cardinalis, cuius industria pene in Urbe sibi vendicaverat inter omnes nobiles primitiam. Luxuriabat excessibus et ex avunculi potentia sumpto vigore vitam agebat protinus dissolutam »: MALASPINA in *Muratori* VIII, 797.

of the Cardinal » and also from his insistence that his commandments be carried out. Combined with an easily aroused temper this desire for influence, riches and power easily characterize him as a choleric personality.

The harshness inherent to such characters was in Richard's case mitigated by the warmth of real friendship with men like St. Thomas Aquinas. This saint apparently loved to visit the cardinal at his castle Molaria, where he converted on Christmas 1254 some prominent Jews who annually spent this day with the cardinal and where in 1272 he had attained sudden health through a relic of St. Agnes ³⁹⁰). If a man is recognized by his friends ³⁹¹), then Cardinal Richard was one of the truly great men of the century.

Francis ROTH, O. E. S. A.

(To be continued).

³⁹⁰) A. WALZ, *S. Tommaso* 128-9; 161-2.

³⁹¹) CIACCONIUS, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium* (Rome, 1630) II, 88 could not have given higher praise than this: « Jucundissima enim erat illi amicitia quam morum similitudo coniungeret ».