

The development of the theological school of Aegidius Romanus in the Order of St Augustine

Specimen of synthesis between Constitutions and praxis

It was with great satisfaction, that Augustine Novellus (de Tarano) and the « Generalissimus » Clemens of Auximo knew their « Constitutiones » approved of definitely at the General Chapter of Regensburg in 1290 (1275 ?, 1284, 1287) ¹⁾. With assent Aegidius would have listened to the phrase, in which the studies were called the foundations of the Order: « studia in quibus fundamentum ordinis consistit » ²⁾. Moreover he learned, if he did not know it already, that in this third redaction of the Constitutions, also the provisions of the previous General Chapter (Florence 1287) had found a place viz., that the prior general « praecipiat omnibus regentibus et studentibus, ut opiniones et positiones venerabilis fratris nostri Egidii ubique teneant, et secundum eius scripta omnino legant » ³⁾. This instruction was less comprehensive than that of 1287; for there it had been ordered, that both lector and students should follow and defend « opiniones, propositiones et sententias scriptas et scribendas magistri nostri fratris Egidii » ⁴⁾. However progressive these instructions regarding importance and tendency of the study might seem, yet against the backgrounds of the historical circumstances they seem not only explicable, but even necessary.

In the same Constitutions the trend of our exploration is shown. In c. 36, where there is a word about students, lectors and

¹⁾ *Analecta Augustiniana*, I (1905-1906), p. 109. Henceforth quoted as: *A. A.*, I, 109.

²⁾ Cap. XL (ed. Ratisb. 1508).

³⁾ *Ib.*

⁴⁾ *A. A.*, II, 275.

preachers, not only a studium of *Paris* is mentioned, but the trend of studies, proposed by the Constitutions, appears to take example by that studium. Therefore we ought to make acquaintance with the study-community of Paris, in which also our Order was represented by a group, headed by Aegidius. The Paris-Universitas however has also her prehistory, because of the fact, that she developed herself from the standard schools of early Middle-Ages ⁵⁾.

Prehistory

Whilst in the East after the Council of Nicea ⁶⁾ the chor-episcopi were in charge of the education of the future ministers of the altar, we find, that in the West this task was executed by the bishop ⁷⁾. He had to see to it that sufficiently prepared parish-priests would be available. The pupils should be brought together for this purpose in the bishop's house (4th Council of Toledo, 633).

In France we find the Schola Palatina at the Merovingian Court, since 781 during 15 years under guidance of Alcuin ⁸⁾. Moreover in the same century we see the rise of cathedral-schools (Metz, Chrodegang 742-766) and of convent-schools (Tours, Alcuin during 8 year). These schools were accessible not only for oblates of monastery or diocese, but also for clerics who followed the schola externa. The synod of Aachen (789) outlined the program for these schools. Pupils had to learn the Psalms by heart, reading, singing, the computation of the feasts of the church, and grammar. Next to these schools, where also laymen were called clerics, because of the fact that they wanted to be as learned as the far more numerous students, who got in for the orders and benefices, laymen could also follow the smaller parish-schools, where only religion and the Pater Noster were taught (813). Charlemagne even obliged all his subjects to send their sons to these parish-schools or to the

⁵⁾ We are well aware of the fact that « wir etwas abschliessendes nur über die Anforderungen sagen können ». F. W. OEDIGER, *Ueber die Bildung der Geistlichen in späten Mittelalter*, Leiden-Köln, 1953, VIII.

⁶⁾ Cap. 55 (59).

⁷⁾ Conc. Tol. II, (531) and IV, (633); Conc. Vasense, (539).

⁸⁾ Alcuin, the pupil of Aelbert, head of the school of York.

more learned cathedral- and convent-schools⁹⁾. During the reign of Louis the Mild the schola externa seemed a danger for the spiritual education of the oblates, so much so that the French Abbots, assembled at Aachen (817), resolved upon admitting only resident pupils to their abbeys. This exclusivism did not continue for long, and generally they returned to the practise of the double school. So these schools kept the priority at least in France¹⁰⁾. Head of the cathedral-school was the scholastic¹¹⁾, or else the chancellor himself. This functionary of the bishop, usually himself a cleric, had the task of composing and of sealing the documents of the bishop; this required a certain erudition which made him answer to his task as supervisor of the diocesan schools. From him the teacher got permission to give their lessons. For eventually the « magistri » received the « claves scientiae a Domino Papa vel a cancellario ex ordinatione Domini Papae »¹²⁾. When consequently free schools were erected, free from any connection with the pious convents or the dioceses or the cathedrals and when the teacher himself began to gather pupils round himself, the chancellor remained the man, from whom the teacher received his ecclesiastical mission. The pull of these singular (singulae) schools, as that of the cathedral schools was constituted by the fame of the teacher. In the 12th century we find such singular schools in Paris, which had received their education-permission from the chancellor of Notre Dame. Here one did not only give classes in reading (Psalms) and in grammar, but even as it was done at the neighbouring St. Geneviève's¹³⁾ and St. Victor's¹⁴⁾ like everywhere else, in science, logic, theology, medicine and Law. This required a certain organisation in the study of the numerous branches and in the way of living of the students. The teachers of the studia singularia joined in a studium generale. The pupils and masters formed a corporation, called the universitas, in order

⁹⁾ Council of Mainz, cf. F. X. THALHOFER, *Unterricht und Bildung im Mittelalter*, München 1928, 35.

¹⁰⁾ During the 9th century in Germany the Scholae Publicae. THALHOFER, o. c., 35.

¹¹⁾ e. g. at Reims, at Orleans and at Angers.

¹²⁾ DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, v. I, XI.

¹³⁾ Abelard (died 1142) gave classes there.

¹⁴⁾ Hugo (died 1141) and Richard (died 1173) taught there.

to hold their own socially and economically, not to suffer extortion by the hospitable citizens, to initiate foreign students, to defend each other before the judge etc.¹⁵⁾

The exact date of the foundation of this universitas of Paris cannot be given; the first documents, which speak of a corpus universitatis, date from about 1200.

The universitas bringing the students of Notre Dame's to a higher esteem and thus also the chancellor of the bishop, yet caused also a menace to him, for the corpus universitatis did no longer bear high-handedness in the appointment (or promotion) of the masters and in the fixing of fees due for promotion.

The Holy See, at first (1208) supporting the chancellor, soon saw, that this episcopal, educational institute could not be maintained. The students wanted their own procurator (1210-1212); they felt themselves subjects of rights and no longer objects to the organising chancellor and to the excommunicating bishop. In 1215 the Apostolic Legate, Robert de Courçon, made regulations for the studium and for the universitas, to which also the chancellor was obliged. For years on end both the bishop and the chancellor resisted the growing exemption of the university. The chancellor remained the man, who in fact conferred mastership¹⁶⁾, but the interference of the masters of the theological faculty and the rector of the students became decisive. In civil aspects too the universitas made itself free from local influences. The administration of justice in quarrels and even in crime regarding students was left by King Philip to the ecclesiastical power, but in fact was laid in hands of masters and rector. Even economically students could be helped by the influence of their own resorts, like matters of rent for lodging¹⁷⁾, which was fixed by a commission of two masters and two citizens (Aegidius in 1286). Thus church and state contributed towards the universal flourishing of the studies at Paris.

Many a time we mentioned the rector; as the chancellor was

¹⁵⁾ DENIFLE, o. c., I, XI seq.

¹⁶⁾ In 1301 Boniface VIII still calls the chancellor the tutor of the studies. In 1363 at Bologna the Bishop (Aymericus) is called: Cancellarius facultatis nostrae. Cf. A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre*, Würzburg, 1941, 87 no. 5.

¹⁷⁾ In 1220, Honorius III.

a representative of the bishop, so the rector was the representative of the universitas studentium, which consisted of 4 sections, « nationes »: Galls, Normans, Picardians and Englishmen¹⁸). Each nation had its own representative, called procurator, but together they put the promotion of their interests into the hands of the rector. He however being more the representative of the students than of the study, had his greatest influence in the faculty of the liberal arts. For even the magister artium was student of the theological faculty, in the same sense as now-a-days an undergraduate who has succeeded for his matriculation. Medicine and Law, or rather Canon Law — in 1219 the teaching of Roman Law at Paris was forbidden by the Holy See¹⁹) for the sake of theology and of the laws of Bologna — as less important faculties came to the care of the rector. The theological faculty and the chancellor offered the strongest resistance. But a document of 1289 gives us the following hierarchy: Rector, decani quattuor facultatum, procuratores nationum, magistri quattuor facultatum²⁰). In fact we mentioned the functions of chancellor and rector at *Paris*; everywhere else the situation was different.

Studies at Paris

Now we get to speak about the organisation of the study. The dean of a faculty generally organised the study within a faculty and represented his fellow-masters to the outer world. The real tutors however were the magistri regentes, who actu regunt studium. Students had themselves enrolled with them and they provided them with a time-table. By 1207 Paris had 8 seats

¹⁸) The college of Sorbons, the court-chaplain, dates from 1257; the college of the university of Oxford had been erected in 1249.

¹⁹) Bulla: *Super Speculum*, of the 15th of November 1219. Yet in 1251 one speaks about « leges legentes ».

²⁰) In 1219 under the reign of Honorius III facultas means: disciplinae sensus. Round about 1340 the students take the oath to the rector. Sometimes rector means regens (1246). From 1246 onward one finds the term « decanus ». This function was occupied by the eldest magister saecularis of the actu regentes for half a year. THALHOFER, o. c., 73. It seems that the term « doctor » points to the same function as the term « magister ». Cf. W. VISCHER, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, 1860, 209; and A. VILLAIN in *D. T. C.* under the term « Grades ».

in theology (Innocent III) ; 50 years later 12: 6 seculars, 3 for the canons of Notre Dame and 3 for religious. As the number of religious seats was increasing, the seculars too wanted extension of their number. The seat of the Augustinians became the 19th, that of the Carmelites the 20th (resp. 1285 and 1294). According to Glorieux one cannot but guess, how seats were changed or even how they were erected. Regarding the religious we venture to guess, that the leading of a recognized Master of a studium generale, erected by a general chapter and sanctioned by the Pope, meant a seat in the universitas studentium ²¹⁾.

Now we shall consider the study of the students, whose number amounted to about 30.000 in the flourishing-period, spread over about 500 magistri regentes.

The education-course

Those who had their entire education at Paris, first went in for the master-of-arts degree and next followed theology.

I. For their M. A. they had to follow the so called trivium: arithmetic, grammar and rhetorics during six years (ecclesiastical years). After that the candidate was examined according to the period of stay in Paris and his college-years, did an exam, held a debate and became « baccalarius ». He gave classes, but had still to follow lectures in ontology and cosmology ; this lasted two years and then being 19 or 20 (Robert de Courçon) he could do an exam and ask for his lic. incipiendi (after an interval of half a year). When he then started his first class, his cap on, he became magister artium. As here, so later we leave out of consideration the different opinions of our numerous authors and only strike the general average ²²⁾.

²¹⁾ GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, I, Paris, 1933, p. 227 seq. The opinion of H. FELDER, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*, Freiburg i. B., 1904, 175 seq. seems too simple, as he does not pay attention to the permission which was necessary for a master to open a course at Paris and which was to be given by some hitherto unknown resort. Without the mediation of resort the limited number of seats is inexplicable, because every second year masters were created.

²²⁾ GLORIEUX, o. c.; W. MULDER, *Vaktermen eener Middeleeuwse universiteit*, in *Studiën*, 1931; A. FLICHE et V. MARTIN, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, 10, 1950; ZUM-

II. After having gained their M. A. at Paris or elsewhere (e. g. Thomas of Aquino at Naples) the students sought a magister regens for their theological study — at Paris one did not know matriculation (they did know it at Basel since 1462). During 5 years ²³⁾ he had to follow lectures as a student. Later on even during a longer period ²⁴⁾ in order to protect the study at Paris and the title. For during the 13th century only Paris granted the title of magister theologiae, but during the 14th century there were numerous other papal studia and universities, which also granted the highest title in theology ²⁵⁾ just like the imperial universities in after years ²⁶⁾. After the 5 years' or 7 years' course the baccalauriendus did an exam and as « baccalaurius cursor » started to give classes under guidance of the regens, first in Sacred Scripture (baccalaurius biblicus), which was treated per summa capita within one year, later on within two years, and thereupon as baccalaurius sententiarius he had to treat all four books of Peter Lombard within two years, later on within one year. By that time he was no longer baccalaurius cursor, but baccalaurius formatus. He held debates, preached etc. After another four years he could present himself to the chancellor for his licentiate, and for the defence of his « principia ». This was a series of debates under guidance of the regens and other magistri of the faculty. At last on the day, on which he gave his first class, the magister aulandus held a speech, in which he summarized the debates of the previous days and finally he became master or doctor, provided he were at least 35 years of age. Only then he could teach theology on his own account. Above we said, that the baccalaurii gave classes to the students in Sacred Scripture and the Sentences. And indeed we might wonder, what classes were given by the regentes. Therefore it is not without purpose, that we now look at the course of studies during the year.

KELLER, o. c.; THALHOFER, o. c.; OEDIGER, o. c., 63, no. 5; L. M. F. DANIELS, *Meester Dirc van Delf*, Nijmegen, 1932; W. VISSCHER, o. c.

²³⁾ Definition by Robert de Courçon, 1215.

²⁴⁾ In 1325 e. g. 7 years were required.

²⁵⁾ E. g. Prague during the reign of Charles IV (1347-1349); Heidelberg, Vienna, Cologne, Erfurt and Würzburg (1402).

²⁶⁾ One refers to Freiburg as being the first imperial university, Frederic III, 1456.

The theological year's course

The years course, divided into two semesters (the first finishing on the first Sunday in Lent) lasted from the end (25th) of August till the feast of Peter and Paul on the 29th of June. Daily, when the bells of St. Jaques's sounded the Prime, the magister started with a book of Holy Writ (Old or New Testament). From Terce till Sext the baccalarius gave his classes. When difficult questions had been broached, the magister announced common debates (circulus), which were held by the baccalarius (twice a year or twice a week)²⁷). Extraordinary disputes were held twice a year (during Lent and during Advent). Then one treated about 20 questions. Thus the famous « quaestiones disputatae » and the « Quodlibeta » originated.

At the end of the 13th century the « magister » did no longer give classes, but held only the extraordinary disputes twice a year. On debating-days no classes were given in order to give an opportunity to all to attend the dispute and to utter objections. In order to satisfy our curiosity Mulder figured out, that calculating all free Thursdays, debating-days, Christmas-holidays (18th Dec. - 7th Jan.), Easter- and Pentecost-holidays (the latter from the 3rd Sunday after Easter till Monday after Trinity-Sunday), and days, on which there was an inaugural address, and burial-days of magisters, only 90 days were left for classes.

Aegidius at Paris

As according to his own testimony, Aegidius lived at Paris ever from his youth, we think that, if he did not make his noviciate there, he certainly followed the artes-classes at Paris. During that time he lived in the convent, that in 1259 was bought by John of Gubbio, who during the reign of prior general Lanfrancus was vicar and general visitor²⁸) of France, England, Scotland, Lausanne, Verdun and Cambray. It was bought, garden and all,

²⁷) Thus the « De Anima » of Thomas of Aquino came into existence.

²⁸) This name reminds of the influence of both abbots of the Cisterciens on the original structure of the order; cf. JORDANI DE SAXONIA, *Liber Vitas Fratrum*, ed. R. Arbesmann et W. Hümpfner, New York, 1943, p. 467, no. 64.

for 200 Parisian pounds from a certain Theophania, widow to Philip Comin. It was situated past the present-day Halls at the foot of Montmartre, just outside the gate of St. Eustache (now-a-days still Rue St. Eustache, stopping place « Halles » of the métro). It was not far from his convent to the Rive Gauche (St. Jaques's, near St. Severin's at Boulevard St. Michel). The conditions of the sale however were very heavy: the fathers were not only tributary to the bishop (41 soldi yearly, which was changed later on into four pounds) but they had to give up all exemption and the prior should show obedience to the bishop within 8 days after his appointment, lest he would be excommunicated as diocesan subject and be expelled as a possessory layman. Yet the General Chapter of 1260 authorized the purchase. At least one obtained a firm footing in the greatest centre of theological study. On account of his defence of the Aristotelian hylemorphism against the opinion of the bishop of Paris ²⁹⁾, the former chancellor Stephen Tempier (magister regens and chancellor 1263-1268), Aegidius could not obtain a licence for his mastership. As a Baccalarius he departed in 1277. In 1285 he is vicar general of the order and Pope Honorius IV writes to Paris that Aegidius is willing to revise his theses ³⁰⁾. By that time Tempier has died (1279) and has been succeeded by Ranulphus. Aegidius returned to Paris, though he kept his own room in the dormitory of St. Maria del Popolo at Rome ³¹⁾. In the same year on the feast of our holy Father Augustine a new house was purchased ³²⁾, which purchase was sanctioned by Pope Honorius IV on the 15th of November in 1286. We do not know whether the Augustinians of the present-day Rue des vieux Augustins departed to Charbonnet (Cardineto) in the neighbourhood of St. Victor's in order to escape the power of the bishop of Paris, or because the first house got too small ³³⁾. It is however sure, that the new house

²⁹⁾ Contra gradus et pluralitatem formarum. Cf. Th. MAKAAJ, *Der Traktat des Aegidius Romanus über die Einzigkeit der substantiellen Form*, Würzburg, 1924. An excellent summary of the points of controversy D. A. CALLUS gives in: *The condemnation of St. Thomas at Oxford, Aquinas Papers*, Westminster, 1946.

³⁰⁾ 1st of June 1285.

³¹⁾ Provincial Chapter of Centumcellis 1290.

³²⁾ 28th of August 1285. In 1290 an adjacent estate was bought also. A. A., II, 292.

³³⁾ Cf. The definition of the general Chapter of Urbiveteri, A. A., II, 251:

(with 3 acres of land) was twice as expensive, viz. 400 pounds and a fee of two denaria, due every year at Christmas to the Chapter of Paris. However it was situated less far from St. Jaques's than the first home near Montmartre. Anyhow frater Juvenalis, vicar of the Convent of Paris (i. e. prior, cf. c. 36 of the Constitutions of 1290) had purchased the house and there Aegidius, lately created a master, had his new seat as magister regens; for a long time already he himself lived nearer to the universitas in a hospice; his stay there was confirmed by a licence of 1287³⁴). Angelo de Furcia lived there with him as his socius during 5 years (1271-1276 ?). He called baccalaurii to Paris, also from other Provinces, in order to help him. In 1290 from the hands of Cardinal Gaetani (lateron Pope Boniface VIII) he obtained the seat of Henri of Gent³⁵) to whom he together with Muran O. F. M. officially took his bull of deposition. One of his pupils was James of Viterbo³⁶). He had come to Paris together with him and became a baccalaurius after three years, as was possible to him being a regular; after another four years he obtained mastership in the year 1293. By then Aegidius was prior general for over a year, though he stayed at Paris. Whether Aegidius kept the seat of the Augustinians is not sure, but in 1293 James of Viterbo became the new magister regens at Paris, where he taught theology till 1300, ad mentem Aegidii, just like his fellow-masters of the Dominicans Jean Jordani and Jean d'Assembourg did ad mentem S. Thomae³⁷). In the same year that James of Viterbo became

« propter multitudinem scholarium Parisiis existentem ». Thus also B. MINISTERI in *A. A.*, XXII, 28, which we could consult only after this essay had been finished.

³⁴) Fr. ROTH, *Die Augustiner-Generale des 13. Jahrhunderts, Cor Unum*, 1951, 78. He accepts also the version of the biographer of B. Angelo de Furcio, that the first house at Paris was too far from the universitas and that all students lived in special hospices; cf. *A. S. S.*, Febr. 6, 939.

³⁵) Fr. ROTH, *l. c.* This assertion needs further confirmation.

³⁶) D. GUTIERREZ, *De B. Jacobi Viterbiensis o. e. s. a. Vita, Operibus et Doctrina Theologica*, Romae, 1939 (*A. A.*, XVI, 216 seq.).

³⁷) Cap. Gen. O. P., Milan 1278, defined that Thomas should be followed for Theological studies; for later definitions cf. R. F. BENNETT, *The early Dominicans*, Cambridge, 1939, c. XXX; *Constitutiones O. P.*, ed. 1505, Dist. II, c. 14; *Acta Cap. Gen. O. P. ad 1286, 1309, 1311, 1329*. Deliberately the Augustinians followed this example, and not that of the Franciscans, who never prescribed one of their masters, though they had a welldefined trend of studies. Cf. FELDER, *o. c.*, 477.

a master, Aegidius as prior general of the order accepted from King Philip the home of the fratres saccorum, that did begin to empty and then probably would fall into lay-hands. Philip sent the fratres saccorum home and gave their house, nicely situated at the Rive Gauche, to his « dilectus et familiaris » Aegidius Romanus (1-4-1293), just as Louis the Saint had given it to the fratres saccorum. In December of the same year Simon, bishop of Paris, gave permission of moving into the house, because the brothers had left, « salva nostra iurisdictione et Romanae Ecclesiae, salvo insuper jure Ecclesiae parochialis ».

The house in Cardineto was sold ³⁸⁾ to John Cardinal Monachus, who started a college in it for poor students, which however did not become so reknowned as that of the court-chaplain of the Sorbon (1257). There professors and students lived together and represented their own trend of studies. Till the French Revolution the Augustinians stayed in this house and after more than 150 years they returned to the Rive Gauche again, but to a spot where the bells of St. James's may be heard better than in the Boulevard des Grands Augustins (viz. Rue Xavier Privas, Paris V).

First Studium Generale

The reader may wonder, how in the 13th century during and after the master-period of Aegidius our studium generale at Paris had been built up.

Head of it was the magister regens, who was assisted by another magister (1318), in order that the seat would be occupied with honour ³⁹⁾. Next there were 5 baccalarii (Treviso 1321): one praesentatus to the licence of mastership, two praesentandi, one actu legens and one who had just become a baccalarius. One of these baccalarii was the father-master of the students (c. 36 of the Const. 1290). Zumkeller takes there to be 30 or 40 students, as each of the 24 provinces had to send one student at least to Paris and as it is sure that some provinces sent two. Dayly they had classes and both students and the baccalarius actu legens had debates weekly. Moreover they attended exercises of the

³⁸⁾ In August 1294 Philip IV gave permission and on Febr. 11th 1299 Pope Boniface VIII.

³⁹⁾ This prescription applied also to Oxford and Cambridge.

entire faculty and debates, inaugural speeches etc. of the whole universitas.

Regarding monastic life each had his own room and each of the students in turn was the week's cellarer. In 1330 prior general Guilielmus of Cremona exonerated the French from this task, because they had to preach and moreover were neglectful of this duty. Only the magistri and the baccalaurii had stoves in their rooms; no wonder they started taking their meals there and even inviting others to this entertainment ⁴⁰). Undoubtedly in order to restrain their self-confidence it was not allowed, that their chair in the classroom was higher than 2 1/2 feet. On the other side the masters at Paris enjoyed great privileges like e. g. the right to vote in the Chapters ⁴¹).

Studia generalia outside of Paris

During the General Chapter of 1287, hence in presence of Aegidius, other studia generalia were erected in the order corresponding to the trend of studies at Paris; viz. in Italy at the Roman Curia, at Bologna, at Padua and at Naples. Already in 1306 the studium at the Roman Curia was transferred to Perugia, where classes were given by a Parisian master. There one might obtain the agree of lector, like at Paris, by following Sacred Scripture and the Sentences during five years.

All these studia were international, for each province had to send one student there, like to Paris. We know that for the time being each province was allowed to send only one student to Paris, as otherwise the increase of students would grow too big (Orvieto 1284). Only the Roman province traditionally sent two ⁴²). No doubt the provision of sending only one student to the studium generale was taken, because their support, the paying of their books and the raising of the contribution for the General Chapter, remained an expensive affair. (Hugolinus of Orvieto 1334). Thus the General Chapter of Viterbo (1312) stated: as the order is slaving itself (insudet) in order to maintain the studia, so that the students

⁴⁰) ZUMKELLER, o. c., 55 seq.

⁴¹) Cf. A. A., II, 323; III, 153, 178, 245. During the Chapter of Regensburg (1290) Aegidius enjoyed the same rights as a definitor of a province, A. A., II, 297.

⁴²) A. A., III, 460.

might improve themselves... diffinimus et ordinamus, that a student, however important he may be, as long as he is a student, and as long as he lives in the studium, neither should hold distracting conversations with women, nor should hear their confessions without permission of the prior and of the lectores ⁴³). We do not know, whether Aegidius did attend this Chapter, but in the Acts there is another note, that the lectores should be well prepared, before they might obtain their function and that they should be examined upon their learning by the General Chapter. In the studia generalia there should be two lectores actu legentes: one principalis and one secundarius. The lector principalis taught Sacred Scripture, presided at the discussion and even gave lessons in philosophy, if he thought necessary. The lector secundarius taught the Sentences of Peter Lombard, which he had to finish within two years, and besides Logics and Philosophy. The lector principalis had returned from Paris as a Baccalarius or as a master ⁴⁴) and he should have read al four Sentences as a lector secundarius ⁴⁵).

As the provinces only could send students to the studia generalia either at Paris or anywhere else, if these students had a good grounding in Logics and grammar, scholae logycales et grammaticales were erected, in each province two, one for Logics and one for natural philosophy (cf. c. 36 of the Const. of 1290). Students, who entered these schools had to be able to read and to sing; the latter was taught at the schools of music and each province should have two schools of this type. The course of the scholae grammaticales lasted three years ($\pm$ 1329) ⁴⁶). So one sent to the studia generalia students, who had a solid grounding in the artes and who since the time of Aegidius were even not examined on this matter, by giving classes in philosophy as a baccalarius. This was confirmed in 1314 ⁴⁷). In case the baccalarius departed from Paris in order to be a lector in another studium, then this period was counted in for preparation to mastership, which others

⁴³) A. A., III, 152.

⁴⁴) James of Viterbo gave lessons at Naples as a master during 2 years.

⁴⁵) A. A., III, 16, 81.

⁴⁶) DENIFLE, o. c., II, 328. The constitutions of 1290 (c. 16) already prescribed, that a clerical novice should be over 14 years (of age) and should be able to read and to sing competently.

⁴⁷) DENIFLE, o. c., II, 172.

(seculars) did at Paris⁴⁸). Hence not all Augustinian professed studied philosophy and theology; for becoming a priest, for attending the public recitation of the canonical Hours and for saying Holy Mass it was sufficient to have studied only grammar. Thus it was provided, that the prior of a convent where the studium generale had been established, distinctly should know Latin⁴⁹). Apparently this is an indication of the knowledge of the clergy of these times in general, for in each diocese one needed only one lector in theology to whom only the better students were sent⁵⁰).

In order to complete our summary of the studies during the period of Aegidius' life, we may add that according to the Constitutions of 1290 also elsewhere studia should be erected outside Italy. Thus in the same year 1290 a studium came into existence at Cologne⁵¹). In 1321 it was even prescribed, that each province should provide itself with a studium generale. This however was

⁴⁸) DENIFLE, o. c., II, 144 (1310).

⁴⁹) Also on account of domestical reasons he was not allowed to be a student. Cap. Gen. Flor. 1287, quoted by DENIFLE, II, 12. Important is the definition of the constitutions of 1290 (c. 36), that in a house, where Theology is being taught, all priests and clerics should be obliged to go there. At Paris nobody was allowed to preach, who had not studied theology. DENIFLE, o. c., I, 79.

⁵⁰) Apostolic Constitution of Pope Honorius III, *Super Speculum*. N. B. The results of our research run rather parallel to those which Oediger (o. c.) has published with account to the secular priests, both regarding the degree of development and the proportion between the number of scholars and the number of non-scholars. One may even say, that the Parisian Universitas meant for the entire Western Church, what the Studium Generale meant for the order. Here we may point to the pitiable miscalculation of Ministeri (o. c., 31 cf. note 33). Quoting the general Chapter of Florence (1287): «deputantes omnes studentes in ipsis studiis provinciarum omnium usque ad quinquennium» he concludes, that each province had a theological studium, the course of which lasted 5 years, where each clerical brother went, who was not sent to a studium generale. In the context however it appears, that here studia generalia, to be erected for several provinces together, are meant (e. g. at the Curia Romana, Bologna, Padua, Naples), where only one student of each province could be sent to for at most 5 years. Thus the ingenious distinction of Ministeri between studium generale provinciae and studium generale ordinis pro provincia (o. c. 33) is disposed of. Before 1321 there was no provincial studium for theology, yet there did exist in each province scholae grammaticales et logicales, and these were only meant for a limited number of eligible candidates.

⁵¹) Fr. ROTH in *Cor Unum*, 1951, 44. At Bruges in 1338. A. A., IV, 183, General Chapter of Siena.

already after the death of Aegidius (1316). We know little but nothing of the study at the famous universities of Oxford and Cambridge during this period. In 1268 our studium generale at Oxford seems to have been erected ⁵²). It is also known that in the time of Aegidius and even afterwards many Italian Augustinians were sent to Oxford in order to study theology there. For any comparison however with Paris the necessary data are lacking.

The trend of studies

For the further development of history it is our task now to indicate for how long a period the provision remained in force, that the general trend of studies was that of Aegidius. We know, that the first provision dates from the General Chapter of Florence (1287), which was confirmed by the Constitutions of 1290. These Constitutions remained in force till Seripando in 1551 introduced his new Constitutions. These were not only necessary in order to adapt the old Constitutions to new circumstances, but also because many provisions of 1290 had been changed by subsequent General Chapters. Thus it is necessary to trace next to these Constitutions also the decrees of these Chapters.

In the decrees of the General Chapter of Herbipolenis (1391) we find the vague insertion, that the writings of our doctors and of our lectors should be made use of ⁵³). During the Chapter of Appamiis (1465) the following doctors were mentioned by name: Aegidius, Gerard, Thomas of Straszburg and Paul of Venice. During the General Chapter of Rome (1497) where the rival of Savonarola, Marianus of Genazzano, was elected General, only Aegidius was mentioned, whose writings and Sentences should be defended ⁵⁴). In 1539 we find next to the decree of reading and discussing *iuxta viam domini Aegidii*, for the first time the name of Thomas of Aquino, who should be followed, where the writings of Aegidius are lacking ⁵⁵).

For the sake of uniformity, in his Constitutions Seripando

⁵²) Cf. D. J. KAVANAGH, *The Augustinian Order*, New York, 1937, 42.

⁵³) *A. A.*, V, 99.

⁵⁴) D. F. X. DUYNSTEE, *Maarten Luther en zijn orde*, I, Leiden, without date (1924), 53.

⁵⁵) D. GUTIERREZ, *A. A.*, XVIII, 52. See also DUYNSTEE, *o. c.*, II, 15.

restored the exclusivism of our own doctors ; in the first place comes Aegidius Romanus and if he had not written about a certain matter : Thomas of Argentina (Straszburg) and Paul of Venice (in the artes) ; furthermore one is allowed to follow the opinions of Gregory of Rimini, Gerard of Siena, Michael de Massa, Alphons of Toledo, Augustine Romanus (= Favaroni), Augustine of Ancona (= Triumphus) and others. In his Apostolic Constitution of 1570 to our Order Pope Pius V again mentioned St. Thomas of Aquino and Aegidius ⁵⁶⁾. From that time onward the name of Thomas of Aquino will be missing no longer, except in the unpublished Constitutiones of Francis Xavier Vasques Peruanus (1773), in which only S. Augustine is mentioned by name ⁵⁷⁾ and in those of 1885, as we still shall see. The Constitutions of Thaddeus of Perugia (1581) mention: « Fundatissimus doctor noster beatus Aegidius Romanus », and for the matter, he did not treat, divus Thomas. In the discussions one was allowed to follow the doctors of the order v. g. Thomas of Straszburg, Gregory of Rimini, *James of Viterbo*, Gerard of Siena, Alphons of Toledo, Michael de Massa, Augustine Romanus, and Augustine of Ancona (Triumphus). The Constitutions of 1625 add another two names to the previous list viz. Michael Salon and Aegidius the Portuguese.

This addition however is missing again in the Constitutions of 1649 (in this book of Constitutions for the first time the Rule of Augustine is divided into 12 chapters, each with its own title). In the new Constitutions of 1686 the name of Augustine Romanus (Favaroni) was cancelled, but at the same time it was prescribed that in the matter of Grace and Predestination our Holy Father Augustine should be followed again in order to protect the uniformity also in the study. In the Compendium of Pacificus Neno (1885), which might be used ad instar Constitutionum, we read the same phrase as in the Constitutions of 1686 (Aegidius and Thomas of Aquino) ; About following other opinions for the sake of discussion, nothing is mentioned. In the following definite edition of the

⁵⁶⁾ L. EMPOLI, *Bullarium o. e. s. a.*, Romae, 1628, 313, par. 14.

⁵⁷⁾ A. A., II, 102 seq. From the documents, quoted there, it appears, that the « observationes » from the provinces generally liked to see mentioned St. Augustin, him only or together with Berti, eventually together with Noris and Belleli. This in order to maintain the uniformity within the order (T-3-26, f. 25). We are very grateful to Th. Oude Breuil, who consulted the archive of the Curia O. E. S. A. and the Bibl. Angelica for us.

Constitutions (Seb. Martinelli 1895) is soberly mentioned: « ad adiaphoras questiones quod attinet in nostris scholis, non recedatur a nostro antiquo systemate ». In the present-day Constitutions (1926 by E. Esteban), we read, that the studies should be made ad Sancti Patris Augustini et Angelici Doctoris rationem, doctrinam et principia. Taking into consideration the given background, one has saved, what could be saved after the promulgation of the Codex: in canon 1366 par. 2 we find the phrase which has been taken over by the Constitutions with this addition however that the name of our Holy Father Augustine has been inserted, even into the first place, where the Codex only gives the name of the Angelic Doctor ⁵⁸).

Studium and Spirituality

It is no mere coincidence, that in the same century both the universities and the great mendicant orders have arisen. Among the higher clergy one found excessive wealth, among the lower clergy involuntary poverty, whilst both groups were lacking in apostolic zeal and adequate erudition ⁵⁹). It is neither mere coincidence that both institutions, free from local circumstances and exempted from local interference, meant a Reformation in Christian Europe, which was directly lead by the Holy See. It is evident that the mendicant orders ambioned not only poverty, but also study. A more exact explanation of what one meant by studium, will elucidate this still more. The heading itself of the 36th chapter of the Constitutions of 1290 points out to us the right direction: « De forma circa studentes et lectores et praedicatores nostri ordinis servanda ». The study was crowned with success by obtaining mastership in Theology and the magistri regentes acquitted themselves conscientiously of their tasks among which also preaching occupied an important place. For the studium was not solely, even not in the first place a scientific education, but a Christian

⁵⁸) The *Constitutiones Generales O. F. M.* of 30th September 1921 solved their similar difficulty in the following way: « In doctrinis philosophicis et theologicis Scholae Franciscanae ex animo inhaerere studeant, caeteros scholasticos Angelicum praesertim Divum Thomam, catholicarum scholarum coelestem Patronum, magni faciant ».

⁵⁹) « Bei den meisten Stiftern wissen wir über den Grundbesitz mehr als über das eigentlichen Leben ». OEDIGER, o. c., VIII,

education of the spirit, in which there was made use of Revelation and of ecclesiastical doctrine, and to which only a lengthy and solid training-course was of use. This makes clear, how a fixed trend of studies, be it according to St. Thomas or to Aegidius, if only the unity in the school was retrained, and the salience of an own seat at the university, also meant one line in the spirituality and in the spiritual physionomy of an order. This throws light on the words of Aegidius, which he spoke as a General to the superiors of the Provinces: « *Studia Theologiae toto vestro conamine manu teneatis ac etiam foveatis ; quia per ea simul cum observantia Regulae oportet nostrum ordinem in humilitate crescere ac etiam exaltari. Ad haec detis et dari faciatis pro viribus omnem operam cum effectum, ut boni novitii possint in nostra provincia recipi, recepti religiose tractari, informari morum modestia et studii disciplina* » ⁶⁰).

If we take the studium to mean this, the own school in the order and the obligation of following its masters does not mean a curtailment of the search for the truth, as if with Aegidius or Thomas all possible research has been exhausted. Neither does it mean that all their sentences and opinions are true and incorrigible ⁶¹). To think this is putting on a par the studium with a mere rational science. The studium was rather — and it ought still to be so — a certain manner of education according to the spirit of the order, of which one has become a member. If in our order Aegidius should be followed for the studies, then this prescription wanted to see the spiritual training integrated by an education, which harmonized with the spirit and with the aim of the order. This education together with the specific observance of the Rule as a consequence, seemed even to Aegidius the principal means of justifying the proper character and the proper existence of this order next to other ones. In this sense the phrase showed to full advantage: « *studium fundamentum ordinis* ».

⁶⁰) In 1292, A. A., IV, 202 seq.

⁶¹) Worthy of consideration are the words of the master himself of the school of Aegidius: « *Nulli... claudenda est via ad contrarie opinandum, ubi sine periculo fidei possumus contrarie opinari; nec cogendi sunt discipuli ut in omnibus suorum doctorum opiniones retineant, quia non est captivatus intellectus noster in obsequium hominis, sed in obsequium Christi* ». *De gradibus formarum*, II, c. 6 (A. A., XXI, 219 seq.).

The School and the Scientia

We saw already, how the own trend of studies in the order slowly developped itself in favour of a harmony with St. Thomas of Aquino. Did this mean that the magister extraneus was going to have a formative influence on the spirituality of the order and was he thus going to level the spirituality of the order to the same mark of other orders where the same symptoms made their appearance ? For since Pius V, but especially by Pius X (1904) the angelic doctor has been pointed out as the man according to whose ratio, doctrine and principles the professors of the seminaries should teach theology, as the Codex says (1917).

The answer to this question requires, that we well bear in mind two facts. In the first place the study of theology had become the acquisition of a knowledge, which came to lie outside the religious formation. For the theology with her secluded preliminary training in philosophy, had developped into a proper science which had its own place next to other sciences. In our Constitutions this finds expression e. g. in the place and in the relation, which the studies take with respect to the preaching. For earlier we saw, how the magistri regentes preached very often, which applied to a more extensive form of lessons in christian doctrine.

We note, that in the unpublished Constitutions of Vasquez there is a word on the preachers together with the lectors and other functionaries of the studium. In 1773 it is stil so. The Compendium of 1885 speaks about the preachers *after the chapter* about the studies. In 1895 preaching is a function and it is treated after the chapter : « De monialibus » and the studies are treated with even in another part of the Constitutions. In 1926 this remained so ; one first speaks about the Divine Cult, next about novices and professed and then (again) about the study. At the end of part VI one treats the predicatoros between the discreti of the provincial Chapter and the parish-priests. The studium has got loose from the life of the order. Thus the studium is no longer an own universal education but only a scientific training.

The second fact is no less important. For it appears, that St. Thomas has developped beyond the determination of a definite spirituality of an order. As St. Augustine had not only a certain

regional influence, as it was the case in Africa during his lifetime, but also definitely influenced the whole spirituality of the Latin Church even up till now, so one may say that the doctor communis definitely influenced the study of theology, not only within the Dominican order but even within the entire Western Church. But as within the more universal spirituality of Augustin there was in our order still a possibility of a modification, which discriminated the order in her spirituality from other orders, so within the more universal trend of doctrine of St. Thomas there should be found room for more shaded structures, one of which is that of Aegidius.

Conclusions

1. At the outset of our article it seemed progressive, that the alumni of the order and their professors were obliged to follow the trend of studies which Aegidius had proposed. For even in anticipation they had to adhere to the pronouncements, which he would make in the future. Just as strange it seemed to us, that the studium was called the fundamentum ordinis. Now however it ought to be clear to us, that the young order of the Eremites (in 1256 the Magna Unio took place) wanted to have face of its own in the structure of christian life. Only in this manner the Augustinian community might become itself and remain itself and might contribute to a more versatile embodiment of Christ next to other institutions. Consequently nobody will deny that also by their studium theologicum the mendicant orders have contributed and still contribute to a renewal of the ecclesiastical life i. e. the development of Christ's redemption in His Church.

2. It is noteworthy that during the first flourishing-period of the order the care for the own theological study takes such an important place in the Constitutions and in the General Chapters. Would it be too much beyond the truth to say, that the theological studies as an own contribution to the formation of the Augustinian life also has constituted this flourishing-period? If this is true, no wonder in his new Constitutions, as we saw, a general like Seripando wanted to reestablish the study of the order's own theologians. We may not forget however, that during the century, in which Seripando lived, the spiritual education is going to be seen as a separate task. The obligation of the alumni to read

Jordan of Saxon's « *Vitas fratrum* » (1571) testifies to this. Then already appears the modern spirit, which substituted positive training in the Augustinian life for the educational influence of tradition and surroundings, which works on its own, as it came to appear in the trend of studies within the order.

3. A final word we may devote to the fact that the first great *universitas studiorum* in France originated on the « *île de Paris* » « *inter duas pontes* ». Even before 1200 indeed Oxford knew a corporation of students and professors, but in the Middle-Ages the importance of the theological studies at Paris outshone by far all those of other towns.

It is also clear, that now-a-days France is leading in the re-establishment of theology into the *universitas* of christian life, for which ideal it shows much courage and esprit.

Rightly we may expect, that the lacking of a French province is a great handicap to the spiritual prosperity of the order. The restoration of this offshoot will be looked forward to with great expectation, not only because tradition within the order asks for it, but the more so, because there the studium commenced and maybe from here will be restored as *fundamentum ordinis*.

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