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AUGUSTINIANA

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TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE VAN SINT AUGUSTINUS EN DE AUGUSTIJNENORDE

REVUE POUR L'ETUDE DE SAINT AUGUSTIN ET DE L'ORDRE DES AUGUSTINS

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Foreword

This volume has been planned for several years to help mark the Seventh Centenary of the Great Union of 1256, which constituted the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine as a centralized religious order. We do not present here the synthesis of Augustinian history which modern historiography demands. In our field of study the production of printed source material and other essential books has been as yet but sparse, and much of the harvest of the past has become unavailable even in the greatest libraries. Practically speaking, tillage has only begun ; and this is some of the spade-work.

When we think of our seven hundred years of history it is natural for us to stress the two terminals, the then and the now. Much of this volume accordingly deals with our beginnings. A few years ago, however, our periodicals Casiciaco, The Tagastan, *and* Cor Unum *published a survey of the Order as it is today, and since this material has already been made available we decided against including it in the present work. As our only comment on the current state of the Order we offer the first complete report on Augustinian missionary activity at the present time.*

Although the contributions were collected and selected by me, the responsibility as well as the credit for every article belongs to its author. The technical work was carried out by Father Norbert Teeuwen, the Editor of this magazine. The expenses have been assumed by the Villanova Province and the Commissariate of Our Lady of Consolation. We are most grateful to Very Rev. Father Provincial Henry Greenlee for his generosity and interest, as well as to each of the many others who have helped make this volume possible.

This volume appears simultaneously as the fifth volume of Cassiciacum *(American Series) and part of volume six of* Augustiniana.

Father Francis ROTH, O. E. S. A.
Comm. Provl.

New York, January 23, 1596.

1256-1956

On April 9, 1256, Pope Alexander IV's bull « Licet ecclesiae catholicae » united several groups of hermits into a well-organized, modern Order called « The Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine ». This consolidation is traditionally known as « The Great Union » to distinguish it from various earlier mergers of Augustinian groups. It entailed a radical change in the life of the hermits, for the Pope also commanded them to move into the cities and take an energetic part in the care of souls « through preaching and hearing confessions ». For this reason the Great Union can be considered the birth of the Augustinian Order as we know it today.

The Cistercians had long since proved the effectiveness of a centralized order with a common superior general elected at a general chapter. The Church favored this system and in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council made it mandatory for all existing Orders. Before 1223 a number of hermitages in Tuscany obeyed this command and accommodated themselves to the centralizing spirit of the times by combining into some kind of union, and five years later the number of participating hermitages had grown to fifteen. In March, 1244, Cardinal Richard Annibaldi united all houses of hermits in Tuscany, giving them a common superior general, uniform laws, a uniform habit, and the ancient Rule of St. Augustine. By 1250, they had grown to at least 61 houses and formed a strong, well-organized order known as the « Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine in Tuscany ». It formed the main body of hermits at the Great Union.

The second most numerous group were the Hermits of Brettino with at least 41 houses, principally located in the Marquessates of Ancona and Treviso. Third in line stood the Brethren of (ST) John Bonus with 26 known places, mostly in Lombardy. A fourth group of hermits, the Williamites, had been excepted from the papal decree of 1244 but were forced to join in 1256, only to regain their independence in the same year ; they had little if any influence upon the development of the Augustinian Order.

More important than the union itself was the accompanying papal directive to move into the cities and take part in the care of souls. By this command the hermits were obliged to undergo a fundamental change in their spirituality as well as in their exterior way of life. After the hermitages had ceased to consist exclusively of laymen, its priests advocated a more apostolic role, and to some extent had carried their theory into practice ; but the old ideal of eremitical seclusion did not yield to them, nor at first even to the Pope himself. Indeed, the Pope had to be quite firm with some brethren who were reluctant to exchange their beloved hermitages for a stormier life in the cities.

In this period the cities were growing like mushrooms. The mere marketplaces of yesterday were now rising to an eminent position in social and political life. Their suburbs were overflowing with new citizens for whom the bishops and cathedral chapters were slow to provide needed religious facilities. Pastors instructed their flocks but little, and in many cases neglected them almost entirely. Itinerant preachers of heresy found a fertile soil in which to plant hatred of the priesthood and disbelief in the Holy Eucharist. The people could be protected only through an intensified effort in the care of souls and although the Franciscans and the Dominicans had already begun their tremendous work, the need of the day was so great that the Pope had to send the hermits, too, into the cities. He allowed them to retain the title of hermits so as to distinguish them from the Canons of St. Augustine, and wisely made them conform to the efficient pattern of the brand new mendicant Orders.

The main agitator for the Union as well as the guardian of the ensuing transformation was Richard Annibaldi, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, who ruled the Order with almost unlimited power until his death in 1276. His greatness is indicated by the fact that he was four times a leading candidate for the papacy. It was he who shaped the legal, ascetical, and liturgical form of the new Order. He promoted its expansion with every means at his disposal, and he saw it grow to over 300 houses in all parts of Europe.

The Austin Friars or Augustinians look back this year upon a history of 700 years. Not once during all this time were they lacking a saint in their midst — a sure sign that their Order has always lived up to its principal purpose, and that the observance of its Rule and spirit will make men holy. The Order produced great

preachers and theologians, and its missionaries converted hundreds of thousands to God. It took care of parishes and colleges, and it did not leave untouched a single work in the Church for the salvation of souls. Even to modern science it gave one of its greatest men in Gregory Mendel, the discoverer of the laws of heredity.

The Order seemed about to perish on more than one occasion, but time and again it produced new saints to restore its life and strength. When Luther fell away (and with him a great part of Central Europe), Cardinal Jerome Seripando, the former Prior General of the Order, became one of his main antogonists as legate to the Council of Trent. At the same time St. Thomas of Villanova sent the first Augustinian missionaries to the newly discovered countries, thus opening a new era for the Order. When Secularisation had undermined the Order to such an extent that even its own Prior General believed the end near, Blessed Stephen Bellesini restored its will to life in Italy. When he met Michel Hurley, the first native North-American novice, he scarcely guessed that within a hundred years the Augustinians in the United States would be the strongest part of the Order.

According to the latest statistics the Augustinians are again one of the fastest growing Orders of men in the Church. Our time is so torn by hatred, strife, and mistrust that it needs men filled with the spirit of St. Augustine, which has for its symbol a heart pierced by God's arrow of love. Only such men can lead the world back to Christ.

On the Feast of Our Holy Father Augustine, 1955.

P. Engelbert EBERHARD,
Prior General O. E. S. A.

Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae

I. TEXT.

The original is preserved in the *General Archives O. E. S. A., Rome* in the collection of original papal bulls : Hh 2, n. 33.

Type : *Litterae gratiosae*. Membr.

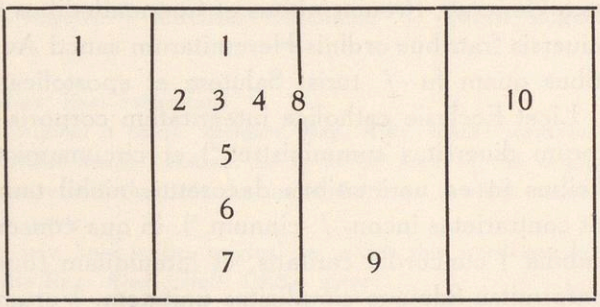
Size : 480 × 640 mm.

Date : Lateran, 9 April 1256.

Script : chancery minuscle.

The pendent lead bull has been cut off, but the red and yellow silken threads remained.

On the fold at the right : the name of the *scriptor* : Iac[obus]. *scp* (i. e. scriptor). On the back :



1 Traces of xiiith century script.

2 Alexandri 4
cost. xviii (s. xvi).

3 Mark of the numbering in the Hh 2 collection : 33.

4 Heremitarum... sancti Augustini (s. xiii).

5 VNIO EREMITARVM
ALEX. IIII. CONST. XVIII (s. xviii ?).

6 F. Lanphanco mediolanensi P. Generali (s. xv-xvi).

7 No 52
Vnio Congregationum S. Guglielmi, fabani, et Brictinensis ad Religionem S. P. Augustini sub uno Generale.
Alex. IIII (s. xvii).

8 R̄ (i. e. Registered). Underneath the taxes are written which had to be paid for the bull. However, it is impossible to read the script on account of the fold which passes through it.

9 De unione (s. xv).

10 1256 (modern script).

The text of *Licet ecclesie* has been published in :

I *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini*, ed. L. Empoli (Rome, 1628), pp. 18-20.

II *Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Summorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis editio*, iii (Turin, 1858). pp. 635-36.

III *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de La Roncière, i (Paris, 1902). pp. 388-89 (= n. 1301), from *Reg. Vat.*, 24, f. 163, ann. II, c. 252.

IV *Analecta Augustiniana*, v (1913-14). pp. 1-4.

In A. POTTHAST, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ii (Berlin, 1875), 1341 (= n. 16334).

1 ALEXANDER episcopus seruus seruorum dei. Dilectis filiis fratri [1]) Lanfranco Generali, Prouincialibus et Conuentualibus Prioribus [2]) ac [3]) uniuersis fratribus ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini tam
2 presentibus quam fu- / -turis. Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licet Ecclesie catholice integritatem corporis sui sincera membrorum diuersitas sumministret [4]) et circumamictus species multiplicibus in ea uarietatibus decoretur, nichil tamen in ipsa
3 exprimit contrarietas incon- / -cinnum [5]), in qua consensum nutrit inextimabilis [6]) concordia caritatis, et indiuiduam fouet uniuersitatis conformitas fideique simplicitas unitatem. Verum circa edificationis fabricam que in templum sanctum in domino opera-
4 riorum eius stu- / -dio moliente succrescit, credimus assidue prouidendum, ut in uarietatibus partium que ad decorem struc-

[1]) *Bull. Rom.* omits: fratri.
[2]) *Ibidem*: et prioribus.
[3]) *An. Aug.* reads: *et*, instead of: *ac*.
[4]) All the published texts have: subministret.
[5]) *Bull. Rom.* gives: incontinuum, while *Reg. Alex.* has: in continuum.
[6]) *An. Aug.* reads: inestimabilis.

ture dominice adhibentur, sic appareat distincta diuersitas, ut non sit confusio indiscreta, nec alterius forma importuna [7]) con- /
5 -similitudine speciem pretendat alterius, sed singula queque certum proprii modi ordinem sortiantur. Hac sane consideratione commoniti, cum consona in uobis Heremitarum appellatio et
6 parum diuersa professio disparibus titulis, et in / aliquibus dissimili habituum schemate [8]) discreparet, cogitauimus sponse xpi in cuius ueste [9]) pia sacre religionis [depinxit] [10]) institutio cetus uestros [11]) conuenire decori, si religiosa militie uestre castra que
7 sub uno uocabulo non magna / discipline distantia secernebat, sub communi capite indifferenti [12]) concorporationis [13]) federe iungerentur et ex plur[ibus] [14]) cuneis acies [15]) una consurgeret fortior ad hostiles spiritualis nequitie impetus conterendos. Prop-
8 terea dudum a no- / -bis mandatum apostolicum emanauit ut de singulis domibus uestris, quarum quedam sancti Guillelmi, quedam sancti Augustini ordinum [16]), nonnulle autem fratris Iohannis boni [17]), alique uero de fabali, alie uero de Brictinis
9 censebantur / et apud homines ambiguis interdum nuncupationibus uaccillabant, duo fratres cum pleno mandato ad nostram mitterentur presentiam, quod nostra circa [18]) uos salubriter ordi-
10 naret dispositio recepturi. Cumque fratres huiusmodi / ad sedem apostolicam accessissent coram dilecto filio nostro R[icardo], sancti [Angeli] [19]) diacono Cardinali [20]), quem negotio unionis

[7]) *Reg. Alex.* has: inoportuna.

[8]) In the original it reads: scemate. *Reg. Alex.* reads: scemace.

[9]) *Bull. OESA* reads: vestrae, as is to be seen in the original text. But Empoli did not remark the little dot under the letter *r* which means a correction from *vestre* in *veste*.

[10]) There is a hole in the original by which this word has fallen out. We added from the *Reg. Alex.*; *Bull. OESA* gives:...

[11]) *Bull. Rom.* has: vestri.

[12]) *Reg. Alex.*: in differenti.

[13]) *Bull. Rom.* reads: incorporationis.

[14]) Another hole prevents us from reading this word. We added it from the *Reg. Alex.*

[15]) *Bull. OESA* wrongly reads: acierum.

[16]) *Reg. Alex.* omits: ordinum.

[17]) *Bull. Rom.* wrongly gives: Ioannis Doni.

[18]) *Bull. OESA* reads: *cura*, instead of: *circa*.

[19]) The original does not give: Angeli. We added it from the *Reg. Alex.*

[20]) *Cardinale*, as given in *Bull. Rom.* is an obvious printer's error.

uestre [21]) perficiendo deputauimus uice nostra, sufficientia ad id
11 exhibuere mandata, et in generali Capitu- / -lo uestro in Vrbe
celebriter congregato, nomine omnium a quibus fuerant destinati
et de communi Capituli eiusdem assensu, uos et domos uestras
in unam ordinis obseruantiam, et uiuendi [22]) formulam uniformem
12 redigi, / unumque ex eis ouile fieri Generalis Prioris presidentia
gubernandum unanimiter consenserunt, petentes ut per gra-
tiam [23]) unionis et conformitatis huiusmodi, eis iuxta conceptum
uotum paupertatis spontanee perpetua possessionum terre- /
13 -strium abdicatio remaneret, et ipsis Baculos uel ferulas deferendi
imposita necessitas tolleretur, collata in Cardinalem eundem
prouidendi uobis ea uice de Generali Priore totius ordinis ni-
14 chilominus potestate. Porro idem Car- / -dinalis, nostri auctori-
tate mandati uiuo ad eum sermone directi necnon et concordi
eorundem fratrum ac predicti Capituli consensione suffultus, uni-
uersas domos et congregationes uestras in unam ordinis Here-
15 mitarum / sancti Augustini professionem et regularem obser-
uantiam perpetuo couniuit [24]), sub generalis cura Prioris, cano-
nice instituendi [25]) pro tempore pre aliis Prouincialibus, necnon
16 et Conuentualibus singularum domorum Prio- / -ribus [26]) regula-
riter gubernandas. Et ut nouam ouilis dominici unionem uni-
uersalis capitis unitas consumaret [27]), te, dilecte fili frater Lan-
france, in Generalem ordinis [28]) eiusdem Priorem et patrem [29]),
17 spiritus sancti gratia inuoca- / -ta, prefecit, ac etiam prout a
nobis specialiter in mandatis acceperat, confirmauit. uos uni-
uersos et successores uestros a baculis uel ferulis deportandis, et
quod non cogamini ad recipiendas possessiones aliquas uel ha-
18 ben- / -das, decernens perpetuo liberos et exemptos. Nos igitur
prefati Cardinalis processum, conuenientem cum uol[untatis] [30])

[21]) *Reg. Alex.* omits: vestre.

[22]) Only the *Reg. Alex.* wrongly reads: uniendi.

[23]) *Bull. OESA* has: ..., but in the original one can clearly read: gratiam.

[24]) *Reg. Alex.* gives: counirat. *An. Aug.* has a printer's error: conuivit.

[25]) The first part of this word in the original has fallen out by a little hole, but the space is to small for the syllable *con*, as printed in the *Bull. OESA* and *An Aug.* It has to be read as: instituendi, as given in *Bull. Rom.* and *Reg. Alex.*

[26]) *Bull. Rom.* gives: a prioribus.

[27]) *Bull. OESA*: consummaret.

[28]) *An. Aug.* omits: ordinis.

[29]) *Reg. Alex.*: priorem ac patrem.

[30]) The second part of this word has fallen out. We added it from *Reg. Alex.* *Bull. OESA* has: ...

nostre [31]) proposito approbantes, premissa omnia grata habemus
19 et rata, ipsaque auctoritate apostolica / confirmamus, et presentis
scripti patrocinio communimus. Insuper autem personas et domos
uestras sub beatorum Petri et Pauli protectione suscipientes et
20 nostra, presentium auctoritate statuimus, / ut uos filii Priores
et fratres in professione predicti ordinis in prefato generali Capi-
tulo ordinata, quo quidem ordine uos perpetuo censeri uolumus,
uobiscum super diuersarum professionum aut obseruationum de-
21 bito, / quas antea feceratis in predictis uel aliis ordinibus dis-
pensantes, sub deuota generalis Prioris quem nunc uobis diuina
ordinatio pretulit eiusque successorum obedientia perpetuo uir-
22 tutum domino seruientes, nigris dumtaxat / et nullis aliis alterius
coloris Cucullis, ut uniformis amictus normam eiusdem in uobis
professionis ostendat, utamini decetero [32]) uniuersi. Et ut hec
sancta unio, quam perpetue pacis tranquillitate gaudere uolu-
23 mus / omnibus integritatis sue perfecta partibus stabilis per-
seueret, decernimus ut omnes domus ordinum suprascriptorum,
quarum [33]) fratres iuxta mandati nostri formam ad nostram pre-
24 sentiam non uenerunt, ipsi uinio- / -ni tamquam corpori membra
absque diffugio ullius exceptionis [34]) inhereant, et ad obseruа-
tionem predictorum omnium teneantur. Alioquin sententiam,
quam tu, dilecte fili Prior Generalis et successores tui rite tu- /
25 -leritis in rebelles ratam habebimus et faciemus auctore domino
usque ad satisfactionem condignam appellatione remota, inuio-
labiliter obseruari. Nulli ergo omnino [35]) liceat hanc nostre con-
26 firmationis, protectionis, dispensationis / et constitutionis pagi-
nam infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem
hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis dei et
beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursurum.
27 Datum Laterani / V Id. Aprilis Pontificatus nostri anno Se-
cundo [36]).

P. Alberic DE MEIJER, O. E. S. A.

[31]) *Bull. OESA* and *Bull. Rom.* wrongly read: vestre.

[32]) *Bull. OESA* and *An. Aug.* separated: de cetero.

[33]) *Bull. Rom.* reads: quorum.

[34]) *Bull. OESA* wrongly gives: receptionis.

[35]) *Bull. OESA* and *An. Aug.* added: hominum, the latter, however, in brackets. The other two printed texts give: Nulli ergo etc.

[36]) *Bull. Rom.* and *Reg. Alex.* give the other date: quarto nonas maii.

II. THE COMMENTARY *)

The bull *Licet ecclesiae* issued by Pope Alexander IV on April 9, 1256 is the most important single document in the history of the Augustinian Order. This document established the Order in its modern form and therefore marks the hour of its birth. The new life thus established has survived to this hour. Its 700th anniversary calls for a renewed, detailed study of this important charter, which is as important to an Augustinian as the *Magna Charta* is to an Englishman or the Declaration of Independence to a citizen of the United States of America.

Licet ecclesiae is a singular document in the history of Canon Law because it established principles for which its authors had no precedent. It legitimized for the first time the imposition of a certain rule on divers religious groups and the change from rules already approved. Its phraseology reveals the struggle which was taking place between the old and new forms of religious life, a struggle

*) List of abbreviations:

AA = *Analecta Augustiniana* (Rome 1905 sqq).

ASS = *Acta Sanctorum* (latest edition, Paris).

BR = *Bullarium Romanum. Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, Taurinensis editio.* Augustae Taurinorum 1857 sqq.

DDC = *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique.*

EMPOLI = EMPOLI L., *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum sancti Augustini* (Romae 1628).

KNOWLES = KNOWLES D., *The religious Orders in England* (Cambridge 1950-1955), 2 vols.

MS 1390. This manuscript in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, contains papal bulls given to the Augustinian Order from 1190-1250, copied from the originals in the various archives of the Order. Its original number was T. 6. 4.

PL = MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina.*

POTTHAST = POTTHAST A., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum,* 2 vols. (Berlin 1874).

ROTH = ROTH Francis, *Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, first protector of the Augustinian Order, 1243-1276,* in *Augustiniana* II-IV (1952-4).

TORELLI = TORELLI L., *Secoli Agostiniani* (Bologna 1659-1686) 8 vols.

VICAIRE = VICAIRE M. N., *Fondation de l'ordre des Prêcheurs,* in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 47 (1952).

Vfr. = *Jordani de Saxonia OESA Liber Vitasfratrum,* ed. R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner (New York 1943).

The yet incomplete edition of the Papal Registers, undertaken by the *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* will be quoted by the name of the pope in question. According to our argument on page 33 we prefer to quote the bulls themselves rather than copies in the papal registers.

in which the Roman Curia tried to cling to the established forms of monasticism without destroying the vigorous, healthy life of the new mendicant movement. In *Licet ecclesiae* and other contemporary diplomas, therefore, we find notable deviations in the content of papal documents from what had been customary earlier. We find, too, that the old classical terminology is used with new and constantly shifting meanings.

Licet ecclesiae does not precede the Great Union, but follows it, and is the only official report still available. It gives the reasons why the Pope wanted it and the ways and means used to effect it ; most of all it confirms the definitions of the first General Chapter and gives them the form of binding law.

* * *

In *Licet ecclesiae* Pope Alexander IV lists the principal groups which he intends to unite. He does not present a meticulously scientific catalogue but states only that some of the affected houses belong to:

1. The Order of St. William ;
2. The Order(s) of St. Augustine ;
3. The followers of Friar John Bonus ;
4. The Brethren of Favali ;
5. The Brictinenses.

The first-mentioned of these groups comprised the followers of St. William of Maleval (d. Feb. 10, 1157). Gregory IX had recently mitigated the austerity of their way of life, and the Order had consequently begun to flourish. Although the Williamites and the Brethren of Favali withdrew from the Union after four months, the German and Hungarian houses of both groups remained with the Hermits of St. Augustine. These houses helped the new Order to spread in Germany and Hungary.

The Order of St. Augustine consisted principally of the Hermits of Tuscany, who were united in 1243 by Cardinal Richard and by 1256 numbered over 70 houses. The Order also included groups with seemingly independent superiors (priors general ?) in Spain, Germany and France-England.

The followers of Blessed John Bonus, who died on October 23, 1249 were concentrated in Lombardy and Romandiola. They had 26 houses that are known to us.

Favali, a branch of the Williamites, was acknowledged by the Holy See as early as March 9, 1224 [1]), making its confirmation only a year later than that of the Friars Minor. In their bull of confirmation they are called « Hermits of St. Benedict on Mount Favali » who followed the Rule of St. William. Nothing is known about the number of their houses.

The Hermits of Brettino (Brictinenses) were settled mostly in the March of Ancona and possessed at least 45 houses.

The history of these congregations has been treated in detail by Francis Roth in *Augustiniana* 1952/4 and therefore many historical points in the following canonical commentary are omitted. The data given above are borrowed from his study.

The Address

Licet ecclesiae was directed « to the Prior General Lanfranc, the provincial and conventual priors and all the brethren of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine ». This mode of address occurs frequently from now on [2]). In all previous papal letters to the various

[1]) ASS Febr. 10 p. 450.

[2]) The address for the Johnbonites was at first « priori ac fratribus heremitarum sanctae Mariae de Budriolo, Cesenatis dioecesis » (*Vota devotorum* of September 28, 1246: *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, no 2103). From the end of their schism in 1253 it was « Priori generali et universis fratribus ordinis Eremitarum » (*Quanto studiosius* of March 14, 1253: *ibid.* no 2103).

The Brictinenses were addressed until the Great Union as « Priori et fratribus (ecclesiae) eremi de Brictinis ordinis sancti Augustini, Fanensis dioecesis » (*Sacrosancta Romana* of November 26, 1227: EMPOLI 122).

Letters to the Hermits of Tuscany were at first directed to « Priori et fratribus ordinis sancti Augustini in Tuscia » (*Vestra devotorum* of March 23, 1244: *Les registres d'Innocent* IV, no 577) and only in 1254 is a prior general mentioned: « Priori generali et universis fratribus heremitis in Tuscia ordinis sancti Augustini » (*Cum a nobis* of February 15, 1254: *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, no 7278).

Letters to other groups were sent to « Priori et fratribus eremitis in partibus ultramontanis » (*Religiosam vitam* of May 31, 1253: EMPOLI 181). The same letter was given on March 31, 1249 to Hermits in both Germany and Hungary (*Les reg. d'Innocent IV*, no 4430): « Priori et fratribus heremitis in Alamannia »... « in Hungaria ». In these last three documents it is stated towards the end of the long text that they belonged to the « ordo canonicus ordinis sancti Augustini » which disproves the opinion of Father Sat. Lopez (expressed in his Bullarium, MS in the archives of the prior general) that these bulls were sent to the Williamites. *Quia salutem* of July 5, 1255 was addressed to « Priori generali fratrum

groups involved in the Union the word ' prior provincial ' is mentioned only once [3]). This is surprising in view of the fact that each of the more important congregations was divided into provinces before 1256. The Johnbonites and Tuscans had at least three provinces each and the Brictinenses two. France and England were combined into a single province, while Spain, Germany and Hungary each had a province of its own [4]).

The number of houses can be estimated at 200 [5]). A papal letter written three weeks after the promulgation of *Licet ecclesiae* entitled every Augustinian church connected with a conventual church [6]). Permission was included for the celebration of Divine Office (Choir and Holy Mass) as well as for preaching and administering the sacraments. Thus these churches acquired a certain resemblance to the churches of the Canons (*ecclesiae regulares*) [7]). This meant that henceforth the difference between the Augustinian Canons and the Hermits of St. Augustine was to be small. Some communities of hermits were known as convents as early as 1253, when their places outside of Fano and Milan were called by that name [8]). This also proves that the word convent had not yet the meaning of monastery (which at times is used already in the next century) but designated primarily a religious group under a superior living together in a common house.

eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini in Francia et Anglia »: TORELLI IV, 506/7. In a letter to all archbishops and bishops Innocent IV speaks about the hermits as « Dilecti filii Priores et Fratres Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini (*Dilecti filii* of August 3, 1253: EMPOLI 181).

[3]) In *Admonet nos* of April 15, 1253: EMPOLI 176.

[4]) ROTH (1952) 126, 301, 136.

[5]) ROTH (1953) 32.

[6]) *Cum tamquam* of April 27, 1256: AA IV, 442. At the Fourth Lateran Council the bishops, especially those of the larger dioceses, were charged to appoint preachers in the cathedral and conventual churches to assist the bishops when they could not preach personally, and also to assign confessors to give absolution and impose penances: Decr. Gregorii IX, lib. I t. 31, c. 14.

[7]) Henry of Susa (Hostiensis) who died in 1271, mentions in his famous *Summa aurea* only the monk and the regular canon as properly so-called regulars; and yet the Rule of St. Albert, approved in 1226 and practised by the Carmelites before the Council of the Lateran speaks explicitly of an eremitical way of life, instituted by Holy Fathers: BR III, 415, LXXVIII, January 30, 1226.

[8]) For Fano see *Providentia laudabilis* of July 1, 1253 (EMPOLI 184): for Milan *Sua nobis* of July 10, 1253 (MS 1390 f. 22). Vide note 24 *infra*.

Monastic termini and their meaning

Before we explain the new title given to the Augustinian Hermits it is desirable to clarify the usage of certain terms. The religious profession of a person meant in the first place his binding himself to a superior as his master and to a corporation as his spiritual milieu. In the time of Alexander IV the words *ordo, religio, regula* and *institutio* had not yet acquired the fixed meaning they bear in our own day. *Ordo* is still the ' way of life ', *religio* refers to the ' binding ' connected with religious profession ; *regula* is still primarily regulation, and *institutio* ' design '. Thus it is possible to speak of the *congregatio* or grouping together according to the Order of St. Augustine, and also of *ordinis religio* and *religio ordinis*. *Ordo* and *institutio* can stand separately, so that one may follow the *Ordo* (way of life) of St. Augustine according to the *institutio* (design) of John Bonus or that of the Brictinenses [9]).

[9]) To give some idea of what *ordo* and the other terms employed may signify, we insert here some fragments from divers bulls. The Hermits of Tuscany are told in *Incumbit nobis* of December 16, 1243 (EMPOLI 164): « ... mandamus, quatenus in unum vos regulare propositum conformantes, Regulam B. Augustini et Ordinem assumatis, ac secundum eum profiteamini de cetero vos victuros: salvis observantiis seu constitutionibus faciendis a vobis, dummodo ejusdem Ordinis non obvient institutis ». *Officii nostri* of June 15, 1256 (BR III, 638) protects the Camaldulenses who as hermits might have been worried about their independence: « ... ne... cuiquam liceat congregationes illas et loca illa, quae Camaldulensis eremi, sive coenobii disciplinam et ordinem susceperunt... ab ejus ullo modo subjectione et unitate dividere ». In *Religiosam vitam* given to the Williamites on August 28, 1256 (BR III, 642): « ... statuentes, ut ordo eremiticus, qui secundum Deum et beati Benedicti regulam atque institutionem fratrum S. Willelmi in eremis ipsis institutus esse dignoscitur ». To the united Hermits of St. Augustine in *Oblata nobis* of April 20, 1257 (EMPOLI 25): « ... Apostolica Sedes nonnullas domos vestri ordinis, antequam essetis in unius religionis corpus de mandato nostro redacti... » « Hujus (Cisterciensis) siquidem Ordinis sacra religio, a suae institutionis auspiciis quasi deserta et invia, utpote paucis adhuc cultoribus... » (BR III, 730, *Parvus fons*): « ... monachorum religionem ejusdem spiritus perseverantia custodire » (Urban II AD 1092: PL 151, 338). See also A. WALZ, *Compendium historiae ordinis Praedicatorum* (Romae 1948) 52 sqq. VICAIRE 138 gives the meaning of *institutio* as the elementary way of living in a house (or in the corporation) as guaranteed by *Religiosam vitam*. In our opinion the word ' institution ' means rather the design of life in a religious movement as prescribed by the founder. This ' institution ' as a rule indicates the particular character of that *religio*, for which the traditional prescriptions in *Religiosam vitam* form the general juridical frame as is now the case with the Codex Juris

The new name of the Order

The 13th decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had limited religious ways to the *ordo monasticus* according to the Rule of St. Benedict and the *ordo canonicus* according to the Rule of St. Augustine. This regulation, intended as it was to reduce confusion, lost much of its force as the two titles gradually degenerated into mere juridical formulas. Innocent IV wrote to the Italian Clares that he had given them the approved Rule of St. Benedict in order to authenticate their way of life, but he did not mean to oblige them to follow it [10]). In the same manner Innocent III compelled the Dominicans to choose between the Rule of St. Augustine and that of Benedict, although he knew that they had a rule of their own, the *institutio* of St. Dominic [11]). Similarly the Brictinenses and the Hermits of Tuscany were compelled to receive the Rule of St. Augustine, though they had their own constitutions.

Licet ecclesiae gave the Augustinians the new name by which they are still officially designated : *Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*. It was to be a union, therefore, according to the way of life of St. Augustine, but in the manner of hermits. To understand this we must refer to the shifting meaning of the word *ordo*.

When the Hermits of Tuscany were combined in 1243 into a *regulare propositum* with the rule and order of St. Augustine, the word *ordo* was used in the above explained meaning of *ordo canonicus* as opposed to the *ordo monasticus* [12]). In like manner, when

Canonici Lib. 2, pt. 2 De religiosis. In this manner the way of life of the Brictinenses was « framed » in 1255 (EMPOLI 6). The Caulites are spoken of as a « novella institutio ordinis » (Vallis Caulium): BR III, 192. Again there is the expression « monasterium monialium... ordinis sancti Augustini secundum institutionem fratrum Praedicatorum » in 1261 (Potthast 18079). See also Du Cange for other expressions and Ch. DEREINE, *Vie commune, Règle de St. Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI^e siècle*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* XLI (1946) 394 sqq. and J. MOIS, *Das Stift Rottenbuch*, München 1953, 246 sqq.

[10]) VICAIRE 138, note.

[11]) *ib.* 137 sqq. Like the Dominicans the Order of Mercedarians was forced to accept the Rule of St. Augustine in 1235 (BR III, 485). The Camaldulenses were united on June 15, 1256 under the Rule of St. Benedict (note 9 *supra*). Innocent IV enjoined the Hermits of Tuscany on March 28, 1244, to follow the Rule of St. Augustine and freed them at the same time from the Rule of St. Benedict and other rules (*Cum a nobis*: MS 1390, fol. 11).

[12]) PL 179, 197 Innocent II, January 23, 1143.

the hermits in the ultramontane sections were confirmed in 1253, they were described as the *ordo canonicus* according to the rule of St. Augustine [13]), while in the confirmation of the Johnbonites Pope Innocent IV determined that they should be called only *Ordo Eremitarum,* although they had accepted the rule and order of St. Augustine [14]).

The new name « Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini » seems to be used in conformance with both contemporary general use (*ordo eremitarum*) and the strict legal terminology of the time (*ordo canonicus sancti Augustini*). The word *ordo* seems to be in transition from the exclusive and proper sense of ' way of life ' to the later sense of ' corporation '. The title « Order of St. Augustine », having been applied to corporations which observed many different institutions and constitutions, no longer means a way of life according to the mind of St. Augustine but only a certain corporation which has received his rule. The expression *ordo eremitarum* i. e. corporation of hermits as used in *Licet ecclesiae* distinguishes them from other corporations such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, though the latter share in the approved way of life according to the Rule of St. Augustine. Because Canon Law at that time envisaged no other possibility the hermits had to be either canonical (that is Augustinian) or monastic (that is Benedictine). The Clares who actually followed the Rule of St. Francis, but had been constrained to official acceptance of the Rule of St. Benedict, were known as *ordo monasticus* as late as 1343. In their case the « monastic » designation was scarcely more than a legal fiction from the beginning and the fiction wore thinner with the passage of time until it disappeared.

The Dominicans and Hermits, on the other hand, have maintained down to the present day the Augustinian Rule, which was originally prescribed for them on account of their status as *ordo canonicus*.

Neither Order, however, neglected the Augustinian way of life. The Order of Hermits cultivated it — at least since the beginning of the Fourteenth Century — more exclusively than any other Order and slowly came to be regarded as the main exponent of Augustinian monachism ; so much so that its members became

[13]) Empoli 181.
[14]) Empoli 180.

more widely known as Augustinians than as Hermits. The articles on Henry Friemar and our theologians in this issue give some of the reasons for this development. It is to be noted that the Dominicans were to some extent inhibited by their special institutions from turning to the mind and spirit of St. Augustine. These special institutions were a source of strength to the Dominicans ; but the lack of them was providential for the Hermits, who were left free to rebuild the pure Augustinian life.

The « new » name which the Pope gave to the combined congregations could not have been very acceptable to those who had not lived according to the Rule of St. Augustine. It nullified the desired effect of the cautious terms *concorporatio* and *co-unio*, which was to indicate that incorporation of one group into another had not taken place and that all groups held equal rights. The name was not even new ; it had been used three years before. A second pre-Union term, ' Eremitarum ordinis Sancti Augustini ', was used in another document addressed to Lanfranc on the very day *Licet ecclesiae* was issued. This was a plain affront to the non-Augustinian groups. Seemingly, here was a union of Hermits of St. Augustine [15]) into which some others (e. gr. the Williamites) with a divergent rule of life and a different holy founder were incorporated. It might seem at first like a technical blunder, but it expressed, no doubt, the real mind if not of the Roman Curia then at least of Cardinal Richard, who was the real author of these documents. This induced the Williamites to ask for their release from the union with the followers of St. Augustine, and from the austere observance of poverty which was in use among

[15]) The name Ord. Her. S. Aug. was used for the first time in *Dilecti filii* of August 3, 1253 (EMPOLI 181), the expression Eremit. OSA in *Ut eo libentius* (or *liberius*) Sept. 25, 1245 (*Les registres d'Innocent IV* no 1534).

Of the words *concorporatio* and *counio* the first is the more important. When the provincial of the Poor Catholics of Milan was ordered to join his men and houses to the Hermits of St. Augustine in 1257, the word co-unio is used, but instead of *concorporatio* the expression *incorporatio* is substituted: *Justis petentium* October 23, 1257 (*Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, no 2299; TORELLI IV, 607). On Dec. 2, 1253, when St. Mary Magdalene's in the Valley of Preda was united with the congregation of the Brictinenses the expression *incorporare* was used, which means joining to someone else (*Oblata nobis*: TORELLI IV, 488).

Jordan of Saxony states falsely that all religious groups mentioned in *Licet ecclesiae* were concorporated *to* the Order of St. Augustine: Ordini Eremitarum Sancti Augustini... concorporavit ac univit: *Vfr.* 47.

the Augustinian Hermits. As early as August 22, 1256, only four months after the promulgation of *Licet ecclesiae*, their request was granted. They were permitted to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict and the institutions of St. William [16]). The next day they received the explicit permission to keep the material goods brought in by their candidates, a privilege almost identical with the one granted the Cistercians in 1247 [17]). On August 28, six days after their exodus, they received the classic form of confirmation in the bull *Religiosam vitam* [18]).

It could be asked whether the Williamites thus relapsed to the old *ordo monasticus* according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and whether they were finally deprived of the treasured institutions originated by St. William and handed down by his young follower Albert [19]). The answer is in the negative. The bull *Religiosam vitam* addressed to them called them *ordo eremiticus*. It was a most unusual privilege, since this denomination was not granted to any other group, at least not in any documents which have come down to us ; neither the Johnbonites nor the Hermits of Tuscany, nor the united orders of 1256, nor even the Hermits of Vallumbrosa or Camaldoli succeeded in obtaining it.

In our opinion this favor is to be explained by a profound conviction of the Holy See that the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council had been outlived ; that religious life ought no longer be required to choose between *ordo canonicus* and *ordo monasticus* as the only possibilities available. A breach was made in the centralizing and schematizing policy of Innocent III, who preferred to perpetuate the choice between the two approved rules rather than establish an *ordo minoriticus*. The Papal Curia, however, is rarely

[16]) The release was granted in *Licet olim* (TORELLI IV, 553; *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, no 1452). Monte Favali also left the union: ROTH (1952) 244. Concerning the power to form a union and break it, see P. FAGNANI, *Commentarius in III. librum Decretalium* (Venetiis 1729) *Ne sede vacante*, I, n. 41, p. 201.

[17]) BR III, 522 *Devotionis vestrae* of October 22, 1246.

[18]) BR III, 641, POTTHAST 16533.

[19]) ASS Febr. 10, p. 473. The mentioned Rule of St. William derives from his disciple Albert and describes the daily religious practices and mortifications of the saint. For the adoption of the Rule of St. Benedict by the Williamites see ROTH (1952) 122. It is remarkable that the Williamites of Favali as early as 1224 were called Hermits of St. Benedict, though in that document (note 1 *supra*) the Rule of St. William was approved. See also note 9 *supra*.

precipitate in its decisions, and the structure was to remain standing for many years to come. The Clares for instance remained *ordo monasticus* until 1289, at which time they were renamed Ordo Sanctae Clarae and given the official right to follow the Rule of St. Francis (approved by Urban VI) instead of that of St. Benedict, but even after this the Curia occasionally lapsed into applying the name *ordo monasticus* to the Clares [20]).

Title and Preamble

The title *Licet ecclesiae* does not conform to the pattern which since the reign of Gregory VII and particularly since Innocent III had become classic for the opening words of a bull approving a religious Order. If the first words were *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* or the earlier form *Regularem vitam* or *Solet annuere*, the reader would be prepared for a solemn approbation of an existing state of affairs. In this manner the Dominicans and Franciscans were confirmed as religious Orders. Our title which is rare, if not unique, leaves the subject of the bull in doubt.

Since this bull is not a formal rescript issued at the occasion of a consistory, the great length of its preamble is unusual. It justifies the Union, as designed to eliminate the fear of 'confusion' expressed by Lateran IV. It states that the integrity of the body of the church is not handicapped by the diversity of its members as long as the various parts fit harmoniously into the whole ; each part, however, must be easily distinguishable from the others and must have an orderly arrangement of its own. But the religious bearing the general name of Hermits, who follow substantially the same way of life, are called by many different names and wear different habits. The Pope means to provide for the better adornment of Christ's spouse (for whom each Order is like a beautiful garment), and for the greater spiritual power of the Hermits themselves [21]).

[20]) WADDING L., *Annales Minorum*, X, April 4, 1343 (Clement VI).

[21]) The suppression of the definitions of the General Chapter of the Carthusians in 1268 necessitated a similarly long introduction: BR III, 800.

The confirmation of the Hermits of Camaldoli begins also with an extraordinary address: *Officii nostri* (vide note 9). The bull uses the terms « ex pluribus acierum una » ; the same terms are used in the bull to the Cistercians: *Parvus fons*: BR III, 729 (AD 1265).

The differences among the Orders were greater than Alexander IV seems to admit. Some did not even bear the name Hermits and were simply designed as *Sancti Augustini ordo* (*ordines* ?). Others did not follow the Rule of St. Augustine but that of St. Benedict. The followers of St. Augustine wore black, those of St. William grey. And even though these differences are relatively insignificant, it is easy to see why the Pope introduces his intentions cautiously. His disposition to minimize the differences is on the whole fully understandable, but the *co-unio* and *concorporatio* which he meant to enforce were precarious indeed. The difficulties involved surpassed by far those encountered in the union of the Hermits of Tuscany in 1243, which had effected only hermits of a single region and with nearly the same *ordo* and *institutio* [22]). The Tuscans, moreover, were not subject to the strong, almost feudal attachment (*commendatio*) to a great personality as were the followers of John Bonus and William of Maleval. The reverence of the Williamites for their founder was further increased by his prompt canonization, while the fervor of the Johnbonites was somewhat lessened, when the propitiously begun process of their founder ended with a mere provisional permission of his cult [23]).

It is not clear, whether the groups to be united differed greatly in religious discipline, though the Brictinenses were heroically poor and the Williamites were not mendicants at this time. The admission of non-hermits, on the other hand, to an eremitical Order seems less strange, when we remember that some eremitical groups already possessed houses with convent life near the large cities [24]).

The History of the Union

After having expressed his desire for unity Pope Alexander describes the manner of bringing it about.

The Call to a chapter general

On July 15, 1255 a mandate with the rather customary beginning

[22]) Roth (1952) 123.

[23]) He was beatified in 1483 (Empoli 392).

[24]) There were non-hermits in the house of Milan (St. Augustine by name) to whom Innocent IV wrote a letter in 1253 concerning a difference of opinion

Cum quaedam [25]) was sent to all Hermits of the Orders of St. Augustine and St. Willim. Two representatives from each house, with full proxy powers, were summoned to a general chapter in Rome. The Brictinenses, the Hermits of Favali and the followers of John Bonus apparently received special invitations, though they followed one or the other of the above rules. The beginning of *Cum quaedam* is almost the same as *Praesentium vobis* [26]), which contained the call for union to the Tuscans, but the rest is somewhat different. Innocent IV had simply said : « One or two must come from each house with full mandate of prior and convent to listen to whatever we deem beneficial concerning the reformation of your way of life ». Alexander's letter also has the style of a mandate bull, but its author expresses himself more cautiously : he desires their presence « to give them some salutary regulations regarding the bond of charity and conformity with regular observance ». As in 1243 so now Cardinal Richard Annibaldi was to designate time and place. Again he selected St. Maria del Populo and required the meeting to take place in March of the following year.

The decisions of the chapter general

Richard was further appointed to preside at the general chapter and to carry out the orders which the pope had given him orally. The delegates, after showing their credentials, unanimously consented to the proposed union of their constituents. The claim of the Williamites eight years later [27]) that they had not agreed but violently opposed the union, does not necessarily give the lie to the Pope's assertion. It might only have concerned their bitter resentment of their complete submersion in the Augustinian way of life after they had consented to the inclusion of their Order in the proposed union. *Licet ecclesiae*, however, speaks only of complete harmony amongst the delegates.

between their convent and the rector of St. Babilla: *Sua nobis*, Ms. 1390, fol. 22; ROTH (1952) 245. (The habitants of the house are called Ordinis S. Aug.).

[25]) AA IV, 297; BR III, 256; *Bullarii Franciscani epitome*, ed. K. Eubel no 1310. Compare PL 125, 504.

[26]) TORELLI IV, 378; *Les Registres d'Innocent* IV no 336: 16. December 1243.

[27]) Statement made in *Ea quae judicio* of August 29, 1266: ROTH (1952), 242 note 331.

To effect the union four objectives had to be gained : a uniform way of life, a common government under one prior general, one name and a common habit.

A uniform way of life

When discussions were completed, Cardinal Richard united all houses into « one profession and regular observance forever ». The same profession and the same way of life was thus made the unifying force of the houses and individuals.

Only one point pertaining to special constitutions found its way into *Licet ecclesiae*. It treated in a clausula the request of one or several groups [28]) that « for the sake of the above said grace of the union and for the sake of conformity » they be allowed to retain that particular practice of religious POVERTY, which renounced forever all earthly possessions « juxta conceptum votum paupertatis spontaneae ». The expression is not, in our opinion, a precise technical term. True, a « libera et spontanea paupertas » is also mentioned in a letter of Cardinal-Legate Rayner to the Servites of Mary, which obliged them to relinquish all things to the Holy See under the administration of the local Ordinary, who was empowered to use the income from such holdings for the benefit of the Servites or others, as the occasion might require it [29]). Sentiment in favor of this kind of poverty was wide spread before the middle of the thirteenth century and then quickly subsided. Whether the question raised at the Chapter refers to this kind of poverty cannot be fully ascertained [30]).

[28]) Jordan of Saxony (*Vfr.* 342) writes: « Cum... quidam ex fratribus ipsis devotione paupertatis affecti desiderarent et hoc apud Sedem apostolicam procurarent, ut iuxta conceptum votum paupertatis spontaneae perpetua eis possessionum terrestrium abdicatio remaneret, super quo etiam privilegium obtentum extitit cum clausula, quod fratres non possent cogi ad recipiendas possessiones aliquas vel habendas ». See also p. 349. The clausula, however, was not taken from *Et ut fortius* (AA IV, 371) as the introduction to *Vfr.* LIII states, since the very word occurs in *Iis quae nostri*. See note 31 *infra*.

[29]) In *Deo grata* of March 23, 1256 (BR III, 633).

[30]) The Dominicans changed to a less rigorous form in 1220 (VICAIRE 136). The Carmelites followed the same path in 1247 (BR III, 535 & DDC, Carmes chaussés 1355) even the Franciscans — through the influence of St. Bonaventure — mitigated in 1260 the original severity (*Dict. théol. cathol.* Frères mineurs, 813). Though the Friars Minor give all their movable and immovable goods to the

The stipulation concerning poverty reveals a division of opinion among the assembled hermits. The poverty requested was apparently of the Franciscan kind ; the Williamites, however, had practised the classical form of poverty — joint property and personal abdication of possessions — which was usual in the *ordo monasticus* as well as in the *ordo canonicus*. To the Williamites the other position seemed exceptional and religious tradition supported their views. It was clearly impossible to arrive at a uniform conception of poverty and the union accordingly involved a compromise that left every house and every congregation to its former customary practice. Any other course might have caused the whole project of the union to fail. The wording of the bull, however, was such that it gave the stricter observance a chance to demand equal austerity from all members. The Williamites drew the necessary conclusions and obtained their release from the union.

Their departure did not stop the differences of opinion among the remaining members. Cardinal Richard was, therefore, delegated by special oral mandate of the pope to solve the doubts which had arisen. His decision is included in the bull *Iis quae nostri* on July 17, 1257 [31]). He observes that in view of local disparities and altered circumstances *Licet ecclesiae* contains things which seem not only dubious and obscure, but even quite onerous to some. He thinks it would be unfortunate if this bull promulgated for the very purpose of promoting unity and loving harmony should be the cause of division. To achieve harmony he grants permission to those who had hitherto eschewed all possessions, but could no longer survive under such conditions, to receive temporal goods from the faithful

Holy See, they are allowed to give objects of minor value to others, if the permission of the guardian is obtained (Bull. Francisc. epitome, Suppl. XI, 239 — compare the Decret. Bonifacii VIII, l. 5, t. 12, c. 3). The Rule of St. Francis says: « Fratres nihil sibi appropriant nec domum nec locum nec aliquam rem ». For the missionaries this form of poverty had been relaxed in 1226 (BR III, 417).

The current phrasing of this poverty is *paupertas voluntaria* (WALZ, *Hist. Ord. Praed.* 14, n. 1) *paupertas evangelica* (VICAIRE 136, n. 4) *in paupertate fundatus* (sc. Ordo) Boniface VIII in *Ad consequendam gloriam* of Febr. 19, 1295 (EMPOLI 40). See also VAN ESPEN, *Ius ecclesiasticum universum* (Lovanii 1753) 281 sqq., and cap. gen. of 1290: AA II, 291.

[31]) Neither the edition of this document in AA III, 29-31 nor Ms 1390 f. 31 harmonize fully with the new edition in Loye-Cenival, *Les registres d'Alexandre IV* no 1967.

without infringing on the decisions of *Licet ecclesiae*. Furthermore, those who had possessions and wish to keep them may do so, while those who wish to possess all things by possessing nothing are permitted to continue in their spontaneous poverty. This authentic interpretation undoubtedly contributed to the success of the union. Jordan of Saxony has misled most commentators to the belief that all the assembled members agreed to the abdication of property. He even claims that the contrary privileges had been extorted by brethren whom the Pope otherwise could not have made stay in the union. Cardinal Richard, however, stated that this decision in *Iis quae* expressed the mind of the General Chapter, even though nothing was said clearly about it in *Licet ecclesiae* [32]). The right to follow that form of spontaneous poverty had been asked by those already pledged to it as a special favor. It had not been clearly stipulated in the bull, however, that the use of spontaneous poverty was a privilege granted to some, rather than an obligation binding on all. This point was now clarified. It begins to look as if a certain measure of common property was to be the norm toward which both wings of the union would guardedly move. History tells us that such development did take place generally among the mendicant Orders in the latter part of the Thirteenth Century and that the Council of Trent granted the right of common property to all religious except the Capuchins and the Franciscans of the Observance [33]).

[32]) « Sed Ordo totus concorditer faciendo Constitutionem, elegit paupertatem et abdicavit possessiones »: *Vfr.* 347. « ... illa indulgentia papae videtur fuisse extorta per improbitatem sive importunitatem et dissensionem fratrum, quos alias papa non potuit ad unionem reducere » (*ib.* 348). ESTEBAN (AA IV, 442) and ROTH (1952) 241 follow Jordan's narrative. Cardinal Richard, however stated in *Iis quae* that there was a thorough discussion (alta deliberatio) about this question at the General Chapter May 1, 1257 and afterwards the Cardinal made his decision in this question as stated above, because « precipue cum tempore concessi Vobis privilegii antedicti, quamvis in ipsius tenore non existat, haec fuerit vestra intentio et talis voluntas extiterit singulorum ».

[33]) VAN ESPEN, *Ius eccl.* I, t. 20, c. V no 24-26. The Council of Trent Sess. 25 c. 3 numbered the Augustinian Hermits and Carmelites among the mendicant Orders. While the mendicancy in the first decades might be doubted by some, they cannot longer do so after 1290, when Boniface VIII modified the provision of the Council of Lyons (1274) from ' Caeterum Carmelitarum et Eremitarum St. Augustini Ordines... in suo statu manere concedimus ' to « in solido statu volumus permanere ». Since Boniface VIII places these two Orders beside the

In one point, however, everyone agreed and even the strictest groups joined in the request to be freed from carrying the staff, formerly a distinguishing feature of their life [34]) .The Pope granted it as a special favor, but personally ordered that all groups must wear the black habit from now on. As papal legate he personally had been involved in the dispute between the Franciscans and some eremitical groups, especially the Brictinenses and Johnbonites, which arose from the similarity of their clothing to that of the Franciscans [35]) ; even as Pope he had been occupied with it at several occasions [36]). He now settled it forever.

mendicant Franciscans and Dominicans, there cannot remain any doubt about their status as mendicants.

The modification of Boniface VIII was made in Rome on March 3, 1290 and given to the Hermits in the form of a bull on May 5, 1298 (EMPOLI 46). In it the Pope uses the expression that he edited the decree of the Council of Lyons « cum quibusdam mutilationibus et detractionibus » (Decr. VI, l. 3, t. 17, cap. unum, POTTHAST 24675). Van Espen, the most erudite canonist of his time, overlooking the fact that Boniface VIII made the change, speaks of the mutation and mutilation of the text of the Council during the reign of that pope.

It is strange that even modern writers commit so many errors concerning this matter, when already Jordan of Saxony cited the decretal of Boniface VIII as proof that the Hermits of St. Augustine are mendicants « tam in iure quam in facto » (*Vfr.* 345). The DDC in its article on the Carmes chaussés cites the decretal of Boniface as an approbation of that Order, but does not recognize that it also classed the Carmelites as mendicants. Nolet and Boeren in their work *Kerkelijke Instellingen* (Amsterdam 1951) 436 places the admission of the Hermits of St. Augustine to the mendicants in the year 1567, because Pius V mentions them as such in *Romanus Pontifex* of October 3 of the same year. The Franciscans are also mentioned in this document as mendicants, but no one would date their mendicant state from the 16th century!!

If one part of an Order owns possessions and the other does not, it may still be called « in paupertate fundatus » as Boniface VIII wrote in *Ad consequendam gloriam* of Febr. 19, 1295 (EMPOLI 48).

[34]) During the wars of Frederic II some hermits were regarded as enemy scouts (exploratores) when they appeared with staff and, therefore had much to suffer. For this reason they received a temporary release from their obligation of bearing it (*Ex parte tua* of September 7, 1250). For sources see *Vfr.* 453 n. 14. Emperor Frederic died on December 13, 1250, but his son-in-law Ezzelino kept Italy in unrest until his death in 1269.

[35]) See EMPOLI 128 and 16. When cardinal-bishop of Ostia he was papal legate in the Lombardy in 1253.

[36]) He did so in *Recordamur liquido* of February 22, 1256 and June 17, 1256 as well as in *Litteras nostras* of October 15, 1256 (POTTHAST 16261, 16425, 16383 and ROTH (1952) 137).

When the Williamites left the union for the sake of their own way of life as hermits according to the rule or institution of St. William, the groups remaining in the union tended to retain much of their old identity and practice. The Hermits of Tuscany and the Brictinenses were still different and to a considerable degree modeled on the constitutions and institutions of old. Uniformity was achieved gradually, the most significant single step being agreement on the Constitutions of 1290 which had been brought up-to-date by Augustinus Novellus. Jordan of Saxony opined that they were derived from the constitutions of the Hermits of Tuscany [37]) which had been confirmed by Alexander IV as late as 1254. In view of the fact that Augustinus Novellus was a member of Lecceto near Siena, Jordan's opinion is likely correct [38]).

The uniformity of Government

The assembled brethren authorized Cardinal Richard to select a prior general for the entire Order. To understand this action we have to suppose that the delegates were faced with a deadlock which they could not resolve even by referring the selection to a committee [39]). Perhaps it was feared that the group presenting the successful candidate would have too much to say concerning the observances to be required by all houses. The Williamites especially would dread the administration of a common discipline by a general from the Franciscan-minded group. Also the Chapter may have been apprehensive, lest some group such as the Williamites or Bonites might take umbrage if its candidate were rejected. The best way out of the difficulty was to leave the decision in the hands of the Papal Legate.

The Cardinal's selection fell on Friar Lanfranc of Milan, the life-time general of the Johnbonites, who had practical experience

[37]) *Vfr.* 174. These constitutions are not preceded by the text of the Rule of St. Augustine as in later editions, nor are they frequently cited except concerning poverty.

[38]) ASS, Maii IV, p. 619; Compare *Vfr.* 458 and AA VI, 120 (article by Nicolaus Concetti). The constitutions were confirmed by the bull *Cum a nobis* of February 15, 1254: EMPOLI 12 and note 25 *supra*.

[39]) Lanfranc had been elected by a committee of four at the General Chapter of the Johnbonites at Bologna in 1252 (*Admonet nos* of April 15, 1253; EMPOLI 14. BR III, 566 has falsely April 25).

in unification, because he had brought together the two separated branches of his own Order. From a tactical point of view, the resignation of the other generals — who were only temporary superiors — must have been expected to be less disruptive than the resignation of the General of the Johnbonites, who had been confirmed in office for life [40]). The Cardinal accordingly appointed and confirmed Friar Lanfranc as the first Prior General of the new Order, having obtained a special mandate from the Pope. It is to be noted that such papal confirmation was not immediately necessary in every case. In later years the Popes tolerated the custom by which the Franciscan Friars did not have to ask for the confirmation of their Minister General, while much earlier the General of the Cluniac monks had obtained the right to begin his reign without waiting for confirmation. This privilege of Cluny Pope Alexander IV had also extended to the Hermits of Tuscany in 1255 [41]).

After having detailed the Cardinal's achievements the Pope confirmed his actions with apostolic authority, supporting it and wishing to reinforce it with his protection by the bull *Licet ecclesiae*. The formula of protection calls for special comment. He placed the

[40]) « ad vitam »: Ms 1390, fol. 30 in margine of *Solet annuere* of Juli 17, 1255.

[41]) *Solet annuere* of July 17, 1255 (EMPOLI 14). After Lanfranc was elected Prior General of the Johnbonites (note 39 *supra*) representatives were sent to Rome to obtain his confirmation. All his successors were bound in *Admonet nos* to obtain a like confirmation. The Clares had the same statute (BR III, 718).

The General of the Franciscans could rule without any restrictions from the moment of his election, because he was confirmed *ipso facto*. This usage was made law in 1265 (BR III, 735). The Cistercians received the same privilege in the same year. The Dominicans also enjoyed this advantage (VICAIRE 133 sqq). The united Hermits could have made use of the privilege of the Tuscans whose newly elected General was confirmed *ipso facto*. This would have been possible because *Oblata nobis* of April 20, 1257 extended all privileges of individual houses or congregations to the entire Order (EMPOLI 25). But this surmise seems less probable in view of the records still available, which show that Francis of Reggio, the fourth prior general, was confirmed by Gregory X (GUIRAUD, *Les registres de Grégoire X* no 1067) and so was Clement of Osimo, the third prior general, after his second election in 1284 by Martin IV (OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Les registres de Martin IV* no 513).

Clement V granted the privilege that a newly elected prior general of the Augustinian Hermits was confirmed *ipso facto*, but would have to report to the Holy See within a year (*In ordine vestro* of June 18, 1309: AA III, 103). This restriction was abolished by Sixtus IV in 1474 (AA III, 104 n. 1).

persons and houses under the protection of Saints Peter and Paul and himself. It is interesting that the persons and houses are mentioned rather than the order (corporation). The concept of corporation as a legal person capable of entering into the relationship of master and subject would seem to be as yet not completely developed. Also unusual is the expression « beatorum Petri et Pauli et nostra », for the accustomed reference is to Peter alone. This protection of old corresponds in our days to the elevation of a congregation from diocesan to papal law [42]).

The protection of the Holy See in *Religiosam vitam* transformed the religious group to which it was directed into a religious institution with papal approbation and confirmation. The different precepts which the new institution received on this occasion placed it in a permanent and classic framework. The use of the longer formula in *Licet ecclesiae* suggests an anticipatory favor of immediate protection ; it could not be equal to that granted years later in *Religiosam vitam* [43]). One reason might be that it was yet necessary for the General to make a uniform profession and observance prevail, even among houses that had not sent representatives, although they had been notified. Stability and pacific possession had not yet been achieved.

The full executive power of the prior general could not become effective during the lifetime of Cardinal Richard. Innocent IV had already appointed him corrector and provisor of the Hermits of Tuscany and had entrusted their care and administration to him. In 1257 Alexander IV made him Cardinal Protector of the Order of Hermits, giving him powers equal to those of the Cardinal Protector of the Franciscans, who was set above the Minister General, the Provincials and all of the Franciscan friars, and possessed the

[42]) *Codex Juris Canonici* can. 488 n. 3 St. Francis was the first founder to ask Rome for approbation. The Augustinians received their full exemption from Boniface VIII in *Sacer Ordo vester* of January 21, 1298 (EMPOLI 44). This bull could be found in almost every important archives of the Order; one authentic copy is also at the Public Record Office of Maestricht.

[43]) Most authentic copies in former Augustinian archives are only versions of *Religiosam vitam* given to the Johnbonites on September 7, 1254 (EMPOLI 335). It was sufficient on the basis of the privilege mentioned in note 41 *supra*. This exemption protected the houses against undesirable intervention on the part of local authorities. Decr. Gregorii X, l. 2, t. 28, c. 18 or PL 215, 498.

greatest power and supreme authority after the pope [44]). Richard used his powers sometimes against the wishes of the entire Order and his autocratic ways seem to have brought about the resignation of Blessed Clement of Osimo, the third prior general. Notwithstanding this, his protectorate was in general a tremendous boon to the Order. In the next two centuries, however, the power of the cardinal protectors in the various Orders was considerably curtailed, in the end being confined to matters concerning the Order as a whole.

The hand of the prior general was, nevertheless, greatly strengthened in *Licet ecclesiae*, when the pope forbade all appeals [45]) against his decisions in bringing about the union of the reluctant and laggard houses and when he commanded that all must obey with filial love their Prior General, whom « divine ordination » had placed over them. This term « by divine ordination » is seldom used ; it must not be construed, however, as referring directly to the supernatural vision which supposedly suggested the union to the Pope.

The date of « Licet Ecclesiae »

Several authors have already described the discrepancy between the date mentioned in the bull and that given in the papal registers. The original charter, which is still preserved in the Roman archives of the Prior General, gives the date of promulgation 5 Idibus Aprilis, that is April Ninth ; the papal register on the other hand gives quarto Nonas Maii, the Fourth of May. Since our interest in the problem thus raised is with a view to consequences, it is proper

[44]) EMPOLI 164, 23. See ROTH (1954) 24, 33; D. BOUIX, *Tractatus de iure regularium* (Parisiis 1857) II, 161 sqq.

[45]) From the time of Alexander III privileges were sought and obtained which would prevent subjects from appealing the decisions of their superiors to the Apostolic See (or the local bishops): Decr. Gregorii IX l. 2, t. 27, c. 3. The last will of St. Francis prohibited his brethren from approaching the Holy See individually, nevertheless they asked in 1230 for an explanation of the Rule: BR III, 449.

In order to check direct appeals the Orders instituted the office of the procurator general. In the Augustinian Order we see it in existence already in 1261. He had to transact all business with the Holy See (EMPOLI 392). The Constitutions of 1290 chap. LII (ed. Veneta 1508) outline for the first time his duties. See also AA II, 35 sqq.

for us to ask which of the two documents is legal evidence for the contents and date of promulgation.

So far as the Holy See and other authorities were concerned the addressee of a letter had no document at his disposal but the letter itself. The registers of the Pope begun under Innocent III were simply not public property. A genuine bull gives unimpeachable evidence.

A letter of Innocent III inserted in his Decretals [46]) details indications of authenticity or forgery in terms of style, chirography and the lead or gold of the bulla [47]). The bulla or seal, of course, clasps the two ends of a piece of thread passed through cuts in the parchment. Innocent IV found one bull a forgery because one end of the thread was but lightly attached at a part of the seal that was somewhat puffed up. The seal was genuine but it had been taken from another letter [48]). Innocent III mentions a case in which forgery was proved from stylistic considerations [49]). Such care to detect forgeries shows the impressive evidential weight attributed to authentic bulls. In case of falsification, however, the papal register was not consulted. Not a single case of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cites contrary evidence from the register, although (what is quite another matter) the Pope does occasionally refer to the register to replace a lost bull and thus enables the addressee to defend his rights. We are, then, fully justified in following the genuine bull that is kept in the archives of the Order. It is to be noted that the date is in the same hand and style as the rest of the bull.

It does sometimes occur that the Pope quotes the register in making provisions concerning matters connected with preceding bulls. We refer, for instance, to the beginning of a letter from Alexander IV to the Hermits of St. Augustine :

Litteras quasdam felicis recordationis Innocentii Papae Quarti praedecessoris nostri, vobis dudum concessas in regesto ipsius reperimus, quarum tenorem sumptum ex eodem regesto fideliter vestris inclinati precibus duximus praesentibus ad rei memoriam inseren-

[46]) See *Decr. Gregorii IX*, l. 5, t. 20, c. 6 *de crimine falsi*.

[47]) A letter with gold seal is for instance that of Innocent III to the King of the Bulgarians (PL 215, 291). See Du Cange and DDC under « Bulla ».

[48]) PL 214, 322.

[49]) PL 214, 919. The words *filius* and *vester* were applied to the bishop of Antivari (Bar in Jugoslavia); but the Pope addresses a bishop as *Frater venerabilis* and he never uses the plural form in addressing a single person.

dum, volentes ex hoc ius, quod per easdem litteras vobis competit, conservari. Tenor autem ipse talis est... [50]).

The succeeding text repeats Innocent's letter as it is found in the register. Since Alexander is not founding a right but conserving it, the right became effective with the date of Innocent's letter, not with its re-statement by Alexander IV.

It was and is the law that a right begins with the date given in a papal letter, which is the reply to a query [51]). In *Litteras quasdam* the date, which Alexander IV gives, is valid simply because he gives it in this official writing, not because it appears in the register. We conclude, therefore, that the date of *Licet ecclesiae* given in the papal register has no juridical significance ; the bull alone exists, juridically speaking, if its authenticity has been proved.

Conclusion

Licet ecclesiae had but one purpose : to congregate divers groups of Hermits into one Order. In this it succeeded better than could be anticipated and if the non-Augustinian groups had been left out nothing would have disrupted the harmony.

The bull carefully avoided everything which might have provoked bitter feelings ; none of the manifold difficulties which each group had been undergoing and which were a principal reason for uniting them is mentioned, not even the quarrel with the Franciscans over the habit and collection of alms. Every expression is chosen with much care, so no one would take offense and feel that another group had gained the upper hand. It did not deal with problems like constitutions and organization which must have been discussed at the first General Chapter. Most of all, it keeps silent on the required transfer into the cities, which is emphasized so much by Henry of Friemar and Jordan of Saxony. Here, as in the first sentence of the Rule, composed by St. Augustine eight and a half centuries before, the central theme is unity — to have one heart and soul in God.

[50]) Empoli 12: *Litteras quasdam* (v. note 36).

[51]) The text is inserted in the Decretals of Gregory IX, l. 1, t. 3, c. 7 (Vide *Codex Juris Canonici* 38). Compare the Decretals of Boniface VIII, l. 3, t. 4, c. 7. A right given through an executor is something different; vide *Codex Juris Canonici* 38.

The Order was not united by negotiation among the component groups nor even through the inspiration of a saint ; rather it was established by the Catholic Church herself. In Jordan's solemn words [52]) :

« What, therefore, Holy Mother Church herself founded, I regard as more authentic than if it had been done by a saint. For there cannot be a doubt that she is directed by the Holy Spirit and what she demands and institutes, is accomplished by the guidance of the Holy Spirit ».

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[52]) *Vfr.* 69. Vide also KNOWLES I, 200; II, 148.

Henry of Friemar's « Treatise on the origin and development of the Order of the Hermit Friars and its true and real title »

A. — Introduction [1]

Henry of Friemar the Elder (ca. 1245-1340) [2] rightly deserves a place in this centenary publication, for he was the first Augustinian Friar to write an outline of the origin and development of his

[1]) In addition to the conventional sigla, abridged references will be used for the following publications: *AA* = *Analecta Augustiniana*, Romae 1905—; Empoli = *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Romae 1628; *GW* = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig 1925—; Roth, *Augustiniana* = F. Roth, « Cardinal Richard Annibaldi: First Protector of the Augustinian Order », *Augustiniana* 2 (1952) 26-60; 108-149; 230-247; 3 (1953) 21-34; 283-313; 4 (1954) 5-24; Torelli = L. Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, 8 vols., Bologna 1659-1686; *Vfr.* = *Jordani de Saxonia Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Liber Vitasfratrum*, ed. R. Arbesmann et W. Hümpfner, New York, 1943. In quoting Henry of Friemar's text we will simply refer to Friemar and give the chapter and lines according to our edition.

[2]) Concerning Henry of Friemar the Elder's life and career, see R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Detmold 1879, pp. 414 ff.; W. Füsslein, *Zeitschrift für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, N. F. 17 (1907) 391-416; W. Hümpfner, *ibid.* 22 (1914) 49-64; M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit*, Freiburg i. B. 1933, pp. 107; 311; P. Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 21, Paris 1935) p. 130 f.; W. Stammler, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 2 (Berlin and Leipzig 1936) col. 265 ff.; *LThK* 4. 922. Concerning Henry's literary activity, see especially C. Stroick, *Heinrich von Friemar*, Freiburg i. B. 1954, whose study gives a coherent picture of our author's life, literary production and position in the philosophical-theological movements of his time.

Order after the latter's establishment in its modern form in the year 1256. It was in this year that several congregations of hermits all of whom, save the Williamites, had already previously followed, or accepted, the Rule of St. Augustine, were incorporated into the one Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine [3]).

The title given to Henry's short treatise in the MSS [4]) is not uniform, though the variances can hardly be called essential. In cod. Verodunensis 41 (saec. XIV) f. 144^{r}, it reads *Tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum et vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem*. Cod. Vat. Reg. 565 (a. 1354) f. 29^{r} and cod. Vindobon. 1651 (saec. XIV) f. 1^{r} carry the same title with the exception that they have *nostri ordinis* and *nostri ordinis scilicet fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini* respectively for *ordinis fratrum heremitarum*. In cod. lat. Monacensis 2956 (saec. XIV) f. 167^{v}, the title is contracted into *Tractatus de origine et progressu atque proprio titulo ordinis scilicet fratrum heremitarum s. Augustini*, while in MS 501 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (saec. XV) f. 1^{r}, it simply reads *Tractatus de origine ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini*, the part referring to the Order's development and name being omitted. Thus the title, as it is found in our four earliest MSS, contains the three essential topics discussed in the treatise, to wit, the origin (*origo*) of the Order, its development (*progressus*), and its particular name (*verus ac proprius titulus*). That Henry considered the last of these three topics important for the treatment of his subject as a whole, may be gathered from the following considerations. He gives a detailed and emphatic discussion of the name *Ordo Eremitarum S. Augustini* [5]). Moreover, he makes this very name the point of departure for his entire treatise [6]). Finally, he

[3]) For the congregations included in the Great Union of 1256, see now especially ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 108-149; for the Union itself, ROTH, *ibid.* 230-247; 3. 21-27.

[4]) In MS 763 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris (saec. XV) f. 34^{r}, the treatise carries no title whatsoever but begins with the very first words of the text (« Quia nonnulli... »). Nor can there be found any title at the conclusion which reads (f. 40^{r}): « Iste tractatus est completus per venerabilem doctorem magistrum Henricum de Alamania... anno domini M°CCC°XXXIIII ».

[5]) FRIEMAR 3. 35-80.

[6]) *Ibid.* 1. 1-8: « Quia nonnulli... possent dubitare, ex qua ratione fratres nostrae religionis prae ceteris religiosis suam regulam profitentibus fratres ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini specialiter dicerentur: ideo praedicta veritas... potest via triplici declarari ».

derives this name from the tradition which by his time had grown up in the Order, namely, that it was eremitical monachism that St. Augustine first accepted in Italy and then transplanted into Africa [7]).

The treatise itself can be divided into two major parts [8]). In the first (chapters 1-4), the author attempts to demonstrate why the Augustinian Hermits rightfully are called by this name and trace their origin back to St. Augustine. These claims are based.

1. On the history of St. Augustine's conversion (chapter 1).

Though St. Augustine's conversion was first of all due to divine inspiration and to the teaching of St. Ambrose, a supplementary role in this conversion was played by St. Simplicianus. The Augustinian tradition of Henry's time made him a hermit, who, together with a number of companions, lived a solitary life outside the city of Milan in imitation of St. Antony and the Desert Fathers. According to this tradition, St. Augustine associated with St. Simplicianus, imitating the latter's strict, solitary life. As to proofs for his statements, Henry refers in a general way to Books Eight and Nine of St. Augustine's *Confessions* and to the biography of St. Augustine by the latter's friend and pupil, St. Possidius.

2. On St. Augustine's mode of life after his conversion (chapter 2).

After his baptism St. Augustine stayed with St. Simplicianus and his Milanese hermits for a year. After his mother's death in Ostia, he and his friends Nebridius and Evodius retired into the secluded regions of Tuscany where they found many like-minded companions. To these St. Augustine gave a monastic Rule — the Augustinian Rule. The place where he established himself was the hermitage of Centumcellae, which is considered to have been the first house of the Augustinian Order. There he lived a hermit's life for two more years. As to sources for this phase in St. Augustine's life, Henry refers mainly to « old unabridged legends ». Moreover, Henry works up a chronology from the *Confessions* and the bio-

[7]) This thought is in the foreground of Henry's argumentation throughout the first three chapters.

[8]) We have divided the whole tract into six chapters. The division of the first three chapters is given by Henry himself in the brief *exordium* of the treatise. The division of the last three chapters each of which Henry has prefaced by an introductory sentence is based on the subject matter treated in them.

graphy by Possidius, that enables him to account for the two years' sojourn of St. Augustine with the Tuscan hermits. Finally, St. Augustine returned to his native country and transplanted the same mode of monastic life to Africa, gathering companions, founding monasteries, and giving them the Rule he had put to test in Italy.

3. On a number of explicit testimonies and « facts » (chapter 3).

The testimonies are the following: *a*) The pseudo-Ambrosian *sermo de baptismo et conversione S. Augustini*, in which St. Augustine, at his baptism, is described as putting on a black cowl and leathern cincture. *b*) The spurious *sermo de passione* in which St. Augustine calls himself a hermit and gives a picture of eremitical life from his own experience. *c*) A number of passages from the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, which show that the Church gave this name to the Augustinian Hermits alone. *d*) The custom of the Roman Curia whose members annually celebrate the feast of St. Augustine in the place of the Augustinian Hermit Friars, demonstrating by this gesture that they consider the latter to be the true sons of Augustine.

To these testimonies Henry adds the following « facts »: *a*) St. Augustine appeared to Alexander IV in a vision, having a large head but very small body. The pope interpreted this as a command by St. Augustine to unite all hermits under his spiritual leadership. *b*) Even after his episcopal ordination, St. Augustine continued to direct the monasteries of his hermits and retired from time to time to the hermitage he had constructed outside of Hippo to devote himself to prayer, meditation and the study of Holy Scripture ; witness the letters he wrote from there and the work *De opere monachorum*. *c*) In view of this historical continuity, John XXII entrusted to the united and reorganized Augustinian Hermits as the true spiritual descendants of St. Augustine the custody of the saint's body in Pavia.

These three chapters are followed by a fourth in which Henry gives a synopsis of the arguments he has presented so far, and then draws the conclusion that St. Augustine is the real founder and spiritual father of the Augustinian Hermits, though their origin ultimately goes back to the Desert Fathers. As a result, their institution is older than the Franciscan and Dominican Orders.

This claim raises the question concerning the history of the Augustinian Hermits after the death of St. Augustine and leads the author to the second major part of his tract in which he gives:

1. A list of the Superiors General of the Order before and after the Union of 1256 (chapter 5).

Henry deplores the attitude of the brethren who, living in secluded places far from the course of historical events, maintained an age-long reserve of silence regarding their institute, their lives and their work, and never wrote about themselves. « From writings of the past » (*ex scriptis antiquitatis*) and « reports given by early fathers » (*relatione antiquorum patrum*) he is able to give the names of only four men whose tenure of office as « Priors General » fell into the period immediately preceding the Great Union (ca. 1190-1256). The situation changes when he comes to his own time. Here he presents concise, yet, in part, extremely illuminating, biographical sketches of the Superios General of the Order from 1256 to 1334.

2. A catalogue of brethren who distinguished themselves by their saintly life (chapter 6).

The MSS unanimously assign the tract to the year 1334 [9]). There is no reason for doubting the exactness of the date. Only a few years before, the Augustinian Hermits had become custodians of the tomb of their founder in the basilica of St. Peter in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia. In 1327, on the petition of William of Cremona, then Prior General of the Order, Pope John XXII had granted them the privilege of establishing a monastery annexed to the basilica, which would be large enough to house at least twenty-five to thirty friars, and of celebrating the Divine Offices in the church in common with the Augustinian Canons who were, up to that time, the exclusive custodians of the saint's relics [10]). After negotiations with the Canons had dragged on for some time, the Hermits were finally able to acquire some buildings from the Canons and other private owners and take possession of their new home and task in 1331 [11]). Their claim to the custody of St. Augustine's tomb certainly needed historical foundation and found its first literary expression in Henry's treatise, written in 1334.

While the important event in the history of the Order, which

[9]) See the description of the MSS *infra*, pp. 82-85; 87.

[10]) « Veneranda sanctorum patrum », Joh. XXII, Jan. 20, 1327: EMPOLI 195-202; TORELLI 5. 419-424; R. MAIOCCHI and N. CASACCA, *Codex diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Papiae* 1 (Papiae 1905) 13-19.

[11]) For documentary evidence see *ibid.* 1. 19-58.

we have just described, may have been the immediate occasion for the composition of this brief historical outline, the ultimate cause that impelled Henry to write his treatise lay much deeper. After its reorganization, due especially to the untiring and clear-sighted efforts of its first Cardinal Protector, Richard Annibaldi, the Order had experienced a rapid growth that was beyond all expectation. Provinces of the Order had been established in all parts of Europe. Its members were active in every enterprise of the Church, distinguishing themselves by their zeal in the care of souls and a strict mode of life; and it was not long before men of learning became also numerous in the Order. Experiences such as these necessarily aroused the desire for a written history. Henry had been a witness to the tremendous growth of his Order in number and influence during his own lifetime [12]). As the last provincial to rule the Order in all of Germany, he himself had promoted vigorously and successfully its spread in his native country, so that at the end of his period as provincial superior in 1299 the number of houses under his jurisdiction had increased to eighty and a division of the old German province into four had become necessary. Nor was Henry unfamiliar with the problems that had confronted the Order as a whole after the Great Union of 1256. Having taken part in the Chapter General of Regensburg in 1290 and that of Naples in 1300, he knew about the inner difficulties that had arisen from the transformation of rather loosely organized groups into a strictly unified Order under one central direction. That by this time Henry was held in high esteem within the Order is evident from the fact that he was sent to Paris where he earned the title of *Magister Parisiensis* and taught on that seat of learning for a number of years. It was probably in his capacity of teacher of the University that he took part in the council of Vienne (Oct. 1311-Mai 1312). After his return to his native country where the monastery of Erfurt became his permanent abode, he was entrusted by the Order with a number of important tasks. In 1315 the General Alexander of S. Elpidio appointed him as his *vicarius* to a commission determining the payments several Augustinian monasteries in Bavaria had to make to the city of Regensburg. The Chapter General of Rimini in 1318 nominated him examiner of all candidates for

[12]) In the following description of Henry's career, activity and position in the Order, we are following Hümpfner and Stroick (n. 2 *supra*) who give the primary sources on which their findings are based.

the Lectorate in the German provinces of the Order. Again, he was *vicarius* of the Prior General at the Chapters of his home province (the Saxon-Thuringian province) in Himmelspforten in 1320 and Münnerstadt in 1323. Well on in years, he took part in the Chapter General of Paris in 1329, that charged the Prior General with conducting negotiations with the Canons Regular of St. Peter's in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia for the erection of a monastery annexed to that basilica [13]).

A man of such qualities as Henry whose love for his Order was firmly rooted in genuine piety must have recognized that an inquiry into the earlier history of the Order would not only fulfill an historical function, but that a quest for certitude about the beginnings and unfoldings of the Order's history would give at the same time spiritual nourishment to its members who strove for a vital consciousness of unity and historical continuity. Henry's clear understanding of this problem also explains the twofold character of his treatise. Its main theme is historical. It deals with the question of the foundation of the Order directly by St. Augustine and its continued existence until the Great Union of 1256. This is followed by the Order's most recent history covering the years from 1256 to the momentous event that made the Augustinian Hermits custodians of their founder's tomb in Pavia.

Into this purely historical theme, however, Henry has worked a second one which is of a definitely ascetical character. In describing, for instance (2. 10-48), the Augustinian habit, he gives a detailed explanation of the symbolic meaning of each of its characteristic features: the distinctive black color, the crosslike cut of the tunic, the shield-shaped form of the cowl, and the leathern cincture. Or, in expounding the excellency of eremitical life (4. 34-78), he warns of the dangers those will incur who enter this state rashly and without preparation, and points out the great happiness obtained by those who have courageously followed the call of God after a careful and solid training in spiritual matters. Again, throughout Chapter Five he stresses the exemplary and saintly life of the men who directed the Order after the Great Union, some of whom he knew personally. After relating a certain incident during the Chapter General of Naples in 1300, he adds that he made this digression

[13]) Cf. MAIOCCHI and CASACCA, *Cod. diplom.* 1. 34-36; *Definitiones Capitulorum Generalium*, AA 4. 81, n. 4.

purposely in order to offer to present and future generations of brethren edifying examples that should spur them to greater perseverance in the professed way of perfection:

I decided to relate the foregoing incident in order that present and future generations of brethren may gather examples for edification from it, seeing with what great authority our early fathers, out of zeal for the Order, reprimanded brethren of however high standing, and with what great humility and patience outstanding men of the Order, destined to become soon pillars of the Church, willingly bore such reprimands even if they had been given less justly. In this case I do not regret having made a kind of digression from my subject for the sake of offering an example for edification (5. 138-146).

The brief catalogue of brethren who died in the odor of sanctity (chapter 6) serves, according to Henry's own statement [14]), the same purpose, namely, « the edification of the brethren » (*pro aedificatione fratrum*). The ascetical purpose of the treatise is also stressed in its closing words [15]):

The brethren, collectively and individually, who reflect with an earnest mind upon all the foregoing arguments, find in them the reason why they should serve God Himself and our glorious Father Augustine more fervently at all times without blemish and with all the ardor of charity and sincerity of heart.

It was then with a great love for his Order and an unusual practical knowledge of its most recent history that, in the closing years of his life, Henry undertook a task that ranks high in the scholastic pursuits of a religious Order. In order to arrive at an objective and balanced estimate of his work, we must distinguish between those sections of his treatise in which he deals with the foundation of the Order by St. Augustine and its history from St. Augustine's death to the beginning of its gradual organization, and those in which he gives a survey of its most recent history, explains its name and special tasks in the Church, discusses ascetical questions, and tells of the exemplary life of some of the brethren and of his own experience as a member of the Order.

In the former sections the author attempts to demonstrate that the kind of monastic life St. Augustine conceived first in Milan,

[14]) FRIEMAR 6. 3.
[15]) *Ibid.* 6. 93-98.

then put to practical test in Tuscany, and finally transplanted to Africa, was eremitical, and that there existed a direct link between these early monastic foundations of the great Doctor of the Church and the various groups of hermits whom the popes of the thirteenth century had gradually united under the Augustinian Rule. The failure of Henry to find a satisfactory solution of this question must first of all be laid to the fact that he wrestled with a problem which even nowadays eludes the firm grasp of scholars who master the historico-critical discipline and have access to all modern aids. Though it is now generally agreed that St. Augustine originated a mode of monastic life which was as personally his own as that of any other founder of a religious Order, and that his Rule not only conquered North Africa but was introduced also into Europe, the story of the survival of Augustinian monachism is still shrouded in obscurity. Moreover, in view of the manner of historical writing in our author's own time, and especially its uncritical attitude towards source material, it can hardly surprise anyone familiar with that period that Henry was unable to free himself from the spell of a tradition that by his day had taken firm roots in the Order, that he did not recognize the spurious character of a number of his sources, and that he read evidence into good sources, which was not there.

The tradition just mentioned had embroidered the life of St. Augustine with three stories. Each of them is complete in itself. We shall discuss them on the basis of Henrys' text.

The first story tells of the role which St. Simplicianus, a priest of Milan and the successor of St. Ambrose in the episcopal see of that city, played in St. Augustine's conversion to the Catholic faith and ideal of Christian monasticism. This old and experienced priest, the legend goes,

> had lived from his youth in great devotion to God, imitating Paul the first Hermit and St. Antony. He had done this first in Rome and then, coming to Milan, devoted himself, in company with many associates, to a solitary and eremitical life [16]).

Here we note for the first time a fanciful interpretation and enlargement of a statement in the original source, which simply reads: « ... he [Simplicianus] had lived from his youth in great

[16]) *Ibid.* l. 15-19.

devotion to Thee [God] » [17]). It was apparently the expression *deo devotissime vivere* and the epithet *servus dei*, both referring to Simplicianus in the same context, that gave birth to this legend. However this may be, in the original source no mention is made of St. Simplicianus shaping his life in imitation of the Desert Fathers. Moreover, historical sources fail to reveal that he was at the head of a large community of hermits. This part of the story seems to have sprung from two passages in St. Augustine's works. The first occurs in the *Confessions* [18]) where he tells us that « there was a monastery at Milan, outside the city walls, filled with good brethren under the patronage of Ambrose » ; the second is found in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* [19]) where St. Augustine, commenting on the Milanese monastery, says: « At Milan I saw a monastery of saintly men, not a few in number, that was under the direction of a priest, a very pious and learned man ». The characterization of this religious superior as *presbyter* and *vir optimus et doctissimus* fitted the personality of Simplicianus only too well. Thus a further foundation of the legend was laid: Simplicianus was made not only a hermit but also the head of a large Milanese community of lay hermits.

The legend continues [20]):

> Augustine went to him [Simplicianus] and told him the winding course of his errors. An then St. Simplicianus held before him the holy lives of St. Antony and other Fathers who rejoicingly had left the world for the sake of Christ, and especially the example of the great rhetorician Victorinus who, at Easter, to the amazement of Rome and the joy of the Church had professed publicly the Catholic faith before all the people. After hearing this account, the heart of St. Augustine was kindled with a great desire to embrace the Catholic faith, as he himself bears witness in the eighth book of the *Confessions*.

This part of the story follows the source quoted by Henry [21]) in the following points: Augustine goes to Simplicianus for further advice and tells him about his troubled youth and his recent study of Neoplatonic works translated by Victorinus ; thereupon Simpli-

[17]) Augustinus, *Confessiones* 8. 1. 1 (ed. P. Knöll, CSEL 33. 169).
[18]) *Ibid.* 8. 6. 15 (182 Knöll).
[19]) 1. 33. 70 (PL 32. 1339 f.).
[20]) Friemar 1. 19-27.
[21]) Aug., *Conf.* 8. 2. 3-5. 10 (171-177 Knöll).

cianus tells him the story of Victorinus' conversion ; this in turn arouses in Augustine the desire to imitate the example of the renowned rhetorician. On the other hand, nothing is said in the original source about Simplicianus holding before Augustine the lives of St. Antony and other Desert Fathers. Evidently details of two different events, both recounted by St. Augustine in the *Confessions*, have here been molded into one scene, namely, the conversation in the course of which Simplicianus gives Augustine a description of the conversion of Victorinus, and the visit of Ponticianus who tells Augustine about the happy life of St. Antony and other fellow hermits. The purpose of crediting Simplicianus rather than Ponticianus with suggesting to Augustine the *exempla* of St. Antony and other hermits is obvious. This detail is especially apt to explain the Order's full title « ordo *eremitarum* sancti Augustini ». Simplicianus who is described as having shaped his own life in imitation of St. Antony, suggested the same ideal of eremitical life to Augustine who in turn founded an Order of hermits of his own, which was called after him. This agrees with Henry's later statement (4. 111-116) [22]) that the earliest beginnings of the *ordo eremitarum* can be traced back to Paul the first Hermit, i. e., to about 250 A. D., and that the same Order, after receiving a Rule from St. Augustine, was called *ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini*. A similar chronology is offered by an anonymous Augustinian Friar in a short note in a fifteenth-century MS of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence [23]). The note, entitled *Unde ordo heremitarum beati Augustini initium habuerit*, reads (f. 62^{v}):

Si principium ordinis fratrum heremitarum beati Augustini accipiatur ut incepit a beato Paulo et Antonio, fuit circa annos domini CCXXV (*sic*). Si vero accipiatur ut incepit a beato Augustino, circa annos CCCXLIII (*sic*).

What follows next in Henry's text [24]) is again typical of the way in which the legend took form. It reads:

For he [Augustine] carried the words of Simplicianus and the examples of the servants of God in his bowels like sharp arrows, as it is evident from the same place [in the *Confessions*].

[22]) Cf. also FRIEMAR 1. 54 f.; 61-66; 4, 34 f.; 80 f.
[23]) Cod. Plut. 90 sup. 48 (written shortly before June 12, 1470; cf. f. 63^{r}).
[24]) FRIEMAR 1. 27-29.

But what we find in the *Confessions* [25]) is quite different. St. Augustine quotes Ps. 119.4 and then continues: « Thou [God] hadst pierced our heart with the arrow of Thy charity, and we carried Thy words transfixing our bowels. The examples of Thy servants, ... gathered in the bosom of our thought, burned and consumed our heavy lassitude... ». It is then the words of God St. Augustine is referring to, not those of Simplicianus.

The account given of Ponticianus' visit with his countryman Augustine, and of the well-known scene in the garden, which follows next in Henry's text [26]), is in agreement with the report in the *Confessions* [27]) except that, on that very occasion, Ponticianus did not arrive from Africa for the sole purpose of paying a visit to Augustine, but being a government official, stationed at the imperial court in Milan, just came for a friendly visit. As a matter of fact, St. Augustine comments himself on this visit: « I do not know what he [Ponticianus] desired of us. We sat down together to have a talk » [28]).

We know from St. Augustine's own account in the *Confessions* [29]) that after his decision to become a baptized Christian, he availed himself of the generous offer of his friend and colleague Verecundus to retire to the latter's quiet farm Cassiciacum to the north of Milan to study and prepare himself for baptism. Again, the legend gives us a different and most fanciful version of this episode. The country place (*rus*) to which Augustine retires is not the *rus Cassiciacum* of Verecundus but the hermitage of St. Simplicianus and his monks outside the city of Milan [30]). As to the source for this statement, Henry refers in a general way to Books Eight and Nine of the *Confessions* and in particular to the *Vita beati Augustini* by Possidius in which he found allegedly the following passage: « To have a place suitable to his resolution, he [Augustine] left the noise of the city and went to a country place where, in company with friends who burned with the same desire, he devoted himself to the reading of Holy Scripture ». Then follows immediately Henry's comment on this passage:

[25]) 9. 2. 3 (198 Knöll).
[26]) FRIEMAR 1. 29-35.
[27]) Cf. 8. 6. 14 f.; 8. 19 (181-183; 185 f. Knöll).
[28]) *Ibid.*, 8. 6. 14 (181 Knöll).
[29]) Cf. especially 9. 3. 5; 4. 7 and 8 (200; 201; 202 Knöll).
[30]) FRIEMAR 1. 36-49.

By country place (*rus*) is here fitly understood that solitary place outside the city of Milan where he lived together with St. Simplicianus and the latter's companions, devoting himself to the study of Holy Scripture and prayer.

The fact that the quotation, Henry says to have taken from Possidius' *Life of St. Augustine*, cannot be found in that work, and the whole manner in which Henry quotes allegedly genuine source material referring to St. Augustine's life, seem to warrant the conclusion that he collected the material for these portions of his treatise from secondary sources, very probably those *antiquae legendae non abbreviatae* to which he refers in the second chapter of his treatise [31]). In these « old unabridged legends » to which we shall return later in our discussion, he also most probably found those fanciful interpretations some samples of which we have already seen.

The story reaches its climax in the account of St. Augustine's baptism. There we find not only the well-known legend according to which the hymn *Te deum laudamus* was spontaneously composed and sung alternately by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine [32]), but also the description of another colorful scene which keeps in line with the main theme of the story, namely, St. Augustine's reception, after his baptism, of the monastic habit of a hermit [33]). The source which Henry quotes is a passage from the pseudo-Ambrosian *Sermon on the Baptism and Conversion of St. Augustine*: « We clothed the new Christian in new garments — a black cowl — and we ourselves did gird him with a leathern cincture which our brother Simplicianus donated with exceeding joy » [34]).

With the statement that, after the investiture, St. Augustine stayed for about another year wih St. Simplicianus and his hermits in Milan [35]), the first story comes to an end. The account St. Augus-

[31]) *Ibid.* 2. 87.

[32]) *Ibid.* 1. 50-52.

[33]) *Ibid.* 2. 5-9.

[34]) We quote the text of the sermon according to MS 501 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, f. 9r. In the MS the sermon follows immediately the treatise of Henry.

[35]) FRJEMAR 2. 1-4. Though the time of St. Augustine's departure from Milan is not definitely known, he cannot have stayed that long after his baptism on Easter 387, since his mother died at Ostia shortly before November 13 of the same year. Cf. N. CONCETTI, *S. Augustini Vita*, Tolentini 1929, p. 80 f.

tine himself gives of the role played by St. Simplicianus in his conversion, of his decision to follow the ideal of Christian monasticism, and of his retreat at Cassiciacum, has been changed into a picturesque legend in which we are told that St. Augustine, deeply impressed by his conversation with St. Simplicianus, joined, still a catechumen, a community of lay hermits under the direction of Simplicianus outside of Milan, that after his baptism he received the monastic habit of a hermit from the hands of St. Ambrose who, in this solemn ceremony, is assisted by Simplicianus, and that he lived for about a year in the Milanese hermitage.

The second story refers to the time from St. Monnica's death at Ostia to Augustine's final departure for Africa. We follow again Henry's text [36]):

Thereafter, his saintly mother urged him to return with her to Africa that she might thus find her last rest in the same tomb with her husband. Complying with her request, Augustine departed in the company of Nebridius and Evodius and came as far as Tuscany where his mother died at Ostia on the Tiber. Thereafter he looked with his companions for some suitable place to serve God, as he bears witness in the ninth book of the *Confessions* [37]) where he says: ' Joined by Nebridius and Evodius, I wept during the singing of Thy hymns, having tried so long a time to catch a breath of Thee, and now, finally being able to breathe Thee in, to the extent that breath can find space in a house of grass (*in domo faenea*) '. It is reasonable to assume that ' house of grass ' has here the meaning ' hermitage '. And he adds [38]): ' We were together, intending to live together in holy agreement. We looked for some place which would offer us the opportunity to serve Thee together in a more useful way '.

While Henry's use of the second of these passages from the *Confessions* is correct, in so far as it proves that St. Augustine and his companions had decided by then to spend the rest of their lives in monastic retirement [39]), his interpretation of the first passage shows again how, under the spell of a tradition, the true meaning of a text could be distorted. Apart from the fact that the words « Joined by Nebridius and Evodius » cannot be found in the original

[36]) FRIEMAR 2. 68-80.

[37]) 9. 7. 16 (209 Knöll).

[38]) 9. 8. 17 (210 Knöll).

[39]) Cf. A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus*, Würzburg 1950, pp. 40-41.

source, it is quite clear from the context that the expression « a house of grass » means the human body [40]).

The story continues [41]):

And when he had found in the wilderness of Tuscany many brother hermits of a saintly mode of life, he finally came to our place which is called Centumcellae. According to tradition, this has been the first monastery of our Order, and with these brethren Augustine stayed for two years. Having by then sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the faith, he also wrote and gave them a Rule for their mode of life. All this can be gathered from old unabridged legends.

We note that in absence of genuine source material, Henry is compelled to avail himself of the testimony of another literary genre which he calls *antiquae legendae non abbreviatae*. That the Lives of saints oftentimes were termed *legendae*, we may see, for instance, from the use of this term by Jordan of Saxony, Henry's brother in religion and pupil, who speaks of the biography of St. Augustine by Possidius simply as *legenda Possidonii* [42]). In his *Vita S. Augustini*, the same Jordan quotes five times from a *legenda famosa* and gives a hint as to its author by the following marginal note on f. 70^{r} of his autograph codex (MS 251 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal of Paris):

Est sciendum, quod legenda famosa appellatur hic legenda quaedam solemnis et antiqua, stilo venusto more veterum compilata a quodam, qui Philippum se nominat, circa finem eiusdem legendae sic dicens: ' Eligant alii quod sua cuique suggerit ambitio, sed si Philippo daretur optio, mallet sanctam paupertatem, qua deus pontificem ditavit Augustinum, quam regnum et divitias, quibus regem extulit Alexandrum '. Et habetur illa legenda in multis antiquis monasteriis canonicorum regularium et praemonstratensium.

There is no doubt that the *legenda famosa* used by Jordan was the *Vita beati Augustini Hipponensis episcopi* by the Premonstratensian Abbot Philip d'Harvengt [43]). Jordan's note also warns us not to take the description of a *legenda* as *antiqua* too literally. For

[40]) Cf., e. g., Isa. 40. 6: « Omnis caro foenum ».

[41]) Friemar 2. 81-87.

[42]) *Vfr.* p. 23.

[43]) Cf. R. Arbesmann, « Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini: The Source of John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine », *Traditio* 1 (1943) 345 f.

Philip d'Harvengt died toward the end of the twelfth century (1183). So much for the term *legenda antiqua*.

Though we do not possess the *antiquae legendae non abbreviatae* referred to by Henry, we are able to form a sufficiently clear idea of their content and character. Jordan must have known one or the other of them. In his *Vita S. Augustini* [44]) he writes:

> Transiens autem [Augustinus] et iter faciens per Tusciam, ubi, *ut fertur*, plura erant loca eremitica, ubicumque fratres sui propositi invenit, ipsos caritative visitavit et eos suis collationibus salutis pabulo dulciter recreavit.

The expression *ut fertur* refers no doubt to such *legendae*.

Additional light is shed on these *legendae* by an anonymous *Vita Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis* and a likewise anonymous tract, entitled *Initium sive processus ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini*, both preserved in the cod. Laurentianus which we have quoted above [45]). In the *Vita* we read (f. 7[r]):

> Diebus illis se Augustino consociavit Evodius iuvenis ex eius municipio, qui iam prius conversus atque baptizatus erat. Et quaerebat cum eo atque Alipio, Nebridio atque < A > deodato Augustinus, quisnam ad serviendum deo eos locus haberet utilis atque exemplis servorum dei similis in orationibus, ieiuniis atque hymnis. Et invento loco placito sancto deo serviebant ; atque remeabant ad Africam. In partibus Tusciae in desertis marinis invenerunt de eremitis sequentibus Pauli atque Antonii vestigia, quorum aliqui exequiis matris Augustini interfuerunt, quae apud Ostiam Tiberinam defuncta est. Cum quibus Augustinus aliquo tempore habitans modum vivendi, quem latius postea in Africa clericis atque eremitis constituit, eis dedit.

The aetiological character of the preceding text is obvious. The story is an attempt to give a plausible explanation of the Order's full title. Accordingly, we are told that a number of hermits, following in the footsteps of Paul the first Hermit and Antony, lived in some remote places on the coast of Tuscany. St. Augustine stayed for a while with these hermits and gave them a Rule which later he also introduced among the clerics and hermits in Africa. To make the account more credible, a passage of the *Confessions* is adduced and interpreted to fit the story. St. Augustine (*Conf.* 9.12.31) tells us

[44]) Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal of Paris, MS 251 f. 60[r].

[45]) See n. 23 *supra*. The *Vita* is on ff. 1[r]-13[r], the tract on ff. 57[v]-62[v].

that, when the passing away of Monnica became known in the Christian community of Ostia, « convenerunt multi fratres ac religiosae feminae ». In the story, the *fratres* (brethren of the Christian community) become Tuscan hermits attending the funeral of St. Augustine's mother.

The tract offers an even more copious and detailed account (f. 58^{r} - f. 58^{v}):

Circa quod tempus in Italia primo, deinde in Africa beatus pater Augustinus et doctor regulam apostolicam post domini ascensionem ab apostolis traditam sed diu neglectam luculento sermone conscripsit. In Italia enim atque Mediolani beati Ambrosii monitis, beati Antonii habitantiumque eremi exemplis baptizatus, cum Nebridio, Alipio atque <A> deodato quaerebat locum aptum <ad> deo serviendum, ut ipse VIII° *Confessionum* dicit. Et tunc [46]) nonnullis de nostris Italicis inventis in monasteriis atque eremis tam sibi quam eis vivere secundum dictam regulam instituit. Monasterium enim in Mediolanensi comitatu erat, ut in VIII° *Confessionum* narrat.

Et in marinis Tusciae partibus ac Romanis tunc atque antea quam plurimi in eremo habitabant, ut Antonius vir eremita, habitans in Pisanis montibus, qui Torpem martyrem tempore Decii imperatoris baptizavit ; beatus Mamilianus cum eius sociis in partibus marinis atque in insulis, in monte Iobe, qui nunc mons Christi dicitur, atque in insula Gigli, in qua corpora [corpus *cod.*] eius atque trium sociorum sunt recondita, qua usque hodie per nostros fratres quam plura loca per praedictos atque alios sanctos constructa inhabitantur. Locus autem determinatus, in quo ipse beatus pater Augustinus hoc fecerat, tam ex longitudine temporis quam ex pigritia scriptorum determinate non habetur, quoniam aliqui dicunt hoc fecisse Mediolani in monasterio superius notato, quod confirmant, quia beatus Ambrosius in sermone quem fecit de baptismo Augustini dicit, quod ipsum induit cucullam. Aliqui dicunt hoc fecisse in partibus Romanis atque marinis in loco de Centumcellis vel in alio loco de nostris antiquis, quae tunc temporis erant. Et potest esse, quod non solum in uno loco sed in pluribus cum ipsis servis dei anachoritis stetit et dictam regulam eis tradidit servandam. Verum quidquid sit, tamen per sua verba habemus VIII° *Confessionum*, quod ipse cum suis per spatium trium annorum exemplis Antonii atque sanctorum patrum deo simul serviebant ieiuniis atque orationibus atque locum quaerebant aptum ad serviendum deo.

Centumcellae must have been a very early foundation, since tradition made it the connecting link between St. Augustine and the Order, though the earliest extant document concerning this her-

[46]) tunc *scripsimus* ut a *cod.*

mitage is not earlier than 1243. In that year Pope Innocent IV charged the apostolic legate, Cardinal Rainer of S. Maria in Cosmedin, with consigning the church of S. Severa, which had fallen into utter neglect, to the Prior and brethren of the hermitage Holy Trinity of Centumcellae [47]). The pope confirmed the grant in the following year [48]), and since then the place went under the name of S. Severa de Centumcellis. According to another tradition, St. Augustine stayed with the hermits on Mons Pisanus. Thus we read at the end of the *Expositio in regulam S. Augustini* by Hugh of St. Victor in cod. Verodunensis 41 (saec. XIV) f. 143^{v}:

Explicit expositio fratris Hugonis de Sancto Victore super regulam beatissimi patris nostri Augustini, episcopi et doctoris, quam regulam dedit fratribus eremitis in monte Pisano, frater eorundem existens habitu et religione. In quo quidem habitu et religione vitam finivit cum dictis eremitis iuxta Hipponem.

In MS 501 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome a note of almost identical content was added by a second hand to the passage in Henry's text, which we are discussing.

How firmly the legend of the two years' sojourn of St. Augustine with the hermits on Mons Pisanus lived on in the tradition of the Order, may be seen from the fact that, when in the second half of the fifteenth century, at the request of Fra Domenico Strambi, Benozzo Gozzoli, the pupil of Fra Angelico, adorned the choir of the church of Sant' Agostino in San Gimignano with seventeen frescoes, portraying the life of St. Augustine, one of the subjects chosen for these frescoes was St. Augustine's sojourn on Mons Pisanus. The fresco (no. 12) contains three scenes. In the background, on the slope of a mountain, with the monastery towering above, St. Augustine is holding a discussion [49]) with his brother hermits. In the foreground, at the right, he is explaining his Rule to them,

[47]) « Pium est », 16. Dec. 1243: Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1°, no. 323, f. 54 (ed. E. BERGER, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* [Bibl. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 2e série] 1, Paris 1884, p. 57, no. 325).

[48]) « Iustis petentium », 30. Mart. 1244: Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1°, no. 578, f. 93 (BERGER, p. 100, no. 579). Later several Chapters of the Roman province were held at Centumcellae, namely, in 1275 and 1278 (« in eremo sanctae Trinitatis de Centumcellis »: *AA* 2. 227; 229) and in 1290 (« in loco S. Severae de Centumcellis »: *ibid.* 298).

[49]) Perhaps the dialogue *De cognitione verae vitae*, erroneously attributed to him (PL 40. 1005-1032; see introductory note *ibid.* col. 1005-1006).

while at the left there is represented the well-known legend of St. Augustine walking along the sea shore, beholding the apparition of an infant reminding him of the mystery of the Holy Trinity [50]).

In view of the persistent tradition of the Order, Henry was obviously himself somewhat bewildered by the fact that, in the *Confessions*, St. Augustine did not mention his sojourn in Tuscany. With charming naiveté, he suggests [51]) that St. Augustine himself explained his silence when he said (*Conf.* 9.8.17) that, being in a great hurry, he passed over many things in recounting the events of his life immediately after his mother's death. Moreover, Henry tries to establish a chronology that would account for the three years Augustine lived an eremitical life with Simplicianus and the Tuscan Hermits [52]). Its faultiness was demonstrated shortly after by his pupil, Jordan of Saxony, who worked up a chronology from the works of St. Augustine and the latter's biography by Possidius, in the light of which he rejected Henry's version of the Tuscan story and restricted Augustine's presence in Tuscany to a short visit (*velut in quodam transitu*) [53]). For the same reason Jordan omitted the legend according to which St. Augustine originally gave his Rule to those hermits while he lived with them. On the other hand, he apparently did not dare go so far as to discard altogether the Tuscan story whose purpose is obvious. Since most of the information then available, written or oral, concerning the Order's origin, pointed overwhelmingly to Tuscany and the Tuscan Hermits of the thirteenth century, the story conveniently provided the connecting link between St. Augustine and the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, as reorganized by the popes.

In the third story we are told that, after his return to Africa, St. Augustine founded several monasteries of lay hermits, among them one in the wilds outside the city of Hippo ; that he retired to the latter monastery from time to time, even when he was bishop, to devote himself to prayer, meditation and study ; that the ruins of this monastery are still extant, and that signs and wonders

[50]) Here we may add that the immediately preceding fresco (no. 11) pictures St. Augustine in the baptismal font, wearing the monastic tonsure, while one of St. Simplicianus' hermits is holding the cowl in readiness for the investiture.

[51]) FRIEMAR 2. 91-101.

[52]) *Ibid.* 2. 102-109.

[53]) *Vfr.* pp. 24-26.

can be seen there to the present day [54]) ; ad finally, that in this monastery St. Augustine is believed to have died, surrounded by his brother hermits [55]). It suffices to say that the story is in the main a misinterpretation and fanciful enlargement of two sources. The first is Possidius, *Vita S. Aurelii Augustini* 5 (PL 32.37):

Factus ergo presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit et cum dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam ; ... quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset.

The second is Augustinus, *sermo* 355.2 (PL 39.1569 f.):

Et quia hoc disponebam in monasterio esse cum fratribus, cognito instituto et voluntate mea, beatae memoriae senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium. Coepi boni propositi fratres colligere.

In the story the *hortus*, given to St. Augustine by Bishop Valerius for the foundation of a monastery, is conveniently situated « in quadam villa silvestri extra Hipponem » [56]), to fit the main theme of the tradition.

Henry expounded this tradition of his Order not only in his treatise, for among his *sermones de Sanctis* (we consulted the Hagenau edition of 1513) are some entitled « De translatione sancti Augustini ». In the third on this particular subject (which is no. 158 of the *sermones de Sanctis*) he states that, though a number of religious Orders may call St. Augustine their father because they follow his Rule, the Augustinian Hermits can claim the prerogative of being his « true an real sons »: « Et licet in sua professione sit tanta diversitas filiorum, veri tamen et proprii filii sunt fratres eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini ». Then comes a lengthy passage which is almost identical with some sections of Chapter Four of the treatise, as may be seen from the following comparison.

Sermo	*Tractatus*
Quod evidenter patet ex tribus. Primo, quia in principio	4. 3 f.: Prima [veritas] est, quod beatus Augustinus in prin-

[54]) Friemar 3. 144-163; cf. 2. 110-121.
[55]) *Ibid.* 3. 87-93.
[56]) *Ibid.* 3. 87 f.; cf. 2. 114 f.; 3. 151 f.

suae conversionis cum eis personaliter conversatus fuit. Secundo, quia habitum ipsorum in eremo personaliter portavit. Tertio, quia regulam vitae apostolicae ipsis composuit et eis manu propria tradidit...

De filiorum vero sanctitate patet per hoc quod primum originale fratrum eremitarum nostri ordinis ex sanctissimis patribus est deductum.

Quod patet primo per Hieronymum in *epistola ad Eustochium*, quod illius vitae solitariae auctor fuit Paulus primus eremita, vir sanctissimus ; eius autem illustrator fuit sanctus Antonius ; et, ut ad altiora conscendam, princeps eius fuit Johannes Baptista ; quos omnes constat fuisse excellentissimae sanctitatis.

Secundo, hoc idem patet per Augustinum in libro *de moribus ecclesiae*, qui sic dicit (et proprie loquitur de eremitis) : « Quis eos non miretur, quis eos non praedicet, qui secretissimi et ab hominum conspectu semoti pane solo, qui eis per digesta temporum intervalla confertur, et aqua contenti terras desertissimas incolunt, perfruentes colloquio divino, cui puris mentibus inhaeserunt, et eius contemplatione beatissimi sunt ? ». Et in eodem : « Vidi Mediolani et alibi (per quos intelligit eremitas Tusciae, cum quibus personaliter conversatus fuit...) nonnullos adeo dei amore flagrantes, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu ipsa cipio suae conversionis nostrum habitum assumpserit et portaverit...

4. 14-17 : Secunda [veritas] est, quod beatus Augustinus fratribus nostris in Centumcellis fuit per biennium conversatus regulamque suam et modum vivendi apud eos existens composuit et eis manu propria tradidit...

4. 34 f. : Quarta [veritas] est, quod principium originale fratrum eremitarum nostri ordinis ex sanctissimis patribus est deductum.

4. 51-56 : Unde dicit Hieronymus in *epistola ad Eustochium* virginem, quod illius vitae, scilicet solitariae, auctor fuit Paulus primus eremita, vir sanctissimus ; eius autem illustrator fuit sanctus Antonius ; et, ut ad altiora conscendam, princeps eius fuit Johannes Baptista, quos omnes constat fuisse excellentissimae sanctitatis.

4. 57-78 : Quinta veritas est, quod inter omnes sanctos, de quibus legimus, eremitae artissimam et sanctissimam vitam duxerunt, ut patet per beatum Augustinum in libro *de moribus ecclesiae*, qui ... ita dicit (et loquitur proprie de eremitis) : « Quis eos non miretur, quis eos non praedicet, qui secretissimi et ab omni hominum conspectu semoti pane solo, qui eis per digesta temporum intervalla confertur, et aqua contenti terras desertissimas incolunt, perfruentes colloquio divino, cui puris mentibus inhaeserunt, et eius pulchritudinis contemplatione beatissimi sunt ?... ». Et in eodem : « Vidi Mediolani et alibi (per quod intelligit eremitas Tus-

solitudo delectet. Ieiunia quoque prorsus incredibilia multos ipsorum exercere didici, non solum quotidie semel reficiendo corpus tempore noctis pane solo et aqua, quod apud eos usitatissimum est, sed continuum triduum vel amplius saepissime ducere sine cibo et potu ».

Et quia secundum apostolum si radix sacra, et rami, ideo virtute talium patrum, qui fuerunt nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, super eorum posteros dei gratia largiente sanctitas copiosa descendit...

ciae) nonnullos adeo dei amore flagrantes, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu etiam ipsa solitudo delectet. Ieiunia quoque prorsus incredibilia multos eorum exercere didici, non solum cotidie semel reficiendo corpus tempore noctis pane solo et aqua, quod apud eos usitatissimum est, sed continuum triduum vel amplius saepissime ducere sine cibo et potu ».

4. 79-83: Et quia virtute radicis rami in longum et altum naturaliter producuntur, ideo virtute sanctitatis talium patrum, qui fuerunt sanctitatis eximiae et nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, verisimiliter praesumendum est, quod super eorum filios et posteros per divinam clementiam benedictio copiosa descendat.

The Canons Regular who claimed for themselves the prerogative of being the first religious Order founded by St. Augustine, were not long in replying to Henry's attempt to lay the historical foundation of his Order's tradition analyzed above. The reply, written by a Canon Regular, carries the title *Correctorium tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem*. A copy of it is found in cod. Vat. Reg. 565, ff. 1^r-28^v, preceding the treatise of Henry, which begins on f. 29^r [57]). On f. 28^v the author explains the reason for having added Henry's work to his own:

Verum quia plures dicti fratris [Henrici] tractatum non habent, hinc est quod, ut supra circa principium huius operis praemisi, hic in fine de verbo ad verbum eundem, sicut est per fratrem antedictum compilatus, facio conscribi, ut ab omnibus, ut ibidem dixi, videri valeant dicta mea, necnon et quanta fidelitate recepi dicta sua, non solum vocabulum, quinimmo nec syllabam, ne pro posse litteram

[57]) From f. 28^v and f. 29^r respectively, we learn that the MS was written in 1354 by the Canon Regular Durandus de Aln (Ahlen in Westphalia ?).

obmittendo seu in aliquo immutando, sed de verbo ad verbum, ut repperi, fideliter conscribendo.

It was not difficult for the author to point out some serious flaws in Henry's arguments. On the other hand, he was no less extravagant in his claims concerning the priority of the institution of the Canons Regular and committed the very same kind of blunders he criticized in Henry. On f. 1^{v} he describes the scope of his work and gives a summary of its contents as follows:

Intendo in hoc opusculo clare ac lucide demonstrare tum per dictamet dicti fratris [Henrici] quam alias... quod beatus Augustinus non est praedictorum fratrum heremitarum singularis pater nec patronus, nec ipsi fratres heremitae ipsius beati Augustini filii speciales nec singulares aliter quam sunt fratres praedicatores vel alii religiosi quicumque, qui regula beati Augustini innituntur, alii tamen a canonicis regularibus. Ita quod, breviter, ab ipso beato Augustino nec specialiter nec singulariter sunt instituti. Item quod ipse beatus Augustinus habitum istorum fratrum heremitarum numquam detulit nec portavit nec eorum regulam nec modum vivendi eis tradidit nec conscripsit nec cum eis personaliter convixit, sed potius cum regularibus canonicis, quibus principaliter et singulariter convivendo certum vivendi modum et certam regulam, a qua regulares canonici nuncupantur, tradidit et conscripsit.

The appearance of the two writings mark the beginning of a long and heated dispute between the Augustinian Hermits and Canons, which so agitated learned Christendom that, in 1484, Pope Sixtus IV felt compelled to enjoin silence on both parties with the bull « Quia apostolus praecepit » [58]). For the sake of completeness we should like to add that some authors on the subject showed more restraint and tried to bring about a reconciliation. Thus Jordan of Saxony, himself a loyal Augustinian Hermit, deplored the dispute and declared emphatically [59]) that the contest between the two Orders should not be concerned at all with priority but with the faithful compliance with the precepts contained in

[58]) EMPOLI 321-324. In the bull the pope describes the dispute as « quaedam minus necessaria minusque laudabilis controversia... de ipsius praeclarissimi ecclesiae doctoris Augustini habitu, ac de pictura, et ordinum huiusmodi institutione, parte qualibet diversimode sentiente ac praedicante; nec veriti sunt libros super huiusmodi levitatibus componere eosque legere et aliis legendos tradere non sine scandalo et perturbatione mentium legentium et aliorum Christifidelium... » (*ibid.* 322).

[59]) *Vfr.* p. 173.

St. Augustine's Rule ; and that, if he had a choice, he would rather prefer to be a member of that Order which distinguishes itself by stricter observance than to have the certitude that it was the Hermit Friars to whom St. Augustine gave the Rule first. Also John Capgrave, the learned English Augustinian Friar of the fifteenth century, mentions in his *Treatise of the Orders under the Rule of St. Augustine* [60]) that he wrote his *Concordia* « to reforme charite be-twix Seynt Augustines heremites and his chanones ». The literary feud grew particularly bitter under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. Of Augustinian writers we mention Paul Olmi of Bergamo (Paulus Lulmeus Bergomensis) and Ambrose Massari of Cora (Ambrosius Coriolanus), Prior General of the Order from 1476 to 1485 [61]). The former's pamphlet *Libellus de apologia religionis fratrum heremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini contra falso impugnantes*, addressed to Cardinal William d'Estouteville, the Protector of the Augustinian Hermits, was printed in Rome in 1479 [62]). The latter's *Defensorium ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum assertorum regularium congregationis Frisonariae*, addressed to Pope Sixtus IV, appeared likewise in Rome about two years later [63]). The most prolific pamphleteer in the opposite camp was Eusebius Conradus, a Milanese Canon Regular of the Lateran Congregation. From his pen came the pamphlets *Responsio adversus fratrem quendam blacteronem ordinis heremitarum*, Milan 1479 [64]), and *Brevis annotatio in errores scribentium S. Augustinum fuisse heremitam*, Rome 1483 [65]). The *Brevis annotatio* was thoroughly revised by its author under the title *Annotatio brevissima in errorem scribentium...*, and inserted into his edition of the *sermones tres*

[60]) Ed. J. J. Munro, *Early English Text Society Publications*, no. 140, London 1910, p. 146.

[61]) Ambrose Massari of Cora was elected Prior General at the Chapter General of Rome in 1476 (« De Capitulo Generali Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini anno 1476 Romae celebrato », *AA*. 7. 259). At the order of Pope Sixtus IV (cf. *ibid.* 258), he was reelected at the Chapter General of Perugia in 1482 (« Acta Capituli Generalis Ord. Erem. S. Augustini Perusii anno 1482 celebrati », *AA* 7. 268).

[62]) Cf. D. A. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis*: *Scriptores Itali* 3 (Firenze 1935) 37; L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart and Paris 1826-1838) no. 10328; W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London 1895-1902) no. 16086.

[63]) Cf. Perini, *Bibliogr. Aug.* 2 (Firenze 1931) 195; Hain, no. 5684.

[64]) Cf. Hain, no. 5637; *GW* no. 7414.

[65]) Cf. Hain, nos. 5634; 5635; *GW* no. 7416.

beati Augustini de vita clericorum, published in Padua in 1484 [66]). Finally, in the same year, it was reprinted in Venice in a volume which, besides the entire material taken from the Padua edition, contained a number of other *opuscula* of St. Augustine [67]). In his *Annotatio brevissima* Eusebius Conradus replied to seven propositions advanced by Paul Olmi and Ambrose Massari. Even a cursory reading of this pamphlet reveals that the dispute had moved far away from the original question at issue and degenerated into an exchange of subtle arguments so that Sixtus IV was amply justified in censuring the quarreling parties for not being ashamed « libros super huiusmodi levitatibus componere ».

Henry's errors in the sections of his treatise discussed above were recognized later by Angelus Höggmair, a member of his own Order and sober scholar. In view of these errors, Höggmair doubted the authenticity of the version of the treatise he found in MS 501 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome. At the end of the copy he made of this MS in the year 1730, he wrote [68]):

Hunc tractatum manu propria, prout est in bibliotheca Angelica, scriptum non fuisse ab ipso B. authore, satis liquet ex modo scribendi et aliquibus erroribus facile advertendis. *Prima et secunda pars huius libri nititur fundamentis insufficientibus*, ut inter cetera sermone S. Ambrosii de baptismo S. Augustini, quem constat eiusdem S. Doctoris non esse.

In discussing the history of Augustinian monachism from the death of St. Augustine to the year of the Great Union (430-1256) [69]), Henry sees himself compelled to state that, because of the « neg-

[66]) Cf. HAIN, nos. 1996=1995=5638; *GW* no. 2923. The Padua edition contains: (1) a letter of Eusebius Corradus (*sic*) to Sixtus IV « pro auferendo de ecclesia errore scribentium sanctum Augustinum ecclesiae doctorem fuisse heremitam »; (2) the so-called *sermones* (sometimes also termed *libellus*) *S. Augustini de vita clericorum* (consisting of *sermones* 355, 356, and the *Regula S. Augustini*, beginning « Ante omnia »); (3) the *Vita S. Augustini* by Possidius; (4) *the Annotatio brevissima...*; (5) the *Sequentia in sollemnitate sanctissimi Augustini patris canonicorum Regularium*, beginning « De profundis tenebrarum ». The pagination of the volume is irregular.

[67]) Cf. HAIN, no. 1947; COPINGER, no. 734; *GW* no. 2864.

[68]) Cod. lat. Monacensis 8423 (a. 1730) p. 492. Some qualification is therefore also needed of Stroick's sweeping statement (*Heinrich von Friemar*, p. 35): « Dieser in schwungvollem Stil gehaltene, mit soliden Beweisen ausgestattete, mit reicher Geschichts- und Literaturkenntnis ausgezeichnete Traktat... ».

[69]) FRIEMAR 5. 1-63.

ligentia scribentium » and « diuturnitas temporis » [70]), he is able to list but four Superiors General of the Order. Besides, their tenure of office covers only the period immediately preceding the Union (ca. 1190-1256). A more thorough investigation shows that, though they were historical personages and lived in the period mentioned by Henry, their jurisdiction was confined to units of the Tuscan Hermits.

John of Spelonca, whose tenure of office Henry assigns to the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181) [71]), is no doubt the Friar John Honestus to whom in 1187, Paganello Porcari, podestà of Lucca, gave the ground for the foundation of the hermitage « di S. Gregorio, ò di S. Giorgio, della Spelonca » in the diocese of Lucca [72]). The cod. Laurentianus quoted above [73]) mentions the same Friar John as « prior heremitarum sancti Augustini » and « fundator loci de Spelunca », adding that he established a great number of other hermitages while occupying the office of Prior General « tempore... Alexandri III [74]) anno MCLXXXX° » [75]).

John of Cella who is listed next and said to have directed the Order under Innocent III (1198-1216) [76]), derived his name from the hermitage Cella in the diocese of Lucca, which, like Spelonca, was a house of the Tuscan Hermits [77]). The cod. Laurentianus [78]) mentions him as successor of John of Spelonca and asserts that, because of the saintliness of his life, he obtained a number of privileges for the Order from Innocent III.

After listing John of Cella, Henry adds a story [79]) in which we

[70]) *Ibid.* 5. 3.

[71]) Henry (5. 6) gives only the approximate date: « circa annos domini 1190 ».

[72]) TORELLI 4. 113 f.; Th. HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Matriti 1644) 2. 409. The earliest extant document referring to the place is dated September 15, 1198: Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Diplom. conventus S. Augustini (see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 297, s. v. *Spelonca*).

[73]) See nn. 23 and 45 *supra*.

[74]) The MS reads erroneously « Alexandri IIII ».

[75]) F. 60r. The text of the entire passage is printed *infra* (C. — Notes), note to FRIEMAR 5. 6-8.

[76]) FRIEMAR 5. 8.

[77]) Concerning the hermitage of Cella, see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 288 f., s. v. *Colle*.

[78]) F. 60r. The text of the entire passage is printed *infra* (C. — Notes), note to FRIEMAR 5. 6-8.

[79]) FRIEMAR 5. 37-39; 49-51.

are told that, before founding his own Order, St. Francis of Assisi had been a member of the Augustinian hermitage of St. James of Aquaviva near Pisa. As far as we know, Henry was the first Augustinian writer to make this claim. The story is found in the text of all the MSS. If it is an interpolation, this must have occurred at a very early time, since it is already in cod. Verodunensis 41, written in all probability between the years 1343 and 1345 [80]), and in cod. Vat. Reg. 565, written in 1354. The story was repeated by later Augustinian authors, among them Ambrose Massari of Cora, Giles of Viterbo and Ambrose Landucci, though each of these writers connected it with a different Augustinian hermitage [81]). The story served, of course, the purpose to bolster the claim of the Augustinian Hermits that their Order was older than that of the Franciscans, and, in the seventeenth century, caused a heated controversy between the Franciscan historian L. Wadding and the Augustinian Th. Herrera. The interpolations found in cod. Vindobon. 1651 [82]) and cod. lat. Monac. 2956 [83]) make it abundantly clear, that the sources of the story are two writings of Thomas of Celano. The first part of the interpolations in both MSS [84]) comes from Thomas of Celano's *Vita S. Francisci prima* [85]) ; the second part, in cod. Vindobon. [86]) as well as in cod. lat. Monacensis [87]), derives from the same author's *Tractatus de miraculis S. Francisci Assisiensis* [88]). The fact that, in both writings of Thomas of Celano, mention is made of several Franciscan hermitages in connection

[80]) Cf. E. ESTEBAN, « De codice Verodunensi 41 documenta de rebus Ordinis continente », *AA* 3. 92.

[81]) It speaks for the sober, critical sense of Jordan of Saxony that he omitted the story in his *Vitasfratrum* though he certainly knew about it from his revered master's treatise (cf. *Vfr.* pp. LXV; 28).

[82]) FRIEMAR 5. 9-36.

[83]) *Ibid.* 5. 40-48.

[84]) *Ibid.* 5. 9-24; 40-43.

[85]) Part 1, chapt. 9, no. 21 f.: *Analecta Franciscana* 10, fasc. 1, Ad Claras Aquas 1926, p. 18 f.

[86]) FRIEMAR 5. 25-36.

[87]) *Ibid.* 5. 44-48.

[88]) No. 18, ed. a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas 1928, p. 20 f. We call special attention to the introductory words of the interpolated passage in cod. lat. Monac. (FRIEMAR 5. 40): « ut ex eius vita colligitur manifeste, ubi legitur... », and a marginal note to the passage in cod. Vindobon. (f. 10^{v}): « ut ex eius legenda apparet, ubi legitur... ».

with St. Francis, may well have given further nourishment to the growth of the legend [89]).

The third man in Henry's list of « Priors General » of the Order before the Great Union, whose tenure of office he assigns to the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-1254), is Adiutus of Garfagnana [90]). Adiutus is historically an altogether tangible personality. He is called « prior generalis fratrum eremitarum ordinis S. Augustini *de Tuscia* » in a document of the year 1252, in which the Bishop of Faënza gives the Tuscan Hermits the permission to build a new church in that city [91]). The papal bull [92]) in which Alexander IV confirmed the incorporation of the hermitage of St. Leonard of Lecceto with that of St. Salvator of Fultignano, put into effect by Adiutus, terms him « generalis visitator fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ». Since the bull states explicitly that he had received his special mandate from Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, the Protector of the Tuscan Hermits, there can hardly be any doubt that the jurisdiction of Adiutus was confined to the Tuscan Congregation.

Nothing, besides the name, is known about the fourth man in Henry's list of « Priors General » of the Order before the Great Union, Philip of Parrana [93]), who was named after the hermitage of St. Mary of Parrana of the Tuscan Congregation in the mountains of Livorno [94]). Herrera [95]), who is unable to ascertain his exact name, lists him as « Philippus Dexterampuae », « Philippus

[89]) For a more detailed discussion of the origin of the story, see *Vfr.* pp. 445-447, n. 4; cf. also E. ESTEBAN, « De tractatu Fr. Henrici de Vrimaria de origine et progressu Ordinis FF. EE. S. Augustini », *AA* 4. 279 f.; ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 124.

[90]) FRIEMAR 5. 56 f. The name of the hermitage Garfagnana is hopelessly corrupted in all the MSS (see crit. appar. to 5. 57). The correct reading is, however, secured by cod. Laurentianus (nn. 23 and 45 *supra*) though the latter has Carfagnana instead of Garfagnana (f. 60^{r} - f. 60^{v}; the text of the entire passage is printed *infra* [C. — Notes], note to 5. 56 f.). In the same passage of cod. Laurent. mention is also made of the Union of all Tuscan Hermits (except the Williamites) into one single body by Innocent IV. Concerning this Union, see *Vfr.* p. 449 f., n. 8, and ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 114-117; concerning the hermitage of Garfagnana, *ibid.* 3. 290, s. v. *Garfagnana.*

[91]) TORELLI 4. 473 f.; cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 289, s. v. *Faënza.*

[92]) « Ex parte vestra », 25. Jun. 1255: Empoli 10; Potthast 15904; cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 290, s. v. *Fultignano.*

[93]) FRIEMAR 5. 58-63.

[94]) Concerning this hermitage, see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 294, s. v. *Parrana.*

[95]) *Alphabetum August.* 2. 238.

de Pramia », both being corrupted readings of some MSS of Henry's text [96]), and « Philippus de Parma » [97]). The correct reading is found in cod. Laurentianus [98]) where we are also told that Philip declined to continue in the office of Prior General, after Alexander IV had decided to unite all hermits into the one Augustinian Order [99]).

The names of these four « Priors General » before the Great Union became fixed in the tradition of the Order. An anonymous note in the same cod. Laurentianus [100]), entitled *Unde ordo fratrum heremitarum beati Augustini initium habuerit*, offers the conventionalized list:

Frater beatus Johannes, fundator loci de Spelunca, primus generalis.
Frater Johannes de Cella fuit huius ordinis secundus generalis.
Frater Aiutus de Carfagnana (*sic*), tertius generalis.
Frater Philippus de Parrana fuit quartus generalis.

The same note also explains why no Prior General is listed before the year 1190:

Si [principium ordinis fratrum heremitarum beati Augustini] accipiatur ut incepit, prout aperte atque clare invenitur, quod praedicti fratres habuerint priorem generalem multorum fratrum atque locorum, fuit circa annos MCL, sed ut quando clarius circa annos MCLXXXX.

This statement, together with the attached list of « Priors General », fully agrees with Henry's report and points without doubt to the unionist movement that had set in among the Tuscan Hermits and finally brought about the Union of 1244 [101]). They rapidly expanded beyond the limits of Tuscany and often were simply addressed as Hermits of St. Augustine, with the omission of the additional words « in Tuscany ». This in turn could easily lead to

[96]) See crit. appar. to 5. 58.

[97]) The reading « Philip Dexter of Parma » must accordingly be corrected in ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 117 and n. 175.

[98]) See nn. 23 and 45 *supra*.

[99]) F. 60^{v}. The text of the entire passage is printed *infra* (C. — Notes), note to FRIEMAR 5. 58-63.

[100]) F. 62^{v} - f. 63^{r}.

[101]) Concerning this unionist movement among the Tuscan Hermits, see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 112-121.

the conclusion that they were *the* Order of St. Augustine [102]), the more so as, owing to their great Cardinal Protector, they brought the best developed organization and the most privileges into the Great Union of 1256 [103]).

While it is regrettable that Henry was not able to break with a tradition which, at his time, was so firmly rooted in the Order, there is no question about his honesty. Like so many of his contemporaries, he believed in the genuineness of the pseudo-Ambrosian *sermo de baptismo et conversione sancti Augustini* [104]), and the *sermo de passione* [105]), spuriously attributed to St. Augustine. Moreover, he followed the scholastic method of his time in relying on other writers' citations, without feeling any obligation to verify the authenticity of the quotations in the first sources. He also was a true child of his age in the very way he undiscriminatingly accepted legends, apparently current in his day, according to which, the ruins of St. Augustine's desert monastery in the vicinity of Hippo could still be seen, and numerous miracles still occurred in that place [106]). Then, as at all times, the popular mind, never satisfied with the bare knowledge that a famous man stayed in a certain country, strove to say something more concrete about him by associating him with specific places within that country. As a result, popular imagination, with its great liking for the marvellous and

[102]) Cf. *ibid.* 120. In this connection it is interesting to study how the bull « Licet ecclesiae catholicae » of April 9, 1256 (*AA* 5. 1 ff.; EMPOLI 18 ff.; POTTHAST 16334) was interpreted by later Augustinian historians, for instance, Jordan of Saxony. In the bull Pope Alexander IV enumerates the different groups comprising the Great Union, namely, the Order of St. William, the Order of St. Augustine, the Brethren of John Bonus, the Congregation of Fabali, the Hermit Friars of Brettino, and then states that Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, by the authority of the apostolic mandate given to him, had perpetually united all their houses and Congregations into the one Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. Jordan, on the other hand, in enumerating the different groups, omits the Order of St. Augustine, and states that the pope « brought all these [i. e., all the other groups, with the exception of the Order of St. Augustine] into one body and, together with all their members, legally incorporated and united them with the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine » (*Vfr.* p. 47; cf. *ibid.* p. 451 f., n. 10). We find the same interpretation in Henry's treatise (3. 122-125; 4. 117-121; 5. 61-62).

[103]) Cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 138.

[104]) FRIEMAR 2. 5-9.

[105]) *Ibid.* 3. 8-28.

[106]) *Ibid.* 3. 151-155.

utter disregard of historical facts, has produced a great number of legends at all times in all countries the world over. In this connection it is interesting to note that, when three centuries after Henry of Friemar's time, J. B. Gramaye, the well-known writer of travels, visited Hippo, natives not only showed him the place and the ruins of St. Augustine's hermitage, but also told him about wondrous occurrences they had noticed in that very place [107]). Without any suspicion, Henry had likewise accepted the story of the vision by which allegedly Alexander IV was moved to unite all hermits under the spiritual leadership of St. Augustine [108]). Similar legends concerning the foundation of their Orders were told by medieval Franciscan and Dominican historians [109]). Nor were Henry of Friemar [110]) and the Augustinian Hermits the only ones who discovered in Joachim of Flora their « prophet ». The same claim was made by the Franciscans [111]) and the Dominicans [112]). They all applied to themselves and to the task they were performing in the Church Joachim's prophecy of a final Order of spiritual men in the last age, who were described as hermits. Here we may well add that in Joachim's time (he died in 1202) the word *ordo* did by no means always have the meaning of « religious Order », but was also used in the more general sense of « station in life » and « mode of life » or « rule ». If later historians of the Augustinian and other Orders had kept this in mind while interpreting documents of an earlier period, many misunderstandings and heated controversies could have been avoided, not to speak of so much ink uselessly spilled.

While the sections of Henry's treatise we have discussed so far, are impaired by obvious shortcomings and, to a large extent, are of interest only in so far as they give us a rather clear picture of the tradition of the Order, prevalent at the time, other sections are of undeniable value.

[107]) J. B. GRAMAYE, *Africa illustrata* (Tournai 1622) lib. 5, cap. 3. See Gramaye's own words *infra* (C. — Notes), note to 3. 151-155.

[108]) FRIEMAR 3. 120-125.

[109]) Cf. the discussion of the vision in *Vfr.* p. 450 f., n. 9, and ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 231.

[110]) FRIEMAR 4. 79-97.

[111]) Cf. G. GRUNDMANN, *Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Flore* (Münstersche Forschungen, Heft 1, Marburg 1950) p. 86; P. FOURNIER, « Joachim de Flore: ses doctrines, son influence », *Revue des Questions Historiques* 67 (1900) 500.

[112]) Cf. *ibid.* 499 f.

We mention first that portion of Chapter Five, which deals with the history of the Order during the author's own lifetime and is of great importance for the first eighty years of the Order after the Great Union [113]). The narrative contains biographical sketches of eleven Priors General from 1256 onward [114]). The length of the sketches varies considerably. While to Guido of Stagia, Francis of Reggio and Simon of Pistoia are accorded but two lines, William of Cremona has eleven, Clement of Osimo twenty-four, and Augustine (Novellus) of Tarano even sixty-three lines. Henry knew most of these men personally and, in describing their personalities, mentions the occasions on which he made their acquaintance. His testimony is, therefore, especially valuable.

It was in his early youth, when on his way to the university of Bologna, that he met the first Prior General after the Great Union, Lanfranc of Milan [115]). His journey led him over Milan where he lodged at the Augustinian monastery in that city. It so happened that the Prior General also stayed there at the time. The young friar must have been deeply impressed by this meeting, for he still remembers it after almost seventy years. His statement that Lanfranc was « appointed to his office by the Roman Church » [116]) (i. e., the fathers, assembled in the Chapter General in Rome, did not themselves elect the first General of the reorganized Order, but asked the pope to have him appointed by their Cardinal Protector, Richard Annibaldi) agrees with the text of the papal bull « Licet ecclesiae catholicae » where we read [117]): « And in order that the unity of a universal head may complete the new union of the fold of the Lord, after having invoked the grace of the Holy Ghost, he [Cardinal Richard Annibaldi] has appointed you, beloved son, Brother Lanfranc, Prior General and Father of the Order ». Also, Henry's other statement that Lanfranc was chosen « because of the great renown and deep respect he had gained » [118]), is confirmed

[113]) FRIEMAR 5. 64-189.

[114]) Henry's text contains twelve sketches, since Clement of Osimo's first and second terms as Prior General (1271-1274 and 1284-1291 respectively) are treated separately.

[115]) FRIEMAR 5. 68 f.

[116]) *Ibid.* 5. 68.

[117]) *AA* 5. 3 f.

[118]) FRIEMAR 5. 67.

by the bull « Apostolicae sedis provisio » of April 9, 1256 [119]), in which the pope describes the first Prior General as a « vir utique providus et discretus ac in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectus » [120]).

What Henry relates of Clement of Osimo and Augustine (Novellus) of Tarano is especially apt to show the nature and purpose of his biographical sketches. These two men performed an important task in revising the Constitutions of the reorganized Order [121]), and we might expect him to mention this. In fact he does not so much as allude to it, not even when he mentions the Chapter General of Regensburg (1290), at which these Constitutions received final approval. Rather, he stresses the extraordinary kindness of Clement and tells us that Clement's very name expresses his outstanding virtue [122]). He praises Augustine for his love of justice and devotion to the Order [123]), and exemplifies his zeal for discipline, together with James of Viterbo's profound humility, by narrating an incident which he himself witnessed at the Chapter General of Naples (1300) [124]). Moreover, he relates that Augustine's longing for a hidden life made him resign the office of Prior General, decline a position of honor in the Roman Curia, and retire to a hermitage [125]). He concludes the biography of each of these two men with a description of their holy death, their burial and the popular veneration they enjoyed [126]). Henry then is concerned less with the historical roles of his subjects than he is with their exemplary lives. This particular character of Henry's narrative also explains the absence of definite chronological data relating to the duration of each Prior General's tenure of office. Chronological references are given only incidentally. In this way we learn, for instance, that Clement of Osimo presided over the Chapter General of Regens-

[119]) EMPOLI 20; POTTHAST 16335.

[120]) For further information on Lanfranc of Milan, see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 235-240.

[121]) Cf. A. A. GIORGI, « De constitutionibus FF. Erem. S. Augustini a duobus beatis viris Clemente Auximate et Augustino Novello emendatis », *AA* 1. 109-117; *Vfr.* p. 466 f., n. 64.

[122]) FRIEMAR 5. 72-75.

[123]) *Ibid.* 5. 104-106.

[124]) *Ibid.* 5. 106-137.

[125]) *Ibid.* 5. 147-160.

[126]) *Ibid.* 5. 79-97; 160-166.

burg [127]) ; that Augustine Novellus convoked the Chapter General of Naples a year before the appointed time [128]) ; that, because neither the assembled fathers nor the king (Charles II of Naples) could persuade him to accept a second term, the same Chapter elected Francis of Monterubbiano as his successor [129]) ; that James of Orte died while attending the council of Vienne [130]) ; and that it was in the first year of his tenure of office that William of Cremona asked Pope John XXII for a house of the Order at the tomb of St. Augustine in Pavia [131]). An examination of these data on the basis of documentary evidence otherwise available proves in each case the correctness of the information given by Henry whose narrative is thus a valuable supplement to the acts of the Chapters General of the Order, papal bulls relating to matters of the Order, and other source material. We only regret that Henry's notes on some of these men are so extremely short. To mention but one example. He was certainly in a position to give most valuable information about Guido of Stagia, the second Prior General after the Great Union, who is hardly more than a name to later historians of the Order though, from surviving documents, we are able to piece out enough to make us certain that he was an important figure. Having been sent to Germany after 1256, Guido had been extraordinarily successful in spreading the Order and consolidating its position in that country [132]). The record of the vigorous and circumspect activity of this first superior of the German province must have been still very much alive there when, a generation later, Henry occupied the same office as Guido. Yet all Henry tells us is that Guido was a « vir utique strenuus et discretus » [133]), i. e., the concise characterization he gives of this second Prior General of the Order confirms what we know otherwise about the man.

We are also indebted to Henry for giving us a list of Augustinian saints, five in number: John Bonus, Vitus of Hungary, Hartmut of Gotha, Simon of Todi, and Nicholas of Tolentine (chapter 6). Three of these men, namely, John Bonus, Vitus of Hungary and

[127]) *Ibid.* 5. 75 f.
[128]) *Ibid.* 5. 149-151.
[129]) *Ibid.* 5. 151-157; 167-172.
[130]) *Ibid.* 5. 173-175.
[131]) *Ibid.* 5. 182-189; cf. 3. 164-174.
[132]) Cf. Roth, *Augustiniana* 3. 27-29.
[133]) Friemar 5. 70 f.

Nicholas of Tolentine, are mentioned by Henry in one of his *sermones de Sanctis* where he enumerates likewise five brethren who distinguished themselves by their saintly life [134]). The names of Hartmut of Gotha and Simon of Todi, both probably still alive at the time the sermon was written, are absent from the list there. In their stead there appear the names of Clement of Osimo and Augustine Novellus, which in turn are not found in the list of the treatise, since Henry discusses the personalities of both men in the biographical sketches of the Priors General. The composition of the list is extremely simple and reminds us of the literary form of the so-called historical martyrologies. The name of the saint is followed by a short biographical note, except in the case of Vitus of Hungary where nothing is given but the name. Obviously, Henry did not make any special study of the lives of these brethren. At the time he wrote his tract, biographies of two men treated by him had made their appearance: the *Vita* of Augustine Novellus (died in 1309) by an anonymous contemporary [135]), and the *Vita* of Nicholas of Tolentine (died in 1305) by Peter of Monterubbiano, which was published in 1326 [136]). Evidently, Henry made no use of these *Lives*. Nor is there any indication hat he consulted other written source material. He rather based his notes on oral information and personal impressions. This seems to be borne out by his own remark: « ... for the edification of the brethren I was anxious to comment shortly on those brethren of renowned and well-known holiness of our Order, about whom I gained certain knowledge » [137]). According to his own statements [138]), he had met Clement of Osimo and Augustine Novellus. He also knew Hartmut of Gotha, a member of his home province, and Simon of Todi after whose death in

[134]) *Sermones de Sanctis, sermo* 158 (*De translatione sancti Augustini sermo tertius*), Hagenau 1513: « Et quia secundum apostolum si radix sacra, et rami: ideo virtute talium patrum, qui fuerunt nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, super eorum posteros dei gratia largiente sanctitas copiosa descendit: ut patet evidenter in sancto Joanne Bono, in sancto Vito, in fratre Nicolao de Tolentino, in fratre Clemente, in fratre Augustino de Tarano [Iterano *ed.*], qui ambo fuerunt generales in ordine, et pluribus aliis sanctis patribus, qui in diversis provinciis ordinis evidentissimis miraculis claruerunt, et hodie clarent, quos non est dubium esse tanti meriti apud deum sicut multi alii sancti per ecclesiam canonizati ».

[135]) *Acta SS*, Maii IV, pp. 616-622.

[136]) *Acta SS*, Sept. III, pp. 644-664.

[137]) FRIEMAR 6. 2-5.

[138]) *Ibid.* 5. 75 f.; 106 f.

1322 there was instituted immediately a Process regarding the miracles that had occurred by his intercession [139]). On his numerous journeys he had no doubt come together with some older brethren who could still remember John Bonus and the Apostolic Process for his canonization, held during the years 1251, 1253 and 1254 [140]). Finally, he himself tells us [141]) that, while writing his treatise, the Process for the canonization of Nicholas of Tolentine was pressed with great vigor.

In view of the fact that Henry was in a position to tell us much more about the lives of these men, we must regret that he confined himself to a dry catalogue of names and a few short notes. The reason for this terseness must probably be sought in the very way he conceived and approached his subject. His chief aim was to furnish the historical foundation for the claim of the Augustinian Hermits which considered St. Augustine the founder of their Order and special mode of monastic life, a claim that was crowned by their appointment as custodians of their founder's tomb in Pavia. This main theme is emphasized in the title of the work, and Henry devotes to it more than two-thirds of his tract (chapters 1-4). In the same degree the portion treating the Order's history from the death of St. Augustine to the author's own time (chapter 5) is, as it were, relegated to the place of an appendix, and the addition of a catalogue of saints (chapter 6) even appears to have been something of an afterthought.

Moreover, a closer study of the notes reveals that, if we except general remarks praising the saint's edifying life, stress is laid upon miracles rather than biographical data. In this Henry was following the general custom of his time to keep alive the memory of brethren who had died in the odor of sanctity. Since the main concern was the veneration of these servants of God, records were drawn up, containing numerous miracles but scarcely anything tangible concerning their very lives. Thus, after the death of Blessed Simon of Todi in 1322, his Bolognese confreres called immediately three notaries to register the miracles which had occurred at his bier [142]).

[139]) *Acta SS*, Apr. II, pp. 819-831; 3rd ed. 816-828.

[140]) *Acta SS*, Oct. IX, pp. 771-885.

[141]) FRIEMAR 6. 21-26.

[142]) Cf. n. 139 *supra*; F. ROTH, « The Present Status of our Hagiography », *The Tagastan* 16. 3 (1953-1954) 48.

Also the voluminous rediscovered Process for the canonization of Nicholas of Tolentine yields only a few rather incidental biographical data but enumerates hundreds of miracles [143]). This one-sided interest can likewise be noted in the first known attempt of the Order to gather source material for the lives of saintly brethren. A decree of the Chapter General of Paris in 1329 reads as follows [144]):

Item diffinimus et mandamus, quod omnia miracula fratrum nostrorum, qui divina gratia claruerunt, sub manu publica aut documentis authenticis in qualibet provincia colligantur et generali infra istud triennium transmittantur, ut praesententur futuro capitulo generali.

We do not know whether the decree yielded any results. The Acts of the next Chapter General, held at Venice in 1332, contain nothing concerning the matter. It may, however, well be that the decree prompted Henry, who was present at the Chapter of Paris, to compose his list of « brethren of renowned and well-known holiness » [145]), emphasizing that « all of them gained distinction by clearly visible miracles » [146]), though there is no indication that he used material which might have been collected as a result of the decree. Be that as it may, the decree throws revealing light on the general attitude of the time towards hagiography.

The urgent need for a more thorough investigation of the lives of saintly brethren was felt by Henry's pupil, Jordan of Saxony. During his busy life Jordan was intrusted with many important tasks by his Order. On his numerous journeys connected with these assignments, he began with admirable perseverance to collect as many edifying details on the lives of the brethren as possible, and later incorporated them in his *Vitasfatrum*, a running commentary to the Rule and Constitutions of the Order, in which purely ascetical questions were interwoven with countless *exempla* from the lives of the Desert Fathers as well as of his own brethren, and with significant events fom the history of the Order itself. A man of sound and critical judgment, he used first of all the best written sources he was able to find. Thus his account of the life and work of John Bonus is evidently based on the bull « Admonet nos cura »

[143]) *Ibid.*
[144]) *AA.* 4. 87.
[145]) FRIEMAR 6. 3 f.
[146]) *Ibid.* 6. 21.

of April 15, 1253, by Pope Innocent IV [147]), which contains a clear and reliable outline of the history of the Zanbonini. He made extensive use of the biography of Nicholas of Tolentine by Peter of Monterubbiano, written only twenty years after the saint's death, as well as of an anonymous *Vita* of Augustine Novellus, composed by a contemporary brother in religion [148]). Nor did he omit the edifying *exemplum* of Augustine Novellus' zeal for justice and the honor of the Order, which had led to an exciting incident at the Chapter General of Naples in 1300, and which Henry, an eyewitness, had reported in his treatise [149]). Since he was apparently unable to unearth more definite details on the life of Clement of Osimo, he had to be satisfied with repeating almost *verbatim* Henry's biographical sketch [150]). On the other hand, personal experience and patient inquiry enabled him to add considerably to the terse information contained in Henry's biographical notes on Hartmut of Gotha [151]) and Simon of Todi [152]). There is a strange uncertainty about the second Friar in Henry's list of Augustinian saints, Vitus of Hungary. Henry himself, as we have seen, gives only his name and native country. Jordan, obviously unable to obtain any reliable information, makes no mention whatever of him. Nor do later historians of the Order add anything definite about his life. Nevertheless he must have enjoyed some unofficial cult in the Order, because Herrera [153]) reports that he saw his figure in a painting with which, in 1466, an artist had adorned the altar of St. Nicholas of Tolentine in the Augustinian church, known as S. Maria de Cellis, in San Pier d'Arena outside Genoa. Besides Vitus, the painting showed several other Friars of the Order, renowned by the holiness of their lives, namely, Simon of Cascia, John of Rieti, Jerome of Recanati, Simon of Todi, William of Cremona, Augustine of Rome, Lanfranc of Milan, John Bonus, Clement of Osimo and Thomas of Rimini, each figure wearing a halo, and, for the sake of identification, being marked with the name of the saintly friar

[147]) Cf. Empoli 176-181 (Potthast 14945) and *Vfr.* p. 27 f.

[148]) Cf. *Acta SS,* Maii IV, pp. 616-621, and *Vfr.* pp. 105; 114-118; 152; 153 f.; 162; 307; 360 f.

[149]) Cf. Friemar 5. 104-137, and *Vfr.* p. 96 f.

[150]) Cf. Friemar 5. 73-76; 79-97; and *Vfr.* p. 93 f.

[151]) Cf. Friemar 6. 10-12, and *Vfr.* pp. 103 f.; 213 f.; 284.

[152]) Cf. Friemar 6. 13-16, and *Vfr.* p. 122.

[153]) *Alphabetum August.* 1. 318 f.; 2. 492.

it represented. Some additional, though still vague, material concerning the life of Vitus is found in a short *Vita* in the cod. Laurentianus quoted above (supra n. 23) [154]). According to its anonymous author, Vitus was from the city of Esztergom (Gran) on the Danube. Animated by apostolic zeal, he devoted his life to the work of preaching the Gospel to the Cumans, converting and baptizing many thousands of them. This report agrees with historical events in so far as a group of Cumans, giving way before the attack of the Mongols, had taken refuge in Hungary in 1239, promising to adopt Christianity in return for protection, and were finally settled between the Danube and the Theiss. The majority of them, however, held to paganism, and the conversion of the Cumans in Hungary was not completed before the middle of the fourteenth century. It must have been among this group that Vitus reaped an abundant spiritual harvest during the second half of the thirteenth century. In the *Vita* we are further told that Vitus' brothers in religion, unaware of the holiness of their companion, buried him in an ordinary grave and, only after some years, when digging the foundation of the new church and finding his body intact, recognized that a saint had lived among them. Two miraculous cures took place immediately after the discovery of the body. A more dignified tomb, built by the brethren in their new church in Esztergom, began to be visited by numerous persons afflicted with all kinds of infirmities, who hoped to be healed through the intercession of the servant of God. Also the history of the monastery of Esztergom (Gran), the most important house of the Order in Hungary, offers no chronological difficulties with regard to what we are told in the *Vita*. Even if we disregard an old tradition according to which the foundation of the monastery preceded the Great Union, documentary evidence shows that it was well established in 1262, and that in 1290, because of the religious zeal of its members, King Andrew III made it an educational center in which the arts and theology should be taught [155]).

Henry's familiarity with the Order's most recent history can be seen not only from his lists of Priors General and Augustinian saints but also from a number of other passages in which he touches on events that had a bearing on the development of the Order

[154]) F. 48^{r} - f. 48^{v}.

[155]) See ROTH, *Augustiniana* 4. 8, s. v. *Gran*.

during this period. We mention first the clear and concise account he gives of the difficulties which arose from the demands of the new apostolic task entrusted to the reorganized Order — a task that meant a complete change of ideals (3. 125-131). The brethren had to give up their quiet, contemplative life, leave their hermitages, located, as a rule, in out-of-the way places, and move into the cities to devote themselves to an active life in the care of souls, though a number of the old, secluded houses were retained. How this inner, often painful, transformation of the Order was accomplished within a relatively short period, can be learned from a number of papal documents [156]). Though there is no indication in

[156]) On June 8, 1259, Alexander IV sent the bull « Iis qui relictis » to the archbishops, bishops and the other prelates in Germany, exhorting them not to obstruct but rather to promote the transfer of the Hermit Friars of the Order of St. Augustine from their hermitages into the cities (E. JACOBS, *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Commende Langeln und der Klöster Himmelpforten und Waterler* [Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen, Bd. 15, Halle 1882] p. 103). On November 29, 1259, he dispatched the same bull to the prelates in Provence (Bibl. nat. de Paris, Collection Doat, vol. XX, f. 60 - f. 62), and on December 13 of the same year to the prelates of Lombardy (MS 1340 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, p. 34; cf. TORELLI 4. 639). Finally, on January 30, 1268, Clement IV addressed it to the prelates of Aquitania (*AA* 5. 354). On the other hand, on July 7, 1260, Alexander IV granted the request of the Hermit Friars of Brettino to keep their eremetical mode of life in their old mother house on the hill of Brettino in the vicinity of Fano (« Solet annuere sedes », EMPOLI 32 f.; POTTHAST 17915). Also a number of other Augustinian hermitages were allowed to remain. Thus Augustine (Novellus) of Tarano stayed for a while in the hermitage St. Barbara in the vicinity of Santa Fiora (*Vita beati Aug. Novelli* 11: *Acta SS*, Maii IV, p. 619) and, after resigning the office of Prior General, retired to the hermitage St. Leonard in the neighborhood of Siena (*ibid.* 16: *Acta SS*, Maii IV, p. 620). Concerning these two hermitages which, before the Great Union, had been houses of the Tuscan Congregation (cf. TORELLI 4. 454), see ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 291 f., s. v. *Lecceto*; *ibid.* 296, s. v. *Santa Fiora*; *Vfr.* pp. 460, n. 42; 463, n. 52. Moreover, in keeping with the old tradition of the Order, some new hermitages were founded. In 1308, the Chapter of the Lateran Basilica granted to the Augustinian Friars Andrew of Cascia and John of Nursia, who had received the permission for the foundation of an hermitage from the Prior General, a place « in quadam solitudine unius vallis, quae dicitur *Vallis Nucis*, in dioecesi Spoletana et districtu Casciae, non multum longe ab ecclesia Sti. Benedicti in Vallibus, ecclesiae Lateranensi subiecta » (« Nonnulla documenta Florentina ad ordinem fratrum eremitarum S. Augustini spectantia », *AA* 12. 110 f.). The concession of the *eremitorium Vallis Nucis* was confirmed in 1336 (*ibid.* 111 f.). In 1311, at the request of Simon of Todi, Bishop Maffeo of Terni gave to the Augustinian monastery St. Peter of the same city the church of

Henry's report to warrant the conclusion that he inspected these documents personally, the fact remains that his account describes correctly the situation the Order had to master immediately after its reorganization in 1256, and served no doubt as a basis for Jordan of Saxony's fuller discussion of the same problem [157]).

The difficulties just described were not the only ones the new mendicant Order had to overcome. Danger threatened also from without. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council had forbidden the foundation of new Orders [158]). In 1274, the Second General Council of Lyon had repeated the prohibition and ordered the suppression of all monastic foundations contravening this law. The Augustinians (and Carmelites) had only provisionally been recognized as following an approved way of monastic life before the Fourth Lateran Council. Moreover, the canon of the Council, containing the provisional toleration, had alluded to future plans of Pope Gregory X regarding the Augustinian, Carmelite and other Orders [159]). Not before 1298, when Boniface VIII changed the provisional toleration to definite approval [160]), could the Order of the Hermit Friars

St. Bartholomew, situated in a secluded spot of his diocese, where, with the permission of the superiors, some friars were to lead an eremetical life (HERRRERA, *Alphabetum Aug.* 2. 376; TORELLI 5. 327 f.). Somewhat later, Friar John of Cascia was allowed to leave the monastery of Cascia and retire into the valley of Atino (A. MORINI, « Il beato Giovanni da Cascia Agostiniano », *Bolletino Storico Agostiniano* 3 [1926-1927] 151), where he built an hermitage in the vicinity of Leonessa and Monteleone (*ibid.* 178; cf. HERRERA, *Alphabetum Aug.* 1. 167; *AA* 12. 112, n. 1).

[157]) *Vfr.* p. 57 f.

[158]) Conc. Lateranense IV (1215) c. 13 (MANSI 22. 1002).

[159]) Conc. Lugdunense II (1274) c. 23 (MANSI 24. 97): « Ceterum Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini ordines, quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, *in suo statu manere concedimus, donec de ipsis fuerit aliter ordinatum. Intendimus siquidem tam de illis quam de reliquis etiam non mendicantibus ordinibus,* prout animarum saluti et eorum statui expedire viderimus, *providere* ». At the beginning the pope's attitude towards the Carmelites and Augustinian Friars appears to have been even more reserved than when the final text was formulated. For the original draft of c. 23 seems to have been as follows: « Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini ordines, *qui se asserunt ante dictum concilium institutos...* ». The origin, then, of the two Orders before the decisive date (the IV Lateran Council of 1215) is here represented as an allegation (*qui... asserunt*). Concerning this question, see S. KUTTNER, « Conciliar Law in the Making: The Lyonese Constitutions of Gregory X in a Manuscript at Washington », *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* 2 (Rome 1949) 74; cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 30 f.

[160]) *Sexti Decretal.*, Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. un. (2. 1055 Friedberg); « ... Ere-

of St. Augustine consider itself a fully approved member of the great family of religious Orders in the Church. In their modern form, the Augustinians certainly had originated after 1215. But the representatives of the Order at the Lyonese Council could claim that the foundation of a number of their houses preceded the decisive date [161]). It is along this line that Henry argues for the greater antiquity of his Order as against the Dominicans and Franciscans (4. 98-108):

Sexta veritas est, quod ordo fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini ex sui institutione multo antiquior est ordinibus fratrum praedicatorum et minorum, licet ex sui habitatione in civitatibus, quae facta est per dominum Alexandrum papam IV, tempore sit posterior. Quod patet expresse per decretalem, quae incipit *Religionum*, Libro Sexto, « De religiosis domibus » [162]), ubi dicitur in textu, quod institutio ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini praecessit concilium generale Lateranense, quod quidem concilium celebratum fuit sub Innocentio III, quo tempore nondum ordines praedicatorum et minorum fuerant instituti...

From the foregoing text we can see that Henry does not give

mitarum sancti Augustini et Carmelitarum ordines, quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, *in solido statu volumus permanere* ». The pontiff refers to this his action in the bull « Sacer ordo vester » (Jan. 21, 1302: JACOBS, *Urkundenbuch* [n. 156 *supra*] p. 123 f.; the same bull is found in EMPOLI 44 f., but dated Jan. 21, 1298): « Nos autem ad dictum ordinem, *quem in statu firmo, solido ac stabili decrevimus et volumus permanere*, apostolicae considerationis intuitum dirigentes, ad ea libenter intendimus... ». Here we may add the note of an anonymous writer in the Harleian MS 2386 (saec. XV) of the British Museum, f. 63^{v}: « Item Guido archidiaconus [Guido de Baysio] bene in glossa sua super dicto capitulo *Religionum* dicit sic: Super verbo ' in solido statu ' haec littera immutat antiquam, ubi dicebatur ' in suo statu manere concedimus ' etc., *et sic isti duo ordines sunt totaliter confirmati*, ut hic patet. Haec Guido ».

[161]) The thirteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Salimbene di Adamo reports in his *Cronica Ordinis Minorum* (MGH, *Script.* 32. 255) that Gregory X intended to suppress the Order of the Augustinian Hermits, and that it was due only to the intervention of their Cardinal Protector Richard Annibaldi that the pope refrained from carrying out his plan. Salimbene's statement, expressing the view of his own Order, must, of course, be taken with some reserve. The cardinal was not present at the Council. But it may well be that he was responsible for the more favorable wording of the final text of the Lyonese constitution, published in Rome, by pointing out to the pope that he personally had known a number of Augustinian houses which had existed before 1215 (cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 31).

[162]) See n. 160 *supra*.

the full history of the events which led to the definite approval of the new mendicant Order. He presents only the final result, basing his account exclusively on c. *Religionum* of the Sixth Book of the Decretals, from which the reference to future plans of Gregory X had been eliminated by Boniface VIII, who had also changed the provisional toleration of the Order to definite approval [163]). In this way we may also understand Henry's later statements:

Et per Innocentium III idem ordo registratur et eis regula Augustini confirmatur et ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini nuncupatur ; et hoc anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinto decimo (4. 114-117).

... licet in registro papali dicatur contineri, quod Innocentius III ordinem eremitarum sancti Augustini registraverit (5. 54 f.).

Henry was keenly aware of the fact that no pope, after Alexander IV, had favored the Augustinian Hermits so much as Boniface VIII. Accordingly, no other pope receives such warm praise from him as this pontiff (3. 142 f. ; 5. 96 f.), though again he refers only in a general way to « the great and unparalleled favors » conferred on the Order by Boniface VIII, without specifying their nature or quoting any particular papal document.

Henry's terse statement that the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine was approved by Gregory IX in 1230 (3. 135-137 ; cf. 5. 51-54), gives no hint as to the source from which he might have gathered his information. It seems, however, to refer to the bull « Cum olim sicut » which, on December 8, 1228, the same pope addressed to « the Hermit Friars of Brettino in the Diocese of Fano and the other Friars subject to them » [164]). From the bull we learn that the pope granted the request of these hermits to adopt the Rule of St. Augustine, since the Rule they had followed before was not one of the approved Rules as demanded by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The bull then concerned solely the Hermit Friars of Brettino, i. e., *one* of the five Hermit Congregations which, in 1256, Alexander IV combined into the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine. Since the Brettino Friars had now accepted an approved Rule, namely, the Rule of St. Augustine, the bull recognized them as one of the *ordines approbati*.

For good reason Henry attached great weight to the appoint-

[163]) Cf. KUTTNER, *loc. cit.* (n. 159 *supra*) p. 74.

[164]) EMPOLI 123; POTTHAST 8288.

ment by John XXII of the Augustinian Hermits as custodians of the tomb of St. Augustine in Pavia. He regarded this appointment as the final and official recognition of their claim to an unbroken descent from St. Augustine as his « true and real sons ». Twice (3. 164-177 ; 5. 182-189 ; cf. 3. 94-101) he speaks at some length about this significant event and cites (3. 171-174) a passage from the papal bull which contains the appointment, though he quotes the text not *verbatim* but from memory [165]).

In explaining why the Church gave to the Order the title « Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine » (3. 35-80) [166]), Henry displays an expert knowledge of Canon Law. Not only is his quoting technique precise, but the quotations themselves prove that he drew them directly from the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.

Last though not least, Henry shows himself an able and solid ascetical writer, whether he expounds the symbolic meaning of the Augustinian habit (2. 10-48) [167]), or explains the excellency of eremitical life (4. 34-78) [168]), or tries to spur his brothers in religion to greater perseverance in the professed way of perfection by stressing the exemplary life of earlier brethren, some of whom died in the odor of sanctity (chapter 6). In these passages speaks a man who was a master in the spiritual life.

Henry's treatise was soon to be eclipsed by the more comprehensive work of his pupil Jordan of Saxony. Concerning some subject matters [169]), however, it remained an indispensable source-book for later Augustinian historians. Here we may add that the Harleian MS 2386 (saec. XV) of the British Museum contains a great number of excerpts from Henry's treatise [170]).

[165]) The precise text of this passage of the bull is printed *infra* (C. — Notes), note to 3. 164-174. Also in this case Jordan of Saxony proves to be the more thorough historian. His quotation of the same passage shows that he had made a careful copy of the text from the original source (cf. *Vfr.* p. 64).

[166]) Jordan of Saxony (*Vfr.* p. 60 f.) follows Henry closely in the discussion of the same topic.

[167]) This passage is one of Jordan of Saxony's sources in *Vfr.* pp. 51-53.

[168]) Jordan of Saxony (*Vfr.* p. 17, lines 40-44) copies almost *verbatim* Friemar 4. 43-47.

[169]) We mention especially the list of the Superiors General of the Order (chapter 5).

[170]) A note, entitled *De antiquitate fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini* (f. 60[r]), contains the following excerpts from Henry's treatise: 1. 12-17; 4. 83-85; 98-109; 111-114. Another note, entitled *Declaratio de origine et institutione et*

Henry's treatise was published for the first time by E. Esteban in 1912 [171]). It cannot be called a critical edition in the strict sense of the word. Its author limited himself to reproducing the text of cod. Verodunensis 41 (V) and giving a number of variant readings, found in cod. Vat. Reg. 565 (R) and in MS 501 of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (A). Probably because of the great haste with which the edition was prepared, many mistakes (we counted fifty-six) crept into the reading of V, nor was there given a full account of the variant readings of R and A. Moreover, only in a few cases did Esteban touch upon the question concerning the sources used by Henry. Without minimizing Esteban's undeniable merit in making Henry's treatise for the first time accessible to students of medieval history, we thought that an edition meeting modern needs would be a welcome contribution to this centenary publication.

The following is a list of the MSS used for this edition, with their code designations, a description of each, and a brief account of their interrelations and their value for the reconstruction of the text.

1. V (Verodunensis). — Verdun, Bibliothèque publique, MS 41, saec. XIV (between 1343 and 1345 [172]), 213 folios, 15,5 × 12 cm. The text of Henry's treatise starts on f. 144^{r} and ends on f. 150^{r}. The MS is excellently written in semicursive characters, with rubrics and initials in red, on strong, yellowish vellum and bound in spotted sheep leather. It once belonged to the monastery of the Augustinian Friars in Barfleur, Dep. Manche, in north-west France. Henry's treatise was copied with great care. There are very few omissions

confirmatione ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini (f. 62^{r} - f. 64^{r}), offers an even larger list, namely, 1. 61-66; 66-68; 2. 121-127; 3. 38-55; 71-80; 83-90; 120-131; 145-149; 4. 19-26; 98-110; 111-114; 114-117; 5. 51-54.

[171]) *AA* 4. 279-283; 298-307; 321-328. As ESTEBAN (*ibid.* 279 f.) has convincingly shown, former assertions that the treatise was printed at Venice in 1514, must be due to an error. This claim was first made by E. LEAL, *Crysol purificativo*, Lisboa 1674, p. 369, without giving the printer's name. Leal in turn was quoted by D. A. GANDOLFUS, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Romae 1704, p. 169. Finally, J. LANTERI, *Postrema saecula sex religionis Augustinianae* 3, Romae 1860, p. 419, repeated the same statement, without giving the source on which he based his assertion. No copy of this edition or a clue to one has come to our attention.

[172]) Only a few smaller portions of the MS were written somewhat later by different hands. We may disregard them in our study, since they do not contain Henry's treatise.

of single words, minor mistakes and corrections. In some instances the scribe noticed immediately the mistake he had made, and corrected it in a rather simple way, for instance, l. 44: rus adiit] rus abiit vel adiit, or 5. 184-185 ; incredibile et prorsus impossible videbatur] incredibile et prorsus incredibile videbatur seu impossibile. He was less happy in making a correction in 3. 56-57: verior titulus ... quam] verus ymo [*in margine*] titulus ... quam. In one instance only is the text marred by a hopelessly corrupted reading, namely, in 2. 76-77 where, instead of « quantum patet aura in domo faenea » (a quotation from Aug., *Conf.* 9.7.16), the scribe wrote: « Quartum [probably influenced by the preceding *tertio* in line 60] patet ; ait enim [ait. n., an erroneous reading of *aura*] : habita [supplied above the line to make the passage give sense] in domo faenea ». V is our earliest and best copy. F. 144^{r}: « Incipit tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum et vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem, compilatus per fratrem Henricum de Alamania, sacrae paginae professorem, pro directione simplicium non habentium plenam notitiam praedictorum. Quia nonnulli ignorantes... ». F. 150^{r}: « Quod nobis praestare dignetur, de cuius munere venit, ut sibi a fidelibus digne et laudabiliter serviatur. Amen. Compilatus fuit iste tractatus anno domini M°CCC°XXXIIII°. Deo gratias » [173]).

2. R (Romanus). — Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reginensis Lat. 565, saec. XIV (an. 1354 [174]), 34 folios, 27 × 23 cm. The text of Henry's treatise runs from f. 29^{r} to f. 34^{v}. The only other piece the MS contains (f. 1^{r} - f. 28^{v}) is entitled *Correctorium tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem.* Its author is a Canon Regular who defends the priority of the Canons Regular as the true sons of St. Augustine against Henry's claim. The name of the scribe appears on f. 29^{r}: « Scripsit Durandus de Aln » (Ahlen in Westphalia ?). As compared with V, R is less carefully written and contains a number of omissions (the larger ones occur in l. 13-15 ; 2. 76-80 ;

[173]) For a description of V, see *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements,* Tome V (Paris 1879), p. 451 f.; E. ESTEBAN, « De codice Verodunensi 41 documenta de rebus ordinis continente », *AA* 3. 91-94; « De tractatu Fr. Henrici de Vrimaria de origine et progressu ordinis FF. EE. S. Augustini », *AA* 4. 281.

[174]) Cf. f. 28^{v}: « Praesens correctorium compilatum fuit et conscriptum ad laudem et honorem dei, virginis gloriosae et beatissimi Augustini totiusque curiae caelestis anno domini millesimo CCC° quinquagesimo quarto, XX die mensis Martii ».

3. 104-106 ; 154-156 ; 5. 119-121). The scribe also garbled a number of unfamiliar words and proper names and, in some instances, made arbitrary additions and changes in the text. F. 29^{r}: « Incipit tractatus de origine et progressu nostri ordinis, vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem, compilatus per fratrem Henricum de Almannia pro directione simplicium non habentium plenam experi<en>tiam seu notitam de praefatis. Scripsit Durandus de Aln. Quia nonnulli ignorantes... ». F. 34^{v}: « Quod nobis praestare dignetur... Amen. Compilatus est iste tractatus per fratrem Henricum de Almannia, sacrae theologiae dignissimum professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini millesimo CCC°XXXIIII°, cui deus sit propitius nunc et semper. Amen » [175]).

3. P (Parisinus). — Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 763 (647 T. L.), saec. XV, 295 folios, 20,8 × 14 cm. The text of Henry's treatise starts on f. 34^{r} and ends on f. 40^{r}. Written on paper, with initials in red, and bound in parchment, the MS formerly belonged to the library of the Canons Regular of St. Victor of Paris. The copying of Henry's treatise betrays great hurry. There are many arbitrary changes, corrupted readings and a great number of corrections. In quite a number of instances the scribe, unable to read the exemplar from which he copied, left a blank space (cf. 2. 2 ; 75; 76 ; 3. 41 ; 43-45 ; 4. 11 ; 61 ; 72 ; 90 ; 114 ; 5. 37; 104; 105; 6. 48; 50). Only in two places (5. 104 and 6. 50) the missing words were supplied by a much later, probably a seventeenth century, hand. P also offers a much abbreviated version of 5. 107-166. On the other hand, its catalogue of saints (6. 32-60) is much larger than that of VRWM. The treatise has no heading and starts immediately with the text (f. 34^{r}): « Quia nonnulli ignorant (*sic*)... ». Explicit (f. 40^{r}): « Quod nobis praestare dignetur... Amen. Iste tractatus est completus per venerabilem doctorem magistrum Henricum de Alamania, sacrae paginae professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M°CCC°IIII » [176]).

4. W (Vindobonensis). — Vienna (Wien), Oesterreichische Na-

[175]) Cf. the description of R in *AA* 4. 281 f.

[176]) For a description of P, see *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, par H. Martin, Tome Deuxième (Paris 1886), pp. 84-86; ESTEBAN, *AA* 4. 280 f.; P. A. FEUTRY, « De existentia Codicis Parisiensis continentis tractatum ' De origine et progressu ordinis ' Fr. Henrici de Urimaria » (*sic*), *ibid.* 382 f.

tionalbibliothek, MS 1651 (Theol. 754), parchment, saec. XIV, 70 folios, octavo. The first twelve folios (1^r-12^v) contain Henry's treatise. It is on the whole a carefully written copy in two columns of twenty-nine lines. Striving for clarity of the text has led to a number of additions, for instance, 2. 55 ; 60 ; 4. 3 ; 14 ; 19 ; 5. 8 ; 58 ; 70 ; 72 ; 77 ; 79 ; 98 ; 102 ; 104 ; 167 ; 173 ; 176 ; 179. There is a lengthy interpolation after 5. 8 in connection with the story that makes St. Francis of Assisi a disciple of the Augustinian Hermits. On the other hand, the passage containing the clash of opinions between B. Augustine Novellus and B. James of Viterbo is omitted (5. 107 ff.). The text is resumed in the middle of the moral derived from the *exemplum* (5. 141 : « et cum quanta humilitate... »). Disconnected, as they are, from the preceding part, the lines 5. 141-146 hardly give sense. F. 1^r: « Incipit tractatus de origine et progressu nostri ordinis, scilicet fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, et vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem, compilatus per fratrem Heinricum de Alemania, sacrae theologiae dignissimum professorem, pro eruditione simplicium fratrum non habentium plenam experientiam seu notitiam de praedictis. Quia nonnulli ignorantes... ». F. 12^v: « Quod nobis praestare dignetur... Amen. Compilatus est iste tractatus per fratrem Heinricum de Almania, sacrae theologiae dignissimum professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M°CCC°XXXIIII, cui deus sit propitius nunc et semper » [177]).

5. M (Monacensis). — Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. (Clm) 2956, parchment, saec. XIV, 188 folios, octavo. It formerly belonged to the Brigittine convent (« ex monasterio ord. S. Brigidae ») of Altomünster in Upper Bavariae. The text of M, f. 167^v-172^r, represents a shorter version of Henry's treatise. The abbreviation was accomplished in two ways. In some instances (cf. 1. 23-25 ; 2. 20-26 ; 55-60 ; 91-107 ; 113-114 ; 3. 1-8 ; 10-13 ; 16-18 ; 19-28 ; 29-33 ; 54-80 ; 116-118 ; 129-134 ; 138-142 ; 3. 164-4. 26 ; 4. 122-5. 5) portions not absolutely required by the train of thought were omitted ; in other places (cf. 1. 53-68 ; 2. 5-9 ; 29-48 ; 60-67 ; 3. 35-55 ; 4. 34-110) the text was condensed considerably. Like W, M (cf. 5. 40 ff.) has an interpolation in connection with the story according to which St. Francis lived for a while with the Augustinian

[177]) Cf. *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis I (Vindobonae 1864) 269.

Hermits before founding his own Order. An entire passage, 3. 168-174, has been transferred and placed immediately after 3. 108. On the whole, M is carefully written, with few mistakes, corrections, and two erasures by the original scribe. Being an epitome, it is of limited value for the reconstruction of the entire text. F. 167^{v}: « Incipit tractatus de origine et progressu atque proprio titulo ordinis, scilicet fratrum heremitarum s. Augustini, per reverendissimum magistrum fratrem Heinricum, sacrae theologiae et praedicti ordinis professorem, compilatus anno domini M°CCC°XXX° quarto. Quia sunt nonnulli ignorantes... ». Explicit (f. 172^{r}): « Quod nobis praestare dignetur, de cuius munere venit, ut sibi a fidelibus suis digne et laudabiliter serviatur. Amen ». Then there follow immediately the following two appendices.

Post obitum s. Augustini filii eius ibidem vel circa, custodientes corpus eius, annis XI manserunt. Sed per gentem barbaricam civitate Hipponensi [Yponensi *cod.*] cum locis astantibus totaliter profanata [prophanata *cod.*] in quandam insulam, ubi ritu heremitico permanere potuerunt, sanctissimum corpus transtulerunt. In dicta autem insula custodierunt eum, quousque dicta terra depopulata et desolata fuit per inimicos fidei christianae. Post quod tempus christianissimus Liutbrandus [Aliprandus *cod.*], Longobardorum rex, gloriosum corpus cum novem aliis sanctorum corporibus, ex filiis patris nostri gloriosi, in Papiam, civitatem regalem et praecipuam tunc regni sui, adduci fecit et in ecclesia sancti Petri in Caelo Aureo honorifice tumulari. In quo idem rex et Boethius, qui et sanctus Severinus dicitur, tumulati sunt. Papiani vero sanctum corpus suis fratribus sociaverunt. Sed illi non remanserunt, quia non erat locus aptus vivendi ipsorum, qui tantummodo in heremis morabantur. Locus autem, in quo tumulatus est, Romanae ecclesiae subest. Et quia fratres nostri non ibi remanserunt, sedes apostolica per diversa tempora diversis eum tradidit, quandoque nigris monachis, quandoque aliis, tandem canonicis regularibus ipsum tradidit. Sed tempore tertii abbatis illius ordinis canonicorum tradidit ipsum nobis modo.

Augustinus in quodam sermone [178]) suos fratres heremitas hortatur dicens: « Non satis prodest, quod locum istum expetimus, si tales sumus, quales in saeculo esse poterimus. Numquid nobis in hoc secreto habitantibus aliquid prodest, quando tyrannico dominatu

[178]) Concerning this sermon, see *infra*, C. — Notes, 3. 8-28.

malitia in nobis regnat ? Quando ira superequitat ? Quando maiorem metum nobis humanus oculus quam divinus inducit ? Quomodo laudabiles heremitas nos esse credimus extra mundum, dum intra nos mundum tenemus inclusum ? Ita ut qui putabamus nos precibus nostris saeculo ipsi succurrere, paene necesse sit magis saeculi intercessoribus adiuvari indigere. Dubium quippe non est, quod illa anima, quae, concubina voluptatis, possessa efficitur mundanae conversationis, non possit effici regnum divinitatis. Ideoque, fratres, videte vocationem vestram. Venire quidem ad heremum, summa perfectio est, sed non perfecte in heremo vivere, summa damnatio est. Quid enim prodest, si in habitatione silentium <sit> et in habitatoribus tumultus, si locus quietus corporaliter teneatur et inquietudo in corde vertatur et colluctatio passionum ? Non enim ad istum locum convenimus, ut nobis mundus famuletur, ut rebus omnibus abundemus, omni quiete fruamur. Non utique ad requiem et securitatem sed ad pugnam venimus, ad agonem processimus, ad exercenda cum vitiis bella properamus, ut non solum non inferamus iniurias sed nec sentiamus ». Haec Augustinus [179]).

6. A (Angelicus). — Rome, Biblioteca Angelica (formerly the library of the Augustinian monastery Sant' Agostino), MS 501 (D. 8. 5), saec. XV, 12 folios, paper, parchment cover, 19 × 14,6 cm. The text of A, f. 1^r-8^r, is a revised copy of Henry's treatise, in which an attempt has been made to suppress all passages referring to Henry's person (cf. especially 5. 68-69 ; 168-172 ; 174-175) though occasionally there have been overlooked short remarks like « prout audivi a quodam viro authentico » (3. 94), « me praesente » (5. 76), « in mei praesentia » (5. 106), « prout ab eius ore audivi » (5. 186). The author of the revision also enlarged the catalogue of saints (cf. 6. 61-89) and added to it a special conclusion (6. 90-92). There are two large lacunae, namely, 5. 86-97 and 5. 107-159 (Henry's report on his experiences during the Chapter General of Naples in 1300). The treatise in A carries the simple title : *Tractatus de origine ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini*. Inc. « Quia nonnulli ignorantes... ». Expl. « Quod nobis praestare dignetur... Amen. Amen. Amen. Explicit tractatus de institutione ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, compilatus per fratrem Henricum de

[179]) Cf. the description of M in *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, by C. Halm, G. Laubmann and others, editio altera emendatior 1. 2 (Monachii 1894), p. 53 f.

Alamania, sacrae paginae professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M°CCC°XXXIIII. Deo gratias. Amen »[180]).

7. H (Höggmair). — Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. (Clm) 8423 (Mon. Aug. 123), paper, an. 1728-1730, 504 pages. The MS was written by the Augustinian Friar, Angelus Höggmair, and scribes employed by him (cf. p. 1). The text of Henry's treatise, pp. 475-492, was copied by Höggmair himself in 1730 from MS 501 (A) of the Biblioteca Angelica (cf. note on p. 492) [181]). Being a direct copy of A, H will not be quoted in the critical apparatus.

The autograph of Henry is not preserved. Moreover, a study of the critical apparatus shows that the treatise has a highly diversified manuscript tradition. On the whole the family tree of the MSS branches out along two peculiar lines. One group is formed by VRP, the other by WMA. Both have a common set of various peculiarities. We call special attention to the following.

In 2. 76 f., WMA have the correct reading: « quantum patet aura in domo faenea ». VRP, on the other hand, were apparently copied from exemplars in which the passage was either already faulty or difficult to read. At any rate, the scribe of V started a new paragraph and wrote « Quartum » instead of « quantum » (cf. the preceding *Primo*, *Secundo*, *Tertio*, lines 51; 55; 60). The word « aura » after « patet » was corrupted to « ait. n. » (« ait enim »). Then, to make the passage give sense, the scribe supplied « habita » above the line, so that it read now: « Quartum patet; ait enim: habita in domo faenea ». The scribe of P copied likewise: « Quartum patet ». Unable to read the following « aura » or whatever was there in his exemplar, he left a blank space and made a further blunder by writing « *de* domo faenea ». The scribe of R, apparently experiencing the same difficulty, omitted the entire passage from « quantum patet » to « servientes pariter tibi » (line 80). In 3. 11, WMA read correctly « huius habitationis secretum ». V has

[180]) See the description of A in H. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, Tomus Prior complectens codices ab instituta bibliotheca ad a. 1870, Romae 1892, p. 222 f.; ESTEBAN, *AA* 4. 281 f. MS 501 was formerly bound together with MS 502 which has a considerably larger size (33×21 cm).

[181]) Cf. the description of H in *Catal. cod. lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac.* 2. 1 (Monachii 1874), p. 26 f. Pp. 494-503 contain an Index of papal bulls granted to the Augustinian Order, with the names of the monasteries where they can be found. It has been bound together with H. The script is of the fifteenth century.

erroneously « huius habitatio » ; in R and P the passage is remedied, but reads « huius habitationis *locus* ». In 3. 42, WMA offer the correct reading « cum similibus », while VRP have « de consimilibus » (in V the preposition « de » was erased afterwards). In 4. 77 f., WMA read correctly « triduum vel amplius saepissime ducere ». VRP omit « vel » and have « cepisse » instead of « saepissime ». In 4. 89, VRP omit « ordo ». In 4. 90, WMA have correctly « vita », while V has « electio », R « eloquium », P « q'cum » (?).

Moreover, WMA have a number of peculiar readings in common, for instance, 1. 34 nos autem] et nos ; 2. 82 applicuit] applicavit ; 4. 31 apparet] patet ; 4. 46 a saeculo] de saeculo. In 3. 12, misuse of the aspirate — « cohertionis » for « coertionis » — is responsible for the faulty reading « cohabitationis » in the group to which WMA belong. WMA also have a number of common additions, for instance, 1. 42 ; 2. 10 ; 120 ; 3. 9.

V is the most reliable of all the MSS. It shows no trace of any conscious changes in the text. Moreover, since the mistakes and omissions found in it seldom affect more than one word, the damage is easily recognized and thus neutralized. On the other hand, the value of the remaining MSS for the reconstruction of the original text is considerably reduced by serious shortcomings. The text in RPWA is impaired by a great number of arbitrary changes, larger omissions and corrupt readings. M offers an epitomized text only. This being the condition of the text tradition, the only correct method to be employed for the reconstruction of the original text was to use V as a basis and to correct its faulty readings and omissions with the help of the remaining MSS. The few emendations which were necessary concern mostly proper names.

In order to produce a readable page we introduced uniformity in spelling, since nothing but confusion would have resulted from slavishly following the MSS. As a rule, the critical apparatus disregards all confusions of *ci* and *ti*, *e* and *ae*, *i* and *y*, *c* and *k* ; moreover, the use of double consonants for single and vice versa (*Affrica*, *deffluere*, *sagita*) ; finally, such orthographic peculiarities as: misuse of the aspirate (*herror* for *error*, *pascalis* for *paschalis*, *rethor* for *rhetor*) and confusion of *b* and *p*, *d* and *t* (*babtisma* for *baptisma*, *capud* for *caput*). Their inclusion would have swelled the apparatus to unwieldy proportions. For the same reason we have consigned the source material used by Henry to a special section (C. — Notes).

CODICES MANU SCRIPTI

V	Verodunensis	s. XIV (1343-45)
R	Romanus	s. XIV (1354)
P	Parisinus	s. XV
W	Vindobonensis	s. XIV
M	Monacensis	s. XIV
A	Angelicus	s. XV
H	Höggmair (Monacensis)	s. XVIII (1730)

B. — Text

Caput Primum

Quia nonnulli ignorantes modum conversionis et actum conversationis gloriosissimi doctoris beati Augustini, singularis patris nostri et patroni, possent dubitare, ex qua ratione fratres nostrae religionis prae ceteris religiosis suam regulam profitentibus fratres ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini specialiter dicerentur: ideo praedicta veritas, quare videlicet iuste et rationabiliter nobis per sanctam Romanam ecclesiam sit talis titulus specialiter attributus, potest via triplici declarari.

Prima sumitur ex modo suae conversionis.

Secunda ex actu suae conversationis.

Tertia ex variis dictis et factis authenticae approbationis.

Prima via sic patet. Nam licet primarium motivum suae conversionis habuerit per divinam inspirationem et per beati Ambrosii salutarem eruditionem, complementum tamen suae conversionis habuit per beatum Simplicianum eremitam, qui primo Romae exemplo Pauli primi eremitae et beati Antonii a sua iuventute deo devotissime serviebat et postmodum veniens Mediolanum vitam solitariam et eremiticam cum multis sociis ferventissime duxit ; ad quem Augustinus perrexit et ei circuitus errorum suorum exposuit. Et tunc sanctus Simplicianus sibi proposuit sanctam vitam beati Antonii et aliorum patrum mundum gaudenter pro Christo deserentium et specialiter exemplum Victorini magni rhetoris, qui in die paschali mirante Roma et gaudente ecclesia fidem catholicam coram toto populo publice professus fuit. Quibus auditis cor beati Augustini ad recipiendum fidem catholicam fuit permaxime inflammatum, ut

1 Quia] sunt *add.* M ignorant P 2-3 beati... patroni] beati patris nostri Augustini et singularissimi nostri patroni A beati patris nostri Augustini atque patroni P patris nostri] mei patris W 5 specialiter *om.* P 6 ideo] idcirco M praedicta *om.* M videlicet *om.* M scilicet P 8 attributus] hoc *add.* W 11 authenticae *om.* P 12 licet *om.* R 13 per[2] *om.* P 13-15 habuerit... conversionis *om.* R 16 primo *om.* P primi *om.* R 17 postea P 19 ferventissime *om.* W quem] beatus *add.* P 20 sanctus] beatus W 21 sibi *om.* P 22-23 exemplum] beati *add.* P 23 magni *om.* M 23-25 qui... professus fuit *om.* M 25 publice *om.* W 26 recipiendam WM maxime WM

ipsemet testatur octavo libro *Confessionum* ; gestabat enim verba Simpliciani et exempla servorum dei in visceribus suis quasi sagittas acutas, ut patet ibidem. Unde Augustinus auditis verbis illius et etiam Ponticiani, qui ad ipsum visitandum de Africa Mediolanum venerat et sibi plura talia exempla sanctorum virorum proposuerat, mente et vultu turbatus dixit Alipio : « Quid patimur ? Quid est hoc, quod audisti ? Surgunt indocti et rapiunt caelum, nos autem cum doctrinis nostris demergimur ad inferos ».

Et ex tunc beatus Augustinus, factus catechumenus a beato Ambrosio, cum Alipio et puero Adeodato coepit vivere cum beato Simpliciano et sociis eius secundum modum illorum fratrum, quorum exemplis est conversus ad fidem catholicam. Quae omnia satis possunt colligi ex octavo et nono libris *Confessionum*.

Huic etiam satis consonare videtur Possidius in libro, quem fecit de *vita beati Augustini*, ubi dicit sic : « Ut autem locus proposito conveniret, tumultum civitatis deserens rus adiit, in quo cum amicis eodem desiderio flagrantibus divinis lectionibus operam dedit ». Ubi per *rus* convenienter intelligitur ille locus solitarius, in quo extra civitatem Mediolanum cum beato Simpliciano et sociis eius degebat divinis lectionibus et orationi insistens ; et demum cum praedictis duobus a beato Ambrosio sanctum baptisma recepit. Et tunc cum beato Ambrosio de hoc

27 ipse P testatur] dicit RM tradit W tradidit A in *add.* WMPA 28 servorum] verborum P 29 ut patet ibidem *om.* M 30 Ponticiani *scripsimus* Pontiani *codd.* 31 Africa] ad *add.* P talia *om.* P 32 Alippio VM Allimpio R Olypio W Alipplio A 33 patimur] Quid moramur *add.* A hoc *om.* MA quod *om.* P quod audisti *om.* R 34 et] violenter *add.* P nos autem] et nos WMA 35 ad inferna R in profundum P 36 Et *om.* R ex *om.* P beato (dicto W) Augustino facto catechumeno VRWA 36-37 a beato Ambrosio *om.* M 37 cum] una cum P Allimpio R Alypio W Allipio MA puero] suo *add.* W Adeodato *scripsimus* Deodato *codd.* 38 beato *om.* W et] ac R 39 catholicam *om.* M 40 satis *om.* M colligi] intelligi W libro R 40-41 ex octavo libro et nono *Confessionum* M ex octavo *Confessionum* libro et nono P 42 etiam *om.* P consonare] concordare R conformari P videtur] quod dicit *add.* WMA Possidius *scripsimus* Possidonius *codd. hic et deinceps* 43 ubi sic ait A loco P 43-44 Ut autem locum sancto proposito inveniret A 44 rus] abiit vel *add.* V 45 fragrantibus A 47 Medyolani P Mediolanensem A 48 orationibus A 49 sistens P et demum *om.* M demum] deinde R 49-50 a beato... recepit *om.* W 50 suscepit M cum *om.* P de hoc] dehinc M

plurimum gratulante totum illud canticum *Te deum laudamus* alternatim composuit.

Ex quibus evidenter patet, quod, cum beatus Augustinus exemplo sanctorum eremitarum, qui fuerunt primarii nostrae religionis fundatores, per beatum Simplicianum ad fidem Christi ultimate conversus fuerit et cum eodem et sociis suis in ipsorum habitu per tempus aliquod steterit et postea fratribus nostris hanc vitam eremiticam sectantibus regulam vivendi per se ipsum tradiderit (ut infra dicetur): quod iuste et rationabiliter sancta Romana ecclesia nostros fratres ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini appellavit ; licet enim fratres nostri prius ante dationem regulae per beatum Augustinum dicerentur simpliciter eremitae, ex regula tamen ipsis per beatum Augustinum tradita per Romanam ecclesiam iste titulus ordini appropriatus fuit, ut ex tunc appropriate dicerentur fratres ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini, quorum singularis et verus pater esset non tantum per habitus assumptionem sed etiam per suum diuturnum convictum et regulae dationem, ut infra clarius apparebit.

Caput Secundum

Secunda via sic patet. Nam post eius baptismum mansit Mediolani cum beato Simpliciano in habitu eremitico circiter per annum, ut in fide catholica per beatum Ambrosium et beatum Simplicianum perfectius doceretur.

Quod autem habitum eremiticum Augustinus assumpserit

51 congratulante A gaudente P 53 patet] colligitur R 54-55 qui... Simplicianum *om.* M 55 ad fidem Christi *om.* R 55-56 ad fidem sic est conversus M 56 ultimo W fuit P 56-57 ipsorum] ipso V 56-59 cum eodem... tradiderit] cum eis consimilis habitavit nec non et regulam per se ipsum tradidit M 57 stetit P 59 tradidit P ut] sicut M quod] quare A quod... rationabiliter] unde rationabile est et iustum ut M 60 Romana *om.* M ordinis] fratrum *add.* M 61 appellaverit M appellat P licet fratres quidem nostri R enim... prius *om.* M prius *om.* P 61-62 donationem W desertionem (?) R 62 per beatum Augustinum *om.* M simpliciter *om.* M 62-63 dicerentur... Augustinum *om.* A 63 traditam A 63-68 ex regula... apparebit *om.* M 64 ordini] nostro *add.* W approbatus A 65 ex tunc appropriate *om.* W 66 pater *om.* P 68 donationem W apparebit] Patet igitur via prima *add.* P

1 eius] conversionem vel *add.* P 2 circiter *om. in interstitio* P 4 beatum *om.* M diceretur W instrueretur M 5 eremiticum] beatus *add.* W

et portaverit, patet per Ambrosium in *sermone de baptismo et conversione sancti Augustini*, ubi dicit, quod eo baptizato per beatum Ambrosium Augustinus cuculla nigra indutus est desuper zona cincta.

Nam ideo indutus est cuculla nigra, ut color designaret in eo perfectum contemptum omnis ornatus et decoris huius mundi ; vel secundum Anselmum in libro *de similitudinibus* per hoc innuitur, quod se vilem reputet peccatorem ; vel etiam hoc ideo factum est, ut nigredinis et suae paganicae deformitatis numquam oblivisceretur, sed propterea in luctu et perpetua paenitentia remaneret. Quod etiam designat zona vel cingulus, quo vestis cingitur, ne defluat : quia dignum reputabat, quod corpus suum plus ceteris innocentibus eremitis deberet affligere quanto triginta annorum spatio tempus suum vanius pro laude mundi et complacentia saeculi expenderat. Si vero per zonam corrigia intelligatur, prout legitur, quod Elias et Johannes Baptista zona pellicea sunt praecincti, tunc per corrigiam vel zonam pelliceam, quae fit de corio mortuorum animalium, significatur mortificatio omnium motuum bestialium, qui in beato Augustino post eius conversionem quasi funditus sunt extincti.

Figura vero cucullae, quae in modum crucis expanditur, secundum Anselmum designat iugem memoriam passionis do-

5-7 Quod... *Augustini*] ut dicitur in sermone beati Ambrosii *de conversione Augustini* M 6 et portaverit *om.* R patet] apparet A per] beatum *add.* RWA *baptismo*] *parvulorum* add. A 7 *sancti*] *beati* P om. A 8 per beatum Ambrosium] ab ipso P *om.* A Augustinus *om.* M 9 desuper] etiam *add.* W zona *scripsit et erasit* M 10 nigra *om.* M ut] niger *add.* M color] niger *add.* WA signaret M 11 omnis ornatus et *om.* M 11-12 perfectum mundi contemptum et omnis ornatus et decoris eius P 12 mondi V *hic et deinceps* Anshelmum M Augustinum P *similitudinibus*] *similibus* VR ut *add.* M 13 innueretur M reputet] vel reputaret *add.* W reputaret M peccatorem *om.* M etiam *om.* R 13-14 vel... factum est] et M 14 hoc *om.* A ideo *om.* P 14-16 ut nigredinem suae incredulitatis numquam oblivisceretur sed pro deformitate sua in luctu perpetuo remaneret M 15 propterea] pro ea RPA post ea W 16 desinat R zona *scripsit et erasit* M 16-17 vel... defluat *om.* M 17 singulus R reputat M 18 suum] tanto *add.* P innocentibus *om.* M 20 mundi *om.* M expenderat *scripsimus* expendiderat VRWPA expendierat M 20-26 Si vero... extincti *om.* M 22 sunt] fuerunt RW 22-23 per zonam vel corrigiam pelliceam *transp.* R corriam W 24 qui] quae W 25 quasi *om.* P 27 vero *om.* M 28 Anshelmum WM signat M iugem] ingentem A 28-29 domini M

minicae, quam debemus nostris cordibus devotis meditationibus et compassione intima complantare, et quod nos ipsi debemus mundo et eius concupiscentiis esse crucifixi. Longitudo vero habitus, qui protenditur usque ad pedes, designat perseverantiam boni propositi, quod debet protendi a principio nostrae conversionis usque in finem.

Caputium autem, quod caput cooperit et est apertum ad faciem sed per deorsum descendens figuram clipei gerit, quia superius est latum et versus terram acuitur, significat caritatem, quae caput animae, id est mentem, cooperit et praeservat a defectibus culpabilibus. Haec superius debet esse lata quoad deum in perfecta dei dilectione, sed inferius stricta et arta in stricto usu et moderato appetitu omnium terrenorum. Quod autem ad modum clipei figuratur, designat, quod caritas viros religiosos debet protegere ab omnibus concupiscentiis et incentivis vitiorum. Sed iste clipeus signanter tenetur in dorso ad modum fugientium ad designandum, quod pugna religiosorum magis consistit in fugiendo incentiva et occasiones vitiorum quam in reluctando, quia tutior est victoria talia fugiendo quam se talibus offerendo etiam cum proposito resistendi.

Et istum habitum videtur rationabiliter assumpsisse propter multa.

Primo, quia congruum fuit, ut habitum illorum patrum assumeret et portaret, quorum exemplis et doctrinis ad fidem

29 qua W cordibus] mentibus P 29-31 quam... crucifixi] per quam et ipsi crucifixi sumus mundo M 30 contemplare WP 31-34 Longitudo... in finem] longitudo habitus perseverantiam usque ad mortem M 32 qui] quo W protenditur] protrahitur P designatur W significat A 32-33 perseverantia W 34 in] ad PA 35 autem *om.* R coperit P 35-41 Caputium... terrenorum] Caputium quod superius latum et apertum sed versus terram clausum et acutum designat perfectam dei dilectionem et moderatum appetitum omnium terrenorum M 36 sed] et P gerens R quia] cum R 37 est] sit R et versus] versus vero P acutum P accingitur W 38 caput] scilicet *add. et del.* R est *add.* WA id est] et A 40 dei *om.* W 41-44 Quod... in dorso] Quod ad modum clipei non ad faciem sed in dorso ponitur M 42 figura designatur R 43-44 incentivis] intentionibus P 44 clipeus *om.* V significanter R 45 ad designandum *om.* M quod] quia M 46 fugendo W 47 talium A talia vitanda et fugienda W 47-48 quia... resistendi *om.* M 49 Et *om.* M rationabiliter videtur sanctus Augustinus assumpsisse W sumpsisse M 49-50 propter multa *om.* M 51 Primo *om.* M 52 assumeret et *om.* M et doctrinis *om.* M doctrinae P

catholicam est conversus et cum quibus fuit personaliter tanto tempore in eremo conversatus.

Secundo, quia beatus Simplicianus, cuius persuasione et exemplis ad baptismum convolavit, ipsum ad humilitatem Christi maxime induxit ; et ideo rationabile fuit, quod in exordio suae conversionis talem habitum humilitatis assumeret, ut magis conformaretur eis, quibus conviveret.

Tertio, quia congruum fuit, ut ille, qui futurus erat pater et dux fratrum eremitarum pauperum per sacrae regulae conscriptionem et traditionem, etiam ipsis conformis existeret per sacrae religionis habitum et conversationem, ut sic ipsi tamquam eius filii et veri pauperes ipsum tamquam patrem, paupertatis amatorem et institutorem merito collaudarent, potissime cum hoc ad perfectionem veri doctoris pertineat, quod exemplo Christi prius incipiat facere, postea docere.

Postmodum autem pia matre Augustini ipsum instigante, ut secum in Africam remearet, ut sic cum marito in eodem tumulo requiesceret, Augustinus sibi consentiens assumptis secum Nebridio et Evodio usque ad partes Tusciae devenit et ibi matre sua defuncta apud Ostia Tiberina cum suis sociis locum aptum ad serviendum deo quaesivit, ut etiam Augustinus testatur in nono *Confessionum*, ubi dicit: « Adiunctus Nebridio et Evodio flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum, olim suspirans

53 catholicam *om.* M se convertit vel conversus est A personaliter *om.* RP 53-54 fuit... conversatus] habitavit M 55 secundo] congruum fuit ut beatus Augustinus habitum illorum patrum assumpmeret (*sic*) et portaret *add.* W 55-60 Secundo... ut ille *om.* M 57 quod] ut P 58 habitum *om.* P 59 eis *om.* V eis cum quibus viveret R 60 quia *om.* W fuit] ut habitum illorum patrum assumeret et portaret *add.* W ille] scilicet beatus Augustinus *add.* W *om.* P qui] Et quia M 61 regulae] religionis W 61-65 per sacrae... collaudarent *om.* M 62 etiam *om.* P 63 sacrae] sanctae W 63-64 tamquam veri eius et filii et pauperes P 64 filii *om.* A 65 institorem R 65-67 potissime... docere] sicut verus doctor prius coepit facere et postea docere M 67 facere] et *add.* WP postea] quam A 68 Postmodum] Post haec M autem *om.* M pia... instigante] pia eius matre ipsum Augustinum instigante W instigante matre M Augustini] eius videlicet Augustini P 69 secum *om.* M in[1]] ad M marito] suo *add.* W 69-70 ut sic... consentiens *om.* M 70 sibi] matri suae W assumpto P 70-71 secum] sibi P 71 Tussiae R Thussiae W Tussciae A (*sic hi codd. etiam deinceps*) 72 Hostiam Tiberinam A (*sic* A *etiam deinceps*) 73 etiam *om.* MP Augustinus] ipsemet Augustinus R ipsemet M Augustinusmet PA beatus *add.* W 74 in *om.* P nono] libro *add.* W in libro *Confessionum* nono M Adiunctus] inde *add.* A 75 ympnorum V ymnorum RWMA hymnorum tuorum olim *om. in interstitio* P tuorum *om.* A

tibi et tandem respirans tibi, quantum patet aura in domo faenea » ; ubi per *domum faeneam* habitationem eremiticam oportet intelligi. Et subdit: « Simul eramus, simul habitaturi placito sancto. Quaerebamus, quisnam locus nos utilius haberet servientes pariter tibi ».

Et cum in eremo Tusciae multos fratres eremitas invenisset sanctae vitae, demum applicuit ad locum nostrum, qui dicitur Centumcellis, qui fuit, ut dicitur, primus locus conventualis nostri ordinis, et cum illis fratribus per biennium morabatur. Quibus etiam regulam et modum vivendi tradidit, quam ipse tamquam in disciplina fidei iam provectus composuit: quod ex antiquis legendis non abbreviatis colligitur. Non autem hoc facere decuit, cum staret in Mediolano penes sanctum Simplicianum, quia ibi existens tamquam in fide neophitus magis tenuit formam discipuli quam magistri.

Qualiter autem beatus Augustinus cum fratribus illis in Centumcellis per biennium vixerit et quanta dominus per ipsum eisdem fratribus spiritualium charismatum et sanctae conversationis exempla doctrinaeque salutaris contulerit et quare de hoc Augustinus in libro *Confessionum*, ubi omnia facta sua recenset, nullam mentionem fecerit: omnium praedictorum causam ipse Augustinus videtur innuere nono libro *Confessionum*, ubi dicit: « Et multa », inquit, « praetereo, quia multum festino ». Et loquitur ad litteram de tempore, quod intercurrit postquam recessit de Mediolano usque ad mortem matris suae, ad cuius commemorationem devotam tota devotione aspirabat.

Quod autem beatus Augustinus cum fratribus eremitis in Centumcellis per biennium remanserit, ex hoc evidenter col-

76 et *om.* P tibi *om.* P quantum] Quartum VP aura] ait enim habita (habita *add. supra lin.*) V *om. in interstitio* P in] de P 76-80 quantum... pariter tibi *om.* R 78 eramus] oremus W 79 nos *om.* M 81 cum] beatus Augustinus *add.* W 81-82 Et cum... vitae *om.* M 82 demum] deinde RM applicavit WMA nostrum *om.* RM 83 Centumcellae P ut dicitur *om.* M 83-84 primus conventualis locus fratrum nostri ordinis P 85 etiam *om.* P 86 disciplinae M iam *om.* P 88 debuit M staret Mediolani P 89 quia] qui W in fide *om.* A neophitus] novus et incipiens P 91 cum fratribus illis *om.* R 91-107 Qualiter... nono libro *Confessionum* om. M 93 sanctae *om.* V 94 quare] quia W hoc] idem *add.* RPA idem pater *add.* W 95 ubi] in quo R facta] facti W dicta P recenset] narrat (*supra lin.*) P recense (*sic*) W 96 ipse] beatus *add.* W 97 Augustinus *om.* P libro *om.* A 98 Et[1] *om.* WPA 100 Mediolanis W

ligitur. Nam certum est, quod tempore sui baptismi erat triginta annorum ; mortua autem matre apud Ostia Tiberina, cum iam in Africam remearet, fuit triginta trium annorum, ut patet ex nono libro *Confessionum*. Ergo necessario relinquitur, quod stetit in eremo tam cum beato Simpliciano in Mediolano quam cum fratribus in Centumcellis complete tribus annis.

Quibus expletis divino nutu ipsum instigante cum sociis in Africam est profectus, ubi per sanctum Valerium, tunc episcopum Hipponensem, paterne susceptus est. Qui agnito suo proposito, quod orationi et devotioni et studio sacrarum litterarum ardenter insistere desideraret, in quadam villa silvestri sibi horticellum dedit, ut sic ab hominum conversatione semotus in illo loco solitario quietius studio, orationi et contemplationi vacaret. In quo loco, ut dicit Possidius, mox aedificato monasterio coepit eiusdem propositi fratres colligere et cum eis vivere secundum modum et regulam sanctorum apostolorum, quod etiam ipse pridem iam fecerat, quando trans mare ad sua redierat. Videns autem Valerius zelum et fervorem Augustini, quod toto nisu ad aedificationem ecclesiae et ad defensionem fidei catholicae anhelaret tamquam alter Elias in spiritu inflammatus, et timens, ne sua persona in alio loco pro episcopo peteretur, ipsum ad se vocavit et licet invitum presbyterum ordinavit et ei contra morem orientalem ecclesiae in cura episcopali adhuc vivens cessit.

104 quod] ipse *add.* RPA ipse beatus Augustinus *add.* W 106 ex *om.* P 107 libro *om.* PA necessario *om.* P 107-109 Ergo... tribus annis] Et sic complete tribus annis in eremo in Mediolano cum Simpliciano et Centumcellis cum fratribus habitavit M 108 steterit WPA beato] sancto A in[2] *om.* P 109 in] de A completis A 110 completis M nutu] intuitu R ipsum instigante *om.* M sociis] suis *add.* P 111 sanctum] beatum P Valerium M 112 Yponensem VRWMP Iponensem A Quo angnito A 113-114 quod... desideraret *om.* M 114 consideraret P 115 orticellum *codd.* hominibus W 116 studio] et *add.* W *om.* M 116-117 solitario... loco *om.* P 118 eiusdem] boni *add.* A 119 sanctorum *om.* M 120 quod] quam MP etiam] et P *om.* R pridem iam] propriam P prius M quando] de *add.* WMA ipse *add.* P transmeare P 120-121 ad suam redierat patriam A 121 redierat] Hoc Possidonius *add.* M Valerius] episcopus *add.* W Valerianus P zelum et *om.* W fervorem] beati *add.* RWP 122-123 et ad... catholicae *om.* M 123 anelaret VA advelaret R in *om.* W spiritu] sancto *add.* W 124 et *om.* M ne] quod P sua persona *om.* M 125 peteretur] praemittetur W 126 ei *om.* M orientalis MA curia A 127 cessit] Et sic patet secunda via *add.* P

Caput Tertium

Tertia via sic patet. Nam quod beatus Augustinus habitum monasticum nostrorum patrum assumpserit et vitam eremiticam cum eis in principio suae conversionis tenuerit ac etiam regulam et modum vivendi eis tradiderit, hoc ex variis auctoritatum dictis et etiam ex variis factis ostendi potest.

Et primo ex auctoritate Ambrosii superius inducta circa principium secundi membri.

Secundo, hoc idem expressius patet auctoritate Augustini, qui in quodam *sermone de passione* se ipsum expresse nominat eremitam et se ipsis connumerat ita dicens: « Quid nobis prodest huius habitationis secretum, si tyrannico dominatu malitia in nobis regnat ? Si maiorem metum coertionis nobis humanus oculus quam divinus inducit ? Quomodo laudabiles eremitae extra mundum nos esse credimus, si per vitia pravarum passionum mundum intra nos ipsos inclusum tenemus ? ». Et subdit: « Idcirco, fratres, videte vocationem vestram. Venire quippe ad eremum et derelinquere mundum summa perfectio est, sed non perfecte vivere in eremo summa damnatio est. Quid enim prodest, si locus quietis corporaliter teneatur, cum mentis inquietudo in corde versatur ? Quid prodest, quod in habitatione silentium sit, si in ipsis habitatoribus sit vitiorum tumultus et colluctatio passionum ? Non enim ad istum locum convenimus, ut nobis ab aliis famularetur vel ut rebus omnibus cum quiete et abundantia frueremur, sed potius huc ad pugnandum contra vitia venimus, ad agonem processimus, ad exercenda bella cum vitiis congressi sumus ; et non solum ut pa-

1 sic *om.* M 1-8 Nam... expressius patet *om.* M 5 et... factis *om.* P ex *om.* W 6 Et *om.* P primo] hoc patet *add.* RWP patet *add.* A ex *om.* RWPA auctoritate] beati *add.* W indicta W 8 idem *om.* P auctoritate Augustini] auctoritate beati Augustini W ex auctoritate ipsius Augustini M 9 *passione*] *domini* add. WMA 9-10 nominat] novit P 10 et... ita *om.* M ita *om.* P 10-13 Quid... inducit *om.* M 11 habitatio V secretum] locus RP *om.* V 12 cohertionis VRP cohabitationis WA 13 Quomodo] Quoniam W 14 eremitas M 16-18 Idcirco... damnatio est *om.* M 19 enim *om.* A quietus WM 19-28 corporaliter... Haec Augustinus] etc. M 19-20 inquietudo cum mentis *transp.* P 20 corde] corpore A versetur P 21 sit[1]] est A 23 famularetur *scripsimus* famuletur *codd.* 24 fruemur R 26 congressi sumus et *om.* A ut non solum *transp.* R

tienter feramus iniurias irrogatas, sed nec sentiamus illatas ». Haec Augustinus.

Tertio, hoc idem patet sic. Quod enim ordo fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini et fratres illius ordinis sint veri et proprii filii beati Augustini et ipse sit eorum verus pater, ex hoc patet, quod eorum habitum in eremo portavit et eis regulam vivendi tradidit, ut patet ex supradictis.

Quod etiam adhuc colligitur ex tribus.

Primo quidem ex iure communi, in quo nulli ordini ascribitur titulus *Augustini* nisi huic soli, quamvis plures ordines suae regulae innitantur. Quod sic est videre. Nam ubicumque in iure fit mentio de canonicis regularibus vel de fratribus praedicatoribus aut de quibuscumque aliis regulam Augustini sectantibus, nusquam apponitur titulus *Augustini*. De canonicis regularibus habetur XIX, q. 3, *Mandamus* ; Extra, « De aetate et qualitate », *Intelleximus*, cum similibus. De praedicatoribus habetur Extra, « De electione », *Cum in veteri* ; Extra, « De excessibus praelatorum », *Nimis prava* ; et Extra, « De religiosis domibus », *Religionum*. In quibus locis et similibus iuris ita praedicti dicuntur canonici regulares et fratres praedicatores, quod non apponitur eis titulus *beati Augustini*, verbi gratia, ut dicerentur canonici regulares sancti Augustini vel fratres praedicatores sancti Augustini. Sed ubicumque in iure fit mentio de isto ordine, semper fit cum expressione tituli *beati Augustini*,

27 nec] ne V 29-33 Tertio... supradictis *om.* M 31 ex] et W 34 adhuc *om.* RA 34-35 Quod... quidem] Colligitur etiam M 35 Primo] Et primo RWA in] ex P 35-36 scribitur M 36 titulus] *sancti* add. RW *beati* add. MP plures] multi P 37 suam regulam profiteantur M suam regulam imitentur P inveniantur A Quod... videre *om.* M ubique W 38 iure] communi *add.* RWMPA vel] et P de[2] *om.* M 39 praedicatoribus] seu carmelitis *add.* P de *om.* WM regulam] beati *add.* WP sancti *add.* M 40 numquam P titulus *om.* M *Augustini*] *sancti Augustini* RM *beati Augustini* P 40-52 De canonicis... cum similibus] sicut nostro ordini ut in distinctione *Religiosorum* M 41 XIX] IX P q. *om. in interstitio* P 3] 37 P 42 et equalitate R cum similibus] de consimilibus VRP (de *erasum postea in* V) 43 De electione... Extra[2] *om.* A 43-45 Extra[2] ... similibus iuris *om. in interstitio* P 44 praelatorum] privil. V et] item R religiosis] religione W 45 *Religionum*] libro VI° *add.* A quibus] quibusdam R et consimilibus in iure A 46 praedicti *om.* A 47 *beati*] *sancti* P 48 ut] si *add.* A sancti] beati A vel] aut P fratres *om.* WP 50 de isto ordine] ordinis nostri P *beati*] *sancti* PA

ut Extra, « De electione », *Quorundam*, et « De religiosis domibus », *Religionum*, Libro Sexto, cum similibus ; ubi iste ordo non simpliciter ordo eremitarum, sed ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini nuncupatur, quod in nullo aliorum ordinum reperitur.

Ex quo sequitur correlarie, quod verior titulus ordinis est dicere *ordo fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini* quam dicere *eremitae ordinis sancti Augustini*. Quod enim dicatur aliquis ordinis sancti Augustini, ad hoc sufficit, quod eius regulam profiteatur et servet, sicut patet in servis sanctae Mariae et quibusdam aliis. Sed ordo noster dictus est ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini ad distinctionem aliorum eremitarum non sectantium vitam et regulam Augustini nec habentium institutionem a beato Augustino. Ex quo patet, quod iste titulus *ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini* est solum proprius nostro ordini et nulli alii. Patet etiam, quod in litteris huius ordinis sic debet scribi: talis frater ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini ; et non, sicut quidam abusive scribere consueverunt: frater talis fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini. Nam li *ordinis* non debet immediate construi cum li *sancti Augustini*, sed cum li *eremitae*: tum quia iste titulus ab aliis ordinibus regulam Augustini servantibus nos appropriate discernit ; tum quia singularem nostram institutionem a patre nostro beato Augustino factam ostendit, utpote quia fratres illi, quibus beatus Augustinus convixit et quorum habitum portavit et quibus ipse modum vivendi et regulam suam personaliter tradidit, proprie (et nulli

52 cum similibus *om.* R ordo] noster *add.* R 53 non simpliciter... sed ordo *om.* A 54 Augustini] expresse *add.* R 54-55 potes reperire R 54-80 quod in... antonomastice appropriatus *om.* M 56 verior] verus ymo V (ymo *in marg.*) titulus] nostri *add.* R ordinis *om.* P 57 dicere [2] *om.* P 59 quod] ut R 60 servis] fratribus R 61 dicitur P 62 aliorum] ordinum quorumcumque et *add.* R 62-64 non sectantium... Augustino] non sectantium regulam beati Augustini nec vitam nec habitum nec habuerunt (*sic*) institutionem ab eo P 63-64 ab Augustino A 64 Ex quo patet] Patet etiam ex istis R 64-65 *ordo... Augustini* om. P 65 solum *om.* P solus R 65-66 nulli... quod *om.* P 66 Patet etiam] Ex quo clare videtur R huius] nostri *add.* R ordinis] et non in aliis *add.* R 67 talis frater] frater pater P fratrum *om.* RWA 68 abusive] ab usu P consueverunt] scilicet *add.* P talis] pater P 71 *eremitae*] *eremitis sancti Augustini* P *eremitarum* A regulam] beati *add.* W 72 sectantibus P 73 patre nostro *om.* P 74 beatus *om.* P 75-76 regulam et modum vivendi *transp.* P (suam *om.*) 76 et [1]] per RWA tradidit] ipsi *add.* R

alii) dicti sunt et dici debent eremitae sancti Augustini ; tum etiam quia iste titulus est nobis a iure communi assignatus per Romanam ecclesiam authentice, immo antonomastice appropriatus.

Patet etiam ex praedictis, quod beatus Augustinus secundum triplicem statum suum tripliciter convixit eremitis.

Primo quidem, cum esset catechumenus, convixit Simpliciano et sociis eius extra Mediolanum, ut patet ex primo articulo.

Secundo, hoc idem fecit in Tuscia, ubi mortua matre per biennium illis eremitis commansit, ut patet ex secundo articulo.

Tertio, hoc idem fecit in Africa in illo horticello sibi dato per beatum Valerium in quadam villa silvestri extra Hipponem, ubi monasterium eremiticum instituit, in quo plures fratres eiusdem propositi collegit, ut patet ex tertio articulo auctoritate Possidii ; in quo etiam monasterio extra civitatem Hipponensem beatus Augustinus creditur spiritum exhalasse et coram praedictis fratribus vigilantibus et orantibus feliciter obdormisse. Et hoc, prout audivi a quodam viro authentico, fuit in publico consistorio coram sanctissimo patre domino Johanne XXII et omnibus cardinalibus declaratum, cui sententiae etiam ipse dominus Johannes praedictus dicitur consensisse, inducens pro

78 etiam *om.* R nobis *om.* P assignatus] insignitus RWPA et *add.* WPA 79 immo] et *add.* R antonomastice] anthonomatice RA anthonomasice W antomatice P nobis *add.* P 81 Patet... praedictis] Rursus ex praedictis claret R etiam] ergo P *om.* M 81-82 secundum... eremitis] tripliciter secundum triplicem vitam suam eremitis convixit M 83 quidem *om.* M 84 eius] suis P ut... articulo] ut melius informaretur M 85 fecit] postmodum *add.* RWA ubi matre sua mortua W 85-86 Secundo... articulo] Secundo mortua matre in Tuscia per biennium commansit eremitis ut perfectissime confortaretur M 86 illis eremitis commansit] mansit in Centumcellis P 87 hoc idem fecit *om.* M Africa] ubi *add.* RWMPA orticello VWMPA orticulo R 88 Yponem V Ypomenam R Yponam WM Yponiam A Yponam civitatem P 89 ubi *om.* RWMPA eremiticum *om.* R fratres *om.* VP 90 propositi] mox *add.* M 90-91 ut... Possidii] ut et alios ad perfectionem instigaret M 91-92 extra civitatem Hipponensem *om.* M Yponensem VPA Yponem R Yponam W 92 beatus] sanctus M exhalasse *scripsimus* exalasse VWMPA exallasse R 93 evigilantibus R eiulantibus W orationibus R fideliter P 94 quodam *om.* MA 94-96 Et hoc... declaratum] Hoc autem declaratum fuit in publico consistorio papae Johannis 22 P 95 patre] papa M Johanne] papa *add.* R XXII] vicesimo M 95-96 et aliis dominis cardinalibus omnibus W 96 omnibus] dominis *add.* RA cui] etiam *add.* A etiam *om.* M 96-97 etiam... consensisse] papa consensit P

argumento, quod fratres nostri sint veri et proprii filii beati Augustini et quod ipse verus et proprius pater noster est, quia nobis regulam suam prius tradidit (quam servamus) quam eam traderet canonicis regularibus. Quod probatur per hoc, quod regula tradita canonicis, quae etiam in decretis dicitur libellus *de vita clericorum*, incipit: « Haec igitur sunt, quae ut observetis praecipimus », etc. ; regula autem tradita fratribus eremitis incipit: « Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur deus », etc. Et ideo ex illo motivo et aliis rationabiliter motus fuit idem papa Johannes, ut caput suis membris, magistrum suis discipulis reuniret.

Secundo, hoc idem patet ex antiquis privilegiis et novis ordini a sede apostolica indultis, in quibus expresse continetur, quod iste ordo dicitur et est ordo fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini.

Tertio, hoc idem patet ex antiqua consuetudine Romanae curiae, quae non parvae auctoritatis et rationis existit, ubi in solemnitatibus beati Augustini domini cardinales annuatim celebrant et sermonem faciunt in conventu ordinis dictorum fratrum

98 argumento] articulo RA 98-99 quod fratres... noster est *om.* M 99 quod *om.* RWPA ipse... proprius] ipse beatus verus, proprius, proprior et propriissimus R et proprius *om.* P est *om.* RWPA 100 prius *om.* A quam servamus *om.* M quam[2]] antequam A prius quam W 100-101 nobis suam regulam quam servamus prius tradidit quam canonicis regularibus P 101 probat VRW probavit M quod] quia M 101-103 quod regula canonicorum ut patet in decretis dicitur libellus qui dicitur *de vita clericorum* et incipit ibi P 103 incipit] sic *add.* M igitur] autem R 104 praecipimus *om.* R etc. *om.* MP 104-105 regula autem... incipit] regula nostra dicitur regula et incipit ibi P 104-106 regula autem... etc. *om.* R 105 carissimi *om.* M 105-106 diligatur deus etc. *om.* P 106 etc. *om.* M rationabilibus M fuit *om.* M 107 papa] dominus *add.* W Johannes] praefatus *add.* R caput] corpus M membris] et *add.* WPA 107-108 magistrum suis discipulis *om.* RM 108 reuniret] requiret P reunivit M — *Hic* M *addit locum, qui in ceteris codicibus invenitur paulo inferius* (3. 168-174): locum et custodiam venerabilis corporis sanctissimi patris et patroni nostri beati Augustini in perpetuum nostro ordini commendavit, contulit et donavit, confirmans illam donationem authentico privilegio et gratioso, in quo scribitur: « Dignum quidem aestimavimus, ut pater suis filiis, caput suis membris, magister suis discipulis, dux suis militibus tanto patri devote militantibus uniretur ». 109 Secundo... patet] Probatur etiam M et novis *om.* P ordini] nostro ordini RP 110-111 quod iste ordo *om.* P 111 dicitur] tenetur R ordo[2] *om.* P 112 Tertio *om.* M idem] etiam M antiquis M 112-113 Romanae curiae *om.* M 113 curiae] ecclesiae WP ubi] nam M 114 sollempnitate M annuatim *om.* RP 114-115 celebrant] praedicant P 115 sermones P ordinis *om.* M fratrum *om.* A

et non alibi. Ex quo colligitur, quod in hoc venerantur beatum Augustinum tamquam verum patrem et patronum ordinis antedicti.

Deinde hoc ostenditur ex variis gestis et factis tam divinis quam humanis. Nam tempore Alexandri papae IV, ut ipsemet testatus est, beatus Augustinus eidem in visione apparuit grandis quidem capite sed membris exilis. Ex qua visione tamquam divino oraculo ipse papa commonitus univit fratribus eremitis sancti Augustini plures alios ordines similiter in eremis habitantes, mandans ipsis ut, quicumque ex eis essent idonei ad fructificandum in populo per doctrinam verbi divini, quod illi deberent in civitatibus habitare et exemplari vita ac salutari doctrina simulque confessione provida dei populum irrigare aliis fratribus nihilominus secundum dispositionem prioris generalis in eremo remanentibus, muniens eos privilegiis et gratiis tali statui congruentibus. In qua quidem visione beatus Augustinus aperte ostendit se esse verum caput et verum patrem huius ordinis et per consequens ipsos fratres esse veros filios et vera membra ipsius.

Praedictum autem ordinem fratrum eremitarum dominus Gregorius papa IX confirmavit anno domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo et ipsum spiritualibus gratiis communivit. Quem postea successu temporis dominus Alexander papa IV, ut visum est, ex unione aliorum ordinum auxit et in personis multiplicavit et, ut verbo praedicationis et exemplo sanctae conversationis fidelibus proficerent, ad habitandum in urbibus destinavit. Quem

116-118 Ex quo... antedicti *om.* M 117 et patronum] fratrum P 117-118 praedicti P 119 Deinde *om.* MP hoc] idem *add.* RWMPA et factis *om.* P 119-120 ex... humanis] sic M 120 papae *om.* RM 121 est *om.* P beatus *om.* M eidem] sibi P *om.* R visione] noctis *add.* W 123 miraculo RM papa *om.* R ammonitus M univit] ipsis *add.* P eremitis] ordinis *add.* RWA 124 eremis] existentes et *add.* W 125 ipsis] eis PA eis] ipsis A 126 in *om.* P per... divini] per verbum dei M 127 ac] et R 128 dei] dicti R (*sic* R *saepius*) 129 secundum *om.* W dispensationem P 129-134 aliis fratribus... membra ipsius *om.* M 130 eos] suis *add.* W 132 aperte *om.* P verum[1]] horum P caput et verum *om.* W verum[2] *om.* P 133 filios] suos *add.* W 133-134 veros esse suos filios et membra eius P 135 fratrum eremitarum] etiam ante unionem aliorum ordinum M *om.* P dominus] ipse dominus RWPA 137 specialibus WM praemunivit M 138 postea] in *add.* P 138-142 successu... ipse et *om.* M 138-139 ut visum... auxit] ex unione aliorum ordinum ut visum est hunc nostrum ordinem auxit R

etiam ipse et sui successores et specialiter sanctissimus pater dominus Bonifatius papa VIII magnis gratiis uberius irrigavit.

Hoc idem secundo patet ex gestis propriis beati Augustini, qui, postquam esset factus episcopus, venditis propriis plura monasteria eremitica et solitaria construxit, in quibus servi dei iuxta modum et habitum, quem viderat in Italia, vivebant et regulam ab eo prius factam et traditam observabant, sicut potest colligi ex dictis eius in libro *de opere monachorum*. Quos etiam ideo filios vocat, quia eius primum habitum et regulam observabant. Inter alia vero construxit unum monasterium parvum eremiticum extra muros civitatis Hipponensis, cuius fundamenta et muri ecclesiae adhuc manent, inter quod et civitatem Hipponensem transit unus fluvius ; in quo loco etiam usque hodie dominus multa et stupenda miracula operatur. Et in illo loco beatus Augustinus frequenter manebat, quando suae devotioni et studio seu contemplationi vacare volebat. Quod etiam adhuc potest colligi, quia de illo loco plures scripsit epistolas ad plebem Hipponensem et ad fratres manentes in illo monasterio, quod iuxta ecclesiam construxerat, postquam fuerat episcopus ordinatus ; in quo etiam loco tunc potissime manere solebat, quando praedicationi et doctrinae salutari insistere volebat.

Hoc idem patet tertio ex gestis sanctissimi patris et domini domini Johannis papae XXII, qui ad devotam instantiam reve-

142 etiam *om.* P specialiter] inter ceteros *add.* R sanctissimus pater *om.* P 142-143 pater dominus *om.* M 143 papa *om.* P uberius] illustravit et *add.* P 144 secundo *om.* MP propriis] gloriosi patris nostri *add.* R *om.* P propriis beati *om.* M 145 postquam fuit presbyter ordinatus et etiam episcopus M esset] fuit P propriis] bonis *add.* A 146 et *om.* WA et solitaria *om.* M salutaria P servi dei] filii eius R 147 iuxta] secundum P viderant M 148 prius] in Italia *add.* M factam et *om.* M et traditam *om.* P 149 eius *om.* R 150 ideo] idem P *om.* R 151 construit W 152 eremiticum] in eremo RWMPA 152-153 fundamentum A 153 quod] quem locum P 154 Hipponensem *om.* P Yponam M 154-156 etiam... loco *om.* R 156 loco *om.* A manebat] et hoc *add.* W 156-157 quando... volebat *om.* M 157 et *om.* RP seu] ac R et P 157-158 Quod... quia] et M 158 adhuc *om.* R ex hoc WA scribebat P 160-161 postquam fuit factus episcopus P 161 episcopus] presbyter M loco] extra civitatem *add.* M 161-162 manere solebat] manebat M morari solebat P 162 praedicationi et *om.* M 164 tertio *om.* P et *om.* W 164-4.26 Hoc idem... tradidit et servavit *om.* M 164-165 sanctissimi... domini *om.* P 165 domini *om.* W devotam *om.* P 165-167 reverendi... sui officii] fratris Gwillelmi de Cremona prioris generalis totius ordinis P

rendi patris magistri Guillelmi de Cremona primo anno generalatus sui officii sacro approbante collegio dominorum cardinalium locum et custodiam venerabilis corporis sanctissimi patris et patroni nostri beati Augustini in perpetuum nostro ordini commendavit, contulit et donavit, confirmans illam donationem authentico privilegio et gratioso, in quo sic ait : « Dignum quidem aestimavimus, ut pater suis filiis, caput suis membris, magister suis discipulis, dux suis militibus sub tanto patre devote militantibus uniretur ». Ex quo patet evidenter, quod sancta mater ecclesia sanctissimum Augustinum nostro ordini pro vero patre et singulari capite recognoscit et per consequens fratres huius ordinis eius veri filii et eius membra propria dici debent. Et ista triplex via, qua declaratum propositum nostrum videtur, est triplex funiculus indissolubilis veritatis, qui non facile rumpitur, immo nullo modo rumpi poterit, ab aemulis veritatis.

Caput Quartum

Ex hac veritate conclusa septem veritates notabiles possunt elici ex praemissis.

Prima est, quod beatus Augustinus in principio suae conversionis nostrum habitum assumpserit personaliter et portaverit, ut supra patuit per Ambrosium. Quod etiam exinde potest colligi : nam certum est, quod beatus Augustinus in principio suae conversionis vitam et exempla Christi et aliorum servorum dei ferventissime imitabatur, ut patet octavo *Confessionum*. Et quia ipse Christus voluit per omnia fratribus assimilari, ut dicit

166 Willelmi R Wilhelmi W Guilielmi A 167 approbante... cardinalium] approbante consilio cardinalium ac toto consistorio P dominorum *om.* R 168 venerabilis *om.* R 168-169 custodiam... Augustini] custodiam sanctissimi corporis beati Augustini patris nostri P et patroni *om.* R 169 in perpetuo V 171 ait] scribit RWPA 172 existimavimus PA 173 discipulis] et *add.* P sub *om.* RWPA tanto] tam (?) P patre] patri WA *om.* P 174 unirentur VW patet] claret R 175 sanctissimum] patrem *add.* WA sanctum P 176 recognoscit *om.* A huius] dicti P 177 eius [2]] vera *add.* W propria] merito P 178 declaratum] est *add.* RWA declaratur P est] esse RWPA ille *add.* WA 180 aemulis] huius *add.* A aemulo P

1 hac] autem *add.* R 2 ex praemissis *om.* RP 3 Prima est] Prima autem veritas ex praemissis elicitur videlicet R Prima veritas est W 4 assumpsit P portavit WP 5 per] beatum *add.* W Quod] Et P 7 et [2] *om.* P 8 innitebatur P octavo] libro *add.* W 9 ipse *om.* P dicit] ait P

apostolus, et non solum in natura sed etiam in conversatione et convictu, ideo non est verisimile, quod beatus Augustinus illis fratribus eremitis, quibus per triennium commansit, ut patet ex dictis, fuerit tanto tempore in dispari habitu ipsis conversatus.

Secunda est, quod beatus Augustinus fratribus nostris in Centumcellis fuit per biennium conversatus regulamque suam et modum vivendi apud eos existens composuit et eis manu propria tradidit, quam postmodum nostri ordinis fratribus Romana ecclesia confirmavit.

Tertia est, quod, licet de eo legatur, quod factus presbyter monasterium clericorum mox instituerit, cum quibus coepit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam, hoc tamen non est sic intelligendum, quod tunc primo regulam et modum vivendi apostolicum instituerit, quando istud monasterium clericorum iuxta ecclesiam construxit, quia prius in Italia in loco et habitu eremitico ipsam nostris fratribus composuit, tradidit et servavit. Quod patet expresse per auctoritatem sancti Possidii, qui vitam beati Augustini conscripsit, in quo libro sic dicit, quod « factus presbyter monasterium instituit et coepit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam, quod tamen ipse prius fecerat, cum a partibus transmarinis ad propria remeasset ». Ex quo verbo manifeste apparet, quod illam regulam prius in Italia instituit et servavit, antequam in Africam applicaret.

Quarta veritas est, quod principium originale fratrum eremitarum nostri ordinis ex sanctissimis patribus est deductum. Cuius ratio est, quia, licet status religionis communiter sit status per-

11 convictu *om. in interstitio* P 13 fuerit] tamen *add.* W habitu] cum *add.* P ipsis] eisdem R 14 Secunda] veritatis conclusio hoc *add.* R veritas *add.* W Augustinus] cum *add.* A nostris *om.* P 15 Centumcellis] ubi *add.* R 15-16 regulam suam modumque vivendi R 19 Tertia] veritas *add.* RW licet] quandocumque P legitur P 20 clericorum mox *om.* P instituit RWPA 21-22 hoc tamen... tunc] sic debet intelligi quod non tunc P 23 illud P 24 ecclesiam] Yponensem *add.* WA 25 et] in *add.* P 26 servavit et tradit (*sic*) servandam R per auctoritatem] auctoritate P sancti *om.* RP 26-28 Quod patet... dicit quod] Possid(on)ius qui vitam eius conscripsit dicit M 28 monasterium] clericorum mox *add.* M 30 a] de A transmarinis] marinis M 31 verbo *om.* P apparet] patet WMA 34 est] infertur R 34-36 Quarta... quia *om.* M 36 licet] et licet M religionis communiter] communitatis P

fectionis acquirendae, status tamen anachoritarum, sicut et ipsorum episcoporum, est status perfectionis acquisitae. Quod patet per hoc, quod ille status non congruit cuilibet homini sed solum homini perfecto. Nec ad illum statum assumendum homines moventur ex humano consilio vel etiam ex proprio arbitrio, sicut moventur ad sumendum statum religionis, sed solum ad hoc moventur ex speciali instinctu spiritus sancti. Et ideo Hieronymus in *epistola ad Demetriadem* virginem et etiam *Rusticum* monachum dissuadet istum statum eremiticum assumere a convolantibus immediate a saeculo, nisi prius in religione sint bene exercitati in actibus virtuosis ; et hoc propter excellentiam status solitarii, qui non congruit hominibus imperfectis, eo quod solitarii vehementius per insidias diabolicas temptentur et per consequens citius praecipitarentur, nisi essent perfecte in virtuosis exercitiis solidati. Unde dicit Hieronymus in *epistola ad Eustochium* virginem, quod illius vitae, scilicet solitariae, auctor fuit Paulus primus eremita, vir sanctissimus ; eius autem illustrator fuit sanctus Antonius ; et, ut ad altiora conscendam, princeps eius fuit Johannes Baptista, quos omnes constat fuisse excellentissimae sanctitatis.

Quinta veritas est, quod inter omnes sanctos, de quibus legimus, eremitae artissimam et sanctissimam vitam duxerunt, ut patet per beatum Augustinum in libro *de moribus ecclesiae*,

37 acquirendae *om.* M anachoritarum] anochoritarum M auctoritatis P 37-38 sicut... episcoporum *om.* M ipsorum *om.* R 38 episcoporum *om.* VP perfectionis acquisitae] perfectissimae sanctitatis M 38-40 Quod... homini perfecto] qui non omni homini competit M 39 quod] quia P 40 assumendum *om.* M adsumendum A 41 monentur M ex[1] *om.* P etiam *om.* P 42 monentur M sumendum *om.* M statum] habitum R 42-43 ad sumendum... moventur *om.* A 43 monentur M speciali] spirituali A Et *om.* R 44 *Demetriadem*... etiam *om.* M et *om.* R etiam] *ad* add. RWPA 45-46 assumere] *sic omnes codices praeter* M *qui scripsit* assumendum 46 a[1]] maxime a M et A a[2]] de WMA 46-47 in religiositate sint bene exercitati et actibus virtuosis activae et contemplativae religionis fuerint confirmati R 47 hoc] hanc habet rationem R fit *add.* M 48-49 qui non... eo quod] quia M 49 eo] et A solitarii] ipsi M temptantur M 50 periclitarentur P 51 Unde] Idcirco ut M dicit] beatus *add.* M 51-52 in *epistola*... solitariae *om.* M 52 *Eustichissam* R 53 actor R vir sanctissimus *om.* M autem *om.* R 54 fuit *om.* M sanctus] beatus P ad altiora] altius A ascendam P 55 eius] huius vitae P fuit] beatus *add.* W 56 sanctitatis] et vitae *add.* P 57 Quinta... quod] quia M de quibus] quos MP 58 legimus] sanctae vitae *add.* P sanctissimam] durissimam P 59 beatum *om.* RA

qui loquens contra manichaeos, qui propter aliquorum christianorum defectibilitatem totam communitatem fidelium calumniabantur, ita dicit (et loquitur proprie de eremitis): « Quis eos non miretur, quis eos non praedicet, qui secretissimi et ab omni hominum conspectu semoti pane solo, qui eis per digesta temporum intervalla confertur, et aqua contenti terras desertissimas incolunt, perfruentes colloquio divino, cui puris mentibus inhaeserunt, et eius pulchritudinis contemplatione beatissimi sunt ? Videntur enim nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteat deseruisse, non intelligentibus, quantum nobis eorum devotio in oratione prosit et vita ad exemplum, quorum corpora videre non sinimur ». Et in eodem: « Vidi Mediolani et alibi (per quod intelligit eremitas Tusciae) nonnullos adeo dei amore flagrantes, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu etiam ipsa solitudo delectet. Ieiunia quoque prorsus incredibilia multos eorum exercere didici, non solum cotidie semel reficiendo corpus tempore noctis pane solo et aqua, quod apud eos usitatissimum est, sed continuum triduum vel amplius saepissime ducere sine cibo et potu ».

Et quia virtute radicis rami in longum et altum naturaliter producuntur, ideo virtute sanctitatis talium patrum, qui fuerunt sanctitatis eximiae et nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, verisimiliter praesumendum est, quod super eorum filios et posteros per divinam clementiam benedictio copiosa descendat, quod utique videtur abbati Joachim in spiritu revelatum, qui loquens

60 qui [1]] ubi P propter aliquorum] et aliorum P 60-62 qui loquens... de eremitis] dicens M 61 debilitatem R defectum A totam communitatem *om. in interstitio* P 62 eos] enim *add.* M 63 miretur] numeret W omni *om.* M 64-65 per tempora digesta intervalla P 65 et aqua *om.* A contempti A disertissimas A 66 cui] cum R puris] pueri W 68 res] terras P oportet P 68-69 diseruisse A 68-71 Videntur... in eodem *om.* M 70 exempla W 71 Vidi] enim *add.* M quod] quos WPA 71-72 per quod... Tusciae *om.* M 72 adeo] in *add.* M adeo dei amore *om. in interstitio* P fragrantes VRWP 73 huius *om.* V 73-75 ut eos... didici *om.* M 74 etiam *om.* P ipsa *om.* R quoque *om.* RA prorsus] quorum *add.* R 75 eorum *om.* R excedere P 76 reficere V corpora M tempore noctis *om.* RM 77 continue W vel *om.* VRP 77-78 saepissime] cepisse VRP 78 ducere] vitam *add.* W 79-83 Et quia...descendat] Ex hiis tantis patribus ordo noster accepit originem M 81-82 verisimiles P ubi similiter A 82 est] et credendum *add.* R et *om.* P 83 copiosa] divina W 83-84 quod utique... revelatum] sicut beato Joachim abbati in spiritu revelatum est M

in *expositione super apocalypsim* sic dicit: « Surget ordo, qui videtur novus et non est. Induti nigris vestibus et accincti desuper zona, hoc est cingulo, hi crescent et fama eorum divulgabitur. Et praedicabunt fidem, quam etiam defendent usque ad finem mundi in spiritu Eliae: qui erit ordo eremitarum aemulantium vitam angelorum ; quorum vita erit quasi ignis ardens in amore et zelo dei ad comburendum tribulos et spinas, hoc est ad extinguendum et consumendum perniciosam vitam pravorum, ne mali amplius abutantur patientia dei ». Ob hoc autem dicit eos aemulari vitam angelorum, quia personas illius ordinis asserit debere intelligi per illos quattuor angelos in apocalypsi descriptos capitulo septimo. Et subdit: « Gaudeant ergo eremitae, quorum pater est Paulus primus eremita ». Haec ille.

Sexta veritas est, quod ordo fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini ex sui institutione multo antiquior est ordinibus fratrum praedicatorum et minorum, licet ex sui habitatione in civitatibus, quae facta est per dominum Alexandrum papam IV, tempore sit posterior. Quod patet expresse per decretalem, quae incipit *Religionum*, Libro Sexto, « De religiosis domibus », ubi dicitur in textu, quod institutio ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini praecessit concilium generale Lateranense, quod quidem concilium celebratum fuit sub Innocentio III, quo

85 *apocalypsim*] ubi per quattuor angelos asserit designari tales religiosos *add.* M sic *om.* MA dicit] dicens M ordo *om.* A 86 videbitur P non est] sunt P novus *add.* M Indutus M accinctus M 87 zona hoc est cingulo] corrigia M hoc est] id est P 88 etiam *om.* A 89 ad] in WM erat W ordo *om.* VRP 89-90 aemulantissimum R 90 vita] electio *in rasura* V eloquium R q'cum (?) P erit *om.* V erat W erit quasi *om. in interstitio* P quasi] velut VR 91 comburandum W 91-92 hoc est *om.* M id est P 92 extinguendam M exstingwendum P consumendam M consummandum A 93 ne] ut W 93-96 Ob hoc... capitulo septimo *om.* M 94 dixit WPA eos *om.* R 95 asserunt W 97 primus *om.* W primus eremita *om.* M ille] Joachim A — *Hic eadem manus in* M *addit notam rubro atramento scriptam*: Nota quod antiquior omnibus ordinibus est. 98-99 Sexta... Augustini] Licet secundum vaticinationem beati Joachim abbatis ordo noster videatur novus tamen M 99 multo *om.* M multum P ordine P 99-102 ordinibus... sit posterior] omnibus aliis ordinibus quamvis ex sui habitatione in civitatibus sit posterior praedicatorum ordini et minorum M 103 De religiosis domibus *om.* M 104 institutio] in institutione P institutionem (?) R fratrum *om.* M 105 consilium VRA 106 quidem] quando P consilium VRA sub] domino papa *add.* W

tempore nondum ordines praedicatorum et minorum fuerant instituti, licet tempore Honorii, sui successoris, dicti ordines inceperint, ut patet ex additione domini Joannis Andreae, Libro Sexto, « De electione », *Quorundam*.

Hoc idem patet ex chronica sive registro papali, ubi dicitur, quod post incarnationem domini anno ducentesimo quinquagesimo initium sumpsit ordo eremitarum a beato Paulo primo eremita. Et per Innocentium III idem ordo registratur et eis regula Augustini confirmatur et ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini nuncupatur ; et hoc anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinto decimo. Sed postmodum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo quinto facta est unio aliorum ordinum in eremis habitantium ad ordinem fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini per dominum papam Alexandrum IV divino oraculo ipsum commonente, ut patet ex supradictis.

Septima veritas est videre, qualiter illa sancta propago praedictorum patrum tam ante unionem quam etiam ab illo tempore, quo per sanctam Romanam ecclesiam pro aedificatione fidei et morum patres nostrae religionis ad habitandum in urbibus sunt destinati, usque ad haec nostra tempora sit deducta.

107 ordo VRPA fuerunt V 107-108 fuerat institutus P 107-110 ordines praedicatorum... *Quorundam*] ordines dicti coeperunt M 108 Honorii] horum P successores P 109 additione] auctoritate A postilla W Andirae W 110 Sexto] VII VR 111 patet] tam *add.* W sive] ex *add.* MA quam ex W 112 anno] domini *add.* RW 112-113 quingentesimo W 113 sumsit W 114 eremita] et beato Antonio quorum successoribus in Centumcellis per beatum Augustinum <regula> traditur circa annos domini CCCXVIII (*sic*) *add.* M Innocentium] papam *add.* W registratur *om. in interstitio* P 115 regula] beati *add.* WP ordo] fratrum *add.* M 116 noncupatur V 116-117 millesimo ducentesimo quinto decimo] MºCCºXXVº RWMA *om.* P (MºCCºXVº *corr.* V ex MºCCºXXVº) — *Hic* M *addit*: sub Innocentio III. Post hoc Gregorius IX eundem ordinem confirmavit et specialibus gratiis communivit anno domini MºCCºXXXº. 117 Sed postmodum anno domini *om.* P 118 eremo M 119 habitentium R fratrum *om.* A ordinem... Augustini] nostrum ordinem M 120 papam *om.* WM Alexandrum] apostolicum *add.* W IV *om.* A ipsum *om.* M ipso R 121 ammonente M ut patet ex supradictis *om.* M 122-5.5 Septima... habere potui hoc *om.* M 124-125 propter aedificationem P aedificatione] sanctae *add.* R 125 patres] fratres WA 125-126 ad habitandum in urbibus *om.* A 126 haec *om.* R sint R

Caput Quintum

Qui vero a tempore beati Augustini, hoc est ab anno domini quadringentesimo tricesimo, fuerint pastores dicti ordinis, ex negligentia scribentium et diuturnitate temporis ignoratur. De quibus tamen, sicut ex scriptis antiquitatis et relatione antiquorum patrum compertum habere potui, hoc sciendum est, quod tempore Alexandri papae III circa annos domini 1190 Johannes de Spelunca fuit prior generalis.

Tempore vero Innocentii III frater Johannes, dictus de Cella.

[*Hic in codice* W *haec sequitur interpolatio*: Circa quod tempus beatus itaque Franciscus trium ecclesiarum opere consummato habitum adhuc eremiticum tunc temporis habuit baculumque in manu gestans pedibus calciatis et corrigia cinctus incessit. Audiens autem quadam die inter missarum solemnia ea, quae Christus in evangelio missis ad praedicandum discipulis loquitur, ne usque aurum vel argentum nec peram in via vel sacculum nec virgam nec panem portent nec calciamenta vel duas tunicas habeant, intelligensque haec eadem postmodum plenius ab ipso presbytero indicibili gaudio mox repletus: « Hoc », inquit, « est, quod quaero. Hoc est, quod totis praecordiis concupisco ». Igitur cunctis, quae audierat, tenaci memoriae commendans laetanter his adimplendis innititur duplicibusque sine mora depositis ex hoc virga, calciamentis sacculoque, pera non utitur. Fecit proinde tunicam plurimum contemptibilem et incultam reiectaque corrigia cinxit illam corda omnemque sollicitudinem cordis apponens, qualiter auditus novae gratiae verba proficiant, coepit instinctu divino evangelicae perfectionis annuntiator existere. Coepit paenitentiae in publicum simplex verba exponere.

Illo quoque tempore in provincia Reatina pestis valde gravis invaluit, quae oves et boves tantum coepit invadere, ut viderentur paene omnes inremeabili morbo lang<u>ere. Vir autem quidam timens dominum nocte tactus <est> per visionem, ut ad habitum et ordinem fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini, in quo beatus Franciscus tunc moram trahebat, festinanter accederet, loturam manuum et pedum impetraret a sociis et fratribus antedictis et super animalia languida spargeret et sic pestis illa omnis cessaret. Quod cum vir ille diligenter implesset, tantam aquae illi, quae sacras con-

2 quadringentesimo tricesimo *scripsimus* CCCC°XL.II° *codd.* fuerunt A 3 et] ex *add.* R temporis *om.* P 4 antiquis A relatione] aliorum *add.* W revelatione P 5 compertum *om. in interstitio* P 6 III] IV W 1190] *sic* V *in textu et* W 1160 *alia manus in marg.* V 1110 RP 1120 A 6-7 tempore... generalis] circa annos domini millenos vigenos tempore Alexandri III prior generalis nostri ordinis fuit frater Johannes de Spelunca M 7 Johannes] frater Johannes W Spelonca R 8 Innocentii] domini papae *add.* W III] fuit *add.* MA dictus *om.* RM Cella] Centumcellis M prior fuit generalis *add.* W 10 consumato W 13 ewangelio W 23 ewangelicae W 32 tantam aquae *scripsimus* tantamque W quae *scripsimus om.* W 32-33 contingerat W

tigerat manus, contulit deus virtutem, ut, dum ipsius aspersio languentes greges vel modicum attigisset, omnium illorum animalium illa <m> pestilentiae plagam repelleret, pristinoque recuperato rigore ad pastum animalia currerunt, tamquam si nil aliquem dolorem penitus ante sensissent.]

Circa quod tempus beatus Franciscus cum dictis fratribus habitavit ; et quidam asserunt, quod fuerit frater dicti ordinis in loco sancti Jacobi de Aquaviva iuxta Pisas.

[*Post* Pisas M *addit*: ut ex eius vita colligitur manifeste, ubi legitur, quod beatus Franciscus habitum eremiticum deferens, baculum manu gestans, pedibus calciatus et corrigia cinctus cum fratribus eremitis sancti Augustini devote incessit.

Quo tempore vir quidam timens deum super peste quadam valde gravi animalium per visionem commonitur, ut ad fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini locum accederet festinanter et a fratribus loturam manuum et pedum beati Francisci impetraret et super animalia languida spargeret et sic pestis cessaret. Quod vir ille faciens animalia languida receperunt sanitatem.]

Tandem licentia obtenta a priore dicti loci, ut artiorem vitam assumeret, dimissa zona et sotularibus ad nemus se solum transtulit. Gregorius autem IX, ut supra visum est, ordinem eremitarum propter eius sanctitatem et beati Augustini reverentiam confirmavit anno domini quo supra et ipsum specialibus gratiis communivit, licet in registro papali dicatur contineri, quod Innocentius III ordinem eremitarum sancti Augustini registraverit.

Tempore autem Innocentii IV prior generalis fuit frater Adiutus de Garfagnana.

Tempore vero Alexandri IV frater Philippus de Parrana ;

34 attingisset W 37 Circa quod tempus *om. in interstitio* P beatus] frater *add.* M fratribus] nostri ordinis *add.* M 38 et] ut *add.* P quidem MP quod *om.* P fuit P frater *om.* W dicti] nostri MP 39 Pistas P 49 petita licentia et obtenta A 49-51 Tandem... transtulit] Tandem audito ewangelio (*sic*) peram et sacculum in via non portare neque duas tunicas neque calciamenta beatus Franciscus dimissis omnibus obtenta licentia a fratre Bandino priore dicti loci solus ad nemus confugit M 50 et *om.* W subtellaribus PA solum *om.* R solus W solitarius P 51-55 Gregorius... registraverit *om.* M 53 ipsum] ordinem *add.* W spiritualibus A 54 dicatur] videatur P continere W quod] dominus papa *add.* W 56 IV *om.* P 57 Adiunctus R Aiutus MP Garfagnana *scripsimus* Graffaganulis V Graffagano R Grafaguamia W Gravagrana M Grafanum P Guaffagnano A 58 vero *om.* WM IV] generalis fuit *add.* W Parrana *scripsimus* Paranna VW Parana R Prannia M Pramia A de Parrana] Dexterampuae P

quo tempore beatus Augustinus, ut supra visum est, papae Alexandro in visione apparuit grandis quidem capite sed membris exilis. Ex qua visione tamquam divino oraculo dictus papa commonitus univit fratribus eremitis plures alios ordines similiter in eremis habitantes.

Post hanc autem unionem aliorum ordinum ad ordinem fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini factam per dominum Alexandrum papam IV primus prior generalis fuit frater Lanfrancus de Mediolano, propter magnam famam et personae reverentiam per Romanam ecclesiam institutus, quem oculis meis vidi Mediolani, cum primitus irem in Bononiam pro studente.

Secundus fuit frater Guido de Stagia, vir utique strenuus et discretus.

Tertius fuit frater Clemens de Marchia Anconitana, qui utique a re nomen sumpsit, quia fuit vir mirae clementiae et pietatis et prudentiae et sanctae vitae, tam deo quam hominibus gratiosus, per quem deus multa miracula ostendit in capitulo generali Ratisbonae celebrato me praesente.

Quartus fuit frater Franciscus de Regio, vir magnae reverentiae et mirae facundiae ac honestatis eximiae.

Quintus iterum fuit frater Clemens de Marchia praefatus, vir magnae sanctitatis, qui tam in vita quam in morte in praesentia curiae et omnium cardinalium tempore domini Nicolai papae IV magnis miraculis claruit et in Urbeveteri, ubi decessit,

59-60 ut supra... apparuit] visus est papae ut supra M 60-63 grandis quidem... habitantes *om.* M 60-61 membris] quidem *add.* R 61 Ex] Et W papa *om.* W 63 habitantibus A 64 autem *om.* M 64-66 aliorum ordinum... papam IV *om.* M 66 primus *om.* P prior *om.* M Lancfrancus RWM Francus A 67 famam] sanctitatem A personae] suae *add.* A 67-68 propter... institutus] per Romanam ecclesiam constitutus propter bonam famam ipsius atque personae reverentiam M 68 meis] propriis P vidi *om.* M 68-69 quem... pro studente *om.* A 69 in *om.* P 70 Secundus] prior generalis *add.* W Wydo V Wido RW Gwido MP Stragia VRWA Strugia P 72 Tertius] prior generalis *add.* W Anconitana *om.* M 73 a re... quia *om.* P mirae] magnae WA et *om.* RW 74 pietatis et *om.* M tam *om.* V quam] et V 75 gratiosus] carus M multa *om.* V miracula] mira M 76 in Ratispona P 77 Quartus] prior generalis *add.* W fuit *om.* R frater *om.* M 78 mirae] magnae R facundiae] famae M 79 Quintus] prior generalis *add.* W iterum *om.* RP fuit] idem *add.* P frater *om.* M de Marchia *om.* P praefata A 80 vir magnae sanctitatis *om.* P 80-81 praesentia] totius Romanae *add.* P 81 et omnium cardinalium *om.* P omnium] dominorum *add.* WMA 82 papae *om.* MP miraculis *om.* A

propter miraculorum pluralitatem et magnitudinem per plures hebdomadas de mandato eiusdem papae inhumatus stetit, asserens non esse dignum, quod corpus sanctitatis tantae terra obrui deberet. Tanta etiam multitudo populi ad videndum illud corpus exanime ex singulari devotione catervatim irruebat, quod propter nimiam pressuram populorum oportebat communitatem Urbisveteris plures domos effringere et vicum communem tendentem ad locum fratrum ampliare, ut sic populo liberior accessus praeberetur. De cuius corpore tempore calidissimo nulla horrenda exhalatio sed potius odor suavissimus fragrabat, ut testatur venerabilis pater et dominus Benedictus cardinalis, qui fuerat filius suae confessionis et ex speciali devotione illud corpus reverendum pluries visitavit ; qui etiam postea factus est papa Bonifatius VIII ; qui etiam religionem nostram magnis et singularibus gratiis adornavit.

Sextus fuit venerabilis pater et dominus magister Aegidius Romanus, archiepiscopus Bituricensis, sacrae theologiae professor et doctor eximius, qui suis scriptis dei ecclesiam irrigavit et claritate suae doctrinae mentes volentium proficere illustravit.

Septimus fuit frater Simon de Pistorio, vir sanctus et grandaevus et omni reverentia dignus.

Octavus fuit frater Augustinus de Tarano, vir magnae sanctitatis et miri rigoris pro iustitia et maximi zeli pro honore

83 pluralitatem] multitudinem P magnitudinem *om.* P per] post *eadem manus supra lineam* P 84 eiusdem] dicti P 84-85 asserens] idem papa *add.* WP asserentis M 86 illud] idem P 86-97 Tanta enim... gratiis adornavit *om.* A 87 exsanime P exanime... devotione *om.* M ex] et ex P irruebat] in tantum *add.* R irruebant M quod] et P 88 propter *om.* W communitates R 89 effrangere M communem *om.* M 90 liberalior V 91 tempore *om.* W 92 horida P exalatio VWMP exalato R potius *om.* M filagrabat (?) R flagrabat WP fraglabat M 93 venerabilis pater et *om.* P et *om.* WM 94 filius *om.* P suus de confessione P illud] idem P 94-95 et ex... visitavit *om.* M 95 reverentissime P pluries *om.* P postea *om.* P 96 etiam *om.* M 96-97 maximis et specialissimis gratiis P 98 Sextus] prior generalis *add.* W venerabilis... dominus *om.* M pater... magister] frater P 99 Romanus] de Roma PA et *add.* M 99-100 archiepiscopus... eximius] sacrae theologiae doctor praeclarissimus archiepiscopus Bituricensis P 100 ecclesiam dei perfectissime irrigavit P 101 illustrantur A 102 Septimus] prior generalis *add.* W Pistoria R Pistoris W 102-103 grandis P 104 Octavus] prior generalis *add.* W Tarano *scripsimus* Stanno V Stagno R Yterano WM Iteranne A Terano *suppl. manus recentior in interstitio* P 105 iustitia... pro *om. in interstitio* P 105-106 pro iustitia... ordinis *om.* W

ordinis, quod in mei praesentia in capitulo Neapolitano probatum fuit evidentissimo documento. Nam cum venerabilis pater magister Jacobus de Viterbio, sacrae theologiae professor dignissimus, qui propter vitae et scientiae suae merita proximo anno sequenti capitulum certatim et concorditer electus fuit pro archiepiscopo in duabus ecclesiis metropolitanis, videlicet Neapolitana et Beneventana, me praesente requisitus esset, ut venerabilem patrem fratrem Augustinum priorem generalem informare vellet de quodam casu tangente quandam personam provinciae meae nobilis conditionis et singularis vitae et scientiae, cuius puritatem ego optime novi, quae tamen persona me existente in provincia Franciae ab aliis personis eiusdem provinciae minus iuste et vere eidem patri nostro generali diffamata fuerat: ipse frater Augustinus tunc generalis ex zelo ordinis et detestatione criminis, in quo praedicta persona fuerat minus iuste diffamata, convocato toto capitulo generali, non considerata reverentia tantae personae et zelo ordinis licet forte minus iuste masticato dixit ista verba: « Fratres carissimi, dolenter vobis denuntio, quod fratres quidam per ordinem enutriti et in statu honoris positi sic suae rependunt matri religioni, quod fratres defectuosos et vitiosos nituntur excusare et defensare ». Ad quae verba praedictus venerabilis magister Jacobus, considerans, quod praedicta obiurgatio, licet minus cauta et provida, non procederet nisi ex corde puro et zelo fervido tanti patris,

106 quod] unde R *om.* P in[2]] et VP capituli Neapolitani P 107 evidentissimo documento *om.* M 107-159 Nam cum... praesentiam declinavit *deest in* A 107-141 Nam cum... ordinis corripuerint *deest in* W 107-146 *In* P *altercatio Augustini de Tarano et Jacobi Viterbiensis in capitulo Neapolitano paucis verbis absolvitur hoc modo*: Nam cum venerabilis pater frater Jacobus de Viterbio, sacrae theologiae doctor, qui propter vitae sanctitatem et scientiae claritatem in duabus ecclesiis archiepiscopus fuit electus, scilicet Beneventana et Neapolitana, in qua fuit institutus, requisitus fuerit, ut ipse praedictum fratrem venerabilem, fratrem Augustinum generalem, de quadam causa informaret, ipse vero ab aliis aliter informatus praedictum fratrem Jacobum acriter reprehendit. 109 merita] in *add.* M 110 sequente M capitulum] generale *add.* R *om.* M 111 metropolitanis *om.* M videlicet] scilicet M 112 Beneventana] Bimentana M cum *add.* R 113 fratrem *om.* R priorem *om.* M 114 informare vellet] informaret M tangentem R 115-116 et scientiae *om.* R 118-119 diffamata] delata RM 119-121 ipse frater... iuste diffamata *om.* R 120-121 in quo... diffamata *om.* M 122 et zelo ordinis *om.* M iuste *om.* M 125 sic respondent suae matri R 126 deffectivos R vitiosos] niconsos M 127 praedictus *om.* R venerabilis] vir M 129 tanti patris *om.* M

surrexit coram omnibus fratribus et humiliter respondit ista verba: « Pater, protestor coram deo et vobis, si quid in ista materia locutus sum, hoc feci ex sincero animo et puro corde pro bono ordinis. Tamen si vobis videtur, quod in hoc offenderim, dico meam culpam deo et vobis et paratus sum emendare ». Ad quod responsum tantae humilitatis et reverentiae omnes fratres stupefacti et medullitus emendati, animus praedicti patris fratris Augustini totaliter conquievit.

Ob hoc autem praedicta recensenda iudicavi, ut et praesentes et posteri ex hoc sumant aedificationis exempla, cum quanta auctoritate patres nostri primitivi personas quantumcumque magnas ex zelo ordinis corripuerint et cum quanta humilitate et patientia huiusmodi obiurgationes etiam minus iuste ipsis irrogatas permaximae personae ordinis et columnae ecclesiae mox futurae illas libenti animo sustinuerint. In hoc facto me non piget digressionem aliqualem fecisse a proposito aedificationis exemplo.

Idem etiam pater Augustinus fuerat poenitentiarius famosus domini papae ante generalatus officium et prae affectu sanctitatis tantum aspirabat redire ad suum eremitorium, quod generale capitulum Neapoli celebratum per annum unum praevenit ; in quo capitulo votis omnium electorum suam resigna-

130 fratribus] sedentibus R *om.* M ista] in haec R 131 Pater *om.* RM vobis] quod *add.* M 132 animo et puro *om.* M 133 quod] vos *add.* M in hoc *om.* R 134 et^2 *om.* M sum *om.* M 135 quod] quem M 136 medullitus emendati *om.* M 137 fratris *om.* RM 138 praedicta *om.* R et *om.* M 139 ex hoc *om.* M 139-144 cum quanta... animo sustinuerint *om.* M 141-142 cum quanta patientiae et humilitatis virtute R 143 ipsis *om.* W 144 futurus W sustinuerint] Unde *add.* R sustinuerit W 144-146 In hoc... exemplo] et non piget digressionem a proposito fecisse M 145 disgressionem VR aliquam R proposito] pro tanto *add.* W 147 pater *om.* W fuit M 147-166 *Reliqua de vita et morte Augustini breviter narrantur in* P *hoc modo*: Hic autem prae affectu mirae sanctitatis desiderans ad suum primum eremitorium locum remeare, generalatus officium in dicto capitulo refutavit; ad quod rogatus per regem et totum capitulum numquam voluit redire, sed rediens ad primum locum eremiticum, miram vitam gerens, ibi vitam finivit. Qui magnis ibi miraculis claruit; propter quod episcopus Senensis venerabile corpus suum in terras sepeliri non permisit, sed in quadam capsa [cassa P] decenti velut reliquias Senii ad locum fratrum eremitarum fecit portari ibique in eminenti loco locari, ubi adhuc multa miracula patent. 148 papae] Bonifatii *add.* W ante *om.* M officio M et *om.* M 149 aspirabat] respirabat R resignare et *add.* M suum *om.* M eremum M

tionem recipere nolentium sed ipsum pro patre et pastore concorditer postulantium usque ad quartam diem inflexibiliter restitit et eis nullatenus acquievit. Verumtamen cum nec per preces regias nec per supplicationem totius capituli posset inflecti ad generalatus officium subeundum, ex tunc fratres sunt coacti eligere successorem. Et licet esset per dominum papam Bonifatium vocatus ad curiam, ipse tamen ex proposito me praesente eius praesentiam declinavit et ad suum eremitorium se transtulit, in quo vitam angelicam ducens non longe post stadium praesentis vitae laudabiliter finivit. Qui etiam maximis miraculis claruit ; propter quod dominus episcopus Senarum venerandum corpus suum in terra non permisit sepelire, sed potius in quadam capsa decenti ossa sua reponi fecit et ea in loco eminenti in modum reliquiarum in ecclesia fratrum collocavit.

Nonus fuit frater Franciscus de Monte Rubiano, vir prudens et providus, qui fuit Neapoli me praesente electus quarta die post ingressum capituli, quia tanto tempore capitulum stabat suspensum, nolentes eligere generalem sperantes, quod per hoc venerabilem patrem Augustinum possent ad acceptandum inclinare ; sed non profecerunt.

Decimus fuit magister Jacobus de Orto, sacrae theologiae venerabilis professor, qui me praesente obiit in concilio Viennensi.

153 postulantium] ipse *add.* RWM 154 Verumtamen] Verum WM 155 preces... per *om.* M 156 ad... subeundum *om.* M 158-159 ipse tamen... declinavit] ipse tamen me praesente a proposito suo non declinavit M 159 et] sed M eremum M 159-160 et ad... transtulit] Postmodum se transtulit ad eremum sancti Leonardi in comitatu Senarum A 160 ducens] et glorificam *add.* R post] postmodum R 161 vitae *om.* R 162 quod] quae A Senarum] Senatorum M 163 terram W 164 decenti] detentum W 165 ad modum RWMA fratrum] nostrorum *add.* W eremitarum *add.* A 167 Nonus] prior generalis *add.* W 167-168 vir... providus] vir providus et dignus honore P 168 providens W qui fuit *om.* M 168-172 qui fuit... profecerunt *om.* PA 169 tempore] totum *add.* RWM 170 nolentes... generalem *om.* M 171 patrem] fratrem *add.* W venerabilem... possent] possent eum M possent *om.* R ad acceptandum] dictum generalatus officium *add.* R officium *add.* W *om.* M 172 sed] in hoc *add.* R non] minime R nil M 173 Decimus] prior generalis *add.* W fuit] reverendus *add.* P Orte PA 174 venerabilis] et begravis (pergravis ?) *add.* R *om.* P 174-175 qui me... Viennensi *om.* A

Undecimus fuit magister Alexander de Sancto Elpidio similiter, doctor in sacra pagina, vir utique multum cautus, mirae prudentiae et magnae scientiae.

Duodecimus fuit venerabilis pater magister Guillelmus de Cremona, sacrae theologiae professor, vir providus, pius et rectus, pro cuius bonitate deus istam religionem benedixit et magnis gratiarum benedictionibus praevenit ; qui in primo anno sui officii locum Papiensem et corpus beatissimi patris nostri Augustini, quod multis primo incredibile et prorsus impossibile videbatur, divino oraculo ipsum confortante ad perseverandum, prout ab eius ore audivi, a sanctissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Johanne papa XXII gratiose impetravit. Cuius etiam concessionem idem summus pontifex multum fecundo et gratioso privilegio communivit.

Caput Sextum

Verum quia a radice tantae sanctitatis primorum patrum huius ordinis nonnisi sancta germina decuit propagari, ideo sub compendio pro aedificatione fratrum fratres famosae et notoriae sanctitatis huius nostri ordinis, de quibus compertum habui, studui annotare.

Quorum primus, ut didici, fuit frater Johannes Bonus, qui

176 Undecimus] prior generalis *add.* W fuit *om.* R magister] venerabilis frater P Sancto Elpidio] Sancto Alippio R Lympidio P 176-177 similiter *om.* P 177 sacrae paginae professor P pagine (*sic*) W 179 Duodecimus] prior generalis *add.* W venerabilis pater *om.* M pater] frater P *om.* R magister *om.* P Gwilhelmus W Wilhelmus M Guilielmus A 181 istam] hanc R religionem] videlicet nostram *add.* W 182 gratiarum benedictionibus] gratiis P in *om.* WMA 183 sui *om.* V 183-189 locum Papiensem... communivit] a domino Johanne papa XXII locum et corpus beati Augustini impetravit P 184 prorsus *om.* M 184-185 impossibile] incredibile V 185 videbatur] seu impossibile *add.* V sed *add.* M 185-186 ad perseverandum *om.* M 186 in Christo *om.* M 187 patre *om.* W domino et patre nostro Johanne vicesimo (*sic*) summo pontifice M Johanne papa XXII] Johanne XXII summo pontifice WA 188 etiam *om.* M summus pontifex] papa M

1 radice] istorum *add.* P primorum patrum] patrum praedictorum P primorum parentum M 2 huius] nostri *add.* R ordinis *om.* P non decuit nisi sancta germina M sancta germina] sanctas propagines P 3 famosos P et *om.* R 4 compertum] experimentum P 4-5 habui studui] huiusmodi studii R 5 studui] audivi W adnotare R 6 primus *om.* M

in Caesena fecit artissimam paenitentiam, vir maximae sanctitatis.

Secundus fuit frater Vitus de Hungaria.

Tertius fuit frater Hartmutus de Gotha, cuius meritis quaedam magna persona lepra infecta ex sola devotione et voto suum tumulum visitandi fuit in momento curata.

Quartus fuit frater Simon de Tuderto, vir sanctus, qui Bononiae vitam praesentem deifice claudens suum obitum publice coram populo in ultima sua praedicatione praedixit et magnis miraculis ibidem claruit.

Deinde fuit frater Nicolaus de Tolentino, quem primo omnium propter suae sanctitatis merita debueram nominare, licet fuerit quibusdam aliis enumeratis posterior tempore. Qui etiam stupendis et infinitis miraculis claruit, sicut et omnes hic enumerati, qui omnes evidentibus miraculis claruerunt; cuius etiam canonizationem fere tota Italia per solemnes ambassiatores a sede apostolica pluries cum instantia requisivit, quorum etiam desiderium non dubito per divinam clementiam et sanctae Romanae ecclesiae providentiam pro laude dei de proximo adimplendum.

[*Catalogus sanctorum in* P *locupletior est. Enumeratis enim eodem ordine eisdem quinque viris religiosis sanctitate illustribus, qui inveniuntur in codicibus* VRWM, *septem alii fratres sanctitate celebres nominantur. Praeterea textus codicis* P *differt aliquo modo quoad quinque viros sanctos in* VRWM *memoratos. Quamobrem totum catalogum codicis* P *subiungimus.*

Quorum primus, ut didici, fuit frater Johannes Bonus, qui in Caesena fecit artissimam paenitentiam, vir maximae sanctitatis.

Secundus fuit frater Vitus de Ungaria.

Tertius fuit frater Harmutus de Gotha, cuius tumulum quidam leprosus visitans perfecte fuit mundatus.

Quartus fuit reverendus frater Simon de Tuderto, qui Bononiae in

7 Sezena V Censena W Orsena M artissimam] artem R 9 Unguaria R 10 Hartmutus *scripsimus* Hardundus VR Hartungus W Hartmudus M Gotha] Bota M cuius] de cuius M 11 ex *om.* M sola] eius *add.* W 12 visitandi] gratia *add.* W monumento W 13 fuit *om.* M 13-14 Bononia R Boloniae W 14 praesentem *om.* WM deifice *om.* M publice *om.* M 17 Toluptino R Tolantina W 18 nominasse RM 18-19 licet... tempore] licet fuerit aliquali tempore posterior M 20 stupendus M 21 evidentissimis W evidenter M 22 fere *om.* M ambaziatores R ambassies W ambasiatores M 25 de] in M 25-26 adimplendam M 33 vir] ubi P (vir *corr. manus recentior supra lineam*) 35 Hartmutus] Aydanus P

pleno populo praedicans divino oraculo suam mortem praedixit et ibidem magnis miraculis claruit.

Quintus fuit frater Nicolaus de Tolentino, qui tam stupendis claruit miraculis, ut postea plures nullus credatur sibi similis.

Sextus fuit frater Johannes de Ameria, qui Reate iuvenis existens crucem in corde portavit et ibidem multis claruit prodigiis.

Septimus fuit frater Clemens generalis, cuius vita gloriosa superius connotatur.

Octavus fuit frater Augustinus, cuius vita et sanctitas superius est expressa.

Nonus fuit frater..., socius praedicti fratris Clementis generalis, qui iuxta suum corpus sepultus multa ostendit prodigia.

Decimus fuit frater Petrus, qui sepultus Eugubii tot ostendit insignia, ut corpus suum adhuc ab omni praeservetur putrefactione, ita immobilis quasi existat.

Undecimus fuit frater Angelus de Furcio, qui obiit Neapoli, ubi deus pro eius amore multa mira praebet prodigia.

Duodecimus fuit frater Thomas de Arimino, qui ibidem sepultus multa ostendit miracula, sicut et omnes hi enumerati, qui omnes evidentibus miraculis claruerunt; quorum etiam canonizationem fere tota Italia per solemnes ambaxiatores a sede apostolica pluries cum instantia requisivit, quorum desiderium non dubito per divinam clementiam et sanctae Romanae ecclesiae providentiam pro laude dei de proximo adimplendum.

Catalogus codicis A *eosdem quinque fratres sanctitate illustres enumerat ac codices* VRWM *diverso tamen aliquatenus ordine. Praeterea praebet nomina quinque religiosorum, quae in catalogo codicum* VRWM *non inveniuntur. Denique clausulam subiungit generalem quoad alios sanctos, qua ceteri codices carent.*

Quorum primus, ut didici, fuit frater Johannes Bonus de Mantua, qui in Caesena fecit artissimam vitam et paenitentiam, vir maximae sanctitatis; et requiescit in loco nostro de Mantua.

Secundus fuit frater Clemens de Marchia, vir magnae clementiae et sanctitatis, ut patuit omnibus curialibus existentibus in Urbeveteri tempore domini Nicolai papae IV, qui interfuit sepulturae suae; tamen ut credo fuit primus.

Tertius fuit frater Vitus de Ungaria.

Quartus fuit frater Hartmutus de Gotha, cuius meritis quaedam magna persona lepra infecta ex sola devotione et voto suum tumulum visitandi fuit in momento curata.

Quintus fuit frater Johannes de Anglia, vir magnae sanctitatis.

Sextus fuit frater Thomas de Arimino.

Septimus fuit frater Nicolaus de Tolentino, quem primo omnium propter sanctitatis merita debueram nominare. Qui stupendis et infinitis miraculis

42 Amelia *italice* P 48 frater] *post* frater P *nomen om. in interstitio* 50 Petrus] *om. in interstitio* P (*suppl. manus recentior*) 53 Furcis P 66 fuit *scripsimus* (*om.* A) 74 Hartungus A

claruit, ita ut post apostolos neminem invenerimus tantis miraculis refulgentem.

Octavus fuit frater Petrus de Eugubio, qui fuit homo maximae orationis et patientiae, cuius vita in domino quiescens multis miraculis claruit.

Nonus fuit frater Simon de Tuderto, qui Bononiae vitam praesentem deifice claudens suum obitum publice coram populo in ultima sua praedicatione praedixit et maximis miraculis ibidem claruit, ut multis constat.

Decimus fuit frater Francischinus de Ravenna, per quem dominus infinita miracula ostendit.

Sunt etiam in multis locis diversarum provinciarum corpora sanctorum fratrum, quae deus eorum tam in vita quam in morte signis et prodigiis incessabiliter honorat, quae enumerare longum esset].

Ex quibus omnibus fratres omnes et singuli praedicta diligenti animo revolventes habent materiam ipsi deo et glorioso patri nostro Augustino semper sine macula in omni fervore caritatis et sinceritate cordis ferventius serviendi. Quod nobis praestare dignetur, de cuius munere venit, ut sibi a fidelibus digne et laudabiliter serviatur. Amen.

83 Agubio A 88 Francischinus *scripsimus* Franciscus A 93 Ex quibus... singuli *om.* M 95 nostro] beato *add.* M 96 serviendi] famulari et gratias relargiri P 97 fidelibus] suis *add.* WMA 97-98 ut sibi digne a suis fidelibus famuletur et laudabiliter serviatur P 98 digne laudabiliterque hic in aeternum et ultra per infinita saeculorum saecula serviatur R Amen *ter* A

C. — Notes

Caput Primum

12-14] Possidius, *Vita s. Aurelii Augustini* 1 (PL 32. 35): « Et factum est divina praestante opitulatione, ut per illum talem ac tantum antistitem Ambrosium et doctrinam salutarem ecclesiae et divina perciperet sacramenta».

14-19] Aug., *Conf.* 8. 1. 1 (ed. P. Knöll, CSEL 33. 169): « Et inmisisti in mentem meam visumque est bonum in conspectu meo pergere ad Simplicianum, qui mihi bonus apparebat servus tuus... Audieram etiam, quod a iuventute sua devotissime tibi viveret ». Perperam Henricus Simplicianum vocat eremitam ; nam neque ex octavo libro *Confessionum* neque ex aliis fontibus fide dignis apparet Simplicianum fuisse eremitam. Auctor noster et quidam alii scriptores veteres rerum Augustinianarum locutionibus « servus dei » et « devotissime deo vivere » notionem subicere conati sunt, qua in contextu omnino carent.

19-20] Aug., *Conf.* 8. 2. 3 (171 Knöll): « Perrexi ergo ad Simplicianum... Narravi ei circuitus erroris mei ».

20-25] In *Confessionibus* (*ibid.*) legimus Simplicianum vocavisse Augustinum ad exemplum Victorini: « Deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi sapientibus absconditam et revelatam parvulis, [Simplicianus] Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem, Romae cum esset, familiarissime noverat, deque illo mihi narravit, quod non silebo » ; *ibid.* 8 2. 4 (173 Knöll): « Ubi autem [Victorinus] imbutus est primis instructionis sacramentis, non multo post nomen dedit, ut per baptismum regeneraretur mirante Roma, gaudente ecclesia », Sed nullibi in tota hac naratione (*ibid.* 8. 2. 3-5: 171-174 Knöll) legimus Simplicianum Augustino ad imitandum proposuisse « sanctam vitam beati Antonii et aliorum patrum mundum gaudenter pro Christo deserentium ».

25-27] Aug., *Conf.* 8. 5. 10 (177 Knöll): « Sed ubi mihi homo tuus Simplicianus de Victorino ista narravit, exarsi ad imitandum ».

27-29] Henricus haud bene interpretatus est *Conf.* 9. 2. 3 (198 Knöll), quia verba, de quibus Augustinus loquitur, non sunt Simpliciani, sed dei ; scribit enim sanctus doctor: « Sagittaveras tu cor nostrum caritate tua, et gestabamus verba tua [sc. dei] transfixa visceribus et exempla servorum tuorum ... congesta in sinum cogi-

tationis nostrae urebant... » (cf. *ibid.* 9. 2. 2. [198 Knöll] : « quamquam tu [sc. deus] nobis ... dederas *sagittas acutas* » [Ps. 119. 4]).

30-32] AUG., *Conf.* 8. 6. 14 sq. (Knöll 181 sq.): « Quodam igitur die — non recolo causam, qua erat absens Nebridius — cum ecce ad nos domum venit ad me et Alipium Ponticianus quidam, civis noster, in quantum Afer, praeclare in palatio militans: nescio quid a nobis volebat... Cui ego cum indicassem illis me scripturis sacris curam maximam impendere, ortus est sermo ipso narrante de Antonio Aegyptio monacho... Inde sermo eius devolutus est ad monasteriorum greges et mores suaveolentiae tuae et ubera deserta eremi, quorum nos nihil sciebamus. Et erat monasterium Mediolani plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis moenia sub Ambrosio nutritore, et non noveramus ». Deinde sequitur narratio Ponticiani de conversione duorum aulicorum ad monachismum « apud Treveros ».

32-35] AUG., *Conf.* 8. 8. 19 (186 Knöll): « ... tam vultu quam mente turbatus invado Alipium, exclamo: ' Quid patimur ? Quid est hoc, quod audisti ? Surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris ecce ubi volutamur in carne et sanguine ! ' ».

36-41] Inter fabulas referenda sunt, quae hic narrantur de Augustini convictu cum Simpliciano eiusque sociis in quadam communitate monastica. Quae legenda orta esse videtur ex illis duobus locis, in quibus Augustinus memorat monasterium quoddam Mediolanense extra muros urbis: « Et erat monasterium Mediolani plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis moenia sub Ambrosio nutritore » (*Conf.* 8. 6. 15: 182 Knöll) ; « Vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolani, non paucorum hominum, quibus unus presbyter praeerat, vir optimus et doctissimus » (*De moribus eccl. cath.* 1. 33. 70: PL 32. 1339 sq.). Ex quibus locis quidam veteres scriptores rerum Augustinianarum coniectaverunt praesulem illius monasterii ipsum Simplicianum presbyterum fuisse et Augustinum post conversionem suam se cum Alipio et Adeodato illuc transtulisse.

42-49] Testimonium hoc in *Vita s. Augustini* a Possidio conscripta non reperitur. Auctoris nostri rationem modumque proferendi testimonia iam supra vidimus. Ni fallimur, Henricus in conscribendo tractatu suo neque ipso opere *Confessionum* neque ipso opusculo Possidii usus est, sed potius materiam hausit ex fontibus recentioribus, probabiliter ex illis « antiquis legendis non abbreviatis », quarum auctoritatem ipse laudat 2. 87. Rus (vel villa), in quod Augustinus solutus a professione rhetorica autumno anni 386 cum suis secessit, erat rus Cassiciacum prope Mediolanum, quod

Verecundus, Augustini familiaris et collega, eis benigne obtulerat, ut, quamdiu ibi morarentur, in eo degerent. Rus Cassiciacum eiusque dominum Augustinus memorat *Conf.* 9. 3. 5 ; 4. 7 ; 4. 8 (200 ; 201 ; 202 Knöll). Falso ergo Henricus fingit Augustinum catechumenum se transtulisse in monasterium « extra civitatem Mediolanum ».

49-50] Aug., *Conf.* 9. 6. 14 (207 sq. Knöll) : « Inde ubi tempus advenit, quo me nomen dare oporteret, relicto rure Mediolanum remeavimus. Placuit et Alipio renasci in te mecum... Adiunximus etiam nobis puerum Adeodatum... Et baptizati sumus... ». Si verba Possidii (*Vita s. Aug.* 1 [PL 32. 35] : « ... protinusque ipse in fide catholica confirmatus, proficiendi in religione eidem amoris ardor innatus est, quo propinquantibus diebus sanctis paschae salutis aquam perciperet ») iuxta morem tunc in ecclesia vigentem interpretamur, Augustinus in pervigilio paschae anni 387 baptizatus est. Dies paschalis eo anno cecidit in diem 25^{am} Aprilis.

50-52] Legenda, quae refert canticum *Te deum* ab Ambrosio et Augustino coniunctim compositum esse, satis antiqua est. Eam iam narravit Datius, episcopus Mediolanensis, in capite decimo libri primi chronicae suae, unde eam hausit Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis* 1. 9 (MGH, *Script.* 8. 41 sq. ; cf. Arbesmann, *Traditio* 1 [1943] 346 sq.). Cf. etiam H. Leclercq, « Te Deum », *DACL* 15. 2 (1953) 2030, qui fusius de antiquitate huius legendae tractat ; E. Portalier, « Augustin (Saint) : Vie, œuvres et doctrine », *DThC* 1. 2275 ; A. Manse, « Te Deum », *LThK* 9. 1027. G. Morin (*Revue Bénéd.* 7 [1890] 151-159 ; 11 [1894] 49-77 ; 337-345) hymnum Nicetae de Remesiana attribuit.

Caput Secundum

1-4] Vide *supra*, notas, l. 36-41 et 42-49. Quamdiu Augustinus Mediolani post baptismum commoratus sit, definire non possumus. Sed impossibile est eum ibi mansisse « circiter per annum » ; nam ipso anno 387 mater eius Ostiis Tiberinis defuncta est non multo ante Idus Novembres, testante Augustino (*Conf.* 9. 11. 28 : 219 sq. Knöll) se anno aetatis suae tricesimo tertio matre orbatum esse. Quapropter verisimile est eum prima aestate illius anni valedixisse Mediolano iterque arripuisse Ostia Tiberina versum, ut inde cum suis in Africam navigaret. Ostiis Tiberinis hospitium selegit remo-

tum a turbis, ut post longi itineris laborem se cum sociis instauraret navigationi (cf. *ibid.* 9. 10. 23: 216 Knöll). Illis se ad navigandum praeparantibus Monnica extremo morbo correpta naturae debitum solvit (cf. *ibid.* 9. 8. 17: 210 Knöll).

5-9] Hic sermo, qui in codice Bibliothecae Angelicae 501 (A) tractatum Henrici sequitur, non est Ambrosii. En ipsa verba sermonis, quibus auctor noster nisus est (cod. Bibl. Angel. 501, f. 9[r]): « Novum christianum novis vestimentis — cuculla nigra — induimus, cingulo ex corio nos ipsi praecinximus, quod Simplicianus noster ingenti laetitia donavit ». Vide *Vfr.* 452, n. 11, et ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 234, n. 302.

12-13] EADMERUS, *Liber de s. Anselmi similitudinibus* 92 (PL 159.661): « Quod enim [monachus] viles nigrasque fert vestes, ut se vilem reputet peccatoremque, commonet.

13-16] Cf. PETRUM VENERAB. CLUNIAC. ABB., *Ep.* 4. 17 (PL 189. 334): « Nam ut, quod sentio, fatear, visum est, ut mihi videtur, magnis patribus illis nigrum hunc, de quo agitur, colorem magis humilitati, magis paenitentiae, magis luctui convenire ».

20-24] Cf. JOH. CASS., *De institutis coenobiorum* 1. 1. 1-2 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17. 8): « Itaque monachum ut militem Christi in procinctu semper belli positum accinctis lumbis iugiter oportet incedere. Hoc enim habitu etiam illos ambulasse, qui in Veteri Testamento professionis huius fundavere primordia, Heliam scilicet et Helisaeum, divinarum scripturarum auctoritate monstratur ; ac deinceps principes auctoresque Testamenti Novi, Johannem videlicet, Petrum et Paulum ceterosque eiusdem ordinis viros taliter incessisse cognovimus » ; *ibid.* 1. 11. 2 (15 Petschenig): « Accinctio enim lumborum et ambitus pellis emortuae significat eum mortificationem circumferre membrorum, in quibus libidinis atque luxuriae seminaria continentur ».

27-31] EADMERUS, *Lib. de s. Anselmi similit.* 92 (PL 159. 661): « Quod autem eaedam [vestes] in modum sunt crucis, eum [monachum] semper habere commonet memoriam dominicae passionis ». Cfr. *Vfr.* 50, ubi quattuor codices recentiores addunt hanc glossam in textu: « Nota, quod habitus noster sive cuculla, qua induuntur fratres nostri et etiam Minores, formatur ad modum crucis Christi. Nam amore Christi fratres mundum deserunt et Christum imitantur propter oboedientiam carnem mortificantes secundum apostolum (Gal. 5. 24): Qui Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis abstinentes se semper ab eis ».

31-34] EADMERUS, *Lib. de s. Anselmi similit.* 92 (PL 159. 661): « Quod vero eisdem [vestibus] a capite usque ad pedes tegitur, hoc eum [monachum] facere a principio vitae usque ad finem hortatur ».

66-67] HUGO DE S. VICTORE, *Expositio in regulam s. Augustini* (PL 176. 897): « Fecit iste vir sanctus [Augustinus], quod docuit ». Eodem argumento usus est Albertus de Padua, Henrici aequalis: « Sex vero modis lex impletur. Primo opere: dum quod aliquis praedicat, hoc facit. De Christo vero dicitur Act. 1: coepit Jesus facere et docere... Aliis vero quinque modis ipse legem implevit ; et reliquit doctoribus adimplendam. Et primo quidem beatus Augustinus legem implevit opere, quia, quod praedicavit, ipse fecit. Unde Hugo *super expositionem regulae*: fecit, inquit, vir sanctus, quaecumque docuit » (*Liber praedicationum super evangeliis dominicalibus et in praecipuis festivitatibus sanctorum* [Ulmae impressus per Johannem Zainer anno domini 1484] sermo LXII, in festo beati Augustini, pars secunda, princ.).

68-70] Augustinus (*Conf.* 9. 11. 28: 219 Knöll) refert Monnicam mirum quantum sollicitam fuisse de sepulcro, quod iuxta corpus mariti sibi providerat. Sed extremo morbo correpta haudquaquam sepulcrum patrium curavit, sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare dei fieri desideravit (*ibid.* 9 .13. 36: 224 sq. Knöll ; cf. *ibid.* 9. 11. 27: 218 sq. Knöll).

70-80] Omnino perperam Henricus illud testimonium (*Conf.* 9. 7. 16: 209 Knöll) explanavit, in quo Augustinus lacrimas recordatus est, quas divina cantica in recuperatae fidei suae primordiis ex ipsius oculis elicuerant: « Ideo plus flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum, olim suspirans tibi et tandem respirans, quantum patet aura in domo faenea ». Nam *domus faenea*, ut ex contextu clare apparet, nequaquam significat « habitationem eremiticam » sed corpus humanum. Praeterea verba « Adiunctus Nebridio et Evodio » non reperiuntur in loco citato, sed addita sunt aut ab ipso Henrico aut probabilius ab eius fonte. Recte vero usus est auctor noster altero testimonio Augustini (*Conf.* 9. 8. 17: 210 Knöll), licet eius verba in fine amputaverit: « Simul eramus, simul habitaturi placito sancto. Quaerebamus, quisnam locus nos utilius haberet servientes tibi: pariter remeabamus in Africam » ; ex his enim verbis clare apparet Augustinum eiusque socios vitam communem more monastico agere statuisse et solum de loco opportuno consiliis suis et votis laboravisse.

81-90] Contra historiae fidem sunt illae « antiquae legendae

non abbreviatae » ab Henrico laudatae, quarum auctores asserunt Augustinum matre defuncta « per biennium » cum eremitis in Tuscia vixisse eisque regulam tradidisse. Primum documenta historica de hac re omnino silent. Deinde constat eum iam mense Augusto vel Septembri anni sequentis (388) in Africam traiecisse. Denique ipse Augustinus (*Retractationes* 1. 7. 1 ; 8. 1 ; 9. 1 : PL 32. 591 sq. ; 594 ; 595) testatur se post baptismum, priusquam in Africam rediret, aliquamdiu Romae commoratum esse ibique nonnullos libros conscripsisse aut componere inchoasse.

Legendae ab Henrico laudatae periisse videntur. Auctor autem anonymus *Vitae s. Augustini*, quae reperitur in codice Laurentiano a nobis supra citato (*supra*, A. — Introduction, n. 23), breviter digitum ad fontem intendere videtur, unde illa fabella commorationis Augustini cum eremitis Tusciae oriri potuerit ; scribit enim (f. 7r) : « In partibus Tusciae in desertis marinis invenerunt [Augustinus eiusque socii] de eremitis sequentibus Pauli et Antonii vestigia, *quorum aliqui exequiis matris Augustini interfuerunt*, quae apud Hostiam Tiberinam defuncta est. Cum quibus Augustinus aliquo tempore habitans modum vivendi, quem latius postea in Africa clericis et eremitis constituit, eis dedit ». Augustinus (*Conf.* 9. 12. 31 : 221 Knöll) refert nuntio obitus matris accepto convenisse multos *fratres* ac religiosas feminas. Quod testimonium perperam interpretantes quidam veteres scriptores rerum Augustinianarum finxisse videntur illos *fratres* monachos fuisse et quidem eremitas.

De situ eremi de Centumcellis disputant auctores (cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 141, n. 260). Vetustissimum documentum, quod de hoc eremo habemus, est anni 1243. Die 16. Decembris illius anni Innocentius IV Rainero, Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin diacono cardinali, apostolicae sedis legato, mandavit, ut inspecta re, si conveniret, priori et fratribus eremi Sanctae Trinitatis de Centumcellis pauperibus ecclesiam S. Severae penitus derelictam concederet (« Pium est », Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1°, n° 323, f. 54 : ed. E. BERGER, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* [Bibl. des Ecoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 2e série] 1, Paris 1884, p. 57, n° 325). Alia bulla « Iustis petentium » die 30. mensis Martii anni 1244 idem papa priorem et fratres eremi Sanctae Trinitatis sub protectione apostolica suscepit ecclesiamque S. Severae ad Romanam ecclesiam immediate spectantem, quam Rainerus de ipsius pontificis mandato illis contulerat, eis confirmavit (Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1°, n° 578, f. 93 : BERGER,

ibid. p. 100, n° 579). Fusius de eremo de Centumcellis tractavit ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 141 sq.

Alia traditio similiter fide haud digna narrat Augustinum cum eremitis « in monte Pisano » vixisse. Ita in codice Verodunensi 41 (saec. XIV), post expositionem regulae, f. 143^{v}, legitur: « Explicit expositio fratris Hugonis de Sancto Victore super regulam beatissimi patris nostri Augustini, episcopi et doctoris, quam regulam dedit fratribus eremitis in Mone Pisano, frater eorundem existens habitu et religione. In quo quidem habitu et religione vitam finivit cum dictis eremitis prope Hipponem ». Notam eiusdem fere tenoris addidit manus secunda in codice Bibliothecae Angelicae 501 (A), f. 3^{r}.

De regulae compositionis tempore vide P. MANDONNET, *Saint Dominique: l'idée, l'homme et l'œuvre*, 2 (Paris 1937) 121-162; praesertim pp. 126-128; 135; 148. Cf. etiam *Vfr.* 464, n. 57.

91-101] Quamquam Augustinus (*Conf.* 9. 8. 17: 210 Knöll) profitetur se multa studio brevitatis praeterire, argumentum Henrici omni fundamento historico caret.

104-105] Henricus perperam interpretatus esse videtur testimonium Possidii, *Vita s. Aug.* 2 (PL 32. 36): « Et erat [Augustinus] tunc annis maior triginta », omittens verbum *maior*.

105-107] AUG., *Conf.* 9. 11. 28 (219 sq. Knöll).

107-109] Conclusionem Henrici falsa chronologia niti iam demonstravit Jordanus de Saxonia, auctoris nostri discipulus (*Vfr.* 24 sqq.; « Annotatio temporum beati Augustini », Bibl. Paris. de l'Arsenal, cod. 251, f. 72^{r}).

110-127] Henricus nullam mentionem facit monasterii Tagastensis ab Augustino reverso in patriam instituti, in quo « ferme triennio » (POSSID., *Vita s. Aug.* 3: PL 32. 36) cum sociis suis vivebat et vitam monachorum, quam tantopere in libro suo *De moribus eccl. cath.* (1. 31. 65 sqq.: PL 32. 1337 sqq.) laudaverat, aemulabatur.

Nonnisi ineunte anno 391 Hipponem profectus est. « Ego », ipse (*Serm.* 355. 2: PL 39. 1569 sq.) refert, « ... iuvenis veni ad istam civitatem, ut multi vestrum noverunt. Quaerebam, ubi constituerem monasterium et viverem cum fratribus meis... Veni ad istam civitatem propter videndum amicum, quem putabam me lucrari posse deo, ut nobiscum esset in monasterio... Apprehensus presbyter factus sum et per hunc gradum perveni ad episcopatum... Et quia hoc disponebam in monasterio esse cum fratribus, cognito instituto et voluntate mea *beatae memoriae senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium*. Coepi boni propositi fratres colligere... ».

Simili fere modo Possidius (*Vita s. Aug.* 3 sq.: PL 32. 36 sq.) narrat Augustinum ad salutem amici cuiusdam procurandam Hipponem profectum praeter exspectationem presbyterum ordinatum esse ; de institutione autem monasterii Hipponensis scribit (*ibid.* 5: PL 32. 37) sic: « Factus ergo presbyter *monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit* et cum dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam (Act. 4. 32)... ; quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset. Sanctus vero Valerius, ordinator eius, ut erat vir pius et deum timens, exsultabat et deo gratias agebat suas exauditas a domino fuisse preces, quas se frequentissime fudisse narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis, qui posset verbo dei et doctrina salubri ecclesiam domini aedificare ». Vide quoque Augustini *Epistolam* 21 (ed. A. GOLDBACHER, CSEL 34. 1. 49-54), in qua Valerium obsecrat, ut sibi permittat in secessu precibus et studio operam dare, ut idoneus sit muneri sacerdotali imposito.

De promotione sua ad episcopatum Valerio vivo Augustinus ipse (*Ep.* 213. 4 ; ed. A. GOLDBACHER, CSEL 57. 376) scripsit: « Adhuc in corpore posito beatae memoriae patre et episcopo meo sene Valerio episcopus ordinatus sum et sedi cum illo, quod concilio Nicaeno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam nec ipse sciebat ». Cf. POSSID., *Vita s. Aug.* 8 (PL 32. 39 sq.) et can. 8 Concilii Nicaeni (2. 688 sq. Mansi).

Henricus consulto addit hortum, in quo Augustinus monasterium instituit, situm fuisse « in quadam villa silvestri » ; multam enim operam veteres scriptores rerum Augustinianarum contulerunt in explicandum titulum ordinis. Quo factum est, ut ex fontibus et genuinis et spuriis demonstrare conarentur Augustinum vitam eremiticam egisse: primum extra moenia Mediolani cum Simpliciano eiusque sociis ; deinde cum eremitis in solitudinibus Tusciae viventibus ; denique in Africa, ubi congregatis undique per nemora fratribus eum monasteria eremitica instituisse asserebant.

Caput Tertium

6-7] Vide *supra* (in textu) 2. 5-9.

8-28] Sermo non est Augustini, sed potius incerti auctoris. Incipit « Sicut a nobis dominus ». Reperitur in collectione decem homiliarum ad monachos, quae sub nomine Caesarii Arelatensis in innumeris libris manuscriptis extat (textus apud Migne, PL 67. 1056-

1059). Habetur quoque in altera collectione decem pariter ad monachos homiliarum modo apud Eusebium Gallicanum (MBP 6. 659 sq.) modo apud Eucherium Lugdunensem (PL 50. 841-843). Vide quae de his collectionibus ad monachorum profectum praecipue accomodatis scripserunt J. FESSLER et B. JUNGMANN, *Institutiones Patrologiae* 2. 2 (Oeniponte 1892) p. 3 sq. ; et G. MORIN, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, ed. altera (*Corpus Christianorum*, Series Lat. CIII-CIV, Turnholti 1953) pp. XXXI sqq. Verba ipsa ab Henrico citata habentur in PL 67. 1057 (collectio Caesariana) vel in MBP 6. 659 (coll. Eusebiana) vel in PL 50. 841 sq. apud Eucherium Lugdunensen.

29-33] Vide *supra* (in textu) 1. 53-59; 2. 81-87; 102-109; 117-121.

40-42] *Decret. Grat.*, Secunda Pars, Causa XIX, q. 3, c. 2 (1. 840 Friedberg) ; *Decretal. Gregor. IX*, Lib. I, tit. XIV, c. 12 (2. 129 sq. Friedberg).

42-45] *Ibid.*, tit. VI, c. 52 (2. 92 Friedberg) ; *ibid.*, Lib. V, tit. XXXI, c. 17 (2. 842 sq. Friedberg) ; *Sexti Decretal.*, Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. un. (2. 1054 sq. Friedberg).

49-52] *Ibid.*, Lib. I, tit. VI, c. 24 (2. 961 Friedberg) ; *ibid.*, Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. un. (2. 1055 Friedberg).

83-84] Vide *supra* (in textu) 1. 36-57 ; 2. 1-9.

85-86] Vide *supra* (in textu) 2. 68-87 ; 102-109.

87-91] Vide *supra* (in textu) 2. 110-121.

91-93] Augustinum e vita migravisse *intra* moenia Hipponis Vandalis urbem obsidentibus testatur Possidius, qui (*Vita s. Aug.* 28: PL 32. 59) refert se cum aliis suis coepiscopis Hipponem confugisse ibique fuisse toto obsidionis tempore. Ipsum autem obitum Augustini hoc modo describit (*ibid.* 31: PL 32. 64): « Membris omnibus sui corporis incolumis, integro aspectu atque auditu, et, ut scriptum est, nobis astantibus et videntibus et cum eo pariter orantibus obdormivit cum patribus suis enutritus in bona senectute ».

94-99] Cf. *supra* (in textu) 3. 164-177.

102-103] *Libellus de vita clericorum* vel *Sermones de vita clericorum* parva collectio trium opusculorum Augustini inscripta est. Haec opuscula sunt *Sermones* 355 et 356 (PL 39. 1568 sqq.) et *Regula s. Augustini* exordio « Ante omnia ... principaliter nobis data » omisso vel retento (cf. *Vfr.* 491, App. B, et 494 sqq., App. C; de hac re vide MANDONNET, *Saint Dominique* pp. 243-252 ; et *Vfr.* p. LXXIX). Extat haec collectio in libris manuscriptis saepiusque edita est post artem typographicam inventam, e. g., ab Eusebio

Conrado, Mediolanensi canonico regulari Congregationis Lateranensis, impressa Paduae per Matthaeum Cerdonis anno 1484 (cf. GW 3. 122 sq., n. 2923 ; aliae editiones notantur *ibid.* 3. 72 sqq., nn. 2863-2868). Ex his tribus *sermonibus de vita clericorum* multa capita accepit Gratianus, e. g., *Decret. Grat.*, Prima Pars, Dist. 86, c. 4 (1. 298 Friedberg ; cf. notam editoris *ibidem*).

120-122] Henricus primus est inter scriptores ordinis, qui huius visionis mentionem facit. De origine huius legendae vide *Vfr.* 450 sq., n. 9.

122-125] De opere unionis ab Innocentio IV inchoato et per Alexandrum IV, successorem suum, ad finem perducto vide *Vfr.* 451 sq., n. 10.

125-128] Henricus in mente habere videtur bullam « Iis qui relictis » ab Alexandro IV die 8. mensis Junii anni 1259 promulgatam, in qua papa archiepiscopos, episcopos ceterosque praelatos « per regnum Alamanniae » constitutos hortatur, ne fratres eremitarum S. Augustini impedire praesumant, « quominus ipsi in civitatibus, castris et villis libere possint et debeant habitare » (E. JACOBS, *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Commende Langeln und der Klöster Himmelpforten und Waterler* [Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen, Bd. 15, Halle 1882] p. 103). Die 29. mensis Novembris eiusdem anni Alexander IV misit bullam eiusdem tenoris praelatis « in Provincia constitutis » (Bibl. nat. de Paris, Collection Doat, vol. XX, f. 60 - f. 62) et die 13. mensis Decembris eiusdem anni praelatis « per Lombardiam » constitutis (Bibl. Angel. cod. 1340, p. 34 ; Torelli 4. 639) idemque fecit Clemens IV die 30. mensis Januarii anni 1268, praecipiens praelatis Aquitaniae, ut nulla ratione impedirent, sed potius foverent, habitationem eremitarum S. Augustini in civitatibus (*AA* 5. 354).

129-130] Alexander IV (« Solet annuere sedes », 7. Jul. 1260: EMPOLI 32 sq. ; POTTHAST 17915) fratribus eremitorii de Brictinis Fanensis dioecesis ipsis petentibus concedit, ut in ipsorum domo « vita eremitica perpetuis temporibus observetur ». Etiam nonnulla alia eremitoria retenta sunt. Ita legimus Augustinum Novellum aliquantum temporis in eremitorio S. Barbarae « prope castrum de S. Flora » commoratum esse et sarcina officii generalatus deposita ad eremitorium S. Leonardi prope civitatem Seniensem recessisse (*Vita beati Aug. Novelli* 11 ; 16: Act SS, Maii IV, pp. 619 ; 620). Praeterea nova eremitoria fundata sunt. Ponemus hoc unum exemplum. Anno 1311 Maffaeus, episcopus Interamnensis, ecclesiam

S. Bartholomaei Dursangnano in loco solitario dioecesis suae sitam tradidit fratribus Augustinianis conventus S. Petri in Tirlo de Interamna, ut ibi viri religiosi « *de maiorum suorum licentia* vitam eremiticam et solitariam ducerent » (HERRERA, *Alphabetum August.* 2. 376 ; TORELLI 5. 327 sq.).

135-137] Henricus in mente habere videtur bullam « Cum olim » a Gregorio IX die 8. Decembris anni 1228 promulgatam, in qua papa fratribus eremi de Brictinis Fanensis dioecesis et aliis fratribus eremo ipsi subiectis concedit regulam S. Augustini ab ipsis fratribus perpetuis temporibus observari (Empoli 123 ; Potthast 8288). Amplexi unam ex regulis approbatis Brictini numerantur inter ordines approbatos. Cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 133 sq.

Auctor anonymus, « Initium sive processus ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini », in cod. Laurentiano supra citato (Introduction, n. 23) f. 60^{r}: « Deinde tempore Gregorii IX [VIII *cod.*] pontificatus sui anno VI^{o} (*sic*) dictus pontifex anno MCCXXX^{o} ipsum ordinem heremitarum fratrum sancti Augustini confirmavit ac, quia regulam tanti doctoris sequebantur, eis multa privilegia atque immunitates condonavit ».

145-146] Augustinus in patriam Tagastensem reversus agros sibi a patre relictos alienavit eorumque pretium pauperibus distribuit, cum adhuc esset laicus (*Ep.* 126. 7, ed. Goldbacher, CSEL 44. 12 sq. ; cf. POSSID., *Vita s. Aug.* 2 sq.: PL 32. 35 sq.). De illis monasteriis « eremiticis et solitariis » nihil reperitur in documentis fide dignis.

146-151] Haud in dubium vocari potest Augustinum in Africam reversum vitae monasticae initiatorem et nutritorem fuisse. Monasticae vitae causam praesertim in epistulis suis fulcire eiusque naturam ac finem in nonnullis aliis operibus suis accuratius exponere conabatur. De hac re docte disseruit P. Monceaux (« Saint Augustin et saint Antoine : contribution à l'histoire de monachisme », *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2 [Rome 1931] 72-86), qui etiam elenchum monasteriorum et laicorum et clericorum ab Augustino eiusque discipulis et amicis institutorum composuit (*ibid.* 86). Liber *de opere monachorum* (PL 40. 547-582) ab Henrico supra citatus agit de opere manuum contra monachos otio nimium deditos. Auctor noster in mente habere videtur praesertim caput primum huius opusculi (*ibid.* 549), in quo Augustinus loquitur de « *filiis* et fratribus *nostris monachis*, qui beato Paulo apostolo oboedire negligunt dicenti : Qui non vult operari, non manducet ». Sed hic locus

haud sufficientem vim habet ad probandam assertionem Henrici (149-151).

151-155] Vitas sanctorum hominum saepissime piis legendis exornatas esse inter omnes constat. Quapropter haud miramur narratiunculas eiusdem generis de sancto Augustino non solum Henrici temporibus sed etiam aliquot saeculis post circumlatas esse. Johannes Baptista Gramaye, praeclarus itinerum scriptor, qui saeculo decimo septimo ineunte Hipponem visit, refert incolas rudera monasterii, quod Augustinus in solitudine prope Hipponem aedificasse dicitur, monstravisse atque mira quaedam in eo loco fieri narravisse. En verba ipsius Gramaye, quae Bollandistae (Acta SS, Aug. VI, p. 386) hauserunt ex capite 3. libri 5. praeclari auctoris operis, cui titulus *Africa illustrata* (Tournai 1622): « Locus et rudera huius monasterii [eremitici prope Hipponem] supersunt et in summa apud incolas veneratione, eo quod non solum referant nullo bruto, si forte intra saepta progrediatur, integrum esse sanum egredi, sed etiam credant animalia venenata nulla, nec vero aves umquam nidis suis istum locum polluisse. Est in proximo eius Mauri divitis palatium, et retulerunt mihi servi aliquot eius frequenter se luminaria ibidem per noctem vidisse et symphonias imo angelicas ab ipsis Mauris subinde auditas Kalendis Julii ». Non inquirimus hic, utrum haec narratio scriptoris laudati demonstret memoriam sancti Augustini non omnino excidisse in Africa an Afri comes suavesque ea responderint, quae Gramaye audire cupiebat ; clare enim apparet ex verbis ipsius auctoris eum notitiam habuisse illius monasterii fabularis in eremo.

155-163] Henricus in mente habere videtur illas duas collectiones sermonum, quae in codice 251 Bibliothecae Parisiensis de l'Arsenal reperiuntur post collectionem sermonum ad fratres in eremo, ff. 30^{r}-40^{v} et ff. 41^{r}-47 b^{v}. In indice eiusdem codicis legitur f. 2^{r}: « Expliciunt sermones sancti Augustini ad fratres eremitas. Incipit sermo eiusdem ad presbyteros Hipponenses » ; et f. 2^{v}: « Sequuntur sermones sancti Augustini ad populum ». De his sermonibus (quattuor ad presbyteros Hipponenses et sex ad populum) vide *Vfr.* p. XXVIII sq. et ARBESMANN, *Traditio* 1 (1943) 344.

164-174] « Veneranda sanctorum patrum », Joh. XXII, 20. Jan. 1327: EMPOLI 195-202 ; TORELLI 5. 419-424 ; R. MAIOCCHI et N. CASACCA, *Cod. diplom. Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Papiae* 1 (Papiae 1905) 13-19. Verba bullae ab Henrico haud accurate citata sunt haec (Maiocchi et Casacca 14 sq.): « Dignum arbitramur et

congruum, ut, ubi tanti doctoris corpus et praesulis tumulatum quiescere dicitur, ibi ultra id, quod sibi honoris et laudis ab universali exhibetur ecclesia, singulari quadam reverentia a vobis et fratribus ordinis vestri, qui sub eiusdem patris regula degitis et sancta observantia militatis, quique divinis insistitis laudibus, vacatis orationi, intenditis exhortationi, insudatis studio et animarum saluti propensius vigilatis, specialiter honoretur, quatenus inibi tamquam membra suo capiti, filii patri, magistro discipuli, duci milites, cohaerentes deo et ipsi sancto, auctoritate fulti apostolica praecordialius iubiletis, ubi et praeceptoris vestri, patris, ducis et capitis Augustini noveritis reliquias fore sepultas ».

Caput Quartum

3-5] Vide *supra* (in textu) 2. 5-9, notamque ad locum, et *infra*, notam ad 4. 14-18.

5-8] Vide *supra* notas ad 1. 14-19 ; 20-25 ; 27-29 ; 30-32 ; 36-41.

9-11] Cf. *Phil.* 2. 7.

14-18] Vide *supra* (in textu) 2. 81-90, et notam ad locum. Henricus eadem argumenta affert in sermone quodam, quem fecit de s. Augustino (*Opus Sermonum de Sanctis*, impressum in officina Henrici Gran, Hagenau 1513, sermo 158): « Et licet in sua professione sit tanta diversitas filiorum, veri tamen et proprii filii sunt fratres eremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini. Quod evidenter patet ex tribus. Primo, quia in principio suae conversionis cum eis personaliter conversatus fuit. Secundo, quia habitum ipsorum in eremo personaliter portavit [cf. 4. 3-5]. Tertio, quia regulam vitae apostolicae ipsis composuit et eis manu propria tradidit » [cf. 4. 14-18].

19-31] Cf. Possid., *Vita s. Aug.* 5 (PL 32. 37); *Vfr.* 463 sq., n. 55.

44-47] Hieron., *Ep.* 130. 17 (ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 56. 197 sq.) ; *Ep.* 125. 9 (127 sq. Hilberg).

51-56] Hieron., *Ep.* 22. 36 (ed. Hilberg, CSEL 54. 200) ; cf. Hieron., *Vita s. Pauli primi eremitae*, Prolog. (PL 23. 17 sq.). Idem argumentum reperitur in Henrici sermone de sancto Augustino supra (nota ad 4. 14-18) citato: « De filiorum vero sanctitate patet per hoc, quod primum originale fratrum eremitarum nostri ordinis ex sanctissimis patribus est deductum [cf. 4. 34-35]. Quod patet primo per Hieronymum in *epistola ad Eustochium*, quod illius vita ... excellentissimae sanctitatis » [cf. 4. 51-56].

59-71] AUG., *De moribus eccl. cath.* 1. 31. 66-67 (PL 32. 1337 sq.). Animum lectoris advertimus ad Henrici viam rationemque citandi auctores. Prima verba testimonii (« Quis eos non ... praedicet ») sumpta sunt ex principio capitis 67, reliqua vero ex capite 66.

71-78] Hoc testimonium ab Henrico citatum denuo est farrago ex duobus capitibus eiusdem operis Augustini (*De moribus eccl. cath.* 1. 30. 64 ; 33. 70: PL 32. 1337 ; 1339 sq.) haud accurate congesta. Prima verba testimonii « Vidi Medolani et alibi » auctor noster sumpsit ex capite 33. 70 (« Vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolani... Romae etiam plura cognovi... »), perperam subdens verbum « alibi » loco « Romae » falsoque addens Augustinum verbum « alibi » intelligi voluisse « eremitas Tusciae ». Verba sequentia « nonnullos... solitudo delectet » pertinent ad caput 30. 64, reliqua vero usque in finem iterum ad caput 33. 70.

Totum argumentum Henrici (4. 59-78) eisdem fere verbis expressum reperitur in sermone Henrici de sancto Augustino supra citato (nota ad 4. 14-18).

79-83] HENRICUS DE FRIEMARIA, *Sermones de Sanctis, sermo* 158 (*supra*, nota ad 4. 14-18): « Et quia secundum apostolum (Rom. 11. 16) si radix sancta, et rami: ideo virtute talium patrum, qui fuerunt nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, super eorum posteros dei gratia largiente sanctitas copiosa descendit... ».

84-93] JOACHIM DE FLORA, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 14. 14-20 (ed. SILVESTER MEUCCIUS, *Expositio magni prophetae Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim*, Venetiis, in Aedibus Francisci Bindoni ac Maphei Pasini socii, anno domini 1527, f. 176[r]).

102-106] *Sexti Decretal.*, Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. un. (2. 1055 Friedberg): « Ceterum Eremitarum sancti Augustini et Carmelitarum ordines, quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, *in solido statu volumus permanere* ». Monemus lectorem textum huius decretalis differre a textu definitivo c. 23 concilii Lugdunensis II, cuius verba haec sunt: « Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini ordines, quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, *in suo statu manere concedimus, donec de ipsis fuerit aliter ordinatum. Intendimus siquidem tam de illis quam de reliquis etiam non mendicantibus ordinibus*, prout animarum saluti et eorum statui expedire viderimus, *providere* » (MANSI 24. 97). Ex his verbis apparet Gregorium X, qui magna moliebatur de statu ordinum de integro ordinando, statum ordinum Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini iniudicatum reliquisse. Immo tempore ipso concilii papa in rebus

ad hos duos ordines spectantibus cautius se gessisse videtur ; verba enim c. 23 primo in hanc formam redacta erant: « Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini ordines, *qui se asserunt ante dictum concilium institutos*, in suo statu manere concedimus... ». Deinde in textu definitivo Romae publicato verba « qui se asserunt ante dictum concilium institutos » mutata sunt hoc modo: « quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit ». Denique Bonifatius VIII (*Sexti Decretal.* III, XVII, 1 ; cf. « Tenorem cuiusdam constitutionis », Bonif. VIII, 5. Mai. 1298: EMPOLI 46 sq. ; POTTHAST 24675) non solum illam partem constitutionis Lugdunensis, quae de proposito Gregorii statui futuro ordinum consulendi (« donec... providere ») agit, ex c. *Religionum* expunxit, sed etiam illud Gregorii « in suo statu manere concedimus » mutavit atque omni restrictione sublata (*in solido statu permanere volumus*) ordines Carmelitarum et Eremitarum s. Augustini approbavit. De hac re docte disseruit S. Kuttner, « Conciliar Law in the Making: The Lyonese Constitutions (1274) of Gregory X in a Manuscript at Washington », *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* 2 (Rome 1949), 74 ; cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 30 sq.

106-110] *Liber sextus decretalium D. Bonifacii papae VIII suae integritati una cum Clementinis et Extravagantibus earumque Glossis restitutus...* Romae... MDLXXXII, col. 146, nota marginalis ad Lib. I, tit. VI, c. 24 (*Quorundam*): « In annis videlicet do. MCCXVI. confirmatus fuit ordo Praedicatorum per Honorium III. quod se facturum anno praecedenti Inno. III ipsius praedecessor promiserat. Io. An. ».

111-117] Henricus documentum talis tenoris in registris papalibus haud invenire potuit. In mente habuisse videtur decretalem Bonifatii VIII supra citatam (nota ad 4. 102-106) aut bullam eiusdem pontificis « Tenorem cuiusdam constitutionis » (*ibid.*), in quibus ordo eremitarum s. Augustini concilium Lateranense IV sub Innocentio III celebratum (1215) praecessisse declaratur. Cum autem c. 13 huius concilii institutionem novorum ordinum vetuisset (MANSI 22. 1002), auctor noster Innocentium ordinem eremitarum s. Augustini « registravisse » et « eis regulam Augustini confirmavisse » collegit.

Nonnullos veteres scriptores rerum Augustinianarum originem ordinis a Paulo primo eremita deduxisse apparet ex annotatione, quae reperitur in codice Laurentiano supra citato (Introduction, n. 23) f. 62^{v}: « Unde ordo fratrum eremitarum beati Augustini initium habuerit. Si principium ordinis fratrum eremitarum beati Augustini accipiatur ut incepit a beato Paulo et Antonio, fuit circa annos domini CCXXV » (*sic*).

117-121] Alexander IV anno 1255 « universis eremitarum SS. Augustini et Guillelmi ordinum prioribus » mandavit, ut ex singulis domibus duos fratres cum pleno mandato Romam mitterent (« Cum quaedam salubria », 15. Jul. 1255: AA 4. 297). Huic praecepto obsequentes fratres mense Martio anni sequentis Romae in conventu S. Mariae de Populo capitulum, cui Richardus cardinalis praesidebat, celebraverunt et in unum ordinem eremitarum s. Augustini coalescere consenserunt (« Licet ecclesiae catholicae », 9. Apr. 1256: EMPOLI 18 sqq: ; *AA* 5. 1 sqq. ; POTTHAST 16334). Vide *supra* (in textu) 3. 120-131.

Caput Quintum

6-8] Auctor anonymus, « Initium sive processus ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini », in cod. Laurentiano supra citato (Introduction, n. 23) f. 60^{r}: « Ante quorum tempora, tempore scilicet Alexandri III [IV *cod.*] anno MCLXXXX°, prior eremitarum sancti Augustini erat frater Johannes, fundator loci de Spelunca. Hic merito suae vitae deo gratiosus meruit nominari ; qui quam plurima loca ad instar loci sancti Galgani sui prioratus tempore constituit aedificari. Tempore vero Innocentii III fuit eorum prior frater Johannes de Cella, per quem, quia gratia dei erat in illo, praedictis fratribus gratiae auctae fuerunt, ut per privilegia ipsius Innocentii adhuc apparet atque aliorum ». Auctor anonymus, « Unde ordo fratrum eremitarum beati Augustini initium habuerit », *ibid.* f. 62^{v}: « Si [principium] accipiatur ut incepit, prout aperte et clare invenitur, quod praedicti fratres habuerint priorem generalem multorum fratrum atque locorum, fuit circa annos MCL, sed ut quando clarius circa annos MCLXXXX... Frater beatus Johannes, fundator loci de Spelunca, <fuit> primus generalis. Frater Johannes de Cella fuit huius ordinis secundus generalis ».

De Johanne de Spelunca et Johanne de Cella, « prioribus generalibus » eremitarum in Tuscia, vide ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 114. De eremitorio de Spelunca, eius situ et institutione per Johannem de Spelunca vide ROTH, *ibid.* 3. 297, s. v. *Spelonca* ; de eremitorio de Cella, *ibid.* 288 sq., s. v. *Colle*.

9-51] Interpolatores codicum M (cf. lin. 40: « ut ex eius vita colligitur manifeste, ub legitur... ») et W (f. 10^{v} in margine: « ut ex eius legenda apparet, ubi legitur... ») fontem nobis ostendunt, ex quo historia de monachatu Augustiniano s. Francisci perperam

constructa est. In 5. 9-24 et 40-43 interpolatores secuti sunt Vitam s. Francisci a Thoma de Celano conscriptam (*Vita s. Francisci prima*, Pars I, c. 9, n°21 sq.: *Analecta Franciscana* X, fasc. I, Ad Claras Aquas, 1926, p. 18 sq.). In 5. 25-36 et 44-48 usi sunt tractatu de miraculis s. Francisci ab eodem Thoma de Celano conscripto (*Tract. de miraculis s. Francisci Assisiensis*, n° 18, ed. a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, 1928, p. 20 sq.). Vide *Vfr.* 445 sqq., n. 4.

51-54] Cf. *supra* (in textu) 3. 135-137.

54-55] Cf. *supra* (in textu) 4. 111-117.

56-57] Auct. anon., « Initium sive processus ord. erem. s. Aug. », in cod. Laurent. supra citato (Introd. n. 23) f. 60^{r} - f. 60^{v}: « Sed tempore Innocentii IV fuit eorum prior frater Aiutus de Garfagnana (Carfagnana *cod.*), cuius officii tempore praedictus papa Innocentius devotione beati Augustini motus dictum ordinem tam in numero gratiarum atque privilegiorum quam in numero personarum atque locorum augmentavit. Ipse enim omnes eremitas de Tuscia praedicto ordini atque regulae counivit » (counicxit *cod.*). Auct. anon., « Unde ordo fratr. erem. beati Aug. initium habuerit », *ibid.* f. 62^{v}: « Frater Aiutus de Garfagnana (Carfagnana *cod.*) tertius generalis ».

Adiutus vocatur « prior generalis fratrum eremitarum ordinis s. Augustini *de Tuscia* » in quodam documento anni 1252, in quo episcopus Faventiae fratribus conventus s. Augustini de Malta eiusdem civitatis plenam licentiam dat novam ecclesiam aedificandi (TORELLI 4. 473 f. ; cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 289, s. v. *Faënza*). Idem Adiutus appellatur « generalis visitator fratrum eremitarum ordinis s. Augustini » in bulla (« Ex parte vestra », Alex. IV, 25. Jun. 1255: EMPOLI 10 ; POTTHAST 15904), in qua papa unionem eremi S. Leonardi cum eremo S. Salvatoris de Fultignano per Adiutum, generalem visitatorem fratrum eremitarum ordinis s. Augustini, factam confirmat (cf. ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 290, s. v. *Fultignano*).

58-63] Auct. anon., « Initium sive processus ord. erem. s. Aug. », in cod. Laurent. (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 60^{v}: « Insuper tempore Alexandri IV erat prior praedicti ordinis frater Philippus de Parrana, supernorum amator atque lampas luminis virtutum. Cuius tempore praedictus papa Alexander ob amore beati Augustini ei in visione magnus capite atque parvus membris apparentis [apparens *cod.*] primo anno sui pontificatus praedictum ordinem tam in personis quam in gratiis augmentavit. Huic ordini Brictones, Fabarios, Janbonitas atque Guigliemitas <univit>, iungendo gratias numquam

similes alicui religioni traditas, ut in suis privilegiis continetur. Praedictum namque fratrem Philippum volens, ut antea erat, priorem dicti ordinis praeficere, qui obmissis huius rei gratia multis lacrimis fere recusare obtinuit ». Auct. anon., « Unde ordo fratr. erem. beati Aug. initium habuerit », *ibid.* f. 62^{v}: « Frater Philippus de Parrana fuit quartus generalis ».

Lectionibus vitiosis nonnullorum codicum (vide appar. crit. *supra* 5. 58) factum est, ut Philippus de Parrana a scriptoribus posterioribus modo Philippus Dexterampuae modo Philippus de Parma vocaretur. Cf. HERRERA, *Alphabetum August.* 2. 238 ; ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 117: « Philip (Dexter) of Parma ». De eremitorio de Parrana vide ROTH, *ibid.* 3. 294, s. v. *Parrana.*

64-68] Auct. anon., « Initium sive processus ord. erem. s. Aug. », in cod. Laurent. (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 60^{v}: « Et tunc [Alexander IV] fratrem Lanfranchum de Mediolano, virum prudentem, eis priorem instituit generalem, ut per se suosque fideles a vitiis atque a peccatis franchos faceret, quod plene usque in hodiernum diem faciunt atque facient de bono in melius in agro domini fructificantes ».

De Lanfranco de Mediolano eiusque vita et generalatu vide ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 235-240 ; *Cor Unum* 8 (1950) 115-118.

70-71] De Guidone de Stagia eiusque generalatu (1265-1271) vide ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 27-29 ; *Cor Unum* 9 (1951) 18-20.

73-75] Hunc locum fere ad verbum transumpsit Jordanus de Saxonia, *Vfr.* 93 sq. Eximiae virtutes B. Clementis Auximatis laudantur etiam ab auctore anonymo cod. Laurent. (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 47^{v}: « De fratre Clemente qui fuit generalis. De civitate namque Auximi Marchiae Anconitanae fuit venerabilis Clemens, in quo dominus omnem plenitudinem spiritualium contulit gratiarum. Cuius si quis caritatem novisset, similem suo tempore non invenisset ; atque sic de humilitate, innocentia, puritate, patientia, mansuetudine, abstinentia atque benignitate. Donum vero discretionis atque scientiae tantum ei dominus contulerat, ut bis officium generalatus prioris totius ordinis adeptus fuerit, quod tam sancte rexit, ut eius gloriosus vitae praesentis progressus ac exitus multifarie ostendit. Prior enim generalis existens totum ordinem pedester circumiens visitavit. Et primum quod faciebat visitata ecclesia pietatis opera exercitabat visitando infirmos atque carceratos, si in conventibus erant, quos applicabat atque plures pro dei pietate liberabat ». Deinde auctor duo miracula a B. Clemente patrata narrat.

De primo generalatu B. Clementis de Auximo vel de S. Elpidio (1271-1274) vide ROTH, *Augustiniana* 3. 29-31 ; *Cor Unum* 9 (1951) 20 f. ; *AA* 8. 287-291.

75-76] Capitulum Ratisbonense celebratum est anno 1290 (*AA* 2. 291) ideoque id, quod Henricus hic narrat, ad tempus secundi generalatus B. Clementis pertinet.

77-78] Franciscus de Regio electus est in capitulo generali de Molaria anno 1274 (*AA* 2. 225 sq.: « Et tunc complevit officium generalatus frater Clemens de Auximo et renuntiavit ; qui fuerat tunc generalis tribus annis [cf. *AA* 8. 289-291]... Et tunc electus fuit generalis prior venerabilis Franciscus de Regio... ». Franciscus iterum electus est in capitulo Viterbiensi anno 1277 (*AA* 2. 228) et tertio in capitulo de Padua anno 1281 (*ibid.* 245 ; 249). Cur anno 1280, ut moris erat, capitulum celebratum non sit, nescimus (cf. *AA* 8. 288).

De Francisco de Regio eiusque generalatu vide ROTH, *Cor Unum* 9 (1951) 42 f.

79-97] Hunc locum fere ad verbum transumpsit Jordanus de Saxonia, *Vfr.* 94. Auctor anonymus cod. Laurent. (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 47^{v} sq. haec de obitu B. Clementis scripsit: « Insuper suum laudabilem finem et exitum praesentis vitae in conspectu Romanae curiae multiplicibus signis dominus decoravit infirmitates sanando diversas, scilicet oculorum, claudorum, maligni spiritus invasorum, febricitantium atque fractorum, ut in Urbeveteri, ubi est eius sanctissimum corpus conditum, manifeste habetur ». Inter acta capitulorum provinciae Romanae, quae in registris contemporaneis eiusdem provinciae in archivo Romano ordinis consignata praeservantur, reperitur ante annum 1291 haec nota: « Anno eiusdem Millesimo CC^{o} Nonagesimo primo. Mense Aprilis VIII die. Intrante tunc in dominica de Passione, obiit Pater noster Sanctus frater Clemens, Prior generalis ordinis nostri, in Urbeveteri, Romana curia ibidem existente, et confluentibus dominis Cardinalibus ad sepulchrum eius » (*AA* 2. 322 sq.). Clemens electus est anno 1284 in capitulo de Urbeveteri (*ibid.* 251: « Tunc electus fuit unanimiter et concorditer in generalem priorem frater Clemens de Auximo de provincia Marchiae Anconitanae » ; cf. *AA* 4. 393 sq.) atque bis reelectus anno 1287 in capitulo Florentino (*AA* 2. 274) et anno 1290 in capitulo Ratisbonensi (*ibid.* 291).

De constitutionibus ordinis a beatis viris Clemente Auximate

et Augustino Novello emendatis vide *Vfr.* 466-468, nn. 64 ; 66 ; 67 ; de secundo generalatu B. Clementis, ROTH, *Cor Unum* 9 (1951) 43 f.

98-101] B. Clemente die 8. mensis Aprilis anni 1291 defuncto (cf. notam praecedentem) « remansit Vicarius totius Ordinis, et Generalis administrator, secundum diffinitionem Capituli Generalis, sive constitutionem dicti Ordinis, frater Paulus de Perusio, tunc provincialis Prior Romanae provinciae » (*AA* 2. 323 ; de Paulo de Perusio vide *ibid.* 339, n. 3, et *AA* 3. 87 sq.). Aegidius Romanus prior generalis electus est mense Januario anni 1292 in capitulo, quod vicarius ordinis non Senas sed Romam infra novem menses a morte prioris generalis, ut in constitutionibus ordinis statutum erat, convocaverat (*AA* 2. 337 ; 339).

Aegidius ad archiepiscopatum Bituricensem evectus est die 25. mensis Aprilis anni 1295 (cf. E. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 1 [2ª ed., Münster 1913] p. 138 ; H. DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* 2 [Paris 1891] 12). De eius vita operibusque, de scriptoribus, qui de eo egerunt, vide *Vfr.* 471 sq., n. 82 ; 473, n. 84 ; ROTH, *Cor Unum* 9 (1951) 77-81.

102-103] Simon de Pistorio electus est in capitulo generali Senis anno 1295 celebrato (*AA* 2. 367 ; 369). De eius generalatu vide ROTH, *Cor Unum* 10 (1952) 40.

104] Augustinus de Tarano electus est in capitulo Mediolani anno 1298 celebrato (*AA* 2. 436 : « In absentia Generalis novi fratris Augustini de Tarano, domini Papae tunc Poenitentiarii... Et statim confirmatus fuit per Summum Pontificem, sine examinatione aliqua, dictus frater Augustinus, Generalis Prior » ; cf. *ibid.* 438 sq.).

Augustini *Vitam* composuit auctor coaevus (*Vita beati Augustini Novelli*: *Acta SS*, Maii IV, pp. 616-621). De Augustini patria (Taranum-italice Tarano-in Sabinis) vide *Vfr.* 458 sq., n. 34.

106] Capitulum Neapolitanum celebratum est anno 1300 (*AA* 3. 14) id est uno anno prius quam moris erat (cf. *supra*, B. — Text, 5. 147-151). Hoc anno Henricus noster prima vice in definitionibus capitulorum nominatur (*AA* 3. 15).

107-137] Henricus est fons Jordani de Saxonia, qui (*Vfr.* 96 sq.) actum eximiae humilitatis B. Jacobi Viterbiensis supra memoratum eisdem fere verbis narrat.

109-112] Bonifatius VIII reservata sibi provisione sedum episcopalium vacantium Beneventanae et Neapolitanae Jacobum ad eas successive promovit eodem anno 1302, ad Beneventanam die 3. Sep-

tembris (« Recta tunc ecclesiarum », *AA* 4. 230 sq. ; cf. EUBEL, *Hierarchia* 1. 133), ad Neapolitanam die 12. Decembris (« Summi providentia principis », *AA* 4. 231 sq. ; cf. EUBEL, *Hierarchia* 1. 359) ; quapropter Jacobus ecclesiae Beneventanae nonnisi paucis mensibus praefuit.

147-161] Auctor coaevus, *Vita beati Augustini Novelli* 14-17 (*Acta SS*, Maii IV, p. 619 sq.) ; cf. *Vfr.* 117 sq.

154-155] In definitionibus capituli Neapolitani legitur capitulum « in praesentia Domini Regis Karoli secundi » celebratum esse (*AA* 3. 14).

161-166] Cf. *Vfr.* 153.

167-172] Franciscus de Monte Rubiano electus est in capitulo Neapolitano anno 1300 (*AA* 3. 14) atque reelectus in capitulo Perusino anno 1303 et capitulo Bononiensi anno 1306 (*ibid.* 53 sq.). Mortuus est Gandavi die 25. mensis Novembris 1307 (*ibid.* 59).

173-175] Jacobus de Orto electus est in capitulo generali Januensi anno 1308 (*AA* 3. 77, n. 2). Mortuus est post Kalendas mensis Octobris anni 1311 ; concilium enim Viennense Kalendis mensis Octobris illius anni inchoatum est (*ibid.* 150, n. 3). De Jacobo de Orto vide etiam *AA* 2. 365, n. 4 ; 3. 15 ; 54 ; DENIFLE, *Chartular. Univ. Paris.* 2. 85, n. 613 ; 106, n, 640.

176-178] Alexander de S. Elpidio electus est in capitulo Viterbiensi anno 1312 (*AA* 3.150 et n. 2) atque reelectus in capitulis sequentibus: Paduano 1315 (*ibid.* 176) ; Ariminensi 1318 (*ibid.* 221) ; Tarvisino 1321 (*ibid.* 245) ; Montepessulano 1324 (*ibid.* 466). Ad episcopatum Melfiensem promotus est die 18. mensis Februarii anni 1326 (cf. EUBEL, *Hierarchia* 1. 334 ; DENIFLE, *Chartular. Univ. Paris.* 2. 85, n. 613). Vide de eo etiam *AA* 2. 254 sq. ; 3. 227 sqq. ; *Vfr.* 175 ; 413 sq. ; 468, n. 67 ; 481, n. 108.

179-182] Guillelmus de Cremona electus est in capitulo Florentiae anno 1326 celebrato (*AA* 4. 3) atque reelectus in capitulis Lutetiae Parisiorum 1329 (*ibid.* 81), Venetiis 1332 (*ibid.* 108), Grassae 1335 (*ibid.* 138) et Tolosae 1341 (*ibid.* 204) celebratis. Ad episcopatum Novariensem promotus est die 17. mensis Julii 1342 (cf. EUBEL, *Hierarchia* 1. 372 ; DENIFLE, *Chartular. Univ. Paris.* 2. 404, n. 952).

De eius vita et meritis tam de ordine eremitarum S. Augustini quam de dioecesi Novariensi vide *Vfr.* 43 sq. ; 62 sqq. ; 447, n. 5 et 6 ; 462, n. 49 ; 480, n. 104.

Caput Sextum

6-26] Henricus in sermone de s. Augustino a nobis supra citato (nota ad 4. 14-18) enumerat inter sanctos et beatos viros ordinis Johannem Bonum, Vitum, Nicolaum de Tolentino, Clementem Auximatem et Augustinum (Novellum) de Tarano: « ... ut patet evidenter in sancto Joanne Bono, in sancto Vito, in fratre Nicolao de Tolentino, in fratre Clemente, in fratre Augustino de Iterano [vide appar. crit. ad 5. 104], qui ambo fuerunt generales in ordine, et pluribus aliis sanctis patribus ».

Fontes, in quibus vitae sanctorum et beatorum virorum supra laudatorum describuntur, haec sunt.

Johannes Bonus (mort. 1249): *Processus canonizationis an. 1251, 1253, 1254* (*Acta SS*, Oct. IX, 771-885) ; *Vita* auctore anonymo in cod. Laurentiano (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 54^{v}-f. 57^{v} (Incipit: « Beatus Johannes de Mantua fuit oriundus ». Explicit: « Cuius meritis nos participes faciat ipse deus, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen. ») ; *Vitae summarium* auctore Antonino ep. Florentino (*Chronic.*, tit. XXIV, c. 13 ; *Acta SS*, Oct. IX, 746-747) ; *Vita* auctore Ambrosio Calepino (*ibid.* 748-767) ; vide *Commentarium praevium* ab E. Carpentier scriptum (*ibid.* 693-746) et ROTH, *Augustiniana* 2. 123, n. 196.

Vitus de Hungaria (saec. XIII): *Vita* auctoris anonymi in cod. Laurentiano (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 48^{r}-f. 48^{v}. Incipit: « De civitate Strigonii provinciae Hungaricae fuit vere ex nominis proprietate nomen trahens vitae laudabilis frater Vitus ». Explicit: « Sic in dicto loco atque civitate nunc corpus reverendum clare habetur ».

Hartmutus de Gotha (Henrici fere coaevus): *Vfr.* 103 sq. ; 213 sq. ; 284. *Vita* brevis Hartmuti apud CORNELIUM DIELMAN, *Vitae monasticae norma in aliquot viris ordinis fratrum eremitarum s. Augustini scientia et vitae sanctimonia illustribus delineata* (Gandavi 1648) ex *Vfr.* hausta est.

Simon de Tuderto (mort. 1322): *Processus canonizationis* (*Acta SS*, April. II, 819-831 ; 3^{a} ed. 816-828) ; G. B. MELLONI, *Atti degli uomini illustri in Bologna* 2. 2 (Bologna 1779) 297-317 ; *Vfr.* 122 (cf. *ibid.* 461, n. 44).

Nicolaus de Tolentino (mort. 1305): *Vita* a Petro de Monte Rubiano anno 1326 conscripta (*Acta SS*, Sept. III, 644-664). Ex Petri opere hausit Jordanus de Saxonia (*Vfr.* 88 ; 103 ; 138-140 ;

147 ; 150 sq. ; 188 sq. ; 195-197 ; 201-203 ; 211-213 ; 215 sq. ; 279 sq. ; 282 ; 284 ; 359 sq. ; 367 sq. ; 369 ; 421-424 ; 441). *Relatio vitae s. Nicolai de Tolentino ab advocato consistoriali coram Eugenio IV ac purpuratis patribus facta ante ipsius canonizationem* (D. A. GANDOLFUS, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Romae 1704, pp. 350-355 ; *Acta SS*, Sept. III, 664-665).

De canonizatione Nicolai Tolentinatis iam in capitulo generali Montepessulano anno 1324 celebrato agi coeptum est (*AA* 3. 471 sq.). Processus apostolicus de eius vita et miraculis anno 1325 inceptus est atque die 5. mensis Decembris anni 1326 Johanni XXII praesentatus (EMPOLI 186-189). Causa canonizationis ob turbulentiam temporum iam a saeculo suspensa ad finem desideratum perducta est anno 1446, quo Eugenius IV in festo Pentecostes s. Nicolaum sanctorum fastis adscripsit. Solemnia canonizationis descripsit frater Angelus de Balneoregio, prior provincialis provinciae Romanae, qui solemnitati interfuerat (*AA* 3. 236 sq.).

42-43] Johannes ortus est castro Porchiano Amerinae dioecesis. Eius *Vita* ab auctore anonymo scripta reperitur in codice Laurentiano (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 48^{v} - f. 49^{r}. Incipit: « Fuit alter dei electus frater Johannes de Reate de provincia Spoletana ». Explicit: « Quod audientes fratres dicto servo dei detrahentes non parvus rubor atque tremor invasit ». Vide etiam *Vfr.* 105 sq. ; 154 ; 459, n. 37.

44-45] Vide *supra*, notas ad 5. 73-75 ; 79-97.

46-47] Vide *supra* (in textu) 5. 104-166. *Vita* beati Augustini Novelli conscripta est ab auctore coaevo (*Acta SS*, Maii IV, 616-622). Ex hac *Vita* hausit Jordanus de Saxonia (*Vfr.* 105 ; 114-118 ; 152-154 ; 162 ; 307 sq. ; 360 sq.). Ex Jordani opere iterum hausit CORNELIUS DIELMAN, *Vitae monasticae norma* (*supra*, nota ad 6. 6-26). Alia *Vita* brevis ab auctore anonymo conscripta reperitur in codice Laurentiano (*supra*, Introd. n. 23) f. 51^{r} - f. 53^{r}. Incipit: « Fuit autem novus Augustinus venerabilis de Romanis partibus de Terano castro oriundus ». Explicit: « Cuius precibus puer in mane sequenti sanus atque incolumis fuit inventus ».

48-49] Quisnam fuerit hic socius B. Clementis Auximatis, nescimus.

50-52] *Legenda B. Petri Eugubini* extare videtur in archivo civitatis Eugubinae, Arm. *SS. Eugubini* (cf. *AA* 1. 268, n. 5). Vide de eo etiam *AA* 6. 53-58.

53-54] *Vita B. Angeli a Furcio* (mort. 1327), *Acta SS*, Febr. 1, 928-931 ; 3ª ed. 936-939.

55-56] *Vfr.* 104 ; 459, n. 36. Ex Jordani opere hausit CORNELIUS DIELMAN, *Vitae monasticae norma* (*supra*, nota ad 6. 6-26).

57-60] Scriptor codicis P ea, quae supra (in textu, 6. 21-26) de causa canonizationis s. Nicolai de Tolentino narrantur, perperam ad omnes sanctos et beatos viros in catalogo enumeratos refert.

77] B. Johannes de Anglia hoc solo testimonio codicis A nobis cognitus est. Nescimus, num idem sit ac ille frater Johannes, qui in capitulo generali Senis anno 1295 celebrato munere definitoris provinciae Anglicae functus est (*Bolletino Storico Agostiniano* 4 [1927-1928] 23: « fr. Johannes de Anglia, diffinitor pro dicta Provincia »). Neque diudicare possumus, num idem sit ac frater Johannes de Clare, qui anno 1307 fuit prior provincialis « fratrum heremitarum totius ordinis s. Augustini in Anglia » (« Obligacio fratrum heremitarum Sti Augustini facta pro indempnitate Sti Jacobi de Grymesby », Bibl. Univ. Cantabrig. MS Dd. 10. 28, f. 84^{v} - 86^{r}) et in lite inter Stephanum de Haslingfield, cancellarium universitatis Cantabrigiae, et fratres mendicantes anno 1303 exorta causam universitatis secutus est (cf. JOHN R. H. MOORMAN, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge 1225-1538*, Cambridge 1952, pp. 36 ; 231). In documento quodam anni 1290 (« De forma composicionis factae inter canonicos de Bernewelle et fratres ordinis sancti Augustini », *Liber memorandorum ecclesiae de Bernewelle*, ed. Jo. Willis Clark, Cambridge 1907, pp. 212-214, n. 21) mentio fit fratris Johannis, prioris fratrum eremitarum s. Augustini Cantabrigiae ; idem esse videtur ac Johannes de Clare.

88-89] De sanctitate vitae Francischini scripsit Jordanus de Saxonia (*Vfr.* 414 ; cf. HERRERA, *Alphabetum August.* 1. 225 ; TORELLI 5. 494-496). De eius morte et de cultu ei post mortem exhibito, qui tamen suspensus est ab Urbano V, vide Torelli 5. 496 f. Ex bulla pontificis comperimus Francischinum fulmine interemptum esse.

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Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century

Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore

For the sake of convenience history has been divided by centuries. The genesis of historical events is not affected by the large time-element of a century. But the modern reader who has studied and learned his history by centuries, psychologically cannot avoid thinking in categories of centuries and tends to separate the chain of cause and effect by the century mark. Thus our tools become our masters.

When we discuss the history of theology in the 13th and 14th century the importance of the year 1300 is only fictitious ; 13th and 14th century theology can safely be compared to one another only if this psychological handicap is kept in mind.

A worse psychological impediment arises if one century — in our case the thirteenth — follows a line of progress which we spontaneously compare to a proud curve soaring up to a highest apex ; because we instinctively continue the parabolic line in our mind, and identify the following century — the fourteenth — with the descending curve. How often the evaluation of the 14th century has been victimized by such an instinctive comparison to a falling curve descending from an apex somewhere in the 13th century can only be left to an intelligent surmise.

We should not compare progress to one vertical parabolic curve but to many horizontal halves of successive curves. The line of progress ascends and seems to, or actually does, come close to the ideal ; but then it stops at a point which ignores the century mark altogether. Some of the new curves start successively on a lower or higher level, and rise and also stop: progress is not to

be identified with any one in particular as all contribute their greater or lesser share.

With these reservations in mind I want to contribute a few notes on the 14th-century Augustinian theology. I indicate here only the outlines of a larger study which could not be printed here on account of its technical encumbrance ; the larger study will be printed in book form and contain some detailed facts in support of this outline.

History above the level of simple chronography needs categories to present many facts under a few headlines. If in the following I attempt to give a preliminary description of two historical categories which to my mind are characteristic of the 14th-century theology I am not unaware of the present situation. Only more research in the neglected 14th century can show whether the two proposed categories come close to the facts of reality.

I would like to call the 13th century the great century of speculation, the 14th the great century of criticism, a criticism moving along two lines, the historico-critical and the logico-critical.

The 13th century created the great systems of Augustinianism, Thomism, and Scotism. When the first generation of Augustinianists, Thomists, and Scotists ascended the magisterial chairs they soon clashed violently and were forced to examine the positive premisses of their patristic sources, and the theoretical premisses of their theory of knowledge.

I am led to believe that the examination of the positive premisses brought about a historical — and therefore — historico-critical attitude ; with the examination of their theories of knowledge the genesis of a logico-critical attitude, I think, was in some way connected.

On the one hand much more attention was now paid to the exactness of quoting from the Fathers and to quoting in general ; quotations from Fathers and past theologians furnished material for a critique of the preceding days and ways.

On the other hand the priority, not primacy, of the *cognitio universàlis* gave way to the priority, not primacy, of the *cognitio rei particularis*. This *cognitio rei particularis* as such did not question the possiblity of reaching universal knowledge ; criticism only tried to build a new road to the heights of universal knowledge, along

a more toilsome ascending trail which, if longer, was believed to be safer.

The description of the logico-critical attitude is, of course, not yet complete. A sum of complex features enters into the true picture of the two attitudes. What follows affects largely the critical group but to a certain degree also the historical one.

A dialectical element must be considered as the predominant factor in the logico-critical attitude, together with a maximum demand for mathematical evidence and a postulate of such simplicity as to reduce the traditional distinctions — the mountain-high accumulations of realities, formalities, and modalities — to the barest minimum.

Maximum and Minimum are concepts in vogue. Algebraic symbols are applied to handle complex entities of the syllogism ; pure algebraic reasoning replaces the long and flowing phrase. Is it only a time-saving device or is it a typical logico-critical, a quasi-mathematical manifestation ? Geometry becomes an ideal for theology. The Commentaries are arranged *more geometrico* ; among the quoted authors those are preferred who reason *more geometrico*. The 14th century introduces the arabic numbers into wide circulation. A new mathematical consciousness is all-pervading although it does not rise beyond the level of algebra. The theologians accept a new shorthand symbol for *instans*, the zero of time, from the zero sign of India.

Ontology gives way to description ; the old [1]) problem of « degree » is treated not as a fact to be explained but as a phenomenon to be described. It is a consequence of the new theory of knowledge. Among the Moderni one finds a frenzied interest in the degrees of perfections which, with the reader's forbearance, I compare to the Jacob's ladder of old reaching from the finite to the infinite. The modern theologians (*Moderni*) climb this ladder up and down ; they count the rungs of the ladder (finite or infinite), they try to establish the relative importance of the two ladder ends (*recessus a summo gradu, recessus a non-gradu*). Here our pretended critical Moderni demonstrate an unexpected love and flair for an innate human tendency, speculation. Square-yards of parchment

[1]) A. MAIER, *Zwei Grundprobleme der scholastischen Naturphilosophie* (1. Das Problem der intensiven Grösse), in: *Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura* 37 (2. ed. Roma 1951) 3-88.

and lakes of ink are sacrificed for treatises on Maximum and Minimum as well as on the problem of degree.

The new shorthand symbol [2]) for the individual point of time, the instant, is symptomatic of a greater interest in the individual. In philosophy we have the *cognitio rei particularis*, in moral theology we find a greater reverence for the individual conscience, even the erroneous one. The 14th century discovers the individual ; a breath-taking freedom prevails in the intellectual field. Freedom of conscience in the moral field is treated on a scale never to be attempted again.

One might seriously consider whether the 14th century was more interested in moral theology than in dogmatic theology. English theology especially deals with moral problems. A delight in casuistry is the result ; a new English essay-style is born, quite different from the old Quaestio-style. Chillington, Rodington, Rosetus, Osbertus, Ulcredus Dunelmensis, inflate the few *Contra* of the old Quaestio into a long series of problems ; they reduce the old *corpus articuli* to a few lines (Sed his non obstantibus dico) and then solve the initial problems with an even longer series of loosely connected small treatises.

Casuistry takes over also in the field of dogma and leads a few, the Modernists among the Moderns, to aberrations. The disquieting thought of the *potentia dei absoluta*, already prominent in Anselm, for whom the Moderns and the Modernists have so much affection, makes the revolutionary Modernists in particular lose sight of all perspective and of all horizons. On a ever-increasing scale allowances are made for a possible divine intervention liable to suspend the created order ; ingenious but very doubtful « cases » are invented and uncritically adduced to invalidate the general rule.

It is really puzzling to note that the *cognitio rei particularis* which prides itself on a critical treatment of pure concepts is accompanied by an uncritical and conceited proclamation of non-contradictions between all kinds of admittedly imperfect concepts. Worse, these our « critics » blunder into the bland assumption that the non-contradiction between imperfect concepts guarantees the real

[2]) The new shorthand symbol for « instans » is not rarely misread, esp. in the form *in instanti* [ī Φ^{i}] = *in continenti* cf. A. BIRKENMAJER, *Vermischte Untersuchungen*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XX, 5 (Münster 1922) 125 line 26 and 27, where this misreading occurs.

possibility of very complicated facts. The 14th century knows far too much about the possibility of elephants with a thousand tails.

A linguistic feature of the 14th century one may admire or regret is the uninhibited creativeness which spurts forth from their pen. New terms are produced by the hundreds ; new sesquipedalian verbs and nouns are derived from the simple forms of old. Theological research is not facilitated thereby but our Western learned language still profits by the creativeness of the 14th century.

Sophistication and freedom mark the intellectual climate of the 14th-century lecture hall. A new teaching technique, the old *aporia*, is welcomed to enliven the atmosphere. To widen the horizons of the studious youth hard problems are formulated without being solved. Hair-raising statements are made *as if* the professor believed them true. While serious teachers seek to be thought-provoking, the vainglorious indulge in sensationalism.

The description of the two attitudes which I propose as categories to encompass the 14th-century complexities is naturally still problematical. Simple is the characterization of the historico-critical one: a new historical consciousness which stresses the importance of the sources more than had been done before. Complex in the extreme is the delineation of the logico-critical attitude.

With the help of these two directive lines I shall try to establish in a preliminary way some perspective among the confusing facts of the 14th-century theology.

I speak cautiously of attitudes, not of schools. No neat grouping is possible among the theologians of this century. Some evince a pronounced lack of historical-mindedness ; others insist on it. All to a greater or lesser degree show signs and symptoms of the logico-critical attitude ; a few indulge in outright extremist logicism.

The grouping if possible is therefore a question of degree. Lack of, or stress on, historical-mindedness facilitates the attribution to one category or the other ; extremism in the logico-critical field also establishes the type clearly.

As far as the Augustinian theologians of the 14th century are concerned they are to be classified as representatives of the historico-critical attitude. All quote Augustine and early scholastics very carefully, contemporary scholastics at least according to the level of the scholarship of their day. The Augustinians share their love for St. Augustine with many outsiders on the continent and in

England. Significantly none of the Augustinians can be called an extremist of the logico-critical attitude.

These extremists are the expressly condemned Nicholas of Autrecourt and John of Mirecourt, and the implicitly censured Nicholas of Aston and the Durham Benedictine Ulcredus [3]).

The condemnations of 1347 fell upon their extremism. From Peter Ceffons we know that the main issue of 1347 was *subtilitas* and consequently *evidentia*. By *subtilitas* we must understand neglect of the Fathers and a logico-theological abuse of the doctrine of possible divine intervention. From the abuse of this premiss flow all the errors of 1347, errors in Christology, errors in the doctrine of grace, errors about causality and about evidence.

With the daring freedom theologians enjoyed in those days some extremists abused the premiss of possible divine intervention with the dexterity of magicians. *De potentia dei absoluta,* some pointed out, God might accept the sinner without grace: and joined the Pelagians of old. Under the same premiss they alleged the possibility that the Second Person of the Trinity might assume, dismiss and reassume a sinning nature: and so produced a monstrous Christ. While modern unbelievers are afraid of one single miracle lest the created order become unstable these audacious extremists admitted the possibility of infinite miracles: and thus cast effective doubts upon the principle of causality. Under the same magic premiss of possible divine interference with our sensations a conclusion was reached which did away with the last remnant of evidence in our knowledge.

This mania of the logico-critical attitude had to be checked and condemned ; but the doctrine of possible divine intervention could obviously not be censured. Only common sense in the application of this theological principle had to be restored. The condemnations therefore fell upon an audacity which overshot the mark of pure criticism and ventured on a road that inevitably had to lead to a denial of common sense and of dogma.

Although each individual article of 1347 bears its individual theological censure it is not contradictory to consider these articles as one group condemned cumulatively, and to rate the individual

[3]) New material on the unknown Englishmen, Aston and Ulcredus, is found below under Gregory and Klenkok pp. 229 ff; 201 ff, 207 ff, 235 ff.

articles only as exemplifications. If before and after the condemnations one or the other of the condemned and outrageous statements are found in a theological writing one need not stamp the author immediately as heretical ; it may be nothing else than an example of *aporia*.

To give a final evaluation of the logico-critical attitude is not yet possible ; its credit and debit sheet must wait to be balanced. Perhaps its greatest achievement was the establishment of a theory of *cognitio rei particularis* because it had a salutary corrective influence upon our theory of *cognitio universalis*. The defense of the individual conscience also had positive effects. The merits of the historico-critical attitude are plain ; it was high time to arouse more interest in the theological past.

In the fore-going sketch I have tried to master the confusion of the 14th century with a terminology which purposely disregards the traditional cliché of « nominalism » [4]). In the following I want to deal with the historico-critical attitude of the 14th-century Augustinian School. Curiously enough, the proof that the Augustinian theologians belonged to the historico-critical category often rests on the facts — of marginalia.

Marginalia in Manuscripts and in Editions of the Schola Moderna Augustiniana

Carefully written manuscripts and early editions of 14th-century theologians often contain numerous marginalia which could promote our knowledge of the literary history of scholasticism if the authenticity of these marginalia were not exposed to grave doubts. When 14th-century scholastics discuss different opinions the various tenets under discussion are often shrouded in anonymity within the text-column while on the margin definite identification is offered. The question arises therefore whether the marginal identifications of otherwise anonymous opinions are integral parts of the authentic work, or whether the marginal names were added by later editors and copyists.

[4]) Cf. the interesting article of E. HOCHSTETTER, *Nominalismus ?*, in: *Franciscan Studies* IX (1949) 370-403. — At the beginning of my paragraphs on Gregory p. 182 ff there is a further elaboration of my two new categories, esp. their implication of criticism.

It seems to me that copyists of the 14th century did not as a rule make any marginal additions for the purpose of identifying opinions which had remained anonymous in the text ; the very opposite seems to be true. If manuscripts of the 14th century have no marginalia, it is only too often due to the fastidiousness and carelessness of the amanuenses who simply neglected, or refused, to copy the marginalia of the original under their hands.

An examination of the marginalia within the context of the Schola Moderna Augustiniana leaves little doubt about their authenticity. The Augustinian Modern School had a characteristic historical mentality which made it desirable or imperative to identify any doctor whose opinions chanced to be discussed. From *Dionysius de Burgo* down to *Johannes Hiltalingen de Basilea* one can observe a steady progress in the ways and techniques of quoting contemporary authors by name. In Dionysius clear references are usually given in the form of short marginalia ; in Hiltalingen, on the other hand, authors, title, chapter and verse of quoted works are indicated with painstaking accuracy right within the text-column.

The technical progress in the manner of quoting is marked by three stages.

1. At first, if within the text-column the traditional anonymity of « *quidam* » was maintained, on the corresponding margin almost every « *quidam* » was identified by a short name or a sketchy quotation. However, as wide and blank margins were preferred by artistic standard, it was felt that numerous marginalia created an eye-sore in a solemn, or at least a better, manuscript.

2. Consequently, and at a second stage, a new technique was invented by the amanuenses that was to satisfy both the standards of beauty and exactness of quotation which the historical-minded century demanded more and more. For lack of a better term I call this new technique of the second stage the « *Quotational Inset* ». A *quotational inset* is a blank

QUOTATIONAL INSETS

LIABILITIES OF INSETS

The technique of the *quotational inset* made extraordinary demands on the alertness of the ordinary scribe ; soon the liabilities of the new system became only too apparent. Some amanuenses entered quotations into the *quotational inset* without using any different ink, and thus a less gifted colleague, who chanced to copy from their *black-in-black* production, was

rectangle adjacent to the dividing line between columns. Wherever identification of some traditional « *quidam* » was desirable, two or three lines of the text were shortened so as to leave a blank rectangle bordering on the dividing line between the two columns. With different ink the quotation was placed in this rectangle and, as a result, the beauty of the written page was greatly enhanced. With other words, the *quotational inset* was a highly complicated equivalent of our modern footnote.

JUMBLING TEXT & INSET

led to commit the curious error of jumbling text and inset beyond recognition. This jumbling of text and inset can be observed in the *Collatio* at the beginning of many Commentaries, and, to a lesser degree, within the manuscripts of authors like *Gerardus de Senis*, *Michael de Massa*, and *Alfonsus de Toleto*. Another liability of the technique of arranging quotations in rectangular insets came to the fore when the amanuenses followed the common law of inertia and neglected altogether to fill in any of the names destined for the blank insets.

Whenever this happened to a 14th-century text, it relapsed into total anonymity in consequence of a failure of the very technique which was to safeguard critical and artistic standards. Yet these rectangular insets, even when left altogether in blank, can still become important witnesses in cases where of an author's several manuscripts, *one* has marginal identifications, and *another* nothing but blank insets. In such cases the historicity or authenticity of the marginal identifications in *one* manuscript is guaranteed by the mute but unshakable testimony of the rectangular insets left in blank by the *other* manuscript.

3. The third stage of progress in quoting technique is represented by authors like Johannes Hiltalingen de Basilea who eliminate all out-dated *quidam* in their very text-columns and insert in their stead the exact name of the author, the title and the chapters of the quoted work. Before the final editing these authors shift their marginalia from the margin into the text. In the age of the manuscript no better system could be adopted because no other system prevented the copyist from committing serious omissions or outright errors.

What has been said about marginal identifications applies equally to the manuscript proper and to the *incunabulum*. The first printers (1450-1550 ?) could not read or write anything but scholastic shorthand ; they took a good manuscript and reproduced it as they found it. Very obvious mistakes were probably corrected with the aid of a good guess or a second manuscript but as a rule the *incunabulum* represents only *one* manuscript. In this article I attribute value and rank of a good manuscript to the *incunabulum* or the early *editio princeps*.

Using the importance of marginal quotations and quotations in general as perspective, I now try to sketch a few notes on the historico-critical attitude which the following Augustinian works demonstrate [5]):

Dionysius de Burgo	Super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum
Gerardus de Senis	Super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum
Michael de Massa	Super Primum *et Secundum* Sententiarum
Thomas de Argentina	Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum
Gregorius de Arimino	Super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum
Alfonsus Toletanus	Super Primum Sententiarum
Hugolinus de Urbeveteri	Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum
Johannes Klenkok	Expositio Litteralis Super Quattuor Libros and Quaestiones Super Secundum Sententiarum
Facinus de Ast	Super Primum, Secundum, et Tertium Sententiarum
Johannes Hiltalingen de Basilea	Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum
Simon de Cremona	Lectura secundum Hugolinum

[5]) Cardinal Ehrle once had the intention to write a similar article. If such a giant had found the time to realize the project my sketchy work would be unnecessary. Cf. A. BIRKENMAJER, *Vermischte Untersuchungen* (1922) 216 n. 5 referring to Alfonsus. In a similar context J. KÜRZINGER, *Alfonsus Vargas*, in *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXII, 5-6 (Münster 1930) 42 n. 15: « Es ist überhaupt auffallend, dass gerade die Handschriften der Augustinertheologen durch zahlreiche Angaben dieser Art (= marginal identifications) sich auszeichnen. Stramme Ordnung in der äusseren Anlage, in der Einteilung und im Aufbau, ... scheint ein besonderer Vorzug dieser Schule zu sein ».

Dionysius de Burgo

The extant works of Dionysius [6]), his *Super Primum et Secundum*, are in MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 131 f. 1-153^{v}. In my larger study I shall publish his list of *Quaestiones* with the necessary excerpts as I shall also do in the case of other unedited Augustinians who are dealt with in this article.

The marginal quotations of Dionysius are:

Aegidius
Alexander de Marchia [= de S. Elpidio]
Coton [Robertus Cowton]
Durandus
Godofridus
Henricus de Gandavio
Hervaeus
Jacobus de Viterbio
Johannes de Parisiis
Petrus de Alvernia
Scotus
Thomas [de Aquino]
Warro [Guillelmus ; Recollectiones Warrae f. 22^{v}]

Doctrinal Attitude of Dionysius de Burgo

Thomas of Strassburg [7]) with somewhat patronizing air calls Dionysius a *Junior Doctor* of the Augustinian School, that is, neither genuinely *Antiquus* nor properly *Modernus*. Though standing between the two groups of the *Antiqui* and the *Moderni* Dionysius (like Gerardus) claims the title of an Aegidian *Antiquus*. Yet this claim is based on the rather anachronistic pretense of having remained unaffected by the doctrinal impact of Scotus, Durandus, and Aureolus.

Dionysius quotes Aegidius and Thomas side by side ; they lead the way and Dionysius follows reverentially their every step. He is not willing to allow for any great doctrinal difference between

[6]) For Dionysius de Robertis de Burgo cf. D. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* II (1931) 26-28.

[7]) Cf. Thomas de Argentina, *Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum* ed. 1490 Sent. 1-2 f. 77^{v}; ed. 1585 Sent. 1-2 f. 46^{v}.

these two Masters. To simplify the task of harmonization he limits his efforts to Aegidius and Thomas as individuals ignoring the discordant choirs of Aegidians and Thomists. For reestablishing harmony between Thomas and Aegidius, Dionysius turns back the wheel of time and undoes the doctrinal progress in Aegidian and Thomistic interpretation. Seldom does any scholar of either Aegidian or Thomistic school find grace before him. The two Augustinians, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de Marchia, who must be considered as ultra-Aegidians [8]), are impugned as well as the Thomists, Petrus de Alvernia, Hervaeus, and Johannes de Parisiis. If the friends of Thomas and Aegidius are treated with so little respect it need not be emphasized that their bitter foes do not fare better. The seculars, Henricus and Godofridus, the Franciscans, Scotus, Cowton, and Warro, or the disloyal Dominican Durandus have to reckon with the unrelenting opposition of Dionysius.

This way Dionysius hopes to enjoy the intellectual company of Thomas and Aegidius in undisturbed privacy. Perhaps it could be said that Dionysius was less motivated by a tendency of simplification than by a historical conviction — which later gained more ground — that amidst the discordant clamor of the schools the only solid criterium was the motto « Back to the sources » « Back to the great Masters ».

The two great Masters, Aegidius and Thomas, are not forced by Dionysius to give up their individuality ; he is open-minded enough to let them disagree among themselves. Corporative spirit makes him prefer the *Doctor noster Aegidius.*

It would slant the judgment of the researcher were he to forget that theories and doctrines which are consciously rejected, always

[8]) Cf. the doctoral dissertation of D. GUTIÉRREZ, *De B. Jacobi Viterbiensis O. E. S. A. vita, operibus et doctrina theologica* (Roma [Analecta Augustiniana] 1939). Gutiérrez has written a work which will last; but in his establishment of the relationship between St. Thomas and Jacobus (*op. cit.* 51 ff.) and between Aegidius and Jacobus (57 ff.) the Augustinianism of the Augustinian School is not taken too seriously. Jacobus is made to appear too much in the role of a Thomist. The outspoken veneration which Jacobus professed in regard to St. Thomas cannot be used to characterize his doctrine. Hiltalingen could have used the same expressions of enthusiastic admiration and reverence for St. Thomas without changing his doctrinal attitude in regard to St. Thomas. Hiltalingen gets incensed if someone speaks about « errors » of St. Thomas cf. my article on *Hiltalinger's Augustinian quotations* (*Augustiniana* IV [1954] 423).

have a subconscious subtle influence upon the thinking of the one who rejects them. Thesis shapes anti-thesis like a concave mold the convex figure. Dionysius should therefore not be considered right away as the expression of a common denominator of a genuine Thomas and Aegidius, or rather a genuine Aegidius and Thomas ; for his Aegidius and his Thomas look too persistently like an anti-Scotus or an anti-Durandus.

Quoting System of Dionysius

Dionysius' system of quoting represents the first stage among the three described above ; but there is no absolute uniformity. Often a contemporary *quidam* when discussed anonymously within the text is identified by name on the margin ; yet sometimes the names have already been shifted from the margin into the text proper. The old authorities (Aristotle etc.) and the *Authentici* [9]) (Anselm, Hugo etc.) are always quoted by name within the text-column ; theirs is a chapter-and-verse quotation. But many times even their quotations do not go beyond name and sketchy book-title. By his love for St. Augustine Dionysius points out the main characteristic of the Augustinian School although he still uses old-fashioned ways in quoting the Father. Modern Augustinianism begins only with Gregory of Rimini.

Authenticity of the Marginalia of Dionysius

In order to demonstrate that Dionysius belongs to the historical-minded group of the Augustinians the authenticity of his marginalia must first be proved. It is supported by several remarks in the text as well as on the margin. On f. 50^{rv} he mentions two opinions (about the increase of charity) and stresses their anonymity:

1. Deus trahit gradum caritatis de potentia < inexhauribili > ad actum. On 50^{v}: Ista opinio *cuius auctor est mihi ignotus.*
2. Alia opinio est *cuius auctorem similiter ignoro.*

[9]) The rule of different treatment for « authors » (quidam in text, name on margin) and Authentici (name and work within text) has its exceptions. Contemporary authors do occur in the text of Dionysius, but none as often as Aegidius and St. Thomas who thereby are raised almost to the rank of Authentici.

On the following margins he has similar remarks:

64[r] 3. Opinio *cuius sit ignoro*
118[r] 4. Opinio *cuius sit ignoro* ; recitat eam Durandus
121[r] 5. Alia opinio, *nescio cuius*
139[r] 6. Opinio *cuius sit nescio*

These opinions whose anonymity is expressly mentioned seem to have been taken from Durandus and other sources as the context of Dionysius shows. The surprise at such unscientific anonymity which someone — either Dionysius or his copyist — here voices, can hardly be credited to the copyist ; it makes much more sense to accept these six instances as an expression of the feelings of Dionysius himself who after all does quote the passages which are so « shockingly » anonymous. Logically, we may infer that all the other marginalia in Dionysius are intentional identifications provided by Dionysius himself who — so it seems — is anxious to outdo older authors like Durandus by a greater exactness and accuracy in quoting.

An objection against the authenticity of these marginalia could be based on the curious fact that Dionysius' own name is found on the margins ; ex. g. on f. 86[v]:

Contra Durandum et Thomam *Dionysius*.

But no claim of authenticity need exclude those minor contributions of the copyist which do not entail any trouble of personal research. If a young Augustinian copied the passage on 86[v] where Master Dionysius attacks the otherwise unassailable great Thomas it is only a tribute to the corporative spirit that the young Augustinian expressly underlined the extraordinary fact with an expanded version:

Contra Durandum et Thomam Dionysius,

instead of the cool and detached original version:

Contra Durandum et Thomam.

In several other instances where Dionysius' name is found on the margin, a much more practical purpose is intended. In long discussions of opinions and counter-opinions the reader of a manuscript gets so confused that he must be told which of these conflicting opinions the author himself, Dionysius, holds. Therefore either Dionysius himself or the copyist puts on the margin: « Dionysius ». This, however, does not speak against the authenticity of the other marginalia.

At least one of the marginalia was already in existence before Durandus quit his teaching career to become a bishop (1317). On the margin of 125^{v} we read:

Alia solutio quam NUNC Durandus dat.

To assume that a later editor could add this marginal note would mean to stretch the possibilities and probabilities to an impossible limit. If Dionysius, on the other hand, penned this one, *a pari* he penned the others. Dionysius therefore opens the line of the historical-minded Augustinian Modern School.

Gerardus de Senis

Gerardus [10]) left us two Books of his Commentary. The Super Primum has been printed 1598 in an edition of very doubtful value. I have compared this edition with the MS Vat. lat. Chig. B VII 117 and used for the Super Secundum the MS Paris Nat. lat. Nouv. acq. 1431.

Both the Super Primum and the Super Secundum are rich in marginalia which point towards a historico-critical attitude of Gerardus.

Super Primum Gerardi

The editor of the *Super Primum* used two MSS, I myself the Chigianus. A comparison of the edition with the Chigianus showed that the marginalia of the edition correspond to the Manuscript which I could examine in microfilm. In the Chigianus the marginalia have been written with a different ink ; Perini speaks of « litterae aureae ». A microfilm examination naturally cannot confirm Perini's

[10]) For MSS of Gerardus cf. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Lombardi* I (Würzburg 1947) 115-16 no. 255. For biography cf. D. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* III (1935) 187-89 [cf. also ? Perini, II, 105]. The fantastic information about a posthumous magisterium of Gerardus refers to Michael de Massa; I deal with it later. — The title page of the edition of Gerardus' Super Primum reads: Gerardi Senensis ordinis eremitarum divi Augustini sacrae theologiae doctoris celeberrimi *In primum librum sententiarum* doctissimae quaestiones, nunc primum opera F. Sanctis Ariminensis Augustiniani in lucem aeditae. Patavii ex bibliotheca Petri Pauli Tozzi MDXCVIII. [On *Sanctes de Arimino* cf. Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* I (1929) 57-58].

statement but the paleness of the marginalia-ink in my microfilm indicates at least that a different ink was used to write the marginalia of the Chigianus, a fact which underlines the importance of the Gerardus-marginalia. Few copyists went to the trouble of changing the ink for marginalia. We can therefore say with a considerable degree of certainty that the marginalia in Gerardus are authentic quotations apposed by Gerardus himself.

The marginalia technique of Gerardus is more consistent than the one of Dionysius. The *Authentici* (Damascenus, Anselmus etc.) are named and quoted in the text ; naturally St. Augustine abounds. Aegidius (ca. 36 times) is treated like an Authenticus under titles like Doctor Aegidius, Dominus Doctor noster, Doctor *Fundamentalis* Aegidius, frater Aegidius Doctor noster. Towards the end of the Super Primum Aegidius often receives the treatment of an ordinary contemporary scholar, that is, the name is on the margin but in the text only a *quidam*. From about dist. 25 to the end of the Super Primum, both in the text and on the margin, quotations become increasingly rarer.

A *quidam* of the text is identified on the margin in the case of:

Aureolus	ca. 29 times
Bonaventura	once (ed. p. 557)
Durandus	ca. 12 times
Gerardus de Carmelo	once (ed. p. 292)
Godofridus	ca. 9 times, once in text
Guillelmus de Warro	once (ed. p. 120)
Henricus de Gand.	ca. 36 times, once in text
Landulphus	3 times (ed. pp. 61, 70, 71)
Scotus	ca. 61 times
Simon Tornacensis	once (ed. p. 528)
S. Thomas	ca. 31 times (five times in text)
[frater Thomas	(ed. p. 144)
Divus Thomas	(ed. p. 264)]

The frequency of reference to an author does not characterize the doctrine of Gerardus adequately. The main opponent of Gerardus is Aureolus whose criticism implies that of Scotus in many cases. Next rank the interesting pair, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de S. Elpidio. Aegidius is Gerardus' loadstar. The editor of the Super Primum (ed. p. 1) calls Gerardus « D. Aegidii Romani sectator praecipuus » and amplifies the statement in his preface on the « Auctoris vita ».

Super Secundum Gerardi

The Super Secundum I examined in the MS Paris Nat. lat. Nouv. acq. 1431. This MS furnishes a convincing proof that the marginalia of Gerardus are authentic ; for this beautiful MS contains *quotational insets* [11]) from the beginning to the end. Only on the first 27 folia the insets have been filled with quotation or divisional remarks ; the rest of the insets are empty and blank. The blank quotational insets prove that the copyist was not the first to enrich the text of Gerardus with quotations ; on the contrary he found the insets together with the quotations in his *original*. If the quotational insets had been a product of the copyist's initiative, he would scarcely have gone to so much frustrated exertion. The insets on the first 27 folia have quotations which correspond to another MS of Gerardus, the Vat. lat. 959 [Super Secundum Gerardi]. According to Pelzer [12]) the Vat. lat. 959 — and we may say the original text of Gerardus — contained the following quotations in the Super Secundum:

Aureolus
Aegidius
Alexander de Marchia [whom I identify with *de S. Elpidio*]
Durandus
Gerardus [de Bononia, O. Carm.]
Godofridus
[Guillelmus de] Ware
Hervaeus
Jacobus de Viterbio
[Joh. Duns] Scotus
Johannes de Polliaco
Thomas [de Aquino]

What we have seen in the case of Dionysius and in the Super Primum of Gerardus applies also to the Super Secundum of Gerardus. The author traces his doctrinal course with his eyes fixed on the star of Aegidius (the luminare maius O. E. S. A.) but the impact of Aureolus is noticeable. Again the two most interesting names of the Aegidian school, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de S. Elpidio, are bracketted together. These two are ultra-Aegi-

[11]) For *quotational insets* cf .above p. 153-54.

[12]) Cf. A. PELZER, *Codices Vaticani Latini* II, 1 Cod. 679-1134 (Roma 1931) 416.

dians, certainly no Thomists ; they probably are the missing link between the Old Aegidian school and Scotism.

Michael de Massa considers Gerardus as too narrow-minded and apodictic in his criticism of the ultra-Aegidians and of Aureolus. Besides, and this is significant for the Augustinian School as it points towards a salient characteristic, Gerard's way of quoting comes under the fire of Michael de Massa. Michael [13]) feels that Gerardus does not give his opponents a chance to speak for themselves. A priori one may be inclined to minimize the sweeping criticism of Michael. Gerardus and Michael anticipated the *Stilus Alfonsi* with their inset-quotations ; it is true that Gerardus quotes bare names while Michael sometimes refers to chapter and verse. About the *Stilus Alfonsi* we have to speak later.

Michael de Massa

Like Dionysius and Gerardus the almost unknown Michael [14]) de Massa has bequeathed to us a Commentary on the First and the Second Book of Lombard. I have examined the Super Primum of Michael de Massa according to the MS Bologna Università 2214 [= Bu] and the MS Bologna Collegio di Spagna 40 [= Bs] [15]).

[13]) Cf. my larger study where the excerpts from Michael will be printed.

[14]) Cf. D. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* II (1931) 191-92: Michael Beccucci de Massa Senensis. — Of the properly theological production of Michael we still have some 900 folia:

ff. 234 = MS Università Bologna 2214 (In Primum Michaelis)

ff. 221 = anon. Vat. lat. 1087 (= In Secundum Michaelis)

ca. ff. 425 = exegetical works cf. Perini, 191-92 and F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum* III (Madrid 1951) 574-76.

There is considerable evidence that a large part of Michael's elucubrations was lost. Besides there are sermons and other works still extant. His classical leanings are betrayed by the titles of some works. Michael wielded a speedy quill and wrote a homely Latin. He was a theologian who showed more than medieval delight in philosophy. From the final edition of his Super Secundum he excluded all but « philosophical » questions.

[15]) Bs = MS Bologna Collegio di Spagna 40 has a great lacuna between 68^{v}-69^{r} corresponding to Bu = MS Bologna Univ. 2214: 73^{v}-204^{v}.

Bu has this colophon (234^{v}): Hic liber est Scriptum in Primum Sententiarum Michaelis de Massa quem nobis [O. E. S. A.] donavit Reverendus Dominus Magister Thomas de Sarzana [Nicolaus V] pro parte Reverendissimi Domini S. Crucis per manus Reverendi Magistri Karoli Neapolitani. A later hand

The Super Secundum of Michael which was lost I have found in the anonymous Vat. lat. 1087.

Super Primum Michaelis

The margins of the Super Primum teem with quotations which identify the *quidam* of the text, sometimes with more than bare names. In my larger study on the 14th-century Augustinian School I shall print those names with the list of Michael's questions. The names are almost the same as in Gerardus because Michael criticizes each attack of Gerardus against other theologians, especially in the Gerardian dispute with Aureolus and the ultra-Aegidians, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de S. Elpidio. Michael calls the latter *Pater noster Generalis* (Bu 130^{r}).

Besides Augustine and early scholastics these are the names which Michael quotes [16]:

*Aegidius
Alexander de S. Elpidio
Anglici [Bu 214^{v}]
Bernardus [Bu 198^{v}]
Coton [Cowton]
*Durandus
Franciscus de Asculo
Franciscus de Marchia [?]
Franciscus Mayronis
Alius Franciscus [Bu 14^{v}]
*Gerardus de Senis
Godofridus
Henricus Anglicus [Bu 199^{r}]
Hervaeus
*Jacobus de Viterbio
Landulfus
Prosper [de Regio] Recollector
Petrus de Alvernia
Petrus de Palude
Radulfus Brito
*Scotus
Thomas Anglicus
*Thomas [de Aquino, often frater]

amplified: Qui Thomas de Sarzana, donator praesentis libri, fuit postea Summus Pontifex Nicolaus V vocatus. Et pro quo fuit donatus, fuit Beatus Nicolaus Cardinalis [Protector O. E. S. A.] Albergatus Titularis S. Crucis et episcopus Bononiensis. — As personal gift apparently Thomas de Sarzana received from Albergati at the same time the actual Vat. lat. 1087 = Super Secundum Michaelis. In my detailed study I have proved that every Quaestio of this Vat. lat. 1087 belongs to Michael. I was led to compare the Vat. lat. 1087 and the Bologna 2214 by the coincidental discovery that both were written by the same artistic hand: on one lucky day the two MSS happened to lie on my desk side by side, D. GUTIÉRREZ [cf. *Notitia historica antiquae scholae Aegidianae*, in: *Analecta Augustiniana* XVIII, 1 (1941) 62 n. 78] missed the identification of the Vat. lat. 1087 only by a hair's breath. Time limited his examination of the MS Naples Nat. lat. VII C 1; otherwise he would have been the lucky finder.

[16]) An asterisc (*) before the name points out a main opponent of Michael. — « Robert Cowton » is persistently quoted by the early Augustinians.

Guarro [Guillelmus] [Ockham Vat. lat. 1087 f. 135^{v}]
*Henricus Gandavensis

The authenticity of these names is guaranteed not only by the agreement of the two MSS which I have perused but especially by the extraordinary fact that already the older manuscript which MS Bolgna 2214 transcribed had been equipped with quotational insets. Extraordinary I call this fact because the MS Bologna 2214 itself belongs to the 14th century ; its predecessor must therefore be assigned to the mid-century.

The proof for the existence of quotational insets in the older MS, preceding the Bu, is final and stringent. Very often the Bu jumbles [17]) inset quotations with the text. In some places the amanuensis of the Bu found empty or blank insets, misunderstood their meaning, thought they indicated missing text-passages, and therefore left smaller or larger *lacunae* in his Bu. One example I want to reproduce. On Bu 160^{v} we have: *first*, a small lacuna ; then a jumbled text with a *lacuna* ; *finally*, a *lacuna* of three empty lines where the text is complete, however.

Bu 160^{v}: Quantum ad primum respondet Thomas Parte I q. 43 art. 1 quod nomine missionis duo importantur. ... Sed istum modum dicendi [] [] quidam doctor modernus (on margin (!): Petrus Aureolus contra Thomam)... Sed ista reprobatio non videtur magni vigoris primo quia praecedens opinio [] contra inducitur [] non dicit quod...

Nam aliquid potest procedere vel secundum imperium vel secundum consilium vel *secundum originem*

[] .....

[] .....

[] ..... [] (Three empty lines ! Text, however, complete !) *sicut dicit praecedens opinio.*

The amanuensis did not notice that the text was complete (cf. *secundum originem sicut dicit praecedens opinio*). He suspected that the blank quotational inset in the preceding manuscript he copied, indicated that some passage was missing in his original. He therefore left a very generous *lacuna* to fill in a missing passage while actually nothing else had been left out but only a full inset quotation ! Quotational insets, whether blank or full, prove the authenticity of marginalia ; in this case in the manuscript, preceding the

[17]) About jumbling quotational insets with the text proper cf. above p. 154.

Bu, there were already quotational insets left in blank. Michael therefore emerges as the author of his marginalia. No later editor apposed them afterwards. Thus Michael joins the historical-minded group of the 14th-century Augustinian theologians [18]).

Super Secundum Michaelis de Massa
= Anon. Vat. lat. 1087

The satisfaction which the researcher in Augustiniana derives from the discovery of the Super Secundum Michaelis unfortunately is tempered with disappointment. The Vat. lat. 1087 and the Bu were penned by the same hand, a fact not determinable before the days of photography. The Vat. lat. 1087 and the Bu were both in the possession of the Cardinal Protector of the Augustinians, Nicolaus Albergati, and (by testamentary disposition ?) passed through the hands of Thomas de Sarzana (later Nicolaus V), one into the Augustinian library of Bologna, the other (Vat. lat. 1087) into the Apostolic Library. Yet there is one great lamentable difference: the margins of the Vat. lat. 1087 are devoid of any marginalia.

With little effort we could learn so much from Michael's Super Secundum about the fate of later Aegidianism if detailed identifications of single opinions existed on the margins of Vat. lat. 1087. Even so, the Super Secundum Michaelis must be carefully studied to determine the results which the Aegidian leaven still produced around 1330. Paleographically the Vat. lat. 1087 presents no difficulties. It is a beautiful manuscript and well readable ; only its size is a little forbidding (221 folia).

Of the rich material which an intense study will have to classsify and clarify I give here only a few indications. In my larger study I reproduce the necessary passages.

1. With a somewhat brutal formula, Aegidius had hammered it into the consciousness of his fellow-scholars that there is a real difference between existence and essence « *sicut inter rem et rem* ». For Aegidius « res » was one of the five transcendentals; « res » was a « something », that is, a stronger word for « modus ». To explain Giles' position to the modern mind the Aegidian constitution of complete « being » can be symbolized mathematically as

[18]) About pieces of Michael's *Super Primum* in the Vat. lat. 1084 cf. below under Alfonsus p. 220.

$$1 \times 1 = 1,$$

because complete « being » is constituted by the one mode of existence and, or better, together with the other mode of essence. Hocedez and others have enticed the modern dialectician to train his logical punches on Aegidius by misinterpreting the Aegidian formula as

$$1 + 1 = 2.$$

Michael de Massa in his Super Secundum has something to say about the Aegidian formula which he dislikes, and about the fundamental Aegidian thesis which he accepts-with his customary sophisticated reservations.

2. The ultra-Aegidians, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de S. Elpidio, were the first to see or to sense that complete « being » necessitates not only two but three modes:

$$1 \times 1 \times 1 = 1,$$

and applied this insight to their description of the Trinity as constituted by three absolute modes: « esse naturaliter » (Pater), « esse intellectualiter » (Filius), and « esse amabiliter » (Spiritus Sanctus). But their formula failed to gain support. Stoutly refusing to accept the basic premiss, viz., the modal character involved in these three « esse », medieval critique rewrote the formula as

$$1 + 1 + 1 = 3,$$

and thereupon ostracized the great formula of Jacobus. Today it might perhaps gain the favor of the Far Eastern mentality if it still belonged to the patrimony of western theology and had been purified from liabilities which only century-long discussion eliminates.

Michael de Massa approaches the Jacobean ideas with a very open mind and feels no sympathy for the apodictic oppositionist, Gerardus.

3. The *possibile obiectivum*, too, Michael discusses in the right context, i. e. within the Jacobean modalities.

Reading the 14th-century Augustinians who sometimes bracket together both « modalitates » and « formalitates » one has the feeling that the *modalitates* of Aegidius and his followers fathered the *distinctiones formales ex natura rei*. It is probable that Michael was rejected by his own Augustinians for a similar reason ; his *modalitates* looked too much like the *formalitates* of Scotus.

Michael and Medieval Book-Lore

Michalski [19]) in a masterly article has indicated the problems which medieval editors created and modern editors have to solve ; there seem to exist a number of different editions of the same medieval work. Michael de Massa makes a valuable contribution to the understanding and solution of these editorial problems.

The Super Secundum of Michael de Massa consisted originally of two different sets of Quaestiones which in the edition of the Vat. lat. 1087 have been fused into one set. Originally, Michael had written an *Opus Ordinarium Super Secundum* (one set of questions), and later *Additiones Super Secundum* (another set of questions).

From facts which a close observation of the Vat. lat. 1087 establishes we can reconstruct certain realities of medieval book-lore.

Medieval *Lectores* who covetted a chance to go to some university wrote their *Lectura Lectoris* in such a clever way that the text-units coincided with the sexterni-units. Even at the expense of some blank folia the Lector would not allow his text-unit to overflow into the next sexterni-unit.

Upon nomination to the *Baccalareatus*, and after his arrival in Paris, the aspirant *Baccalarius* would write *Additiones* to his Lectura Lectoris because his Parisian teaching had to take milieu and actuality into account. Again he used the same clever technique of maintaining coincidence of text-unit and sexterni-unit. Both the Lectura Lectoris and the Additiones were unbound. If the Baccalarius, or Magister, so desired he could at any time assemble (*ordinare*) a more or less complete edition, consisting of Lectura Lectoris (Opus Ordinarium) and Additiones, without any further copying process and, consequently, without waste of time and money. All a Baccalarius, or Doctor, had to do was to insert the different sexterni-units in the place he desired: the text-unit could never be disturbed by this reshuffling [20]).

[19]) Cf. C. MICHALSKI, *Die vielfachen Redaktionen einiger Kommentare zu Petrus Lombardus*, in: *Studi e Testi 37, Miscellanea F. Ehrle* I (Roma 1924) 219-264.

[20]) But what would happen if, before the reshuffling, the margins of all Sexterni had gradually been filled with all kinds of notae, notulae etc. ? If the blank pecia-ends, which the technique of « text-unit = sexterni-unit » demanded,

Michael de Massa proceeded exactly in this fashion. He possessed the loose *Quaterni* of his Opus Ordinarium (= Lectura Lectoris) and the loose *Quaterni* of his Additiones. The first two Quaterni [21]) of his Additiones he decided to insert after the first two Quaterni of the Opus Ordinarium. The text-units which today in the Vat. lat. 1087 cover ff. 1-51^{v} were thereby not disarranged.

Michael also determined to drop from his edition (Vat. lat. 1087) the whole *materia de angelis* which he had composed as comment to Lombard's 2 Sent. dist. 2-11 for his Opus Ordinarium ; but Michael forgot to erase the cross-references to the *materia de angelis*, found still today here and there (cf. Vat. lat. 1087 f. 68^{v} or 94^{v}).

After the reshuffling of the Quaterni had been done, after inclusion or exclusion of the single Quaterni had been decided on, Michael had an amanuensis prepare the archetypus for the actual Vat. lat. 1087. From this moment on, the text-units were frozen in their place because they overflowed from one *Quinio* [22]) into the next. The book-binder took over where the editor stopped.

We must therefore say that no real « editing » was done in the Vat. lat. 1087, only a reshuffling and selecting of Quaterni. It is true that in places where Quaterni were reshuffled to form a more comprehensive treatise on a particular subject, new *prooemia* were needed and also written as one may verify on the very first folium of the Vat. lat. 1087.

Prospectus on Integrating Parts of Vat. lat. 1087

1. *Opus Ordinarium Super Secundum Michaelis de Massa.*

[QQ] ff.		[?] [?]
1-4: 1^{r}-17^{v} = Dist. 1 >	In the unbound original =	ff. 17+17
5-8: 34^{r}-51^{v} = Dist. 1 >	=	2+ 2 Quaterni

had been used for notulae and other additions ? Worse, if fragmentary Sexterni and other loose leaves had been inserted ? Such a problem was faced by the amanuensis who had to copy the first complete Gregorius (cf. below p. 193 ff). Another interesting story of medieval book-lore comes up during the treatment of Simon de Cremona (cf. below p. 255 ff).

[21]) Cf. below the Prospectus on integrating parts of Vat. lat. 1087.

[22]) According to Pelzer's Catalogue the Vat. lat. 1087 has Quiniones. Cf. A. PELZER, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 679-1134 (Roma 1931) 684.

The serial number of the first 8 *Quaestiones Operis Ordinarii* can be reestablished with certainty. The rest of the *Opus Ordinarium* cannot be identified in the Vat. lat. 1087. Some questions of Michael which he quotes in cross-references, have not been incorporated at all in the Vatican manuscript, and are probably lost.

2. *Additiones Super Secundum Michaelis de Massa* = AA

[QQ]	ff.	[??]
1- 8:	17^{v}- 34^{v} = AA dist. 1	
	[In the unbound original = ff. 17 = 2 Quaterni]	
9-10:	91^{r}- 97^{v} = De instanti	
11-13:	68^{v}- 74^{r} = De duratione et motu	
	[In original = ff. 12 = 1 Sexternus ?]	
	51^{v}- 68^{v} = De aeternitate	
	[In the unbound original = ff. 17 = 2 Quaterni]	
	74^{r}- 91^{r} = De tempore	
	[In the unbound original = ff. 17 = 2 Quaterni]	
	97^{v}-130^{v} = De materia	
	De forma	
	De esse et essentia	
	De genere et differentia	
	De caelo	
	[In the unbound original = ff. 34 = 4 Quaterni]	
	130^{v}-169^{v} = 10 QQ de extensione	
	169^{v}-175^{r} = 4 QQ de materia extensa per quantitatem	
	175^{r}-205^{r} = 16 QQ de veritate primi principii et motione voluntatis	
	205^{r}-221^{v} = 4 QQ de specie	
	[In the unbound original = ff. 92 = 14 Quaterni]	

Only the first 13 serial numbers of the *Quaestiones Additionum* can be reestablished with absolute certitude. It is very impressive to note how many of the *text-units* of the Vat. lat. 1087 even today evince the fact that once they coincided with the *quaterni-unit*.

The Enigmatic Figure of Michael de Massa

Was Michael de Massa the « Durandus » of the Augustinian Order ? There is some mystery about his figure. How is it possible that a man like Michael who left a literary legacy of some 900 extant folia, or some 1000 folia, if the sermons are included, should almost never be quoted by his confrères ? Admitting that the 14th-

century Augustinians had a galaxy of Doctors they certainly had not enough stars of first or second magnitude like Michael to put them under the proverbial bushel.

Thomas of Strassburg, Baccalarius 1336, at least should have quoted Michael, Baccalarius, as we shall see, 1325-26. But the name is never mentioned directly although indirectly involved in Thomas' discussion with the ultra-Aegidians, Jacobus and Alexander. Gregory barely mentions Michael ; Hugolinus, an Italian like his great countryman, ignores our Michael. John of Basel reports only a faint and indirect echo of Michael. Alfonsus is the only Augustinian to give any importance to Michael.

Is it because Michael died without the halo of the Magisterium ? Or was he condemned by his Order to die without the degree because he fell out of the Aegidian tradition and was unloyal to his Order like Durandus ? If so, we would have to say that the Augustinians had learned something from the Durandus scandal and therefore gave Michael no publicity by condemnations but the more effective treatment of freezing him under a layer of silence, and keeping him from promotion by simply not presenting him to the University authorities.

The biographers [23]) have little to tell with certainty about Michael. He was a Sienese, belonged to the family of the Beccucci from Massa, was Definitor at the General Chapter of Venice, 1332, and died at Paris (?) on May 10, 1337, where he was interred in the Augustinian church.

When the biographers add that he died young (in florida aetate) one may ask whether this information is based on documentary evidence or established on the assumption that a Baccalarius had to be in his best years.

Kürzinger, Glorieux, and Pelster [24]), have made it possible to fix another important date of Michael's life: his Baccalareatus in 1325-26. The date results from the Quodlibetum Jacobi de Appamiis which I shall discuss here below.

It was perhaps one of the last official acts of the General

[23]) Cf. foot-note 14.

[24]) Cf. J. KÜRZINGER, *Alfonsus Vargas*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXII, 5-6 (1930) 85-86. — P. GLORIEUX, *La littérature quodlibétique* II (Bibl. Thomiste 21: Paris 1935) 142-43. — F. PELSTER, *Zur ersten Polemik gegen Aureoli*, in: *Franciscan Studies* XV, 1 (1955) 30-47.

Alexander Fassitelli de S. Elpidio [de Marchia] [25]) to procure the Baccalareatus for his protégé, Michael de Massa. During the Generalate of Alexander (1312-26 ; † 1326) Gerardus de Senis had bitterly attacked the doctrines of the ultra-Aegidian, Alexander, while Michael had defended Alexander and — we may imagine — had won his sympathy and protection. For his opponent, Gerardus de Senis, Alexander cannot have harbored the same warm feelings.

It was circumstances which cast Michael and Gerardus in the role of rivals and enemies. Both were from Siena, both were in the same age group, both at the same stage of their scholastic career. But Gerardus tenaciously clang to the traditional Aegidianism of the Order while Michael went along with the ultra-Aegidianism, once promoted by Jacobus, and at the moment greatly favored by Alexander who had the prestige of a Doctor and the power of a General.

The Commentary of Gerardus, probably a Lectura Lectoris, was published first ; Michael published his somewhat later and made Gerardus his whipping boy. On every folium of Michael we meet with a sharp criticism of Gerardus himself and, more so, of the critique which Gerardus applies to the ultra-Aegidians and to Aureolus. Michael always suggests that Gerardus does not understand the issues because they are beyond the ken of his poor confrère. Michael himself is too sophisticated to take an apodictic stand ; it is often a sic-et-non attitude he is content with.

Michael apparently had to pay the price for challenging Aegidianism in the person of Gerardus. While Michael was Baccalarius, 1326, Alexander became bishop and died shortly afterwards. The new General, Guillelmus Amidani de Cremona (1326-43) [26]) did not favor Michael but Gerardus. Gerardus was made Magister in 1329, Michael died in 1337 without having been presented by the Order for the Magisterium. Thomas of Strassburg, Baccalarius in 1336, ostracized the name of Michael. The name would have been a star in the literary firmament if Thomas had acted differently because Thomas was destined to be copied all over the christian world.

Ambrosius Massari Coriolanus [27]) tells an interesting story about

[25]) Cf. D. Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* II (Firenze 1931) 46-48.

[26]) Cf. D. Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* I (Firenze 1929) 28-32.

[27]) Cf. D. Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* II (Firenze 1931) 194-97. — The Gerardus story is found in Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* III (Firenze 1935) 187.

Gerardus (!) which certainly has to be understood as relating to Michael. According to Massari, as Perini repeats, a posthumous Magisterium was given to Gerardus (!):

Tradit in Chronica < sacratissimi ordinis ff. herem S. Aug. > Coriolanus illum < Gerardum ! > Senis fato concessisse, cum tantum esset Baccalareus ; et vita functum, inconsueto honore, et inaudito exemplo, ob eius singularem scientiam sollemniter *instante populo et episcopo* fuisse laureatum.

Perini knows that Gerardus is mentioned by Augustinian documents as Baccalarius in Paris on March 25, 1327, and as Magister at the General Chapter of Venice on Pentecost, 1332. Denifle [28]) proves that Gerardus was Regens even before (1329-30). For this reason Perini interprets the story as referring to a posthumous Magisterium « in utroque iure ». Perini wonders why some historians make Gerardus die young, and others at a decrepit age.

The solution is much easier. Everything becomes plausible in the curious story if we accept that Michael was victimized by his Order and condemned to die without the Magisterium, whether at Paris or at Siena, does not change the situation greatly. The tradition which has Michael die in Paris may be founded on the same reasoning post factum that a Baccalarius had to be young and had to be in Paris. If the family of the Beccucci at Siena was not edified by the treatment Michael had received at the hand of his superiors, a « spontaneous » reaction of bishop and people (cf. *instante populo et episcopo* ; no Augustinian reaction is mentioned) could be arranged without difficulty. Either at the funeral of Michael at Siena, or at a Solemn High Mass for the repose of his soul the Magisterial cap was placed on his bier or his tumba and Michael proclaimed Magister by an act of popular arbitration.

Michael and the Quodlibetum Jacobi de Appamiis [AD 1326]

The MSS of the Quodlibetum Jacobi de Appamiis identify the opponents. Instead of *quidam* the Augustinian lists:

Aegidius doctor noster (together with Thomas)
Aureolus
Bernardus Olivieri (arguit frater...)
Dionysius de Burgo (respondet magister... nostri ordinis)
Durandus (dominus... episcopus anicensis)

[28]) Cf. DENIFLE, *Chart. Paris.* II 339 no. 904.

Franciscus de Marchia (magister... in quadam quaestione quam determinavit in curia de qua < ego J. de Apamiis > respondi sic)
Franciscus de Maironis
Geraldus Odonis
Hervaeus
Jacobus de Viterbio doctor inventivus
Michael de Massa (*respondet* frater... nostri ordinis)
Obertus monachus (magister)
Scotus
Stephanus (magister)
Thomas Anglicus < Wilton >
Thomas de Fabiano (!) (quidam doctor nostri ordinis)
S. Thomas

Date of Quodlibetum Jacobi de Appamiis = 1326
= Date of Baccalareatus Michaelis de Massa

To date this Quodlibetum we must keep in mind that apparently three Augustinian Magistri, Jacobus de Appamiis, Dionysius, and Thomas de Fabriano (!), were present. One master was absent, Bernardus Olivieri who is called simply « frater ». Olivieri was Magister already in 1313 ; his Magisterium was no longer of any news value ; he was an old man whom the title « frater » suited better than the « Magister » since Aegidius was often honored with the plain « frater ».

One might think of a General Chapter of the Augustinians, perhaps the one of Florence in 1326, to bring such a group of Augustinian Magistri together. But we have to set the stage at Paris because the Franciscan Baccalarius, Geraldus Odonis, must have a chance to be present.

Of Dionysius de Burgo we know that he finished the First Book as Baccalarius Parisiensis on Jan. 12, 1317 (colophon of MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 131 f. 96^{v}) ; Thomas de Fabriano is elected Definitor Generalis in 1320 with the title of Baccalarius (*Analecta Augustiniana* IV [1911-12] 40 n. 3). Here in the Quodlibetum Dionysius precedes Thomas by seniority. If we make an assumption about the probable date of their Magisteria we shall see that the pieces of the puzzle fall neatly into their places [29]):

[29]) It is noteworthy that Gerardus de Senis does not take part in the solemn proceedings. He is either absent from Paris or « unable » to come because of Michael de Massa. Gerardus was still Baccalarius as we have mentioned before. — The death of Alexander is reported by PERINI (II, 47). — The date

Dionysius de Burgo, Mag. Regens Parisius	1324-25, Senior 1326	
Thomas de Fabriano, Mag. Regens Parisius	1325-26	
Jacobus de Appamiis, Magister Novus	1326	(before March 13 ?)
Michael de Massa, Baccalarius Parisiensis	1325-26	
In the first Book of Michael the Master Alexander de S. Elpidio is quoted as Pater noster Generalis, therefore possibly at a date before	1326	(Feb. 18)
Geraldus Odonis, Baccalarius Paris., O. Min.	1326	
Franciscus de Marchia, Mag. O. Min. in Curia where Jacobus was Respondens before	1326	
Durandus, episcopus Aniciensis (Annecy) until	1326	(March 13)

All the facts of the Quodlibetum are put in relief by our assumption about the probable date of the Magisteria. Although Magistri were badly needed at home and therefore not allowed to overstay their legal term at Paris we see a plausible possibility to have three together at Paris where the Franciscan Baccalarius is studying, at a date while Durandus is still bishop of Annecy, and Alexander still General of the Augustinians. From these perfect coincidences we glean the important fact that Michael was Baccalarius in 1326, eleven long years before his death which overtook him while still Baccalarius.

Thomas de Argentina

Thomas de Argentina [30]) is another Augustinian theologian who belongs to the historico-critical group of the 14th-century theolo-

of the Baccalareatus of Odonis is given by Pelster, *Zur ersten Polemik* (p. 40). — The Durandus-date is also in Ueberweg, *Grundriss* II (Berlin 1928) 519. — The Franciscus-MS Napoli VII C 27 proves by colophon that he was Baccalarius Parisiensis in 1320. As the *Dict. Théol. Catholique* (XII, 2: 2104) says, a lost Franciscus-MS of Dodici Apostoli (Rome) proves that the Reportatum « per fratrem Guilelmum de Rubione » [= Franciscus-MS] was made « *Parisius* ». Stegmüller (*Repertorium Lombardi* I [1947] 106) adds that the Reportatum « a Guilelmo de Rubione » according to MS Prague Metrop. Chapter 531 was made AD 1323. Summing up these two colophons we find that Franciscus de Marchia was in Paris from 1320-23, and could be Magister in Curia (Avignon) before 1326 when Jacobus de Appamiis had to act as Respondens under him.

[30]) Cf. B. Lindner, *Die Erkenntnislehre des Thomas v. Strassburg*, in: *Bei-*

gians. Not only was he the first to present us with a commentary on all the Four Books of Lombardus in pleasant brevity and clarity, he also was privileged to find an early printer who reproduced a very good manuscript of the Rhineland (Strassburg ?), perhaps the very *archetypus* which home-convents [31]) of great scholars were solicitous to procure.

The homely text of Thomas never presented great editing problems ; if the manuscript (archetypus ?) which the *editio princeps* « repeated » to the last detail, marginalia included, is a typical text-witness then it is evident that there are only about eleven short variations to parallel texts, clearly marked as such, and some longer *Additiones* at the end of the Fourth Book. These longer *Additiones* incorporate the discussions which took place during the *Principia Baccalarii Thomae* and also embody some treatises or discussions due to the question of the *visio beatifica* under John XXII and Benedict XII.

It is not excluded that the *Lectura Lectoris* of Thomas was already the finished literary product we have in the actual *Lectura Baccalarii* ; it even appears probable that the *Lectura Lectoris* was already in some libraries of the Order when Thomas started his Baccalareatus Parisiensis in the year 1336 [32]).

A few additional elements [33]) represent the whole difference between a *Lectura Lectoris* and *Lectura Baccalarii*. We probably are not wrong in assuming that the final edition of Thomas was released between 1336-43.

träge Baeumkers XXVII, 4-5 (Münster 1930). — J. SHANNON, *Good Works and Predestination acc. to Thomas of Strassburg* (Diss. Univ. Greg. 1940). Both authors used the Venice edition (1564) of Thomas of Strassburg. Shannon (p. 12) says: This edition has less errors than the others (!). — The editions of Thomas are: Strassburg 1490; Venice 1564, 1588; Genoa 1585. There is a rumor about a fifth edition, Geneva 1635, about which see Shannon (p. 12).

[31]) The Venice edition 1522 of Gregory goes back to an *archetypus* of Rimini, the home convent of Gregory. Cf. below p. 191.

[32]) When Aureolus started his Baccalareatus Parisiensis one of his best MS was being transcribed at Cahors. Cf. E. M. BUYTAERT in the introduction (p. XII) to the edition of Peter Aureoli *Scriptum Super Primum Sententiarum* I [Prol. et Dist. 1], in: *Franciscan Institute Publications* (Text Series No. 3) [St. Bonaventure 1952].

[33]) The additional elements are an Index rerum (Tabula alphabetica) and, of course, the Collatio, and the Additiones at the end which incorporate the discussions that took place during the Principia etc.

I have not examined any manuscript of Thomas in detail ; in the case of Thomas, as later in the case of Gregory, I have been forced to restrict my examination to printed editions. But in both instances I have definite proof that *one* manuscript, and a good one at that, was copied by a printer who could neither read nor write nor print anything but scholastic shorthand, and who meticulously repeated in print what he found in one good manuscript.

The editio princeps of Thomas is due to the learned promoter Pallas Spangel, to the printer Martinus Flach of Strassburg (1490) and to the corrector Nicolaus. Pallas Spangel [34]) tells us that he found the Super Primum et Secundum of Thomas in one volume, and the Super Tertium et Quartum in another. Spangel arrogates to himself no editor's halo ; he modestly admits that he was only lucky to discover the MSS, to peruse them, recognize them as excellent and transmit them to the printer for eventual printing. The corrector confirms [35]) that Spangel was the promoting agent ; he claims to have done the correcting of the proof-sheets. We therefore have in the ed. 1490 *one* good manuscript.

The later editions: Venice 1564, 1588 and Genoa 1585 are reprints from the *editio princeps*. I have very carefully checked up on the relationship between ed. 1490 and ed. 1585 [36]) which I have at hand. I have also compared the excerpts from the ed. 1564 which Shannon and Lindner reproduce. The result is: complete identity of text with only an increasing ratio of mistakes ! Of course, later printers add to their edition all features, which the printers' code later demanded.

Quoting Technique of Thomas of Strassburg

Once Thomas of Strassburg had been printed he remained popular throughout the following centuries. Completeness in regard to all of Lombard's problems, clarity and conciseness of exposition, rich documentation in historical theology, all these advantages gave Thomas a place of honor on the shelves and desks of theologians belonging to the post-reformation period and even to the movement of scholastic revival.

[34]) On the first fly-leaf of the ed. 1490.

[35]) On the last fly-leaf of the ed. 1490, added in the year 1491.

[36]) Of 250 marginalia (names, text-divisions, glosses, etc.) 240 are *exactly* the same! That means a concordance of 96 %.

The art of Gutenberg had two opposite effects: it made printed medieval authors accessible but condemned those who by 1600 had not been printed to inaccessibility. The printers who strove after an ideal of perfect readability gradually dropped scholastic stenography from their columns, and by unintentional chain-reaction destroyed the art of writing and reading scholastic shorthand. By 1600 only a few theologians were able to plow through shorthand texts in manuscripts which became more and more museum pieces, kept in jealously locked and practically inaccessible libraries.

After 1600 the marginalia in such printed authors as offered inexhaustible treasures of information about theological history, assumed an importance that has perhaps been overlooked. Research in this regard may well confirm the suspicion that the negative attitude towards the 14th-century theology which became the fashion in the post-reformation period, is based exclusively or partially — on mere marginalia of printed medieval authors !

Among the printed Augustinians it was Thomas, Gregory, and Alfonsus who provided the reader with encyclopedic historical information on account of their rich marginalia. The proof for their authenticity has therefore not only a bearing on the historical attitude of the Augustinian medieval school but equally on subsequent theological history.

The authenticity of the many and sometimes detailed marginalia of Thomas of Strassburg I cannot demonstrate with absolute and final arguments because I have not seen all MSS ; only one good MS has been « copied by print » in the edition of 1490. We must for a while be satisfied with the additional external evidence which the historical context of the Augustinian School provides. In the case of Gregory we are in the some predicament ; in the case of Alfonsus, however, chronologically close or very close to Thomas and Gregory, I have gone through all MSS and definitely established the authenticity of all marginalia. I state this clearly to avoid the objection of a *circulus vitiosus* ; I do not intend to argue from the marginalia to the historical character of the 14th-century Augustinian School, and then from the context within the Augustinian School *alone* to the historicity of the marginalia found in Thomas and Gregory.

The technique of quoting we find in Thomas belongs to the first stage of its development as delineated above. The *quidam* of the texts are identified on the margins, mostly by bare names. A

systematic rule cannot be observed. The copious quotations from Augustine who provided the inspiration for the Augustinian School, figure within the text-column ; the early scholastics, especially Anselm, who fathered the movement of the « Theologia Moderna », are similarly quoted in the text.

The names which Thomas quotes on he margins I shall insert in my larger study under the divisions of the Commentary to make them available for all editions of Thomas. Here I indicate the interesting ones:

*Aegidius, venerabilis doctor, doctor noster, frater noster
*Alexander de Marchia Augustiniensis = de S. Elpidio [37])
*Aureolus
Bonaventura [38])
Cocon [Cowton, Robertus]
Dionysius de Burgo (doctor noster junior: ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 77^{v} ; ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 46^{v})
*Durandus
Franciscus de Mayronis
*Gerardus de Senis, O. E. S. A.
Geraldus Minor
Gerardus Carmelita... (ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 86^{r} and 87^{v} ; ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 53^{v} and 54^{v})

[37]) 1. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 76^{v}: *Alex. Ord. S. Augustini* who goes with Henricus; omitted by ed. 1585 f. 46^{r}.

Immediately afterwards: *Contra Henricum et Alexandrum* both in ed. 1490 and ed. 1585!

2. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 131^{r}: *Alexander de Marcia Augustin.*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 90^{v}: *Alexander de Marsia Aug.*!

3. Ed. 1490 3-4 Sent. f. 65^{v}: *Alexander de ver.* (quidam de nostris).

Ed. 1585 3-4 Sent. f. 50^{v}: *Ale. ver.* = Alexander de mar<Marchia>.

Michael de Massa is not quoted nominally but certainly involved in the discussion against Jacobus and Alexander.

[38]) The 14th century Augustinians give Bonaventura no importance. Thomas quotes him very rarely:

1. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 65^{r}: *Bonaven.*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 37^{r}: *Bonaven.*; but ed. 1585 misplaces *Bonaven.* 16 lines too high!

2. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 134^{r}: *Bonaven.*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 93^{r}: *Bonaven.*

Ed. 1564 1-2 Sent. f. (?). B. LINDNER [cf. *Die Erkenntnislehre d. Th. v. Strassburg*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXVII, 4-5 (Münster 1930) 7 note 1] could not find the text accompanying this *marginale* (*unus doctor qui diebus suis magnae* FUIT *reputationis*). Does the Venice edition 1564 not have this *marginale* « *Bonaven.* » ? ?

*Godofridus
*Henricus de Gandavio
Henricus de Virmaria, O. E. S. A. (ed. 1490 3-4 Sent. f. 28^{r} ; ed. 1585 3-4 Sent. f. 21^{v})
*Hervaeus
*Jacobus de Viterbio, O. E. S. A. [39])
Johannes de Lana, O. E. S. A. (ed. 1490 3-4 Sent. f. 8^{r} and 85^{r} [Jo. de La.] ; ed. 1585 3-4 Sent. f. 5^{v} and 66^{v} [but ed. 1585 makes two auctoritates of one: *Ratio Jo.* and < *Ratio* > *de Lap.*])
Petrus de Alvernia
Petrus Johannis
Petrus de Tarantasia
Prosper [de Regio, O. E. S. A.] (ed. 1490 3-4 Sent. f. 49^{r} and 50^{r} ; ed. 1585 3-4 Sent. f. 37^{v} and 38^{v})
RU = Gudofridus ? Guarro ? [40])
*Scotus
*S. Thomas
*Varro

[39]) Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 84^{v} misreads *Jacobus de Vitriaco*; ed. 1585 f. 52^{v} correspondingly: *Jacobus de &c.*!

2. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 83^{r} *and* ed. 1585 f. 51^{v}: *ratio Jaco.*

3. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 111^{v} *Jaco. de Viter.* 2 q. 2.

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 88^{r} *Ja. de Vite. 3. quolibet q. 7 art. 4 item in quaest. super praedicamen.* (addition of Venice edition of 1564).

Here and later (ed. 1490 f. 127^{r}) *Linconiensis et sui squaces* are represented as historical premiss to the Jacobean doctrine of *modi absoluti*. Cf. M. SCHMAUS, *Der Liber propugnatorius* II Teil: *Die trinitarischen Lehrdifferenzen*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXIX, 1 (Münster 1930) 475-77.

4. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 187^{r} *and* ed. 1585 f. 135^{r}: *Ja. multa narrat de tempore 3 quolibet* [ed. 1585: quolicet] *q. 12.*

5. From *Jaco. Augustiniensis* comes the mysterious *Cocon Augustiniensis* in ed. 1490 f. 115^{v} whom ed. 1585 f. 77^{v} omits!

[40]) Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 71^{v}: *Ru*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 42^{r}: *Rub* = Gudofridus (because with Henricus).

2. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 110^{v}: *Ru contra Aegidium.*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 73^{v} *omittit.*

But this *Ru* might be *Varro* cf. Dionysius de Burgo MS Erfurt Amplon. 2^{o} 131 f. 52^{r} and 53^{r} where an identical opinion is attributed to *Guarro* in a discussion involving Alexander and Jacobus.

3. Ed. 1490 1-2 Sent. f. 187^{v}: *Hen. et Ru contra primam rationem.*

Ed. 1585 1-2 Sent. f. 135^{r}: *H. et 5* contra primam rationem! f. 135^{v}: *Contra Henr. et Rub.*

Doctrine of Thomas of Strassburg

Before we pass on to Gregory of Rimini I would like to have the reader stop and take stock of the first half of the 14th-century Augustinian theology. If our subject were not as dry as sand I would repeat the phrase of Dante (Par. II, 4): Tornate a riveder li vostri liti.

Thomas of Strassburg marks the turning point in Augustinian Modern theology. I call him the « last Augustinian of Aegidius » and Gregory the « first Augustinian of Augustine ». The two terms are not mutually exclusive. Aegidianism is old-fashioned Augustinianism coupled with the *cognitio universalis*, the Gregorian Augustinianism is « Modern », is better acquainted with *all* the books of Augustine not only with his major works, and goes hand in hand with the *cognitio rei particularis*.

Aegidius remained the venerated figure of the Augustinian School before and after Gregory, but after Gregory especially more corrective reservations were made in regard to Aegidius. What is so new in Gregory is the fact that he is the best Augustine scholar of the Middle Ages from the milieu which created the Milleloquium [41]).

[41]) About the Augustinian erudition of Gregory cf. H. NORIS, *Vindiciae Augustinianae*, in: *Supplementum ad opera S. Augustini* [PL 47: 651-52]: Nullus autem veterum scolasticorum in Augustini lectione Gregorium superavit. Hanc illi laudem ultro recentiores tribuunt. Dicitur a Vasquez 1-2 disp. 185 num. 13 « apprime in Augustini doctrina versatus ». A Vandero appellatur « vir doctissimus, et si quis alius doctrinae Augustinianae perstudiosus » disp. 1 de Libertate Dei num. 23. Addit Fasolus part. 1 q. 23. art. 1 dub. 3. num. 34. « cuius libri Augustini auctoritatibus et sententiis passim abundant ». Idem nuncupatur a Raynaudo « homo in Augustini lectione versatissimus », in cens. inoff. [Pro Valer. Cemeliens.] cens. num. 2. Denique Decamsius scribit: « Gregorius Ariminensis, quem non vitae tantum instituto, sed etiam doctrina Augustinum fuisse norunt omnes, qui vel strictim eius libros attigerunt. », lib. III. de Haeresi Jans., disp. 3. cap. 20. All these elogia originate from a time when only printed medieval authors could furnish the tertium comparationis. Hiltalingen was then already buried under the dust of centuries. But at least these scholars who knew their Augustine recognized in Gregory a revered brother. That much can be derived from these elogia. — The latest article about the Milleloquium appeared in *Traditio* cf. B. M. PEEBLES, *The Verse Embellishments of the Milleloquium S. Augustini*, in: *Traditio* X (1954) 555-66. Dr. Peebles has directed the dissertation of a student of his, which is still unpublished. Cf. V. A. FITZPATRICK, *Bartholomaeus of Urbino, The Sermons Embraced in his Milleloquium S. Augustini* (Cath. Univ.

With this explanation in mind we may call Thomas the last Aegidian without coining a new pompous cliché. Thomas professed the *cognitio rei particularis* which had been adopted by his predecessors but — and this is the difference — source erudition in regard to the *whole* Augustine cannot yet be claimed by Thomas.

The Aegidianism from Dionysius to Thomas is a doctrinal impulse which decreases with the ratio of distance from Aegidius under the impact of Scotus, Durandus, Aureolus. Dionysius, Socius of Aureolus but unaffected (?) by him, struggles with Scotus and Durandus.

Gerardus continues to contend with these old adversaries but has to engage in a duel with Aureolus which the detached arbiter, Michael de Massa, thinks is above the strength of Gerardus, too dogmatic and unpliable, too obstinate to combat a new opponent with new weapons.

Michael de Massa is the last of the ultra-Aegidians, a group represented mainly by Jacobus of Viterbo and Alexander de S. Elpidio. The inter-Augustinian feud between « orthodox » Aegidians and « ultra-Aegidians », to our knowledge not as bitter as the fray between Durandus and the Thomists, reaches in Michael a crisis. Gerardus bitterly opposes a powerful Magister who is his own General, Alexander Fassitelli de S. Elpidio (General 1312-26; + 1326). Under the new General, Guillelmus Amidani (1326-43) Gerardus becomes Magister in 1329 while Michael with all his enormous literary production dies in 1337 without any Magisterium.

Gregory of Rimini

Antesignanus Nominalistrarum ?
Or Leader against the Nominalists ?

If an issue which has been settled long ago is raised again it cannot be done without stirring up the dust of centuries. With the

Washington 1954) I-X, 1-65, 1*-56*. — In its idea and in its execution the Milleloquium is an awe-inspiring enterprise. The idea was conceived already by *Augustinus Trionfo* (cf. D. Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* IV [Firenze 1938] 25): MS Florence Laurent. Plut. XIII cod. 15 f. 1-178 « *Flores B. Augustini* seu Milleloquium ex scriptis S. Augustin, auctore Augustino Anconitano, *et primo quidem ex libris XXII de Civitate Dei* ». Trionfo died April 2, 1328, at an age of 88. The Milleloquium appeared 1345.

following remarks about Gregory I expect to start discussions but hope not to engage in controversies because I want to fulfill only the historian's obligation to point out new facts which may alter the premisses of an old issue.

Gregory [42]) is known as the *antesignanus nominalistarum* [43]) or

[42]) Cf. N. MERLIN, *Grégoire de Rimini*, in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* VI, 2 (Paris 1947) 1852-54, an article written with exceptional and uncommon cautiousness and reserve. — D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* I (Firenze 1929) 53-57. — R. ARBESMANN - W. HÜMPFNER ed. *Jordani de Saxonia, Liber Vitasfratrum*, in: *Cassiciacum* I (American Series) [New York 1943] 477.

For some literature on doctrine cf. J. WÜRSDÖRFER, *Erkennen und Wissen nach Gregor v. Rimini*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XX, 1 (Münster 1917). — M. SCHÜLER, *Prädestination, Sünde u. Freiheit bei Gregor v. Rimini* (Stuttgart 1934). — P. VIGNAUX, *Justification et prédestination au XIV^e siècle* (Duns Scot,... Grégoire de Rimini), in: *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études* (Sciences religieuses) XLVIII (Paris 1934).

[43]) Johannes Thurmayr (b. at Abensberg, July 4, 1477; died at Ratisbon January 9, 1534) was appointed as historiographer of his country, Bavaria, in 1517, and wrote the Annales Boiorum (down to the year 1460). On account of his reformist sympathies the Annales were not published until 1554 at Ingolstadt. Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia* XIV (New York 1912) 713.

The anti-papal and anti-scholastic sentiments which animate Avensberg (Aventinus) made the re-edition of his works welcome in the last century. Aventinus who wrote after 1517 had called Gregory of Rimini the *antesignanus* of the nominalists and could do so with little contradiction, because after 1450 one relied on printed sources only. — F. Ehrle who very eruditely treats the controversy between the two *Viae*, the Antiqua and Moderna, in his work *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia* should not have included this quarrel of the 15th century in a book, whose title promised to deal with theologians of the 14th century. Ehrle never proved, that this dispute of the 15th century established perspective and common denominator for the theology before the Great Schism. Though he corrected (p. 167) an error (by Hermelink) about the teaching activity of Gregory at Wien, an error already derived from a misinterpretation of Aventinus, he incorporated the latter's passage on Gregory (p. 163 n. 1), because he attributed to it a great significance for the 14th century. The passage is to be found in Abensberg lib. 6 (cap. 3) and reads:

Sub idem tempus Gratianus ille jus pontificale dilaniavit (!) atque confudit (!). Etenim uti in nostris Bibliotecis syncerum est, duas continet partes...

Hisce quoque temporibus fuisse reperio Rucellinum Britannicum <Racelinum Britannum>, Magistrum Petri Abelaerdi, novi Lycaei conditorem. Qui primus scientiam vocum sive dictionum instituit, novam Philosophandi viam invenit. Eo namque authore duo Aristotelicorum, Peripateticorum genera esse caeperunt, unum illud vetus, locuples in rebus procreandis, quod scientiam rerum sibi vendicat, quamobrem Reales vocantur: alterum novum, quod eam distrahit, Nominales ideo nuncupati, quod avari rerum, prodigi nominum, atque notionum ver-

standard bearer of the « nominalists » ; if indications are not wrong he was the very opposite, namely, the leader against the « nominalists », the promoter of the condemnations which fell upon the Modernists. The Gregorian equivocation is very probably the result of polemics. Thus it may be useful to repeat what has been said at the beginning of this article and to stress this time the polemical character of the controversy between *Antiqui* and *Moderni*. That some groups of the 14th century were historical-minded emerges more and more from factual observations ; that in consequence, these groups were also historico-critical is an assumption whose importance must now be stressed. That many *Moderni* were logical-minded, and therefore logico-critical must also be underlined.

It seems that the *Moderni* felt that they had a mission to correct the defects of the past. Criticism, however, often entails that ugly polemic feature of veering not only to the other side but to the extreme of the other side.

The historico-critical attitude which I think was prevalent among a large group of *Moderni*, especially among the Augustinians, put a pronounced stress on better quoting. *Moderni* and *Antiqui*, it is true, were of one mind in regard to the importance of tradition. If this basic agreement had been remembered no quarrel would have been possible. But the Moderni paraded their

borum videntur esse adsertores. In hisce duobus generibus dissidium et bellum civile est, illius Thomas Aquinas Italus, et Joannes Dunso Scotus: Huius Vuilhelmus Occomensis Anglius (eius sepulchrum Marmoreum apud nos in Boiaria Monachii in templo Franciscanorum monstratur), Marsilius Haidelbergensis <Haedulobergensis> Academiae, Joannes Buridanus Viennensis Gymnasii institutor (!) [renowned teacher of Paris; died after 1358; cf. UEBERWEG II (1928) 596], *Gregorius Ariminensis* Viennae humatus, *antesignani sunt*...

Cf. *Annalium Boiorum libri septem Aventino auctore* (Ingolstadt by A. and S. Weissenborn 1554) 624. For new edition cf. *Johannes Turmair's (gen. Aventinus) Sämtliche Werke*, ed. S. Riezler, III. Bd. (*Annales ducum Boiariae lib. V-VIII*) München 1884 p. 200. Riezler's edition is practically the same as that of 1554; only chapters are added, and the orthography is changed.

The light weight of Aventinus' historical erudition and competence is counterbalanced by nothing but a heavy dosis of anti-papal and anti-scholastic animosity. The passage quoted was dragged in by Aventinus for emotional reasons (cf. ed. 1554 p. 627: quamvis haec nihil ad historiam attineant). But Aventinus achieved his purpose of blackening the record of Gregory in a way beyond his fondest expectations. He is even used by Ueberweg's *Grundriss* II (1928) 589 to give a « competent » evaluation of Gregory.

provocative pride in good quoting ; the Antiqui naturally retorted with the charge of ecclecticism, a charge reechoing through the ages.

Again and again when the texts of the 14th century themselves are studied one comes across examples of astounding mastery over the sources of theology both ancient and contemporary. Interest in the sources is a very healthy sign and symptom in a theology which deals with historical revelation, historically closed and historically developed. But as soon as past developments come under consideration the theologian must take a stand, otherwise he is only a recording device ; if many past developments come under the lense of the theological observer, a historico-critical judgment must be formulated many times.

In the early decades of a historical movement the enthusiasm of quoting, of looking over the shoulder of ancient or more recent predecessors, may become a fashion, pedantic and affected, perhaps eclectic.

Research must decide how much the historico-critical attitude of the 14th century achieved and to what extent it failed, overshooting the mark and creating new fetishes. Perhaps we owe to this historico-critical attitude the beginning of a then direly needed patrology. We have it now ; but standing on the highest rung of the ladder one may easily forget that the lower rungs were equally or even more important.

In the logico-critical field the Moderni felt that they had been entrusted with the mission to correct the theory of the *cognitio universalis*. Missionaries usually do not start like St. Paul on the Areopagus to announce that they preach the same God under a new name ; they speak only of the horrors of the old idols and stress differences. It would be poor psychology to deprive the new gospel of its impact ; the abominations of the old, and the advantages of the new tidings must be scored. The horrors which the Moderni saw, or apparently saw, was the identification of admittedly incomplete concepts with the richness of reality. The Moderni did not preach that they had no quarrel with the Antiqui in regard to their common belief in the possibility of reaching universal knowledge ; on this point both agreed. Psychologically, the Moderni stressed the differences between themselves and the Antiqui. The former emphasized the Modern tenet of a preliminary but progressively perfectable character of concepts, the preliminary character of signification. While the Antiqui in practice — not in the ultimate

analysis of theory — treated concepts more like cups made to order and big enough to contain reality supposed to be contained, the Moderni polemically insisted on the sign-character of the concept. The Antiqui on their part being human, did not concede to the Moderni that they agreed on the incompleteness of our concepts ; psychologically again, their defensive mood pushed them into a hot denial of the sign-character of concepts. Passing from the defensive to the offensive — always a very good tactic — the Antiqui, consciously or unconsciously, foisted on all Moderni, not only on the few revolutionary Modernists, the heresy that the possibility of reaching universal knowledge has to be despaired of.

Once the contention had started it reached a high degree of bitterness like all controversies in which both parties happen to be right. The Antiqui won the victory and wrote the history of this quarrel, but the « truth of victory » alas, is not always the « victory of truth ».

The Antiqui of the 15th century imputed the whole 14th century with nominalism, which in the beginning meant only a denial of universal knowledge. From the 15th century down to our own days the research in 14th-century theology has suffered from the incubus of nominalism.

If the research-worker cast himself in the role of defense lawyer his judgment got dangerously warped ; if he cast himself in the role of district attorney he only tried to prove a ready-made indictment with specific allegations.

In the course of time the bill of indictment against the 14th century was changed and lengthened to include as many points as there are letters in the word nominalism but having to do as little with the original indictment as the 10 letters of the word nominalism have with the issue of nominalism.

One may ask, for example, why the fashion of the 14th century to attribute such a sweeping scope to the possibility of divine intervention should be nominalism. Did not St. Anselm himself, one of the most popular authorities of the 14th century, initiate this disturbing reasoning without incurring the censure of nominalism ? Did not a few who held the Old view on knowledge in the 14th century play with the same uncomfortable thought ?

Obviously a radical application of the principle of the *potentia dei absoluta* has to act like an explosive, and leads to the errors condemned in 1347. But the remedy is not acceptance or refusal of

either universal or particular knowledge. Common sense is ; and common sense in theological language means reverence before the tradition of the Fathers.

This common sense had been abandoned by the *subtilitates* of the revolutionaries (Autrecourt, Mirecourt, Ulcredus, and Aston). That *subtilitas* was the main issue of the condemnations is said again and again by Peter Ceffons. That *subtilitas* stemmed from an abandoning of the Fathers in favor of logical games is made clear by a comparison between the warning of Clement VI and the answer of Peter Ceffons.

Pope Clement VI [44]) on May 20, 1346 had issued a pessimistic warning against the logico-critical group and discouraged strongly their *subtilitates*. In September of the year, 1348, Ceffons [45]) took issue with the Pope's warning and countered the pessimistic view with his own optimism. Ceffons does not identify the author of the pessimistic view but reading the two texts side by side it would seem that Ceffons had Pope Clement VI in mind.

Ceffons	Clement VI
Says the pessimist : Aliorum etiam dicta pertranseo qui asserunt quod ubi incipit *subtilitas* scientiaque florere, ibi etiam ex quadam connexione floret malitia.	Plerique quoque theologi... de textu Bibliae originalibus et dictis sanctorum ac doctorum expositionibus... non curantes, philosophicis quaestionibus et aliis curiosis disputationibus et suspectis opinionibus doctrinisque peregrinis et variis se involvunt quae *nec domi nec militiae nec alicubi prosunt*, et omissis necessariis supervacua docere et dicere satagunt.
Says the optimist : Et si *subtilitas* alicubi decrescat et scientiae inventio, consequenter et *studium victoriae* strenuitasque decrescunt ; et si literati et literatura persecutionem sustineant et tribulationem et scientia reprimatur : vertitur quasi praesagium *ad damnum militiae* et ad incommodum regionis. Et si studium scientiae ab aliqua regione discedat, illius loci gloria et opulentia minuetur.	[On the indispensability of the Bible Ceffons has this to say (f. 14[r]) : Multoties melius est allegare dicta gentilium et poetarum quam verba Sacrae Scripturae.]

[44]) Cf. F. EHRLE, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters v. Candia* (Münster 1925) 115 n. 1.

[45]) Cf. MS Troyes 62 f. 4[v] (Primum Principium Petri de Ceffons). Similarly Peter explains « subtilitas » in his Epistula ad Correctores (Traditio 1956).

Whereas the Pope affirms that neglect of Bible and Fathers produces disputations which are of no practical value in civilian life or in the military camp (we are in the midst of the 100-Years War) Ceffons stresses the importance of *subtilitas* and sciences and literature for the knighthood of France and for its glory and opulence. A modern thinker would never bring *subtilitas* and *militia* together ; that both Ceffons and the Pope do cannot be explained unless Ceffons answered the Pope. Thereby *subtilitas* in Ceffons has to be interpreted as meaning neglect of Bible and Fathers as the Pope says.

Subtilitas which ignored the restraint of the Fathers and applied the disturbing thought of possible divine intervention to every sense experience, to every fact of the *unio hypostatica* and of justification, provided the magic hat from which the logicistic magicians around 1347 could draw every philosophical and theological error.

Common sense, reverence for the Fathers, could only be expected from the historical-minded among the 14th-century theologians. So far we formulate suppositions.

But here are facts. Peter Ceffons who hates the promoters of the condemnations of his fellow-Cistercian, Mirecourt, with a resentment close to fury indicts « three old foreign infernal witches » as the heresy hunters of 1347 and paints them with a very heavy brush in the *Epistula introductoria* of Ms Troyes 62. He does not lift the veil of anonymity from their identity. But within the Commentary of Ms Troyes 62 he returns several times to the personifications of his hate and animosity, uses the identical denunciatory words of the Epistula, and this time names the name of Gregory ! This time Gregory is connected with the heresy sleuths !

This is a surprising development. He who for centuries has been called the *antesignanus nominalistarum*, the standard bearer of the nominalists, may eventually be the standard bearer of the anti-nominalists, the promoter of those condemnations which fell upon the Modernists among the Moderns. The legend of Gregory will have to be reexamined with these new facts and on the basis of the Gregorian texts, now available to every medievalist.

Ceffons assigns as main issues of the condemnations *subtilitas* and consequently *evidentia*. Gregory is a representative of the historico- critical attitude, one of the best or the very best Augustine scholar of the Middle Ages, and therefore far away from the revol-

utionary *subtilitas*. From the Commentary of Gregory it results that he entered the lists and fought under the shield of St. Augustine for the *evidentia cognitionis rei particularis* [46]).

Up to now these Gregory texts have been read too often with the eyes of dictrict attorneys in the law-suit of nominalism vs. realism. Perhaps if they are read within another historical context

[46]) I can naturally not indicate all the passages of Gregory which deal with *evidentia*. Only one I reproduce (ed. 1522 [1955] f. 38N): Secundo quia secundum hoc sequitur quod naturaliter non posset haberi aliqua certitudo de existentia vel aliqua conditione contingenti alicuius rei sensibilis per viam sensus, nec per consequens per viam intellectus: quod videtur absurdum. Absurdum enim est quod non habeam naturaliter certitudinem utrum ignis qui comburit manum meam — posito quod ita sit — sit vere in rerum natura vel solum appareat. Immo quod plus est <absurdum> quod non sim certus quod ipse me calefaciat et comburat. Et utrum vos sitis hic et ego nunc loquar, et audiam vocem meam, et huiusmodi alia. Quibus positis perit omnis scientia cuius principia sumuntur a sensu, cum scientia sit certa et evidens notitia. Et quod plus est <absurdum> sequitur quod tota vita nostra et convictus inter homines non plus procedat ex certa evidentia quam opera eorum qui dormientes ex quibusdam visis in somnis corporaliter loquuntur, et aliam [= alia] exterius operantur: quae omnia penitus sunt absurda. Consequentia statim patet; quia ex quo sensatio huius haberi potest non praesente [*against Aureolus*!] et pari ratione non existente obiecto, non est possibile quod per illam notitiam sim certus quod ipsum existat, et sit praesens quando est, potius quam quando non est. — To prove Gregory's acquaintance with S. Augustine I would have to list all his Augustinian quotations. The reader of the edition, now available in reprint, can easily verify the many instances where Gregory is not satisfied with a few meagre words of Augustine but excerpts chapter after chapter *in succession*. Cf. ed. 1522 (1955) 37 Csq. where Gregory proves the priority (not primacy) of the cognitio rei particularis against St. Thomas with the texts of Augustine 2 De libero arbitrio cap. 6 <c. 3; PL 32: 1245>... et capitulo sequenti <cap. 3; PL 32: 1245>... Et addit [Augustinus]... et in fine capituli concludit <c. 4; PL 32: 1246>...

Cf. ed. 1522 (1955) 38 Hsq. where Gregory combats Aureolus with these Augustinian quotations: 15 De trinitate c. 10 et 3 lib. De academicis... 11 Confess. cap. 18 et 19... unde cap. 20... [PL 32: 819]. — The Augustinianism of Gregory must be taken seriously. Generally speaking the Augustinianism of the Augustinians was not a question of pure free choice. Their historical claims of an Augustinian foundation had always run into difficulties; the legal existence of the Order had been uncertain until a great pope, Boniface VIII, guaranteed the survival of an Order which in gratitude to the papacy supplied its most outspoken defenders. What was lacking in the historical claim of an Augustinian foundation had to be supplemented by a doctrinal Augustinianism so evident that nobody could question their being sons of St. Augustine. Augustinianism in the doctrinal sense was of vital importance, vital in its full meaning.

they will emerge as monuments of victory of *evidentia* over fideism or scepticism.

For us today it makes all the difference in the world that Gregory defended the *evidentia cognitionis rei particularis*. At such an « evidence » we may even scoff. But history must be written in context. In 1347 the Antiqui were nowhere in sight to defend the cause of evidence of any kind ; some Moderni must have shouldered the burden of defeating the revolutionaries among the logico-critical group. Why should it not have been Gregory who did belong to the historico-critical group, who had reverence for the Fathers, who believed in the *evidentia cognitionis rei particularis*, who could meet the adversaries on their own ground, protected as he was by the shield of St. Augustine ?

In that case we must find a plausible explanation for the bad name of Gregory. Historical misrepresentations do happen. The infamy of Ockham, the politician, blackened the fame of Ockham, the teacher. The sinister halo of Gregory probably came from a fusion of two strong animosities, the animosity of the Antiqui against one of the outstanding Moderni, and the animosity of sympathizers of Mirecourt against the promoter of the condemnations. This last antagonism died with the antagonists but the volume of dislike it had helped to create carried through the centuries an echo of Gregory which was all but flattering.

There were unimpeachable men amongst the sympathizers of Mirecourt. Peter d'Ailly made strong reservations in regard to justice and motives of the condemnations. Peter Ceffons had only condemnatory words for those who condemned and none for those who were condemned in 1347 [47]).

From Gregory to the Archetypus
From Montefalconius to Lucantonius

The Gregory edition of 1522 (reprint 1955) comes from the presses of the efficient printers family De Giunta, natives of Florence, who have to their credit famous *editiones principes*, classical or otherwise, among them the renowned edition of Aristoteles-Averroes. Lucantonio de Giunta printed our Gregory Super Primum et Secundum at Venice in 1522.

[47]) Cf. below under *Klenkok* p. 225, 228.

The promoter of the Gregory edition is the Augustinian Magister Augustinus Chiaravalle Montefalconius Tudertinus [48]). Perini describes his indefatigable activity as editor of the

Defensorium Aegidii Romani (Venice 1516 per heredes Scoti)
Super Primum Aegidii (Venice 1521 by the same printers)
Marsilius de Inghen and Paulus Venetus (same year and printer)
Gregorius Ariminensis (Venice 1522 by L. de Giunta).

In the dedication of this Gregory to Cardinal Dominicus Grimani our Montefalconius reports that he had learned:

in < Gregorii > archetypis < Ariminensibus > plurima contineri quae in ceteris impressis — sive adversariorum invidia sive quavis alia causa — fuerant praetermissa...

The source of this information, as Montefalconius says, was Magister Sebastianus Arimineus < Ariminensis > [49]). We therefore must consider the *archetypi* as *Ariminenses*. Rimini was the home convent and the scene of Gregory's teaching activity. Home convents of famous doctors prided themselves on the *archetypi* (good complete editions or copies) of their great sons.

Montefalconius in the dedication claims only that he saw to it that a *complete* Gregory would be printed enriched by passages missing in previous editions.

The passages which are new in our Gregory edition are clearly marked as such by a hand pointing at the beginning of the passage, and an undulating line running along the whole length of the passage down to its very end. Montefalconius makes a non-committal statement about the creator of these hands and these lines:

Ut autem facile occurrat quid haec nova excussio plus ceteris habeat, manus cum lineis protinus indicabit ; quidquid enim lineis illis clauditur, in reliquis *codicibus* (!) fuerat praetermissum.

As the word « *codicibus* » intimates, these signs were not apposed by Montefalconius during a long and weary collation with other editions but were already found in the *archetypus Ariminensis*.

[48]) Cf. D. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* I (Firenze 1929) 224-25.

[49]) Perini I (1929) 32-33 lists two brothers: Ammiani Nicolaus and Ammiani Sebastianus: they might be nephews of our Magister Sebastianus Ariminensis because both are from Fano near Rimini, both students around 1550. Perini does not list any Magister Sebastianus around 1520.

Against this reduction of « editing » to less than a minimum speaks the fact that the new passages are often accompanied by marginal « excuses » (apparently of an editor !) to the address of the reader. Perusing these « excuses » one's first impression is that Montefalconius, or the printer, want to disculpate themselves before the reader.

But is it not interesting that the « excuses » are only in places where even the most hurried copyist *before* Montefalconius would have noticed an interruption of his text ? I give here a list [50]) of the marginal « excuses » which all are found in places where the new passage has a phantastic beginning. Two texts begin with an absurd number out of all serial connection (cf. *4°* and *16*), two start with meaningless words (cf. Motus. ut idem significet and Generationis creaturarum < in a First Book ! >).

1. 87H (a variation parallel to 86Nsq.) begins: *4°* < should be: *2°* > *deficit ratio...*

2. 68L (a variation parallel to 68Hsq.) begins: *16 ubi ait...*

3. 64D (a variation or rather exemplification for 63G) begins: *Motus. ut idem significet...*

4. 54Q (a variation for 55Qsq.) begins like a text-unit of a *2* Sent. *Generationis creaturarum* <should be: Generationis terminus >

In all these cases any amanuensis would hesitate and check up the sequence of his text. In all these cases we have the following excuses on the margin (in small print), but not by *Montefalconius*, rather by the copyist of the *archetypus* of Rimini:

1. Reliquum non poterat legi in originali
2. Quamvis sensus sit imperfectus, non aliter habetur in originali
3. Sic sub sensu imperfecto in originali
4. Quamvis sensus illius *principii* (!) sit imperfectus, ita tamen habetur in originali ubi nihil mutare praesumpsimus.

[50]) We have not deleted the particulars on the edition of Gregory 1522 (1955) which the author gives because we hope to arouse some interest. — The *Cassiciacum* (American Series) has 100 copies of the Gregory edition 1522 (1955) which we inserted in our *Cassiciacum* in order to encourage the venture of *Franciscan Studies* and the editing house of Schöningh. To European confrères and to priest-friends we are willing to grant a chance to put *Gregorius* and *Alfonsus* on the desk of those who are anxious to promote studies in Augustinian Theology. Of the Alfonsus edition 1490 (Cassiciacum II: 1952) some copies are left. [Ed.].

The last « marginal excuse » sounds like the diction of a critical printer. But I can point out the beginning of a variation (60F, parallel to 67Ksq) where the sense is most strikingly and most extravagantly interrupted. Yet the amanuensis could not notice it in the first lines and therefore did not notice it at all. *As the reader may expect there is no « marginal excuse » at 60F.*

If Montefalconius had done any collating in order to appose the undulating lines he would have transposed those variations which are absolutely out of their places (in my list below no. 16, no. 38, no. 41). He would have noticed that no. 39 needed *two* undulating lines, being a variation *within* a variation. He would have found more *variant readings* than the lonely one on f. 17 F: subiectum] *alias* OBIECTUM, or f. 44P: reflexionem] *alias* RESPONSIONEM.

If Montefalconius were the creator of these signs (hands etc.) he would have adopted an altogether different system: small print for additions which do *not* disturb but smoothly continue the text ; parallel print for variations. The undulating system of our reprint has the variation sometime *before*, sometimes *after*, the passage to be corrected or re-edited ! If all indications are not misleading, our contention that Montefalconius did *not* invent the undulating lines, stands and holds. — The copyist of the *archetypus Ariminensis* is probably their creator, a fact important enough to be underscored ; for it means that the print of 1522 is nothing but a printed *copy* of the *archetypus*. Neither de Giunta nor Montefalconius can be credited with, or suspected of, any great changes.

From Gregory to archetypus

Having excluded Montefalconius and de Giunta from any malversation of the Gregory texts we now have to go a step back and examine the activity of the amanuensis who *first* wrote the *archetypus*. This can be done without looking into the crystal ball. From the facts we establish when dealing with Michael de Massa and Simon de Cremona in the course of this article, we know what we are supposed to understand by « *Additiones* », a word which occurs frequently in the *Tabula* of the Gregory edition (i. e. in a Gregory MS).

Gregory had a *Lectura Lectoris* from the days of his early teaching which in the course of years had accumulated rich and

exact *marginalia* (*names* of quoted authors, *chapters* of quoted works etc.). Gregory added before and during his *Baccalareatus* « *Additiones* » that were much poorer in *marginalia* on account of the time element, as can still be seen in the edition of 1522.

But both the *Lectura Lectoris* (Here shortly: LL) and the *Additiones* (here: AA) had been written or copied with the time-saving technique of keeping text-units neatly within sexterni-units. This coincidence of text-unit = sexterni-unit (here shortly: *TU* = *SU*) made it possible at any time to insert the AA into the LL without waste of time or money. No amanuensis would have had any difficulty in copying such a *complete Lectura*, consisting of LL and AA.

Yet Gregory was never satisfied with his texts ; he corrected, he lengthened, he recast small and great passages in the LL as well as in the AA (cf. no. 39 in list of Additiones Supra Primum). The margins were crowded by the quill of Gregory ; reference-signs (triangles, hands etc.) referred from the text-marginalia to the spot in the column that was to absorb them.

Worse — and this at the moment is an assumption — Gregory was too penurious or too parsimonious to waste the *blanks at the pecia-ends* which a faithful employment of the *technique SU = TU* entailed. Thereby Gregory caused a confusion among his texts that was beyond the ordinary amanuensis to unravel. Logically, it can be supposed that Gregory used the *pecia-ends* only for larger secondary additions.

With this assumption of Gregory's parsimonious procedure we can explain the vagabonding of larger secondary additions within our edition of 1522 (= archetypus). Small additions were shifted without difficulty from the margin to a close-by text-line. Larger additions, variations etc. were left alone by the unfortunate amanuensis who had to plow through Gregory's complete Lectura with its crowded margins and its crowded pecia-ends.

Let us explain this with factual observations made on the opening folia of the *Supra Secundum Gregorii* (*ed. 1522*) = $LL^2 + AA^2$.

f. 1 [A]- 5 [O] was orginally SU 1 of LL^2 (today quaestio 1)
6 [F]- 9 [D] was orginally SU 2 of LL^2 (today quaestio 2)
9 [D]-11 [O] was orginally SU 1 of AA^2 (today quaestio ?) [51])
11 [O]-15 [B] was orginally SU 3 of LL^2 (today quaestio 3)
15 [B]-21 [D] was originally SU 4 of LL^2 (today quaestio 4)

[51]) How the AA^2 were inserted into the LL^2 is patent and needs no explanation.

LL²: SU 1 (today: 1[A]-5[O])

Within *SU 1* Gregory had put a few marginalia opposite the column that was to absorb them, namely 2[E] and 2[F]. He had recast the beginning of *articulus secundus* 3[F] but restricted himself to a short passage. When the complete Lectura was first copied, no difficulty was experienced in inserting those marginalia.

Trouble was brewing at the end of *LL²: SU 1* where Gregory had used the *pecia-end* (originally a blank) to inscribe:
first, a variation to the *conclusion of AA²: SU 1* (*ed.* 5P-6C| |11Ksq !)
second, a variation to the *opening of LL²: SU 1* (*ed.* 6C-6F| |1A-1D !)

The first copyist of the complete Lectura gave up in despair ; the copyist of the *archetypus Ariminensis* changed nothing : Montefalconius changed nothing and felt not obliged to excuse himself on the margin !!

LL²: SU 2 (today: 6[F]-9[D])

Here there were no marginal additions nor a crowded pecia-end. Copying presented no difficulty.

AA²: SU 1 (today: 9[D]-11[O])

The same is true here. The peruser of the reprint 1955 will not overlook that the AA have practically no marginalia ; not even text-divisions like *cclo. 1... cclo. 2* etc. — The chapter numbers of quotations from Augustine and others are *within* [52]) the text-column while in the LL they are on the margins ; because a *Baccalarius* did not use too many indirect quotations whose chapters had to be supplied or re-examined at a later date (?).

LL²: SU 3 (today: 11[O]-15[B])

Three small marginal additions were in Gregory's manual copy opposite the place they were to go to ; the amanuensis of the

[52]) Alfonsus, Hugolinus, and Hiltalingen put the chapter numbers of Augustinian quotations into the text-column. But in order to re-examine or to verify chapter numbers of indirect quotations Alfonsus often felt compelled to leave an ugly blank within the column for the future number. These ugly blanks within the column were avoided by the system of Gregory.

first complete *Lectura* made no mistake ; today they are in ed. 1522 (1955): 13[B], 14[G], 14[E]. The last one would better *follow* 14[F] of which it is a variant.

It seems that there was a blank at the pecia-end which Gregory utilized for *two secondary additions to LL²: SU 4* ; one (today 15[D]-15[J]) explains what Gregory first thought needed no explanation « non prolixius declaro quia multum vulgata (cf. 15D) » ; the other improves upon a *ratio secunda*, today 16[L]-17[G] || 17Hsq. — The amanuensis must have found good reference signs to guide the insertion of these two secondary additions.

LL²: SU 4 (today: 15[B]-21[D])

Three small marginal additions were absorbed into the column-text correctly, today: 15[O], 16[K], 17[L]. A fourth, *today a parenthesis within* 19[J], was left on the margin by the first amanuensis of the complete Lectura !

The reason for leaving the « parenthesis » on the margin was the following:

The pecia-end of LL²: SU 4 had been utilized for two secondary additions, provided with good reference-signs to guide their insertion. One of these two was short (today 19[J]-19[K]), the other of the two was very long (today 19[L]-20[D]).

The reference-sign (some hand or triangle) for the short one guided to the same spot where the « parenthesis » was to be inserted. Thereupon the first amanuensis of the complete Lectura left the « parenthesis » on the margin. But once the two secondary additions had been shifted from the pecia-end into their indicated places, this marginal « parenthesis » was three long columns away from the place it was to occupy (today 20[D]).

When the next copyist — or even Montefalconius — came to to this parenthesis, left on the margin, he desperately shifted it right into the opposite lines of the column where it created such a wonderful confusion that at this spot we read today the marginal « excuse »:

Istud quod clauditur lineis parenthesis erat in originali in margine, impertinens ut patet.

To strengthen my assumption about the penurious utilization of blank pecia-ends (which the technique of TU = SU imperatively demanded and which the absent-minded Gregory disastrously ignor-

ed) I list [53]) the smaller and larger additions at the beginning of the *Supra Primum Gregorii*.

Smaller and Larger Additions
at the Beginning of the Supra Primum Gregorii

no. 1	.....	27C		
no. 2	.....	28A-28D		
no. 3	pecia-end ?	<<33C-33M>>	||	33Msq.
no. 4	end ?	34Q-35B	||	34N
no. 5	.....	35D		
no. 6	.....	35F		
no. 7		35J-35L	+	35Lsq.
no. 8	.....	38A		
no. 9		<<38F-38H>>	||	38Hsq.
no. 10	.....	38L		
	(*quinta* [38L] = quarta !)			
no. 11		38N	||	<<38N-38[O]>>
no. 12	.....	40J-40L		
	(*more*: Avicenna)			
no. 13		40M	||	<<40M>>
no. 14	.....	40[O]		
	(*more*: Aristoteles)			
no. 15	.....	41E-41F		
	(*more*: Augustine)			
**no. 16		<<42M>>	||	42P
	(wide apart !)			
no. 17	.....	43E-43G		
	(*much more*: Augustine)			

[53]) From the examination of this list which refers to the beginning of the Super Primum, and the preceding paragraph of my article about the initial text-units of the Supra Secundum (cf. LL^2: SU 1-4, and AA^2: SU 1) the reader gets some preliminary directions on how to use the reprinted Gregory of 1955: Small additions may be expected as a rule to be in their right places; large ones, especially if found ad the end of a text-unit, may be « vagabonds ». One must carefully examine them in order to establish their rightful place. — The confusion of no. 3, no. 25, no. 38, in this list goes probably back to Gregory's unfortunate idea of utilizing *empty pecia-ends*. One might object that the same confusion would have happened if loose leaves (bearing the secondary additions) had somewhere been inserted by Gregory without exact reference-signs (hands, triangles etc.) to guide Gregory's first copyist. However, a strange coincidence must then be explained, namely, the reason why so many vagabonding additions are found *at the end of text-units*. Besides, far too often these vagabonding additions make the impression that the writer, Gregory, was forced to stop abruptly not because he ran out of ideas but because he ran out of parchment-space; if loose leaves had been utilized for secondary additions, these *abrupt conclusions* would seem less probable.

no. 18		<<43N-44A>>	||	44Asq.
no. 19	.....	45G		
no. 20		45Q-46C	+	45N
	(*an answer, promised in* [45N]: Sed de hoc alias)			
no. 21		46E, 48Q		
	(*more*: Hieronymus)			
no. 22		<<50M-52J>>	||	52Jsq.
	(ADDITIO)			
no. 23	.....	53P		
no. 24		54L	||	<<54M-54N>>
*no. 25	pecia-end ?	<<54Q-55Q>>	||	55Qsq.
	(Generationis CREATURARUM [54Q] = Generationis TERMINUS !)			
no. 26	.....	56C		
no. 27	.....	56F		
no. 28	.....	56G		
no. 29	.....	57E, H		
no. 30	.....	57K		
no. 31	.....	57M		
no. 32	.....	58A		
no. 33	.....	58B		
no. 34		<<58D-58F>>	||	58Fsq.
no. 35	.....	58K-58M		
no. 36	.....	59C		
no. 37		<<59P>>	||	59Q
**no. 38	pecia-end ?	<<60F-63D>>	||	67K-68G
	(separated by entire text-unit !)			
no. 39		<<61C-61F>>	||	61Fsq.
	(NOT MARKED AS SUCH !)			
no. 40	.....	63N-63[O]		
*no. 41		<<64D-64E>>	||	63G
	(wide apart !)			
no. 42	.....	64L		
	(*more*: Commentator)			
no. 43	.....	65C		
no. 44	.....	66A		
no. 45	.....	66D		
*no. 46		68H-68L	||	<<68L-69L>>
	(*from pecia-end ?*)			

..... = means an addition which continues the text without disturbance.
<< >> = means a variation for a *parallel* (= \|\|) text, found *either* before *or* after the variation.
\+ = means an ampliation which the text *needed*.
* = means presence of marginal excuses.
** = absence.

With a few interlineary remarks I have tried to characterize the nature of additions as well as variations. The reader who has the reprint of 1955 in his hand will be able to judge for himself whether originally empty *pecia-ends* have anything to do with the text condition of our reprinted Gregory.

Authenticity of the Marginal Names in Gregory

Without previous examination of all the MSS of Gregory and without collation of his many editions it would seem arrogant to pronounce upon the historicity of the marginalia which are found in the Venice edition of 1522 (1955). I willingly concede that at the present moment not even the scrutiny of this one edition can be considered satisfactory. Yet it seems to me that I have enough indications to conclude that the edition of 1522 (1955) is a complete and authentic *Lectura* of Gregory, something like the *Lectura annotata*[54]) of Hugolinus was before Simon de Cremona converted it into the *Lectura recollecta Hugolini*.

The copyists who touched our Gregory did so with such reverence as made them write on the margin of 54Q [55]):

Nihil mutare praesumpsimus.

The care and concern devoted to these marginal names in the Gregory of 1522 (1955) is attested be many significant *minutiae*. The amanuenses who carried the marginal names from copy to copy put them in sharper relief by transmitting even anonymities. He who faithfully copied this marginale:

Doctor innominatus (34H, 34P),

knew that the authors Gregory quoted were always presenting exact credentials and personal identification cards. Whoever penned marginals like:

[54]) Cf. below under *Simon de Cremona* p. 255 ff.

[55]) Folia-numbers refer to the Super Primum of Gregory ed. 1522 (1955) unless when starred (*). In the ed. 1522 (1955) some folia numbers are missing: (5), (44), (56), (94), (118*); some folia numbers are wrong: 52=45, 75=74, 160=106, 127=126, 148=149, 47*=46*.

Sic allegat Thomas (60E, 51*O, 52*D),

was convinced that quotations were important enough to be traced back to the original sources ; if that tracing back was impossible at the moment at least the indirect source had to be exactly indicated for further reference. This is plainly stated in our Gregory 125Q:

Sic allegat Henricus 4 Quol. q. 5 ;
VIDENDUM IN ORIGINALI.

And on 45D: Ista auctoritas 10 Confess. [c. 15]
NON HABETUR IN ORIGINALI.

Verification of 10 Confess. [c. 15 ; PL 32: 789] shows, however, that the auctoritas does occur at the indicated place ; only some words are discordant. Here it becomes evident that the writer of this marginal note expected a more than ordinary degree of source-erudition and source-treatment.

These observations could be multiplied in the case of our Gregory. But the ordinary reader may not yet be disposed to attribute such quoting enthusiasm to a Gregory of the 14th century. One is inclined rather to invent some utopain « later editor » and credit him, not Gregory, with the interest and the erudition which breathe from the margins of Gregory. Such utopian thinking has to bow before the facts. Whenever we have a chance to check up on the claims of so-called « later editors » we find them hollow. I use as example the often mentioned MS Troyes 62 which contains the Lectura of the Cistercian Peter Ceffons, « edited » and « corrected » according to the directions of Peter himself. The « editor », however, did so little « editing » that all the directions which Peter gave the « editor » by marginal hints, have been naively shifted from the margin into the text even when and where they were patently ignored as the reader of MS Troyes 62 detects again and again to his greatest amusement.

Our Montefalconius, too, as we have seen, did not do much « editing » ; we can understand that the miraculous volume of his « editing » activity — five works in six years — could not be done except by « long-distance control ».

Under such circumstances it is much more plausible to credit the marginal notes of Gregory to Gregory himself, aided perhaps by a Socius. In the 14th century we find the love for text erudition

which makes it plausible ; the 15th century was far away from that ideal because the theologians comfortably limited their interest to one Doctor noster.

To give this theorizing the impact of conviction I want to point out the improbabilities and incongruities involved by the bland invention of utopian « later editors ».

Gregory quotes a *Monachus* whom no one but Gregory himself, or at least a close contemporary of Gregory, could have possibly identified with a marginal name and chapter-and-verse quotation. This Monachus was completely unknown from a date preceding Johannes Maior by some 50 years (ca. 1450) down to our days when by some lucky chance I could identify the Monachus. In this case a « later editor » around 1450 is completely impossible because the Monachus belonged to the Moderni, and the Schola Moderna was dead by then.

Gregory and the Monachus Niger

Gregory quotes (149P): Monachus q. 2 art. 3
(171D): Monachus q. 3 art. 1
(43*F): Monachus q. 4 art. 1

By chance I came across an anonymous MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 which contains 10 Quaestions (f. 83^{r}-136^{r}), written in English essay-style and copied by an English hand. These anonymous Fribourg Quaestiones contain the Monachus-quotations of Gregory at the place Gregory indicates and with the very words Gregory adduces. I give a list of the Fribourg Quaestiones later in this article. This is the concordance between Gregory and the Friburgensis:

Gregory 149P: Monachus q. 2 art. 3 = Friburgensis q. 2 art. 3 f. 92^{rv}
171D: Monachus q. 3 art. 1 = Friburgensis q. 3 art. 1 f. 98^{v}
43*F: Monachus q. 4 art. 1 = Friburgensis q. 4 art. 1 f. 106^{rv}

Our Monachus is quoted by:

1. Richardus Chillington (MSS Paris Nat. lat. 15561 f. 218^{v}; 14576 157^{v})
2. Gregory
3. Revocatio Nicolai de Ultricuria (ed. J. Lappe [BB VI, 2 ; Münster 1908] 41*)
4. Johannes Klenkok, O. E. S. A., Baccalarius Oxoniensis (1354)
5. Johannes Hiltalingen de Basilea, Bacc. Parisiensis (1365-66)

6. < Fridericus de Ratisbona, O. Min. > MS Fribourg Cord. 26 f. 206^{v}, 207^{r}
7. Angelus Dobelin, O. E. S. A., Bacc. Parisiensis ca. 1374
8. Johannes Maior, Historia Maioris Britanniae [Paris 1521] f. 8^{r}

The complete identification of the Monachus implies several steps: Monachus = M. Niger = Friburgensis = Ulcredus = Uhtred.

1. Chillington identifies: Monachus = M. Niger ! = Friburgensis ?
2. Gregory identifies: Monachus = Friburgensis !
3. The Revocatio identifies: M. Niger = Friburgensis ? = Wicierus !
4. Klenkok identifies: M. Niger = Friburgensis ? = *Ulcredus Dunelm.* = Uhtred ?
5. Hiltalingen identifies: M. Niger = Friburgensis ! = Ulcredus Dunelm. ?
6. <Fridericus> identifies: M. Niger = Uhtred !
7. Dobelin identifies: Friburgensis = Ulcredus Dunelm. ?
   Friburgensis = Wicierus !

Wherever I put a question mark in this synopsis I want to indicate that absolute and unexceptionable certainty is not available.

1. Chillington [56]) calls his source Monachus Niger, and *probably* refers to the Friburgensis.

2. Gregory leaves no doubt about the identification of the Monachus with the Friburgensis, but he does not call him Ulcredus.

3. At the end of a Cedula [57]) of Nicolaus de Ultricuria from the year 1342 (Lappe 41*) we read: Et dictas quaestiones, et multa alia opera sua < Nicolai > dicuntur habere quidam monachus M[...] Ordinis sancti Benedicti, qui vocatur Wicierus. I conjecture: *quidam monachus Niger Ordinis sancti Benedicti qui vocatur Ulclerus.* We may identify Ulclerus with the Friburgensis ; for if we are looking for an « alter Ultricurius » to repeat Autrecourt-statements in undiluted form we can find no better one than the Friburgensis [58]).

[56]) The text of Chillington in q. 3 of his *Quaestiones theologales* (MS Paris Nat. lat. 15561 f. 218^{v}) reads: ... licet conclusio concedatur a Monacho Nigro qui probat quod idem homo numero possit simul et semel esse Romae et Parisius. Et probat sic... The MS Paris Nat. lat. 14576 f. 157^{v} has the same text with a little variation. Chillington has no chapter-and-verse quotation of the Monachus Niger but probably refers to the Friburgensis (q. 2 or q. 4). — More about Chillington on p. 246.

[57]) The passage « Et dictas quaestiones... vocatur Wicierus » originally was not in the text of the Cedula but stood on the margin as a marginal note; only later was this passage shifted into the text.

[58]) For Autrecourt-passages found in the Fribourg Quaestiones cf. later in this article, under Klenkok p. 236.

Whether this proves that the Fribourg-Quaestiones were already published under a veil of anonymity so thin that the Paris authorities knew about the identity of the Friburgensis, may be left undecided [59]). The contents of the Friburgensis makes it very probable that here we are dealing with the « quidam monachus Niger Ordinis sancti Benedicti qui vocatur Ulclerus », that is with the person so intensely interested in the works and doctrines of Autrecourt.

4. Klenkok [60]) was the Socius Baccalarii Monachi Nigri Ulcredi Dunelmensis (1354-55). What Klenkok says about his Socius does not refer to the Fribourg Quaestiones with unexceptionable clarity. Klenkok knows several points of doctrine of the Ulcredus Dunelmensis and acquaints his German fellow-Augustinians with them.

5. Hiltalingen [61]) quotes a *Magister Monachus Niger* who is definitely the Friburgensis ; he also quotes a *Magister Monachus Niger Ulcredus*, to all appearances the same as the Magister Monachus Niger. But this Ulcredus is taken from Klenkok, not from the Fribourg Quaestiones. Absolute certainty is not available about identification of the Friburgensis with Ulcredus.

6. Fridericus de Ratisbona, O. Min.. was very probably at Oxford ; he calls Klenkok « Reverendus Pater Klenkok » and the

[59]) If the Parisian authorities knew about the Autrecourt-tendencies which Wicierus professed *because* Wicierus had already published the Friburgensis the date of publication of the Friburgensis would fall between 1341 and 1342. Wicierus [= Uthred] became a Monachus Niger in the year 1341 cf. MARCETT 2. — The latest studies on Uthred are: M. E. MARCETT, *Uhtred de Boldon, Friar William Jordan, and Piers Plowman* (privately printed and distributed New York 1938). — W. A. PANTIN, *Two Treatises of Uthred of Boldon on the Monastic Life*, in: *Studies in Medieval History pres. to F. M. Powicke* (Oxford 1948) 363-85. — M. D. KNOWLES, *The Censured Opinions of Uthred of Boldon*, in: *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXVII (London 1955) 305-42. [Knowles reedits the *Contra querelas fratrum* and prints in parallel paragraphs: 1. the « heresies » disclaimed by Boldon, and 2. the « censures » emanating from Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury. He can thereby prove that the « heresies » and the « censures » are to be identified. — The learned paper starts with an introduction (307-10) which paints the Oxford of 1325-1375 in very dark and pessimistic colors. I doubt the justification and rightfulness of such a pessimism]. [I thank Miss M. E. Marcett for a gracious gift-copy of her dissertation and for her kindness to lend me her copy of the article of Knowles].

[60]) About Klenkok's reaction to the Friburgensis cf. later in this article p. 235 ff.

[61]) Hiltalingen quotes the Monachus Niger Clm 26711 f. 95^{r} and 196^{r}; he quotes the Monachus Niger Ulcredus f. 339^{v}.

latter talks about a Lector Minorum who seems to be a friend or countryman. Fridericus very probably bought the Fribourg Quaestiones at Oxford, but he did not identify the writer. There is an old erased possessor's name over the Fribourg folium 82r. Fridericus in his own, also anonymous because daring, Commentary calls one of his sources Dominus Ulcredus Monachus, and again Dominus Ulcredus Monachus (MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. <modern> 206v and 207r) but he clearly refers to the champion in the English poverty quarrel, and to the accademic teacher, Uhtred, not to the Friburgensis.

7. Angelus Dobelin knows the Magister Ulcredus and Magister Ultridus de Dunelmino only from extant and lost works of Klenkok. So far I have not been able to locate his rich Ulcredus quotations in the Friburgensis. While on the one hand Angelus knows no more than Klenkok, on the other he makes a definite identification of the *Wicierus* with the Friburgensis. The story is too long to be told here ; I have to publish it in my larger study.

8. For John Major [Historia Maioris Britanniae (Paris 1521) f. 8r],an otherwise well informed chronicler, the Monachus is not even a glorious name on the roster of the Oxonian doctors. He copies a list of Oxonian doctors from an older document but uses an interpunction so misleading that I had to correct it (with []) because John Major's interpunction identifies the Monachus with John Rodington. This is the passage [62]) which John Major incorporates:

> Haec universitas emisit utpote Alexandrum Halensem, Richardum Middiltonum, Joannem Duns Doctorem subtilem, Ockam, Adam [Hibernicum], Ro. Holkotum, Bokinham, Eliphatum, Climentonem Langley, *Joannem Roditon* [*Monachum Anglicanum*], Suiset calculatorem acutissimum, Heutisbertum dialecticum excercitatissimum, Strodum, Bravardinum, et plerosque alios.

To follow the footsteps of the Monachus over the pages of contemporary and later documents is certainly an exciting experience. For the moment the identification of Gregory's Monachus with

[62]) The passage is quoted by J. LECHNER, *Johannes v. Rodington, O. F. M., und sein Quodlibet de conscientia,* in: *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters* (BB Suppl. III, 2 Münster 1935) 1129 n. 30. Lechner could not explain why Rodington should be a Monachus Anglicanus.

Uhtred [63]) may be left aside ; for our purpose here it is enough to have proved the identity between Gregory's Monachus and the Friburgensis. Even this identification depended on a number of strokes of good luck. Chance had to bring the microfilms from different libraries together ; chance had to direct their examination in a definite pattern. I had Gregory's chapter-and-verse quotation to guide and help me in tracing the Monachus.

Could an utopian « later editor » of Gregory have done the same without the aid of any chapter-and-verse quotation ? For a « later editor », confronted with an unidentified text-passage in Gregory, is supposed to recognize this unidentified passage immediately as belonging to the Monachus ; then he is supposed to find a Monachus although the extant MSS of the Monachus demonstrate his having travelled incognito ; finally he is supposed to find chapter-and-verse in an anonymous MS like our Friburgensis.

Under these circumstances historical reasoning must come to the conclusion that an utopian « later editor » has to be discarded because no margin of probabilities, however slim, is in his favor. Gregory must therefore be credited with his due: the quotations are in his Commentary, the quotations are his.

Tentative List of Marginalia in Sent. 1-2 of Gregory
(* = Marginale in Sent. 2)

Adam <Goddam>
29: O, 31C, 102G, 166D, 34*B, 36*P, 55*P, 56*J, 66*B, 80*D, 92*G, 97*E, 97*O,
Secunda Lectura: 3M, 25H, 36G, 113*A, 113*J
Lectura Lugd.: 13J
= *Lectura Londr.*: 88*B

Aegidius, Doctor noster, Dominus
17C, 34E, 35B, 64L, 75F, 82: O, 105B, 105H, 106H, 122: O, 154G, 155N, 168G, 180L, 40*D, 41*C, 45*E, 71*M, 86*N

Al<*n*>*vic*
12*C, 38*C

Altissiodorensis (otherwise in text):
45*E

Anglici (adhuc aliqui viventes)
163D

Anonymus = Do. inno. (?), Doctor innominatus
34H, 34P

Audifax
26L

Aureolus
2H, 3B (knows no Augustine!), 13L, 17K, 23E, 23N, 28D, 28L, 34G, 38C, 41G, 47B (*om*), 50: O, 55G, 57D, 59D, 63E, 68: O, 75A, 81K, 82F, 86N, 118E, 120: B, 123:

[63]) More about the identification of Monachus and Uhtred later p. 235 ff.

O, 128F, 128J, 130C, 136C, 144E, 147Q, 151Q, 152D, 178G, 3*F, 11*B, 22*K, 22*N, 25*K, 44*D, 48*M, 53*M, 55*P, 61*E, 75*M, 79*M, 79*P, 122*K

<Bernardus> *Oliverius* 8G

Bochikam <Tho. Buckingham>
163: O

Burlaeus
28*E[96: O], 107L

Caton <Chatton>
53L, 101Q, 22*L (?)

Climenton 94: O, 139A
Cluiton sophisma: 36*G
Johannes Climenton: 115K

Durandus
24J, 29N, 32M
Durandus 2° opere: 55*O

Franciscus de Marchia
5H, 5M, 5P
Franciscus de Esculo 50Q

Garro
64: O

Girardus Novariensis
168A

Gothofridus
107L

Gualterus
96: O [cf. Burlaeus]

Guillelmus de Bello Monte Ord. Min.
127*Q

Henricus Gan.
11: O, 56D, 122: O, 126Q, 139K, 11*Q, 36*Q (Dominus = Hibernicus)

Hentisbry
4K

Hervaeus
1*D, 6*E, 8*O

Hibernicus
165E, 166D (quaest. De revelatione), 167E, 12*F, 35*N, 36*D, 40*L, 41*H, 44*H, 45*E, 50*E, 51*P, 85*P, 111*Q, [36*Q]

Johannes de Lana [O. E. S. A.]
7N, 7Q

Michael de Massa Ord. nostri
10N, 11A

Monachus <Niger Dunelmensis Ulcredus>
149P (q. 2 art. 3)
171D (q. 3 art. 1)
43*F (q. 4 art. 1)

Ockham
1D, 8J, 13J, 17L, 23E, 23M, 26L, 35M, 45Q (editor doubts); 53N, 55G, 57F, 64N, 75G, 78M, 79J, 81K, 82F, 82: O, 119A, 120A, 126N, 130H, 135P, 135Q, 138Q, 150E, 152K, 165E, 169J, 180: O, 34*H, 41*E, 44*G, 59*G, 70*J, 72*A, 85*H, 87*A, 92*G, 97*N

Petrus de Tarentasia
45*E

Praepositinus
126N, 45*E

Scotus
15F (1ª Lectura et Rep.), 16: O, 17G, 17H, 18H, 23D, 26M, 28: O, 33D, 35L, 59: O, 60C (Rep.), 64M, 65P, 66F (formalitates), 74E, 74G (Rep.), 74J (Rep. also in text), 78A, 78G, 79H (Rep.), 79: O, 81J, 82F, 95: O, 96Fsq, 101P, 118A, 119Q, 126L, 133K, 133Q, 134B, 139F, 139L, 141C, 141E, 152C, 168G, 179K, 180: O.
1*D, 6*E, 8*MN, 33*L (in text), 40*N, 41*D, 44*E, 51*P, 52*J, 53*N, 70*E, 72*B, 79*P, 87*Q, 91*Q, 92*G,

Thomas Anglicus
95*K, 97*M, 114*M
1*D, 6*F

Thomas de Argentina 1 Sent. d. 41 q. 1 art. 1
157Q

Thomas Bradwardin
105*K, 125*N
S. Thomas
6K, 10C, 11: O, 28: O, 34E, 35J, 47M, 47N, 47P, (47P: editor defends Th.), 60E, 64L, 74: O, 80: O, 82F, 82: O, 122: O, 124G, 126L, 139K. 154F (Divus), 155A, 180L.
40*D, 41*C, 44*D, 45*E, 46*N, 51*P, 69*A, 69*H, 71*M, 79*B, 79*J, 87*G, 118*B

Socii Gregorii et chronologica
1. *Albertus Praedicator*: 106*Bsq., 106*L, 107*A, 108*H
[*Praedicator*: 57*K, 57*N, 124*D]
2. *Franciscus de Trivisio*, O. P.: 57*K, 57*N, 124*D
3. *Guillelmus de Bello Monte* O. Min.: 127*Q
4. *Johannes Scotus*: 57*H, 57*K, 57*Q, 64*Hsq, 64*M
[VESPERIAE et QUOL. *Gregorii*: 111*BC; his own name: 64*P]

<Magistri Monachi Nigri Ulcredi Boldon Dunelmensis>
Quaestiones seu Determinationes:
MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. 82^{r}-142^{v}
(= Modern foliation: 140-142 blank)

82^{r} [Q 1] Utrum omnis credens non sicut ecclesia credit erret in credendo necessario ad salutem. Quod non quia in aliquibus necessariis ad salutem aliquis non tenetur credere sicut ecclesia credit vel tenetur credere

82^{v} In ista quaestione erunt tres articuli, primus erit respondere ad quaestionem; *secundus* Utrum ad habitum credendi [83^{r}] vel [in] quocumque alio habitu morali stet error in intellectu respectu illorum ad quae habitus inclinat [83^{v}-84^{v}]; *tertius* [articulus] erit movere dubia [84^{v}-86^{v}].

86^{v} [Q 2] Utrum circumstantia temporis gratiae ex se causet aliquam bonitatem in opere virtuoso. Quod sic; omnis circumstantia ex se addit aliquam bonitatem vel malitiam operi cui annectitur

87^{r} In ista quaestione erunt tres articuli; *primus* Utrum aliquis habitus virtuosus determinet sibi certas circumstantias sine quibus esse non possit; *secundus* Utrum homo per aliquod tempus notabile possit multos actus aeque intensos vel re-

missos efficere [89^{v}-91^{v}] ; *tertius* articulus erit movere dubia circa dicta [91^{v}-96^{r}].

96^{r} [Q 3] Utrum ex hoc quod caro Christi fuit formata in instanti et eodem instanti unita Verbo sequatur deum esse infinitae virtutis intensive qui hoc fecit. Quod sic quia si esset virtus in magnitudine et moveret caelum et moveret illud in instanti

96^{r} In ista quaestione erunt tres articuli ; *primus* erit Utrum circumscripta fide possit probari deum esse infinitae virtutis intensive evidenter ; *secundus* erit Utrum possit probari evidenter aliquam puram creaturam esse bonitatis vel malitiae infinitae intensive [102^{r}-104^{v}] ; *tertius* articulus est videre Utrum creatura aliqua possit agere in instanti [104^{v}-105^{v}].

105^{v} [Q 4] Utrum posito quod Beata Virgo fuisset in originali per instans potuerit deus immediate post illud instans eam mundasse ab originali. Et probo quod non quia sit idem instans A et quaero

105^{v} In ista quaestione non intendo investigare Utrum Beata Virgo Maria fuerit concepta in peccato originali vel non, quia maior difficultas eius dependet ex dictis sanctorum eo quod veritas illius soli deo cognita est sicut credo, ad minus non tale patet viatori. Verumtamen melius credo quod non concepta sit propter redemptorem et ipsius Matris reverentiam. *Primo* intendo investigare Utrum deus possit immediate post aliquod instans certum dandum aliquam rem spiritualem vel corporalem producere totam simul. *Secundus* articulus est investigare istum modum loquendi [108^{r}] <immediate> post hoc instans erit aliud instans immediate et <tamen> nullum instans erit immediate post hoc instans et huiusmodi [107^{v}-109^{v}] ; *tertius* articulus est movere dubia [109^{v}-111^{v}].

111^{v} [Q 5] Circa distinctionem 12 Tertii Libri in qua Magister tractat Utrum Christus potuerit peccare et circa Principium Quarti in quo tractat de Sacramentis quaero:
Utrum Christus tenebatur ad praecepta divina et ad susceptionem sacramentorum vel sacramenti sub paena actus peccati ita quod si non observasset praecepta nec suscepisset sacramenta peccasset. Et arguo primo quod non

111^{v} In ista quaestione erunt tres articuli ; *primus* erit Utrum deus possit praecipere homini omne illud quod ipse meritorie possit facere ; *secundus* Utrum sit aliquod opus supererogationis ad quod homo non tenetur [113^{v}-117^{v}] ; *tertius* articulus erit respondere ad formam quaestionis quae fuit Utrum tenebatur ad praecepta divina vel susceptionem sacramentorum sub paena peccati ita quod si hoc non fecisset quod peccasset [117^{v}-120^{v}].

120^{v} Circa distinctionem 37 Tertii in qua Magister tractat de

[Q 6] decem praeceptis decalogi et <circa> Principium Quarti ubi tractat de institutione sacramentorum quaero istam quaestionem:
Utrum leges, ordinatae inter fideles ad puniendum transgressores praeceptorum decem et contemptores sacramentorum ecclesiae, obligent conscientias hominum ad earum observationem. Et probo quod non

120^{v} In ista quaestione erunt tres articuli breves quorum *primus* erit videre Utrum sit de veritate legum quod de probatis legitime secundum formam legis — sive illa probata sint vera sive non — fiat executio ; *secundus* articulus est videre Utrum declinans malum solum timore paenae et non amore iustitiae sit iustus [123^{r}-124^{r}] ; *tertius* articulus est videre Utrum iudex sententians secundum probata canonice coram eo cum debitis circumstantiis requisitis, peccet [124^{r}-124^{v}].

124^{v} Circa distinctionem 8 Quarti Libri in qua tractat ut videtur
[Q 7] de sacramento altaris quaero istam quaestionem:
Utrum beatus in patria possit distincte cognoscere quando sub accidentibus panis est Corpus Christi et quando substantia panis. Et probo quod non

125^{r} In ista quaestione erunt duo articuli quorum *primus* erit respondere ad formam quaestionis et ad argumenta principalia ; et *secundus* Utrum beatus possit videre in Verbo aliquid non pertinens ad eius beatitudinem essentialem [127^{r}-128^{r}].

128^{r} Circa distinctionem 19 huius Quarti in qua incipit Magister
[Q 8] tractare de sacramento paenitentiae quaero istam quaestionem:
Utrum in aliquo existente in peccato mortali et de illo paenitente requiratur contritio vel confessio secundum leges communes ad hoc quod eius peccatum deleatur. Et probo primo quod non

129^{r} In ista quaestione erunt duo articuli, *primus* Utrum contritio et confessio ad hoc quod sit meritoria ad delendum culpam mortalem vel ad merendum praemium in patria, requiratur quod fiat in caritate ; *secundus* erit respondere ad formam quaestionis et ad argumenta principalia [129^{v}-131^{r} ; sic patet de tota *quaestione*]

131^{r} Circa distinctionem 43 huius Quarti in qua incipit Magister
[Q 9] tractare de resurrectione et extremo iudicio quaero istam quaestionem:
Utrum deus possit hominum corpora resuscitare ad modum quo creditur ea resuscitari sine aliquo alio miraculo ab illo quod sit in <sic> resuscitando. Probo quod non

131^{v} *Determinatio quaestionis.* In ista quaestione erunt duo articuli, *primus* erit Utrum in resurrectione generali resurgent aliqua corpora quae numquam fuerunt ante istam resurrectionem corpora humana ; et *secundus* erit Utrum per sen-

tentiam datam a iudice aliquod bonum accresceret bonis et aliquod malum malis [132^{r}-134^{r}].

134^{r} Circa distinctionem 45 in qua Magister tractat de suffragiis
[Q 10] defunctorum quaero:
Utrum per suffragia facta ab omnibus fidelibus hic pro animabus existentibus in purgatorio animae istae citius liberentur a paena quam si non fierent illa suffragia pro illis. Et probo quod non

134^{r} *Determinatio quaestionis.* In ista quaestione erunt duo articuli, *primus* erit videre Utrum specialia suffragia specialiter facta pro certis personis vel animabus existentibus in paena purgatorii plus valeant illis pro quibus specialiter fiunt quam aliis aeque bonis pro quibus specialiter non fiunt et qui tantum in hac vita meruerunt sicut illi ; *secundus* erit respondere ad formam quaestionis et ad argumenta principalia [135^{r}-136^{r} ; et sic patet de quaestione et *per consequens de toto* !]

136^{r} [Sequitur Tabula in praedictas quaestiones sive Determinationes] Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum spiritu vestro fratres. Amen.
[Adam] Quod a tempore peccati Adae...

139^{r} *Timor*
Sequitur TOTUM (last words ; there is no Tabula on the rest).

139^{r} *In augmentatione communiter dicta*, est pro principio supponendum quod velocitas in augmentatione attenditur penes maximum acquisitum, hoc est illud velocius augmentatur quod in aequali tempore acquirit maiorem quantitatem. Ex quo principio sequitur... = QUAESTIO DE AUGMENTATIONE: *explicit truncata* (139^{v}).

[Handwriting: the same English hand of 1350]

The preceding ten Quaestiones are Determinationes on the *Third* and *Fourth* Book of Lombard ; QQ 5-10 say so specifically, QQ 2-4 suggest that by their contents. Q 1 alone might create the doubt whether it originally belonged to this « Commentary ».

However, the subject matter of *Q 1* being « faith » it is likely that *Q 1* was supposed to comment Lombard's 3 Sent. dist. 23 ff. While the text proper of this « Commentary » starts *all* questions *without* a serial number, the Tabula has some references to serial numbers which correspond to the actual ones in our « Commentary ».

Cf.	*Anima*:	Q. 2 art. 2
	Credere:	Q. 1 art. 1
		Q. 1 art. 3
	Circumstantia:	Q. 2
		Q. 2 art. 3
	Cognitio:	Q. 1 art. 2
	Errare:	Q. 1 art. 1

Esse:	Q. 2 art. 3
Habitus:	Q. 1 art. 2
	Q. 2 art. 3 dubio 2
Instans:	Q. 4
Peccatum:	Q. 8 art. 1
	Q. 8 art. 2
Resurrectio:	Q. 9 art. 1
	Q. 9 art. 2
Suffragia:	Q. 10
	Q. 10 art. 1

One might brush off these serial references of the *Tabula* as the work of the *amanuensis*, who not finding a serial numeration in the QQ, was anxious to supply it himself. But one glance into the *Tabula* shows that the *amanuensis* never compared the data of the *Tabula* with the actual text because he made mistakes which the most cursory collation could have avoided. The opposite is true: the amanuensis *omitted* serial numbers because there are many « *ibidem* » which suppose a preceding serial number but are not preceded by a serial number in our actual *Tabula*.

Thus we are justified in considering this « Commentary » as complete. A reference of Gregory of Rimini to our « Commentary » proves that at least the first four QQ have the original serial number ; cf. Gregory 2 Sent. dist. 3-5 q. 1 art. 1 (1955) 43*F where he refers to *Monachus q. 4 art. 1* quoting a long text which corresponds exactly to MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. 106^{rv} and coincides exactly with the serial numbers of our « Commentary ».

MSS of this Commentary

Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. 82^{r}-142^{v}: Anon.
Erfurt CA 2° 132 f. 38-73: Anon. Sent. q. 1-11
Paris Nat. lat. 15561 f. 248-266: Anon. I-IV Sent. q. 1-10.

These last two MSS are supplied by Stegmüller's *Repertorium Lombardi* I (1947) 444 no. 993. From Stegmüller's indications it becomes clear that the Erfurt and Paris MSS have the ten Questions of our « Commentary » in our serial sequence ; but the Erfurt MS has an eleventh question at the beginning which does not belong to our « Commentary ». This additional Question has the title: *Utrum veritatis visione libertas videatur in homine.*

It is found among the Questions of *Osbertus Anglicus* and Xiberta, [*De scriptoribus s. XIV O. Carm.* (1931) 248 ff.] has discussed its authenticity and contents (p. 279).

Author of this « Commentary »

The anonymity of the three MSS does not eclipse the name of

the author completely. At the head of the Fribourg text is a proprietor's remark which under special light, with modern equipment, might still be legible and furnish valuable information. The Paris MS 15561 does have an identification of the author, namely *Monachus*, although not over the text, but over an old *Tabula* which is incomplete and crossed out on fol. 248 (third column and third quarter of the column). While the *amanuensis* started the text of our « Commentary » on the *fourth* column of MS Paris 15561 f. 248 he intended to list the ten questions on a blank space of the *third* column of f. 248, one by one as he went along copying. He put actually in this blank space of the *third* column:

Tabula super MONACHUM

Utrum quilibet non sicut ecclesia credit, erret in credendo necessaria ad salutem.

The rest of the ten questions he could not list in the *third* column because he omitted some text at the bottom of 248,4 and needed the blank of 248,3 for repairing his omission ! Therefore he crossed out

Tabula super Monachum... necessaria ad salutem ;

but even so the *amanuensis* gave us the definite information that the author of our « Commentary » is a MONACHUS [64]).

About the importance of this « *Monachus* » the amanuensis of MS 15561 gave us another important hint: after having crossed out the incipient *Tabula* on f. 248,3 he put over the beginning of the text proper (f. 248, 4) the words: *Tabula. Hunc habeto perfecte* ! indicating that the study of the « *Monachus* » was considered necessary, during the Schism because Lechner dates the MS 15561 as AD 1378-94 (cf. Lechner 1133). — The ten questions of our « Commentary » are found twice in MS 15561, once in the form of an amplified Tabula (f. 248, 4 - 251, 1) and again in the form of an abbreviation (f. 251-266).

In the amplified Tabula only the *septima, octava, and nona* have serial numbers which mostly correspond to the ones established in MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26. Q 1-10 of the amplified Tabula are on

248,4 = Q. 1
249,1 = Q. 2
249,3 = Q. 2 art. 2
250,1 = Q. 3
250,1 = Q. 4
250,2 = Q. 5

[64]) LECHNER (BB Suppl. III, 2 Münster 1935) 1132-1138 gave a very careful description of MS Paris Nat. lat. 15561 but missed the small precious item: Tabula super Monachum because the Monachus was as completely unknown to Lechner as to everybody else.

250,2 = Q. 6 art. 1 ; Q. 6 art. 2 ; Q. 7 [MS puts *septima* in wrong place]
250,2 = Q. 8 [MS has *octava*]
250,3 = Q. 9 [MS has *nona*]
250,3 = Q. 10

1. What precedes is not the complete text of the questions but only an amplified Tabula ; therefore the amanuensis headed the amplified Tabula with *Tabula: hunc <Monachum> habeto perfecte* ; and on 251,1 (after an erased Index of Chillington cf. Lechner 1137) he says:

Tabula magis explicamus materias seu extractiones *quedam* <= quae est !> non opus nec tertia pars operis ut patet ex scripto <Monachi>.

2. What follows in MS 15561 (f. 251-266) is an abbreviation of the ten questions that follow one another in the exact sequence of MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 ; the titles of the questions are also identical to the ones of Fribourg.

The MS Paris Nat. lat. 15561 establishes two facts: first, that the ten questions of Fribourg are a complete work with firmly established serial sequence ; second, that its author is a *Monachus*.

Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus

Alfonsus wrote a Commentary on the First Book of Lombardus, *and only* on the First Book. Kürzinger [65]), pioneer in Alfonsus research, has left the question undecided on account of an *Abbreviatio Alfonsi* which bears a misnomer. Johannes de Wasia (MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 110 f. 1-158) made an *Abbreviation Alfonsi Super Primum* and added a Second, Third, and Fourth Book *excerpted from other authors*. Unwittingly he has become responsible for the wrong assumption that Alfonsus published more than a *Super Primum* because a later hand put the fatal misnomer at the beginning: *Lectura magistri Alffoncii... super 4 libros Sententiarum abbreviata per magistrum Johannem de Wasia*. My examination of Wasia's Second, Third, and Fourth Book reveals that no *Alfonsus*-items occur in Book 2, 3, and 4, while they abound in Book 1 of

[65]) Cf. J. Kürzinger [*Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus u. seine theol. Einleitungslehre*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXII, 5-6 (Münster 1930) 20] where Kürzinger describes the MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 110 very shortly. — I am obliged to Prof. J. Kürzinger for a gracious gift-copy at a time after the war when no copies of Aschendorff were available; also for his generous cooperation in examining and procuring the microfilms of the MS Eichstätt 471 which made it possible to identify a pseudo-Facinus as Klenkok QQ Super Secundum.

Wasia = *Alfonsus Super Primum*) [66]). John Hiltalingen of Basel quotes Alfonsus very extensively, but knows nothing of a *Lectura Alfonsi Super Secundum, Tertium, et Quartum*. Simon de Cremona, too, uses many times his predecessor Alfonsus, but he has only a *Super Primum* of Alfonsus.

[66]) A short description of the Lectura of Wasia in MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 110 is necessary to dispel further doubts about the relationship Alfonsus-Wasia. The MS 110 is an autograph of Magister Johannes de Wasia Anno <13>76 (1376). The autograph character appears to be established by the fact of empty spaces within the column, by twofold paginations resulting from a later insertion of the Principia. Several inks have been used; peciae are irregular. Cross-references like « Quaere in *latere* (*German*: « Seite!) ultimo » are not infrequent. On fly-leaf by later hand: Lectura Magistri Alffoncii Ord. fr. her. S. Aug. Super 4^{or} libros sententiarum abbreviata per mag. Johannem de Wasya Parisiensem; a even later hand repeats similar title.

f. 1-16^{v}: Collatio 1 — Collatio 2 — Principium 2 — Collatio 3 — Principium 3 — Principium 4 — Collatio 4.

Socii: Johannes Trelon, Rodulphus de Bonavilla O. P., Johannes de Castro Theodorici.

f. 17^{r}-59^{v}: <Super Primum> [Margins cut, legible: Magister Joh. de Wasia Anno 76 (1376)].

Quotes: Ocquam, Landulphus, Bernardus Oliverii, Alexander de Hales, Henricus, Jacobus de Appamiis, Franciscus de Maironis, Gerardus de Senis, Aureolus, Magister Fernandus, Michael de Massa, Johannes Forestarii, Rodington, Scotus, Garro, Franciscus de Marchia, Durandus, Hibernicus, Gregorius, Durandus in Novo Scripto (57^{r}): *all authors found in the Super Primum Alfonsi*! Alfonsus is not quoted; but later (Super *Secundum* (!) f. 80^{v}): Alfonsi *lib. 1* q. 6 art. 2.

f. 60^{r}-100^{v}: Liber Secundus a Mag. Joh. de Wasia. Anno 76 (1376).

Quotes: Monachus (often), Hibernicus, Thomas, Bonaventura, Alexander de Hales, Gregorius, Scotus, Richardus, Aureolus, Durandus, Olcoth, Valerius Maximus, Hugolinus de originali peccato dist. 30 et tribus sequentibus. [Book 2 unfinished].

f. 101^{r}-138^{v}: *Circa 3 Sententiarum a Mag. Joh. de Wasia compilatum.*

Quotes: Thomas, Godefridus de Font., Monachus (very often), Ocquam, Altissiodorensis, Adam, Bochegam, Syraf (from Adam, i. e. Firaf, Fitzralph), Osbertus *et* Monachus q. 29 Primi, Kilmeton, Buridan 5 cap., Rodington, *Johannes* Monachus lib. 1 q. 43 [Mirecourt] f. 125^{v}!

f. 139^{r}-158^{v}: *Circa 4 Sententiarum a Mag. Jo. de Wasia compilatum.*

Quotes: Bonaventura, Durandus, Thomas, Chatton, Alexander de Halis, Henricus Quol. 1 q. 23, Hibernicus, Moderni [breaks off within treatment of Eucharist].

According to all appearances Sent. 2-4 are abbreviated from Mirecourt. *Book 1 alone is an Alfonsus abbreviatus.*

But Hiltalingen creates a new doubt about Book 2-4 of Alfonsus.

Hiltalingen 10 Responsiones q. 2 Clm 26711 f. 220^{r} sq.: *Alfonsus lib. 3 q. 3 recitat quattuor conclusiones Aegidii...* Two of the four conclusions Hiltalingen

The First Book of Alfonsus is remarkable as a literary history of the Augustinian Schola Moderna and the 14th century in general. His wealth of information on theologians, preceding or contemporary, exercized a special attraction on the 15th century. By then men of the type of John of Basel — one of the last to slave through the texts of the much maligned 14th century — were no longer to be found ; for it required a gigantic labor to dominate the enormous theological literature which accumulated in the 14th century. The 15th-century theologians were content to « return to the great masters », an attitude hailed by the « orthodox » because they mistrusted the freedom-loving theologians of the 14th century, hailed also by easy-going scholars because it was so much more convenient to study one author than ten or twenty. Yet these 15th-century theologians were vain enough to plume their texts with quotations which an encyclopedia like Alfonsus' could provide. Hiltalingen was already forgotten on account of his *damnatio memoriae* [67]).

The abundance of Alfonsus MSS in the 15th century is thus to be explained ; an early print (1490) followed logically. And therefore Alfonsus lived on in the immortality — of the foot-notes.

enumerates (without knowing that they have been taken from Aegidius *De compositione angelorum*) are said to be adduced by « Alfonsus » against Scotus; two are said to be turned against Aegidius by « Alfonsus » because « Alfonsus » dislikes the modal difference between suppositum and natura which Aegidius defends.

The three MSS of the Decem Responsiones do not abbreviate the word « Alfonsus » but the absence of any abbreviation does not prove that Hiltalingen himself did not have a simple *Al*^{o} instead of a complete « *Alfonsus* ». The solution of the puzzle must be sought in *Alveus* = *Hervaeus* who was equally against Scotus as he was against Aegidius; *Alveus* = *Hervaeus* was a bitter enemy of modal distinctions, did not believe in the real difference between essence and existence, and therefore could not accept a modal difference between suppositum and natura. Unfortunately I have no opportunity to collate Alveus = Hervaeus lib. 3 q. 3. where I hope to find the four conclusions of Aegidius. — In regard to the chronology of Johannes de Wasia Stegmüller's indications must be corrected cf. F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Lombardi* I (1947) 247 no. 504: *Johannes de Wasia* [*Waes*] *1379 mag. artium; 1392 mag. theol.; obiit ante 1402.* It is certain that Wasia was Magister Artium at least in 1376 when he started out on his theological career as Baccalarius Parisiensis. — F. EHRLE, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters v. Candia* (Münster 1925) 148 n. 3 does not contradict the fact that Johannes de Wasia *became Baccalarius* in 1376 because Ehrle only proves that Wasia *was* Baccalarius in 1379.

[67]) Hiltalingen was in the schismatic fold during the Schism (1378-1415) as schismatic agent, schismatic anti-general, schismatic bishop.

To make Alfonsus Super Primum available for the modern historian a reprint seemed to be desirable as long as a critical edition is not in the offing nor to be hoped for in the next decades. But a simple reprint without further ado would raise the same objections as are usually brought against such methods of reproduction by scholars who are resigned to wait for editions in the year 2000. I therefore made a cursory collation of all the Alfonsus MSS, with the excusable exception of the Warsaw MS, in order to guarantee the faithfulness of some 600 spots [68]) in the reprint of 1952. From this MSS collation results a definite and unexceptionable argument for the authenticity of the historical information contained in the Venice edition of 1490 (reprint 1952).

The many quotations which render Alfonsus so interesting for the historian *are genuine features of the original text*, not later additions by scholastic « editors ». Alfonsus even in the status of a reprint can serve as prisma for anyone who desires to examine the richness of 14th-century theology.

List of Alfonsus' Manuscripts

1. A = Angelica (Rome)	F. A. 577	[ca. 1400]
2. B = Berlin Staatsbibl.	Theol. Fol. 203	[ca. 1450]
3. C = München Univ.	Fol. 105	[AD 1456]
4. D = München Staatsbibl.	Clm 26650	[AD 1475]
5. F = Firenze Bibl. Naz.	II. I. 196	[AD 1470]
6. L = Lyon	459 (388)	[AD 1467]
7. M = Milano Ambrosiana	A 139 inf.	[AD 1444]
8. N = Milano Ambrosiana	B 14 inf.	[AD 1458]
9. R = Ravenna Classense	147	
10. T = Toulouse	250	[ca. 1370]
11. V = Vat. Ottob. lat.	496	[ca. 1400]

Stegmüller, *Repertorium Lombardi* I (Würzburg 1947) 35 lists also a Warsaw MS which I could not see, and a Wien MS (Dominikaner 49) which is irretrievable according to a kind letter of Dec. 19, 1949. What I know about the Ravenna manuscript I owe to a special library trip of the Rev. Reinhold Schraml, O. E. S. A. The rest of the manuscripts I could examine in microfilms for which I thank the respective librarians.

The manuscripts can be divided into a northern and a southern

[68]) This MSS-collation will be printed apart.

group ; the northern: T FRC DL and the southern A V BMN (N = a direct copy of M).

The complete Alfonsus [69]) consists of the following items:

1. Collatio « Ego sum alpha et o, Apoc. 1° » (allusion to « Ego sum Alfonso »)
2. Prologus
3. Commentarius in Primum Sententiarum
4. Tabula <Alphabetica> and Tituli Quaestionum

The *Collatio* is found in: C[D]F R L
(D is acephalous)
not in: T A V BMN
The *Tabula* is found in: C D F R T
not in: L A V BMN
The *Tituli* Quaestionum are *not in*: CDT

The southern and the northern group of the MSS also follow a different attitude towards the quoting technique of Alfonsus. The quotations with which Alfonsus enriched his text so abundantly were originally placed in quotational insets. The southern group of the MSS adheres to this system much more faithfully than the northern group. Against the Alfonsian origin of the quotational

[69]) The Alfonsus edition of Paganinus de Paganinis (Venice 1490) consists of:
1. Dedication of the edition to the Augustinian General Anselmus Lolli dei Mandestri de Montefalco (cf. D. PERINI, *Bibl. Augustiniana* II [Firenze 1931] 159) by the editor, Thomas de Spilimbergo (cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.* III [1935] 207).
2. TABULA. Tabula operis praeclari in Librum Primum Sententiarum... incipit numine felici. PRAEFATIO. Quoniam non aeque est (published in this article).
3. Collatio « Ego sum alpha et o, Apoc. 1 ».
4. Prologus.
5. Commentarius in Primum Sententiarum [The Tituli QQ are missing in the edition].

In the photostatic reprint of 1952 the *Tabula* has been omitted; it will be printed apart together with the Tituli QQ. Instead of the uncertain foliation of Paganinus de Paganinis the reprint has a serial number over each column and serial numbers along the lines of the column in order to facilitate MS-collation.

Concordance between numbers of old folia and new columns.

folium ed. 1490	*columns reprint 1952*
ex. g. f. $21^{ra} = 20 \times 4 - 32 + 1 = 80 - 31 =$	49
f. $31^{rb} = 30 \times 4 - 32 + 2 = 120 - 30 =$	90
f. $41^{va} = 40 \times 4 - 32 + 3 = 160 - 29 =$	131
f. $51^{vb} = 50 \times 4 - 32 + 4 = 200 - 28 =$	172

[With other words *eight* folia are missing in the reprint].

insets a legitimate objection could be formulated on the basis of the nothern group's vacillating practice of the quotational inset were it not this very northern group that contains the theory of the quotational inset (Praefatio Tabulae, Quoniam non aeque est...). I therefore edit this *Praefatio* Tabulae and print it right here to dispel any misgivings about the quotational insets of Alfonsus.

Praefatio Tabulae according to CD T FR and E (editio 1490)

Quoniam non aeque est[1] facile registrare opera [2] multiplicibus contenta [3] partibus sicut brevibus divisa [4] capitulis, sed maxime [5] Sententiarum Scripta propter multas opiniones et diversas conclusiones [6], propositiones correlarias, suppositiones [7] ac obiectiones varias — sine quibus theologi doctores Lecturas suas super Sententias et opera talia valoris et utilia possent [8] bene nullatenus ordinare [9] — ideo si in Registro vel Tabula infrascripta quotationes [10] prolixe [11] vel obscure quandoque [12] reperiantur, Tabulae ordinator [13], qui hoc pro posse vitavit, supportetur benigne, maxime quia causa [14] prolixitatis evitandae hoc aliquando facere cogebatur [15]. Ex cuius causa quandoque similiter [16], licet raro, conclusiones propositiones suppositiones et alia huiusmodi non sic [17] in Tabula distincte conscripsit vel prolixe ut in ORIGINALI positum reperit. Et ideo ex Tabula nihil doctori imponatur, nec eius opinioni sic simpliciter — maxime de dubiis [18] — ascribatur, sed primitus liber vel opus [19] eius n FONTE videatur [20]. Studeant insuper Tabula ista uti volentes ut, quod quaerunt [21] facilius queant [22] invenire, in suorum marginibus librorum articulos conclusiones et [23] omnia supradicta, ubi [24] cadunt, signare per ordinem ET MAXIME QUAE IN LIBRO <de rubeo !> NON PONUNTUR, QUIA [25] — QUOD RARO IN ALIIS VIDI — IN HOC OPERE DE [26] RUBEO OBIECTIONES ET [27] DOCTORUM OPINIONES INTERSCRIBUNTUR [28]. Noscant etiam quod tertius et quartus articulus ponuntur continuo [29] simul et tractantur ; et ideo in Tabula tertius solum [30], pro se ipso et quarto [31], nominatur. Etiam quandoque de pluribus simul distinctionibus [32] quaestio unica quaeritur ; et tunc solum prima distinctio pro ceteris ponitur in Registro.

1) ER *invertit* 2) R *invertit* 3) R *bis* contenta 4) R diversa 5) DE *add* si 6) R *add* et 7) R suppositionum 8) E posset 9) E ordinari 10) R quotationum 11) F prolixa 12 FR *add* forte 13) E ordinatio 14) E *invertit* 15) R hoc alii facere cogebantur 16) CDE *om* similiter 17) CDE sint E: sint in tabula distinctae sic distinxit ut in originali 18) R duobus 19) E *om* liber vel 20) D *om* Sed primitus liber vel ... in fonte videatur 21) R insuper ista tabula volentes ut quod quaerunt 22) E valeant 23) R et cetera 24) T antedicta ut ibi CDE ut ibi 25) CDTE *om* quia 26) D *om* de ; D: ... in aliis vidi. In hoc opere rubeo 27) CDE *om* et 28) E inscribuntur C *om* quia quod raro... interscribuntur 29) CE *om* con-

tinuo D continere 30) R *invertit* 31) CFE quartus 32) D dictionibus.

The variants again approach C to D, F to R ; E (= ed. 1490) is close to CD. The numerous variants and mistakes are not indicative of the low quality of the Alfonsus MSS but of the logical difficulties which the contents of the *Praefatio* involves.

In regard to contents, the *Registrator* admits the clumsy prolixity of his quotations but he pleads an excuse. Less prolixity, though welcome to the reader and actually (*quandoque licet raro*) employed by the *Registrator*, would in the end, he says, entail only more prolixity. The readers are advised by the *Registrator* to list on the margins of their personal Alfonsus copies all subdivisions of the text, like *cclo 1,2... art. 1,2... suppositio 1,2...*, especially where the text itself has not put them in relief (by different ink or block-letters, as the southern group of MSS often does). The fact that the original text itself already brings into relief some subdivisions, is implied by the *quia* (*quod raro in aliis vidi*). Highly astonished is the *Registrator* at the unique Alfonsus technique of quoting which is called « stilus Alfonsi » by Baltassar de Tolentino, and termed by me the system of the *inset-quotation*:

Quod raro in aliis vidi — in hoc opere *de rubeo* obiectiones et doctorum opiniones *inter*scribuntur !

If this statement of the *Registrator* is duly weighed one cannot allow for any suspicion that the southern group of the Alfonsus MSS themselves *invented* the technique of the *inset-quotation*. The *inset-quotation* therefore belongs to the original Alfonsus and underlines the importance and care, which Alfonsus gave to his references.

A similar system of *inset-quotation* I found in the MSS of Gerardus de Senis and Michael de Massa. Baltassar de Tolentino agrees with my findings.

In the Vat. lat. 1085 (Pelzer's Catalogue p. 651-53) Baltassar says that he intends to compile an Augustinian Theology which is to be richer than Alfonsus' Super Primum but yet to follow Alfonsus' technique (*sub stilo Alfonsi*). Among the sources of Baltassar Gerardus de Senis is identified.

In the Baltassar compilation of the Vat. lat. 1084 (Pelzer's Catalogue p. 646-51) Pelzer identified Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus and Gerardus de Senis ; I can add the identification

of Vat. lat. 1084 f. 158^{r}-173^{r} = Michael de Massa, Prol. q. 7-8; I Sent. dist. 1 q. 1-9. Prol. q. 1 — 3 = f. 144^{r}-151^{v}.

Also in the Vat. lat. 893 (Pelzer's Catalogue p. 279-80 and Addenda p. XXVII) Baltassar inserts some parts of Gerardus de Senis.

It is remarkable that Baltassar among the authors whom *he* pretends to treat « *sub stilo Alfonsi* », includes at least two *who themselves* follow the *stilus Alfonsi*.

From Baltassar, from the MSS of Alfonsus, Gerardus, and Michael, from the *Praefatio Tabulae <Alfonsi>* it becomes evident that the *quotational inset* was a characteristic and unique feature of the Augustinian Modern School. Their interest in correct quoting is thus amply proved ; the authenticity of the *marginalia* in Dionysius de Burgo, Thomas Argentinas, and Gregorius Arminensis is confirmed. The Alfonsus technique may be exceptional [70]) if compared with that of some non-Augustinian works. Alfonsus is not exceptional within the Augustinian School.

List of Quotations in Alfonsus Toletanus

(The numbers refer to the columns of the reprint 1952)

Adam	183, 236, 301, 481
Aegidius, O. E. S. A.	63, 246, 275, 356, 414, 422, 425, 476, 478
Alexander de Halis	125
Alexander de S. Elpidio, O. E. S. A.	173, 187
Alfonsus de Portugallia (Mag.) ...	142, 177, 194, 199, 247
Anglici	76
Aureolus	6, 22, 56, 64, 99, 110, 131, 146, 255, 269, 282, 289, 330, 332, 349, 419, 482, 490, 492, 499, 501, 512, 515, 523, 551, 582, 594, 605, 613, 615
Bernardus Oliverii, O. E. S. A. ...	10, 64, 148, 320
Burlaeus [= doctor *noster* ?]	451, 463 [MSS: doctor *multipliciter*]
Caton	447
Durandus	211, 355, 360, 412, 499, 592

[70]) Cf. Praefatio Tabulae: « Quod raro in aliis vidi ». — The Praefatio Tabulae Gregorii (ed. 1522, reprint 1955 f. + 3) is almost identical to the one of Alfonsus; but in Gregory's case no claim is made that the quotational inset existed in the Gregory-MSS. It seems that Dionysius, Thomas, and Gregorius preferred the safer method of marginal quoting.

Fernandus (Mag.) 150, 170, 193, 196
Ferrati (Mag. Joh.) 172, 186
Forrestarius, Joh., O. E. S. A. ... 54, 159, 166, 173, 189, 231, 263
Franciscus de Marchia 33, 46, 48, 390, 393, 394, 506, 527, 528, 560, 579, 585, 597
Franciscus de Mayronis 49, 85, 88, 89, 115, 132, 158, 276, 326, 340, 376, 396, 397, 403, 601
Franciscus de Tarvisio, O. P. ... 614, 622
Gerardus de Senis, O. E. S. A. ... 57, 65, 159, 160, 246, 261, 276, 362, 422, 431, 436, 438, 493, 585
Godofridus de Fontanis 124, 138
Gregorius Arminensis, O. E. S. A. 534, 537, 639, 656
Guarro (Guill. de Ware) 98, 123, 350, 397
Henricus de Gandavio 38, 110, 125, 133, 276, 357,
Hervaeus 370
Hibernicus (Rich. Fitzralph) 641
Hugo (Mag. O. Min.) 201
Jacobus de Appamiis, O. E. S. A. 43, 608, 609
Jacobus de Viterbio, O. E. S. A. 98, 230, 364, 372, 539, 541
Johannes de Magno Monasterio ... 306
Johannes Scotus (Mag., *not* Duns) . 615
Landulfus 10, 21, 72, 78, 91, 164, 203, 233, 235, 262, 263 264, 322, 376, 412, 510, 513, 580
Lucas de Massana, O. E. S. A. ... 196
Michael de Massa, O. E. S. A. ... 18, 75, 111, 152, 160, 188, 251, 288, 335, 445, 535 572 576, 579, 585
Ockham 4, 27, 75, 110, 115, 116, 153, 217, 237, 286, 347, 363, 366, 382, 403, 477, 541, 543, 548, 564
Opinio Communis 13, 15, 24, 26, 104, 138, 186, 575, 582
Praedicator (Bacc., O. P.) 173, 176, 193
Rodington, Joh. 4, 21, 27, 69, 100, 112, 134, 136, 209, 227, 236, 265, 277, 411, 563
Rudolfus Minor (Bacc., O. Min.) ... 195, 631, 644, 647
Scotus 21, 72, 115, 120, 121, 125, 127, 131, 203, 262, 264 271, 279, 301, 317, 323, 339, 373, 375, 402, 407, 421, 505, 509, 513, 514, 533, 547, 559, 586, 601
Thomas Anglicus 584

S. Thomas de Aquino 36, 63, 91, 137, 309, 346, 399, 407, 422, 425, 435, 476
Thomas de Argentina, O. E. S. A. 42, 63, 128, 190, 251, 415, 417, 426, 428, 436, 515, 543, 627, 655

Theology of Alfonsus

Alfonsus shows a marked historico-critical attitude. More than an Aegidian he is an Augustinian of Augustine because he quotes him better than the Aegidians did. Many times the edition of 1490, and also the manuscripts, leave a blank for the missing chapter of an Augustinian quotation (c. []), a sign that Alfonsus was aware of the need and the advantages of exact quoting. The ideal was before his eyes ; when an exact quotation with accurate capitulation could not be procured immediately the high standard demanded to fill in the chapter-numbers at a later time. Human frailty had its toll ; but if these blanks had not remained unfilled we would have one argument less for the historical attitude of Alfonsus.

Hugolinus of Orvieto

In Hugolinus-research Zumkeller [71]) is leading the way. His studies, especially an oustanding book of investigation and critical text, inform on Hugolin's biography and works, on his doctrine about

[71]) Cf. A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto u. seine theol. Erkenntnislehre*, in: *Cassiciacum* (German Series) Bd. IX 2 Reihe 3 (Würzburg 1941). The book has 263 pages of investigation and 129 of critical text in model edition. — The list of names I give are from the last chapter of the investigations (Kap. 6: Die Lehrrichtung Hugolins v. Orvieto 255-62). — [] in my list means a name sifted from Zumkeller's text-edition; <> means that Zumkeller is not responsible for a statement. — « Stukle » I have found myself by chance in Hugolin 1 Sent. dist. 3 q. 3 art. 3 MS Paris Nat. lat. 14559 f. 66^{v}. — I want to thank my confrère for his peerless generosity in sending me photostats of Paris Nat. lat. 14559.

A. Zumkeller has obliged me with other generous MSS loans and with his personal cooperation and encouragement. — The date of the Lectura-year of Hugolinus is now a certainty; Ceffons was the Socius of Hugolinus. The two refer to one another in their Principia (cf. my forthcoming article in Traditio 1956). About the Recollectio Hugolini cf. below under *Simon of Cremona*. — The special studies on Hugolinus have begun with articles of A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto († 1373) über Urstand und Erbsünde*, in: *Augustiniana* III (1953) 35-62, 165-93; IV (1954) 25-46. *Hug. v. Orvieto über Prädestination, Rechtfertigung u. Verdienst* ibid. IV (1954) 109-156; V (1955) 5-51.

faith and knowledge, about original sin and justice, predestination, justification, and merit. The source treatment is exemplary, the judgment competent although somewhat influenced by the incubus of « nominalism ».

If that valuable book of 1941 had not become so rare because of aerial bombardments it would be enough to refer the reader to Zumkeller. Under the actual circumstances it will be advisable to acquaint the reader with the results of Zumkeller's studies as far as this article requires. I myself have consulted Hugolinus only for reference purposes.

The Commentary Hugolinus wrote on the Four Books brings him into alinement with the historical-minded group of the later Augustinians. St. Augustine whom he quotes on almost every folium is the light, the inspiration, and the premiss of the thought of Hugolinus. Contemporary authors he quotes with fair accuracy but always in the text. More than one half of these quotations are from Augustinians.

Less than 50 %	More than 50 %
Adam	Aegidius, Doctor noster, Dominus
Climenton <Richard> Langley	Jacobus de Viterbo, Doctor inventivus (Quodl. I and II)
Buckingham <Thomas>	Alfonsus
Franciscus de Marchia	Henricus Senior de Alemania = Henricus Senior de Vrimaria
Henricus de Gandavio	Gregorius Ariminensis
Robert Holcot	[Milleloquium]
Robert Halifax	
Ockham	
Scotus	
<Stukle ?>	
S. Thomas	
[Jacobus de Spinalo, O. Min.]	

The list is representative mostly for the First Book ; if the picture should not change as the other Books of Hugolins are being studied this list would be interesting for its omissions.

JOHN KLENKOK

The condemnations of 1347 intended to check a dangerous Modernism which, from the premiss of a possibility of divine intervention, drew conclusions as revolutionary as those of Autrecourt and Mirecourt. The condemned articuli of 1347 were apparently

only exemplifications, that is, their number was not intended to be so strictly fixed that there could not have been one more or one less ; they exemplified only the trend which fell under the reprobation of the Church. The two condemned authors, consequently, were only scape goats, only Parisians under the authority of Paris. Actually, also some Oxonians were affected by the decrees of 1347. Nicholas Aston (1345) wrote a Commentary over which broods the miasma of fideism or scepticism. Ulcredus Dunelmensis who can hardly escape being identified with the *Friburgensis* (MS Fribourg Cord. 26) *published* (!) an undiluted Autrecourt-Commentary. But Paris could not interfere with the internal affairs of Oxford. The condemnation of Aston and Ulcredus was left to Oxford — which never made a move so far as we know.

What kind of reaction the condemnations of 1347 produced on the continent would be a matter of speculation if Peter Ceffons had been less loquacious on the pages of his Commentary MS Troyes 62. Usually victims of condemnations are mourned in silence, are buried and quickly forgotten ; rarely are any reactions recorded. Ceffons is an exception. He is very vocal in denouncing the condemnations of 1347. He makes the charge that the propositions of Mirecourt were torn from their context and their meaning distorted.

From the texts of the Oxonian revolutionaries, Aston as well as Ulcredus (= Friburgensis), we know that these shocking conclusions were not so much apodictic statements as they were challenges which an alert teacher threw at his students to make them think and to widen their horizons. « *Ad dandam viam iuvenibus ulterius cogitandi* » says Ulcredus twice in MS Fribourg Cord. 26 (f. 83^{r} and 105^{r}). « *Causa collationis* » says Aston very often, and we have no reasons to believe him insincere. For *aporia* was a teaching technique adopted in the lecture halls of the 14th century as Peter Ceffons (MS Troyes 62 f. 78^{v}) expressly affirms:

Hic attendatur quod non teneo ego quod deus vult peccatum, sed dicta supra aut inferius <pono> ad videndum quid dicerent consequenter illi qui tenent. Nec reputo omnia quae supra tetigi, sufficiant ultimate ad veritatem. Sed bonum est aliquando recitare et *fingere sive vera sive falsa*, ut videatur qualiter dici potest. Advertendum tamen quod his diebus non admittitur Parisius quod deus velit peccatum, sed fuit hoc revocatum... licet non audierim responsiones quae mihi satisfacerent... *Ille autem esset nimis iniquus qui*

me accusaret dicendo quod ego ultimate teneo quod deus velit peccatum. Unde dico quod aliqua falsa *finxi supra ex certa causa* [End of I Sent. q. 43].

In texts which I hope to publish in *Traditio 1956* Ceffons says that « three old foreign heresy-hunting witches » — a gracious terminology Ceffons applies to the promoters of the condemnations, i. e., to Gregory, to Robertus de Bardis and someone else — did nothing but tear sentences from their context in order to reduce them into *articuli condemnandi*. Venomously Ceffons says that even the innocent Marian antiphon « *Cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo* » could be distorted into heresy by the three old foreign promoters of the condemnations if they only were given a chance.

We have other trustworthy sources, among them Peter d'Ailly who states that « *multa fuerunt condemnata contra eum <de Ultricuria> quae tamen postea in scholis publice <<per modum aporiae ?>> sunt confessa* (Ueberweg II [1928] 591).

One senses in these sources that the condemnations caused painful reactions and resentments easily imaginable.

But the Church was right in insisting on more common sense, on more prudence in the application of the disturbing idea of a possible divine intervention. And the Church succeeded in bringing about a saner attitude.

On the continent even a thinker as independent as Ceffons uses more prudence when talking about « evidence » which had been hopelessly compromised by the wild application of a « possibility of divine intervention ». Many of his passages attest to this new cautiousness which the Church imposed. I transcribe some from the MS Troyes 62.

f. 36^{r} Nolo enim pro nunc loqui et periculosum et his diebus aliquid invenire <<fingere !>> in quo non communicat communis schola.

f. 45^{v} Non libenter intro materiam de « evidentiis » eo quod est evidentiae [as demanded by the Church] odiosa.

f. 48^{r} De significabilibus complexis, utrum istis diebus sit securius ea ponere sicut ea posuerunt *Adam, Chatton et Gregorius* [paladins of orthodoxy Ceffons hates], aut ea negare — saltem per imaginationem <<fictionem ?>> — sit securius. Et potest argui pro qualibet parte quod est alia securior... videtur quaedam novitas non nimis secura... securius est hoc dicere... Non videtur tamen multum securum dicere

his diebus quod deus « nihil » scit ; nollem et pro quarta vini [a quart of wine] in publico hanc conclusionem posuisse.

f. 48v Nec esset securum his diebus quod solum illud est mihi evidens de quo apparet mihi aliqualiter esse... Nec acceptatur quin sit mihi evidens quod ignis comburit, et quod <sunt> multi homines alii a me.

f. 51r Qui dicit quod omnes, miratur nemo.

f. 51v Periculosum est his diebus ut aestimo aliquid definire... Non recito quia potest inveniri in *Adam* in Primo Opere, et in *Gregorio* Super Primum in Prologo, et credo etiam quod aliquid vidi de ea <opinione> in *Chattone* [One sees that Ceffons can be sarcastic in regard to his beloved paladins of orthodoxy].

f. 71r Sed hoc pro me non dico: periculosum esset. Et quandoque circa hoc occurebant multa *subtilia* [subtilitates were condemned especially] quae non scribo ne forte per malignos ascribantur mihi aliter quam bene.

f. 72v Et dico tibi quod nullus auderet Parisius dicere illa omnia quae sequerentur ex hoc quod nullum continuum est aliquid unum. Nec ego etiam dico sed *do* per aliqua quae alias scripsi *materiam cogitandi*. Unde verum est quod bonum est aliqua alia recitare quia per hoc quaeritur intellectus et *datur materia inveniendi veritatem*.

I shall publish more of these excerpts from Ceffons. Although Ceffons is convinced as much as ever that the « *aporia* » is a good technique of teaching, he no longer uses it in his classroom. One sees that the condemnations had their effect in Paris: more prudence prevailed where formerly extravagant exhibitionism had had its day.

Did Oxford pay any attention to the Parisian condemnations of 1347 ? Why were Aston and Ulcredus (= Friburgensis) not expressly proscribed by Oxford ? We cannot answer this question to our satisfaction. The Augustinian, John Klenkok [72]), who read

[72]) For his biography I have to refer to my larger study. — Cf. Hans Bütow, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Augustinermönches Johannes Klenkok, Bekämpfers des Sachsenspiegel*, in: *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* XXIX, 3 (Dresden 1935) 541-75 [77]. Bütow on page 545 n. 16 has the important but almost unintelligible text from Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 542: ... Petro de Vernio militantis ecclesiae... dimissis penitus inferorum: frater Johannes Clenckok, sacre pagine professor, noticia scolastica, tironum noticie comparata, dum idem domnus esset gymnasiis ei notus... Dr Suchel of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel upon my request has graciously collated the text again. But my expectations have not been realized. The text remains as is. Yet I would like to propose a conjecture which

at Oxford in 1354-55 together with Ulcredus Dunelmensis and the famous English chronicler Thomas Stubbs, furnishes some incomplete but welcome historical evidence on the Oxonian echo of the Parisian condemnations. Perhaps Oxford was not shocked enough by the condemnations of Autrecourt's fideism, but with the main contention of Paris they were willing to agree. Paris demanded more common sense, more prudence, more respect for the Fathers ; Oxford practiced more prudence after 1347. Apparent to all was the inadmissibility of the Modernist *subtilitates* which made such a revolutionary abuse of the premiss of possible divine intervention.

I select one passage from Klenkok which attests to Oxonian caution and prudence after 1347.

II^2 = MS Erfurt Amplon. 4° 118 f. 95^v
= MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 132^r:

Osbertus autem quoddam <*quondam !* Kl. speaks ca. 1354-59> doctor universitatis nostrae scil. Oxoniae [K: Osbertus doctor universitatis nostrae ; legit Sententias Oxoniae] posuit quod quodlibet peccatum per quod peccans NON crederet se amisurum gratiam <K *add*: dei> esset veniale et consequenter dixit quod Judaei peccaverint venialiter interficiendo Apostolos quoniam <E: quando> arbitrabantur obsequium se praestare deo. Et similiter dixit quod

makes the text readable: « Johannes Clenckok sacrae paginae professor notitiā scholasticā, notitia *canonum* comparatā dum idem domnus <de Vernio> esset gymnasiis <Bononiensibus> ei <Klenkok> notus. It would mean that Klenkok met with de Vernio at the Law Study of Bologna. That Klenkok himself studied Law at Bologna seems practically certain. Two passages from his works are here recorded: 1 Sent. dist. 14 q. 2 [MS Amplon. Q 118 f. 126^v = Klosterneuburg 304 f. 79^r = Siena G V 16 f. 9^v]. Contigit Parisius dum ego <Klenkok> essem in Italia... 4 Sent. dist. 45 c. 3 De pompis [MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 192^v = Siena G V 16 f. 104^r] Vituperantur autem variae et sumptuosae pompae sepulturae sicut Bononiae est... (Here Klenkok gives such detailed descriptions that he must have been at Bologna). In his pastoral theology (4 Sent. dist. 15) Klenkok displays a canonist's erudition! In his famous controversy with the jurists of the Sachsenspiegel Klenkok is taken seriously and never told to leave the Law books alone and return to his Bible! These and other reasons force me to rewrite the traditional biography somewhat: 1342-46 Law study at Bologna; 1346-52 study at Prague for the Lector's degree; 1354 Baccalarius Oxoniensis; 1359 Magister Oxoniensis. — [To Dr. Suchel I am also obliged for an examination of an ex-libris of John Hiltalingen of Basel which is found in Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 1064].

Petrus negando Christum, David in adulterio cum Bethsabee et nece Uriae peccaverint venialiter. Quae omnia male sonant in fide ; immo unus Baccalarius [73]) tempore meo Parisius fuit coactus revocare conclusiones istius positionis in ista materia. *Unde caute est ambulandum.* De istis autem deo dante scribam plenius in *Quaestionibus Super* isto *Secundo.*

Unde caute est ambulandum is not the usual stock phrase we find so often. The Parisian recantation became Oxonian standard and had the effect of making Oxonians more prudent in regard to *subtilitates* based on the sovereignty of individual conscience. Klenkok gave such importance to the impact of the Parisian recantation that he decided to take up the same matter in a new work of his, namely, his *Quaestiones super Secundum.*

But at the same time Oxford eyed Parisian condemnations with a certain jealousy. The same Klenkok says in his I Sent. dist. I (E: f. 199^{r} ; K: f. 68^{r} ; Siena f. 1^{r}):

> Non semper bene damnantur articuli Parisius ; dicitur enim quod damnatum sit Parisius quod animae Christi et Judae sint aeque perfectae in essentialibus <Error> ; quod tamen non est verum. Item nuper <die 16 Maii 1354> quidam <Guido, *O. E. S. A.* !> revocavit Parisius... quod tamen verum creditur.

Jealousy between the two great sister universities may have deprived Oxford of some salutary effects of the condemnations of 1347. Wyclif did exploit the situation. But Oxford's responsibility should not be exaggerated.

In a certain sense Oxford reacted to the Modernism of the Modernists before Paris, but not officially. Thomas Bradwardine (1344) wrote a work of the title *De causa dei* to defend God's cause against the new Pelagianists, Modernists who under the pre-

[73]) B. M. Xiberta, *De scriptoribus schol. saec. XIV ex Ord. Carm.*, in: *Bibl. de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 6 (Louvain 1931) 246 has an interesting item in his description of the Osbertus-MS of Prague Metrop. Chap. C 105: « manu quae reliquum codicem scripsit: *Lectura Osberti super sententias quam comparavit magister Albertus de Boemia Oxoniae* ». This Albertus is probably Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio. About him cf. A. Lang, *Heinrich Totting v. Oyta*, in: *Baeumkers Beiträge* XXXIII 4-5 (Münster 1937) 17-18, 20, 22 ff, 25-28. Adalbertus might be the « discipulus Osberti » who had to recant in Paris (and therefore interrupted his theological career ?). Hiltalingen 2 Sent. q. 16 Clm. 26711 f. 190^{v}, 191^{r}, 191^{v} mentions the Osbertus controversy and seems to prove the fact that an Albertus fell into some error.

miss of possible divine intervention completely upset the traditional doctrine of grace [74]).

The Pelagianism Bradwardine impugned was not imaginary but very real ; unfortunately he could not keep free from exaggerations himself and had to recant an extreme Augustinianism, much to the delight — we may imagine — of the Modernists. Klenkok mentions the censures against Bradwardine and approves them ; of censures against his own Oxonian Modernists — Aston and Ulcredus (= Friburgensis) — Klenkok mentions nothing. The nature of an *Expositio litteralis* brought it about that Klenkok did not write the customary questions on faith and knowledge. Only within discussions on faith and knowledge would it have been imperative to give closer attention to Aston and Ulcredus.

Klenkok and Aston

The Oxonian Nicholas Aston [75]) (1345), Socius of Osbertus and Thomas Buckingham, wrote in a vein diametrically opposed to Bradwardine's. Bradwardine wrote positive theology based on the Fathers, particularly on Augustine ; Aston composed a Commentary full of shocking *subtilitates*. Aston's questions, altogether 12, are in MS Oxford Oriel 15. Many cross-references within these 12 questions make it plain that in the Oriel 15 we are dealing with a complete work. Only once Aston refers to a work we do not have, namely, the *Tractatus de solutione insolubilium* (MS Oriel 15 f. 211^{v}).

[74]) Cf. S. Hahn, *Thomas Bradwardinus*, in: *Baeumkers Beiträge* V, 2 (Münster 1905) 8. n. 1 and Ulcredus MS Frib. Cord. 26 f. 91^{r}: Ego respondeo ad Augustinum!... Voluntas est causa principalior.

[75]) B. M. Xiberta, *De scriptoribus scholasticis s. XIV ex ordine Carm.*, in: *Bibliothèque de la RHE* 6 (Louvain 1931) 242 did not know that Aston quotes the Summa of Bradwardine in the MS Oriel 15 f. 214^{r}: Doctor Profundus lib. 1 cap. 17 et 18; f. 217^{r}: Doctor Profundus lib. 1 cap. 13; f. 219^{v}: Doctor Profundus lib. Summae 1 cap. 12; the same on f. 220^{r}; f. 221^{r}: Doctor Profundus lib. 1 cap. 1 « Possibile est deum esse, ergo deus est (= Leibniz). — The Lectura-year of Osbertus-Aston-Buckingham falls between the Summa of Bradwardine (1344) and the chancellorship of Buckingham (1346). — Buckingham also quotes Bradwardine in MS Vat. lat. 4353 f. 80^{v}: Faciam formam quam fecit ' doctor noster ' <Mertonensis> Bardvardinus anno proximo <1344> ad istam eandem conclusionem. Cf. A. Maier, *Die Vorläufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert*, in: *Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura* 22 (Roma 1949) 96 n. 27. For the <> Maier is not responsible.

12 QQ Magistri Nicholai Aston (Astone) Oxoniae disputatae [MS Oxford Oriel 15]

210^{v} Q. 1 Utrum veritatem creatam poterit veritas <in>creata hypostatice sustentare.
212^{r} Q. 2 Utrum diabolum esse sit naturali ratione probabile.
213^{r} Q. 3 Utrum ad omnem actionem causae secundae, efficientia causae primae necessario requiratur.
213^{v} Q. 4 Utrum certa praevisio futurorum contingentium sit ex praedeterminatione voluntatis divinae.
214^{v} Q. 5 Utrum omne praeteritum necessario sit praeteritum.
215^{v} Q. 6 Utrum positivum vel privativum formaliter opponatur peccato.
217^{r} Q. 7 Utrum inter ' necesse esse ' et ' impossibile esse ' mediet ' possibile esse '.
218^{r} Q. 8 Utrum cuiuslibet futuritionis et praeteritionis sit deus causa.
218^{v} Q. 9 Utrum illud quod nunc est, pro nunc sit possibile quod non est nunc.
219^{v} Q. 10 Utrum privationes et negationes sunt a deo.
220^{v} Q. 11 Utrum aliqua propositio significans praecise deum non esse, contradictionem includat.
222^{r} Q. 12 Utrum antichristus potest esse diabolus incarnatus [76]).

Aston travels very light, unburdened by any apparatus of quotations ; they would not befit a logicistic Modernist. The Doctor Subtilis is quoted some fifteen times as is also St. Augustine, and rather correctly. Anselm, whom Moderni and Modernists love, appears only some five times ; Aegidius, Henry, Cowton, Fyshacre, Linconiensis, Altissiodorensis, once or twice. Holy Scripture is ignored.

Quaestio 11 made Aston famous ; it contains the *Achilles Astensis*: Denial or assertion of God's existence can only be stated in a disjunctive: God *either* exists *or* does not exist ! Therefore a simple denial of God's existence is a contradiction ! In other words,

[76]) At the end of Q. 12 Aston dares all his Socii to attack him; with words that savour of ritual and customary formality he makes a challenge and charges that *all* their conclusions are false. In Clm 27034 f. 208^{v} after an Oxonian Lectura we read the same ritualistic and formalistic challenge! This challenge should make us pause, and warn us to go slow with our condemnations of Aston. He often claims that he speaks only « causa collationis ». If that is true — and here at the end of Q. 12 it evidently is — then all the flamboyant « conclusions » would be nothing else but products and examples of his teaching technique (aporia) aiming at arousing a sleepy audience: ad dandam viam iuvenibus ulterius cogitandi! Sensationalism and exhibitionism need not be excluded.

the atheist must not only deny but prove. This *Achilles Astensis* migrated from the pages of one scholastic to the other's (Hugolin, Hiltalingen, Dionysius de Montina, O. E. S. A., Angelus Dobelin, O. E. S. A., Peter of Candia etc.) [77]).

Aston writes the English « essay-style » and indulges in logico-theological casuistry. With the principle of ' possible divine intervention ' as his premiss, Aston reaches conclusions which breathe absolute fideism, or scepticism if Michalski is right. (cf. MS Oriel 15 Q. 1 f. 211^r ; Q. 5 f. 215^r ; Q. 12 f. 222^r). In Q. 12 we read these floundering absurdities:

> Dubium cuilibet numquid Socius suus sit antichristus...
> Omnis nostra cognitio sensitiva quae non est *infusa*, non est certitudo quia in omni tali potest esse illusio [Q. 5 *adds*: ergo nulla cognitio intellectiva est certa quia defectus cognitionis sensitivae facit defectum cognitionis intellectivae... Ideo semper haesitandum est numquid substantia illa sit talis ; vel *pia fide credendum est*]... Ideo apparet mihi quod pro statu naturae lapsae et viae, non potest sciri quod ille homo sit ille homo. Vel quod ille homo differt ab illo homine in alio loco ; quia si ille homo esset in diversis locis, posset obviare sibi ipsi, et non cognoscere se ipsum sed credere quod esset alius homo. Et posset sui ipsius caput amputare, et nescire hoc. Nec potest scire quod ille homo est homo, et non asinus [Q. 5 adds the other gem that the teacher in the chair might be an ass].Nec a fortiori, an ille homo sit antichristus... Ex quibus patet quod *evidentiae* quas habemus quasi « determinatas », sunt fallibiles... Quilibet potest *credere* de Socio suo quod Socius suus non est antichristus, non tamen hoc scit.

An irate Magister Socius (Thomas Buckingham ?) retorts « Anyone who says ' I am the Antichrist ', is really an antichrist ». Aston picks up the angry retort and turns it against the *Magister Socius* with all the finesses of logic. But at least we see some faint reaction against Aston right in his own lecture hall.

Hiltalingen from distant Paris made his exceptions against Aston ; the Augustinian John Klenkok, an Oxonian by adoption 1354-59, did not record his attitude towards Aston.

[77]) Achilles meant an invincible insoluble argument, and alludes to the known race between Achilles and the tortoise. For the Ratio Achilles cf. A. Maier, *Die Vorläufer Galileis* (1949) 163.

Klenkok's Lectura

John Klenkok read as *Baccalarius Oxoniensis* 1354-55 and became Magister on August 5, 1359 (cf. MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 195^{v}). He wrote among other works an *Expositio Litteralis super Sententias*.

The *Expositio Litteralis* belongs to that type of Lombard Commentary which follows chapters and words of Lombard step by step, in contradistinction to the *Quaestiones-Commentary* which develops one or two Lombard ideas as are of special interest within the constellation of theological thought.

Ordinary Lectores, without any Parisian aspirations, used the Expositio Litteralis because it made the solid food of Lombard palatable to beginners. The Lectores with Parisian hopes and the Magistri, on their part, preferred a Quaestiones-Commentary. But in actual teaching they prefaced each Quaestio with a *Divisio textus*, that is, an Expositio Litteralis in rudimentary form. Literary ambition aiming at « originality » led some Lectores and practically all Magistri to exclude an Expositio Litteralis from their publications ; easy-going copyists omitted the Divisio textus from the Quaestiones-Commentaries they were to copy.

A tragic result ensues from this exclusive ambition or this lazy omission. If a hasty historian only evaluates the Quaestiones-Commentaries he is liable to draw a pitifully incomplete picture of the theological teaching of the past. In reality even Commentaries as arid as the ones of Aston or Ulcredus must be put back into the frame of a lost Expositio litteralis, or at least, a Divisio textus Lombardi. A lost Expositio litteralis is all the more to be postulated as complement of the true picture of medieval teaching in the case of later Commentaries that in four gigantic questions absolve all the Four Books of Lombard.

For these reasons the historian is indebted to John Klenkok for having published his Expositio litteralis because it gives us an idea of how rich an Expositio litteralis could be.

The MSS of the Expositio litteralis of Klenkok are the following.

Expositio litteralis	I^{2} =	MS Erfurt Ampl. 4° 118 f. 119^{r}-135^{v}
		MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 68^{r}- 94^{v}
		MS Siena G V 16 f. 1^{r}- 20^{v}

	II^1 =	MS Siena G V 16 f. 20^v- 35^v
	II^2 =	MS Erfurt Amplon. 118 f. 86^r-107^v
		MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 95^r-134^v
[QQ Super Secundum]	II^3 =	MS Eichstätt 471 f. 157^v-186^r
	III^2 =	MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 134^v-151^v
		MS Siena G V 16 f. 35^v- 48^r
	IV^2 =	MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 152^r-195^r
		MS Siena G V 16 f. 48^v-105^v

There are, or were, two editions of each Book of the *Expositio*. The first edition, or the *Expositio* as untouched as the *Lector Klenkok* used it, is lost except in the case of the II^1 ; Book I, II, III, IV exist in a second edition (I^2 II^2 III^2 IV^2). Stegmüller (*Repertorium Lombardi* [1947] 200 no. 413) lists another MS of Klenkok which may have some surprises in store. But under present conditions I cannot examine it.

It was under the impact of the events of 1347 that Klenkok felt compelled to write a third edition but only of the *Super Secundum*, namely, the *Quaestiones Super Secundum* (= II^3) which Klenkok already announced in the second edition. Hiltalingen quoted the II^3 repeatedly and very neatly. No doubt whatsoever remains that this II^3 of Klenkok is the pseudoepigraphic « Facinus » of MS Eichstätt 471.

First Edition

In the untouched II^1 and partly in I^2 II^2 III^2 IV^2 Klenkok's first concern is to introduce the student into the wealth of Augustinian thought which Lombard has incorporated. Practically all unidentified quotations of Lombard's original are identified by Klenkok with chapter-number, not rarely even with two chapter-numbers, a sign that the Augustinian « capitulation » was still fluctuating. Klenkok trains his student to go back to the very sources, and not to be satisfied with indirect quotations. This significant fact assigns Klenkok to the historical-minded group of the Augustinians whose habit he wears.

How many of the corrections Klenkok contributed to the original Lombardus are Klenkok's own work, or how many go back to good Lombard copies which started already in the 13th century to accumulate corrected Augustine quotations, must be

established later [78]). If after closer examination the effort of Klenkok should turn out to be less imposing than it seemed at first, Klenkok's merit would still remain undiminished: his was the special interest in corrected Augustine quotations, his the concern about good Lombard copies equipped with the best Augustine quotations available.

The first edition of the Expositio litteralis creates the impression that Klenkok was a man of exclusively practical interests because of his early training as a canonist of Bologna. Lombard's Fourth Book gives Klenkok a chance to parade his canonistic erudition. In 4 Sent. dist. 15 he writes a veritable pastoral theology for the confessional. So many economic problems are touched and treated there that a man without canonistic training could not possibly have written the work. In the Second Book of Lombard it is the problem of grace and merit which appeals to Klenkok.

Klenkok's theological fame came from this Second Book. He gave a much needed definition of venial sin which was to arouse theological comment far and wide. Gerhard Groote from the Netherlands wrote a letter to William Vroede (Mag. Pragensis March 13, 1373 cf. Bütow 561) to sollicit information about Klenkok's definition. As canonist Klenkok was immortalized in the history of German Law (Sachsenspiegel).

Second Edition

For his Lectura Oxoniensis (1354) Klenkok rewrote the Expositio litteralis. In this second edition his main concern shifted towards theological problems. Too many things had happened since he published the first edition during his stay at Prague. The impact of the Parisian condemnations had made itself felt everywhere.

[78]) Cf. the Quaracchi edition of Lombard (1916), Prolegomena p. LXXIII about the Lombard-MS Erfurt Amplon. 108. — Also J. DE GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, wherever he speaks of this Erfurt-MS esp. 241 n. 2; 314 n. 1; 317 n. 3; 351 f, 354 ff, 362 ff, 369 f. De Ghellinck has written a special article on corrected Lombard quotations: *Les notes marginales du Liber Sententiarum*, in: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* XIV (1913) 511-36, 705-19. — Cf. also A. LANDGRAF, *Philologisches zur Frühscholastik*, III, *Die Zitierweise*, in: *Medieval Studies* VIII (Toronto 1946) 59-67.

As adoptive Oxonian he stepped into a milieu characterized by Bradwardine, Osbertus, Aston, and Ulcredus (= Friburgensis), four names which meant four chapters in Oxford's history. It was common knowledge at the time that the Durham Benedictine Ulcredus had circulated an anonymous Autrecourt-Commentary [79]), our Friburgensis MS Cord. 26. The secret of this anonymity was kept so well that the whole world knew about it. To Chillington and Gregory it was not unknown that a Monachus Niger was the author of the Friburgensis ; the Paris authorities, and certainly Klenkok, were informed about a Benedictine of the name Wicierus = Ulclerus who very openly professed Autrecourt leanings. Did Klenkok in his Oxford days take a strong stand against the Friburgensis = Ulcredus ? From the extant writings of Klenkok this question cannot be answered either affirmatively or negatively.

Klenkok and the Friburgensis

In the Lectura Oxoniensis of Klenkok one would expect to see a strong reaction against the Friburgensis. But the Fribourg-Quaestiones are almost ignored by Klenkok ; their fideism is never rebutted. It is a baffling *argumentum ex silentio* against the identification of the Friburgensis with Ulcredus, Socius of Klenkok.

Ignorance on the part of Klenkok cannot have been the reason. Klenkok knew the writings of Gregory too well to have overlooked

[79]) The attribution of the anonymous Fribourg-Quaestiones to Ulcredus [= Uhtred Boldon] incurs the difficulties of the supposed author's youth. Uhtred was born in the second decade of the 14th century (cf. M. E. MARCETT, *Uhtred de Boldon* [New York 1938] 2) and would have published the Fribourg-Quaestiones at the age of thirty or even less. But if the Fribourg-Quaestiones are only an overhauled « Autrecourt » (whose writings we do *not* have anymore) the youth of the author, Uhtred, increases the probability of the rash venture which the publication of such a daring work implies. Uhtred would, however, have to give the « anonymous Autrecourt » some English features. In the Fribourg Quaestiones are mentioned: London (f. 82^{v}), the fogs of England (f. 83^{v}); words like manutentia (maintenance) [f. 92^{r}]; relevare, relevatio [= relief!] (often); invasio, invadere [= attack, invade] (f. 100^{v}); habilitas [= ability] (f. 103^{v}); bona vita [= good life] (f. 109^{v}); accommodare [= accommodate] (f. 115^{v}); in privato [= in private] (f. 121^{v}); ordinare testamentum [= ordain] (f. 134^{v}); ribaldus [= ribald] (f. 135^{v}); lecator [= lecherous]. — On account of certain mistakes the Fribourg copy cannot be considered as the autograph of Uhtred.

the *Monachus* (= Friburgensis) whom Gregory quotes. Perhaps it was decency on the part of Klenkok which made him ignore the Friburgensis. No one, not even Klenkok, could *prove* with apodictic certainty that the Friburgensis and Ulcredus were one and the same person. Alibis cannot always be torn down before a court and it would have meant court-action and condemnation for Ulcredus if his alibi as Friburgensis could have been definitely unmasked. One so inimical to Ulcredus, or Uhtred, as the Dominican William Jordan (cf. MARCETT 49 ff) would have been delighted to denounce Ulcredus for his heretical Friburgensis if proof had been available. It may be that Klenkok respected the mystery of the « Chinese wall » which separated the Friburgensis from the Uhtred of Oxford, colleague of Klenkok.

An *argumentum ex silentio* always has its liabilities ; in this case it is doubly fragile, for Klenkok wrote no *Quaestiones de Prologo Lombardi* where the matter of fideism would have come up in natural context !

In my larger study I can show that as late as 1374-78 an immediate disciple of Klenkok, Angelus Dobelin, did not even know that the fideism of the Friburgensis was condemned at Paris in 1347. But Dobelin cannot corroborate eventual suspicions that Klenkok was in ignorance about the Friburgensis or about the identity of its author. If Dobelin drew his main information from the writings of Klenkok — a very plausible supposition — then he was in the same predicament we are in. Klenkok has not w r i t t e n any questions on the Prologus ; what Klenkok t h o u g h t about the fideism of the Friburgensis can only be guessed at.

The fideism of the Friburgensis is outrageous. I copy a few choice items from q. 3 art. 1, a question also Gregory quotes.

MS Fribourg Cord. 26 f. 100^{r}:

Non est purum philosophicum ponere aliquod primum in entibus.

Non est purum philosophicum ponere aliquam substantiam esse.

Non est purum philosophicum ponere substantiam distingui ab accidentibus.

Non est purum philosophicum ponere causas esse in mundo.

To describe all the facts which throw light on the relationship Klenkok-Ulcredus-Uhtred I must reserve to my larger study. Some passages from Hiltalingen may indirectly illustrate this relationship.

1. Hiltalingen 1 Sent. q. 15 Clm 26711 f. 95^{r}: Ex hoc apparet quod *Monachus Niger* non bene dicit ut videtur dicendo quod existens in peccato tenetur credere se esse extra caritatem, et tenetur credere se esse in caritate = Fribourg QQ q. 1 art. 1
MS Cord. 26 f. 83^{r}
2. Hiltalingen 2 Sent. q. 18 Clm 26711 f. 196^{r}: NON quanto tentatio est turpior vel peior, tanto voluntas ad sibi resistendum est liberior et potentior... contra *Nigrum Monachum* = Fribourg QQ q. 3 art. 2 f. 102^{v}: Quanto peccatum est enormius et gravius, tanto potest anima illud citius vitare.
3. Hiltalingen 4 Sent. q. 9 Clm 26711 f. 339^{v}: Contra *Ulcredum Nigrum Monachum*: Nullus homo ex puris naturalibus cum adiutorio dei quale semper est sibi, potest viam ad aeternam vitam invenire vel mereri.

To Hiltalingen the Fribourg-author and the Ulcredus found in Klenkok were apparently the same person.

The passage no. 3 was quoted indirectly from Klenkok at the very place where Klenkok identifies Ulcredus with Uhtred. Compare Klenkok 4 Sent. dist. 14 [MS Klosterneuburg 304 f. 164^{v}, Siena G V 16 f. 60^{v}]:

In istum errorem [Pelagii] etiam videtur incidere Socius Ulcredus de Dumelino (!) Niger Monachus dicens quod quilibet homo ex naturalibus suis cum adiutorio dei tali quale est sibi praesens, possit invenire viam ad vitam aeternam ; et videtur directe error Pelagii.

There is no doubt that Hiltalingen quoted from Klenkok. Uhtred answered Klenkok on this very point in the *Contra querelas fratrum* [80])

art. 17: Quod quis potest mereri ex puris naturalibus, ita quod nihil requiritur a parte merentis praeter naturalia ad eliciendum actum meritorium. HUNC <articulum> NON TENUI nec intendo tenere <ego Uhtred>.

[80]) Cf. M. E. MARCETT, *Uhtred de Boldon* (New York 1938) 33. — M. D. KNOWLES, *The Censured Opinions of Uhtred of Boldon*, in: *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXVII (1955) 332-342 reedits the Contra querelas fratrum partly, and for the first time puts the querelae parallel with censures emanating from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Langham on Nov. 9, 1368, against alleged heretical propositions. These propositions — though anonymously censured by Langham — mostly correspond to the ones disclaimed by Uhtred's Contra querelas fratrum. Art. 17 and 19 are found in Knowles on page 338.

art. 19: Quod est medium sufficiens in natura ad attingendum finem hominis naturalem. HUNC TENUI et persuasi et reputo esse verum.

The *Contra querelas fratrum* was therefore not only published against the Dominican William Jordan but also against Klenkok, Socius of Uhtred. In the *Contra querelas fratrum* another accusation of Klenkok is rebutted.

Klenkok 3 Sent. dist. 37 [Siena G V 16 f. 46^{r} ; Klosterneuburg 304 f. 149^{r}] :

Sed numquid ignorantia facti excusat a peccato ?... Dicit Ulcredus Monachus de Dunelmino quod ignorantia facti nec iudicem excusat ; probat quia talis innocens iniuste pateretur, igitur iudex et similiter minister iniuste agerent. Item tunc similiter pagani essent excusati quia non credunt in Christum, quia habent ignorantiam facti.

Klenkok gives the withering answer of an incensed canonist:

Istius dicti oppositum est apud theologos ita notum quod Concilium Lateranense ponit contradictorium huius dicti per « Regulam iuris » quod ignorantia facti excusat. Nec apud legem aliquam credo dubitandum esse de hoc.

This is one of the few instances where Klenkok seems to identify Uhtred = Ulclerus = Ulcredus with the Friburgensis, who in q. 6 art. 3 (MS Fribourg Cord. 26 f. 124^{r}) furnishes a basis for Klenkok's charge.

Uhtred answers Klenkok in *Contra querelas fratrum* [81]) *art. 24*:

Quod ignorantia facti non excusat, nec excusare potest quempiam a peccato. HUNC NON DIXI quin ignorantia facti saepius excusat in parte, et poterit contingere in diversis casibus quod in toto.

These are two very strange coincidences: Klenkok makes a charge, and Uhtred answers with a flat denial. Shall we believe the accuser or the excuser ?

At the end of the *Contra querelas fratrum* [82]) Uhtred serves notice that another accusation of the « *fratres* » (Klenkok and Jordan) is equally false:

[81]) Cf. MARCETT, 34. — KNOWLES, 339 (art. 24 does not occur in the censures of Langham).

[82]) Cf. MARCETT, 35. — KNOWLES, 340.

Praeter autem istos articulos *unum librum* <Uhtred> *edidit* in quo non solum isti sed multi alii continentur errores.

Uhtred affirms:

Librum nondum edidi, sed plura dixi et scripsi quae fortassis a clericis poterunt impugnari, sed ab omnibus falsis fratribus quamtumcumque malevolis non poterunt infirmari.

The « *liber* » in question might be the Fribourg-Quaestiones. If they were more or less a work of Autrecourt, published by Uhtred, the latter could always swear that he had not written it while Autrecourt could safely affirm that he had not published it.

Whatever may be the final solution of these problems, through Klenkok a new development has arisen in the story of Uhtred ; its side-light illuminates a Janus-face. Uhtred's real personality becomes a mystery. The thin *alias* of the stealthy *Monachus Niger* = *Ulcredus* [83]) has been unveiled but for convenience' sake the two names, Ulcredus and Uhtredus, may be retained: Uhtred, for the Oxonian we know ; Ulcredus, for the author of the Fribourg-quaestiones.

Facinus de Ast

MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 115: Book I (colophon: 1362-63; hand = no. 1)
Book II and III (hand = no. 2)
MS Vat. Ottob. lat. 446: Book II and III
MS Coll. Navarra (lost) Book II and III (colophon: *duplex Lectura*)
MS Eichstätt 471: belongs to Klenkok (QQ Super Secundum)

In the weak light which fragmentary evidence sheds upon Facinus the outlines of his historical and doctrinal figure remain obscure.

[83]) Anyone willing to deny this identification must unearth a second *Monachus Niger* — a task not too hopeless — with almost the same name as the one of Uhtred — a task rather hopeless. For around 1342 one knew in Paris that *quidam Monachus N<iger> Ordinis sancti Benedicti, qui vocatur Wicierus <Ulclerus>* was in possession of the works of Autrecourt (cf. J. Lappe, *Nicolaus v. Autrecourt* BB VI, 2 [Münster 1908] 41*). And this *Wicierus* is already identifiable with the author of the Fribourg Quaestiones where a pure and undiluted « Autrecourt » speaks: Non est purum philosophicum ponere aliquod primum in entibus, ponere aliquam substantiam esse, ponere substantiam distingui ab accidentibus, ponere causas esse in mundo (MS Fribourg Cord. 26 f. 100r).

Facinus de Ast [84]), rarely de Aste, is a Lombard from Asti ; birth and death are unrecorded. What offices Facinus held in Church and Order we ignore.

With a few historical facts and some logical deductions we can describe his scholastic career. Probably a Parisian Lector, certainly a Parisian Baccalarius during the biennium 1361-63, he was probably raised to the magisterial dignity at the Avignonese General Chapter of the Augustinians on Pentecost, 1368. During the quinquennium between Baccalareatus and Magisterium he taught at Avignon. Support for these dates will be found in my larger study.

Klenkok and Facinus can be assigned to the historico-critical group of the Augustinians only with qualifications. The exactness of the quotations from Augustine furnish an argument for an attribution to this group. The quotations which Facinus culls from St. Augustine in his First Book are numerous, rich, and rather faithful. Many of those I have checked are taken from the Milleloquium S. Augustini ; but the importance they had in the eyes of the author, or at least of the amanuensis, is evinced by the spe-

[84]) On Facinus de Ast (!) cf. D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* I (Firenze 1929) 66. Perini reproduces the colophon of the lost Navarra manuscript on the authority of Quétif-Echard (I, 740): Explicit Secundum et Tertium Sententiarum Excellentissimi Sacrae Theologiae Doctoris Fratris Facini de Aste (!), Magistri Universitatis Parisiensis, qui *duplicem* [= zplicê ? ?] lecturam super Sententias et super totam Philosophiam *duplicata* [= z + phi^{ca} ? ? = et physicam ! ! ? ?] scripsit. If my conjecture *duplicata* = originally in Navarra MS: *et physicam,* is correct then we have all the works which Perini lists, besides the Super Primum which Perini does not know:

1. Super Secundum et Tertium.

2. In libros de Anima Aristotelis Quaestiones quae olim asservabantur in nostra [O. E. S. A.] Bibl. conventus S. Marci Mediol. = Tractatus Magistri Facini de Ast O. E. <S. A.> *De maximo et minimo*; begins in MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. 9^{v}: Quaestio utrum quaelibet creatura in sua natura sit certis limitibus circumscripta... In oppositum videtur esse Aristoteles in textu [De anima] qui dicit...

3. Quaestiones in libros Physicorum = MS Fribourg Cord. 26 f. 14^{r}-28^{v}.

The duplex Lectura of Facinus consists of Sent. 2-3: 1361-62 and of Sent. 4-1: 1362-63 (Book Four is lost). This way we can explain why Hiltalingen, Baccalarius Parisiensis 1365-66, quotes the Book II-III extensively but knows nothing of Book I which was still unpublished when Hiltalingen started. Facinus himself was no longer in Paris, but from 1363-68 at Avignon. [With the flexional forms of « Asti » the scholastics experienced some linguistic difficulties and wrote plain « Ast » because Astensis was no longer available].

cial treatment Augustinian quotations receive at the hand of Facinus or his copyist: they are all underlined very carefully from the first to the last word. In the Second and Third Book Augustinian quotations are much poorer.

Contemporary or preceding scholastics remain practically all anonymous ; Scotus and other school-heads are identified in the text. No identifications are found on the margins, at least not in the extant MSS. If the very first copy or manual of Facinus presented the same appearance Facinus did not advance beyond the most rudimentary stage of quoting, a circumstance which regretfully obscures his theological physiognomy.

Hiltalingen, who is indispensable for any research in the 14th century, furnishes the key to the mysteries which veil the historical perspective in the case of Facinus. Hiltalingen quotes Facinus over 60 times, Dobelin only several times. These quotations from Facinus fix definite reference-points for surveying the doctrines of Facinus in a preliminary way. Hiltalingen, who knows only Book II and III of Facinus, establishes contact or contrast between Facinus and the following scholastics:

Adam	Brinkil	Ripa, Johannes
Altissiodorensis	Buckingham	Rodington
Aston, Nicolaus	Chillington	Rosetus
Bonsemblans (?)	Hugolinus	Rudolfus de Castello, O. E. S. A.
Bradwardine	Gregorius	Scotus and Thomas

With the careful quotations Hiltalingen drew from Facinus we are enabled to unveil his *quidam* in some 20 places of Book II and III. Before each line of Facinus comes in focus much work will have to be done. It will be a rewarding effort because Facinus seems to contain the first reaction to Johannes de Ripa and his disciple Ludovicus de Padua. Already in the Prologus of Facinus we notice his alertness to the problems which the great systematic Franciscan, Johannes de Ripa, had raised.

With Brinkil Facinus agrees on the freedom of the intellective faculties. Another Anglicus, Ulcredus Monachus Niger Dunelmensis, seems to loom among the sources of Facinus ; but I am not too certain. Among our list of quoted authors there are enough *Anglici* to make Facinus a little different from other Augustinians. Allowing for the attainment of a sharper focus we can already say that the picture of Facinus will look more « English ».

His style points in the same direction ; it is the essay-style we find in Chillington, Rodington, and other Anglici although it is not so pronounced as in his English forerunners. Facinus has no neat mathematical pattern of text-division like Hiltalingen or Simon de Cremona. Whether this is really indicative of an English attitude I cannot say.

Coexistence in the same manuscripts is sometimes denotative of similarity of doctrine, sometimes indicatory of coexistence on the the same university roster. In MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 Facinus is bound together with a number of « English » doctors: Rosetus, Guillelmus de Cremona (= Brinkil). Ulcredus Monachus, and the assembler of this collectanea manuscript, Fridericus de Ratisbona, O. Min. But there is also Hiltalingen (Decem Responsiones) who certainly is no Anglicus. In MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 some philosophical works of Facinus have been copied: De maximo et minimo (f. 9^{v}-13^{v}), Super libros physicorum (Super Primum: f. 14^{r}-24^{r} ; Super Secundum: f. 24^{r}-27^{r} ; Super Tertium: f. 27^{r}-28^{r} ; De materia 5^{i} libri: f. 28^{r}-28^{v}). Certain references in these *Lectiones* of Facinus impugn and lampoon Fridericus de Ratisbona. This is the reason why Fridericus included Facinus in his personal collectanea manuscript of Fribourg. With all the others who co-exist in the same manuscript, Fridericus had similar personal scholastic associations, only one excepted, namely, Rosetus.

John Hiltalingen of Basel

Gateway to Research and Study in Augustinian Modern Theology

The style of Hiltalingen [85]) is far away from the loose essay-form of the Anglici, Chillington, Rodington, Osbertus, and others. His place is at the other extreme ; he divides his texts *more geometrico*, and likes authors who write *more geometrico*.

[85]) For a short biography of Hiltalingen cf. D. Trapp, *Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations*, in: *Augustiniana* IV (1954) 412-14. — In the meantime I have found a new important document on Hiltalingen in L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* I (ed. 8-9, Freiburg 1926) 800-02, esp. 802 n. 1. It shows Hiltalingen, in the diplomatic service of Gregory XI, on a mission as angel of peace in Florence. The companion of Hiltalingen is Magister Ludovicus de Venetiis [= de Padual], O. Min.; the date of their diplomatic passport is July 20, 1377. — [On the advice of my revered teacher, Angelus Walz, O. P., I shall write in the future *Hiltalingen*, not Hiltalinger as in the past.]

He quotes: times

Alanus, De maximis theologicis	35
Ps. Alanus, De arte fidei	
« Alexander », De memoria rerum difficilium	20
Definitiones XXIV Philosophorum	13
Auctor libri De Causis (also quoted « Proclus »)	16

Sometimes also the Auctor 6 principiorum.

Among the masters of dialectics he quotes:

Antonius de Arimino, O. E. S. A.
Billingham
Burlaeus
Firbich (Feribrigus, Virbiche)
Hentisbri (Wm. Heytesbury)
John Dumbleton (Tholinethon, Culmenthon)
Petrus Heliae, the grammarian.

But Hiltalingen does not pertain to the logico-critical extremists. His way of thinking is marked by moderation and conservativism ; 83 times the *sententia communis* is invoked as standard. Hiltalingen has a great respect for the tradition of the Fathers and for the historical perspective and context of doctrines. This feature stamps Hiltalingen with the distinctive mark of the historico-critical group of the Augustinians whose trend many other Modern theologians followed. Among the patristic sources of Hiltalingen figure:

Ambrosius (31 times, indirectly), Athanasius (twice, ind.) Basilius (5), Beda (3), Chrysostomus (12, ind.), Gregorius (32, some ind.), Hieronymus (20, some ind.), Hilarius (20), Isidorus (often ind.), Origines (6), Petrus Ravennas Chrysologus, Prosper (twice).

If a man of pronounced historical and positive tendencies, could quote no more from the treasures of the Fathers in general, we may understand that it was high time that the historical movement which Augustinian theology inaugurated started rolling.

Augustine was practically the only patristic channel of the Medieval West. Augustine was quoted by Hiltalingen about 800-1000 times with accuracy and good capitulations ; Damascenus some 65 times with examples of Hiltalingen's text-erudition ; Dionysius some 70 times with a capitulation which profited by the Letter-system, Boethius some 30 times.

The most positive source of theology, Holy Scripture, Hiltalingen did certainly not neglect ; well over a thousand times we find him quoting it without distorting its literary sense.

The early scholastics and Authentici are found in Hiltalingen:

	times
S. Bernardus	31
Hugo de S. Victore	85
Richardus de S. Victore	25
Altissiodorensis	110
Anselmus (with good capitulation)	156
Ps. Anselmus (Eadmerus: De similitud.)	4

The *Auctor de fide et legibus* (Guill. de Alvernia), who widened the horizons in regard to freedom of conscience, Hiltalingen quotes 26 times. Legal sources are quoted, once or twice each: Remigius, Raymundus, Paulus, Archidiaconus Vincentius [Baisius] Guido, Johannes Andreae, Johannes Monachus, and of course Gratianus etc.

	times
Astensis	50
Hostiensis	20

Popes are quoted especially on poverty and beatific vision:

John XXII (15 times) ;
Benedict XII [86]) (36 times ; « Benedictus deus »
Contra: Eccardum,
Michaelem de Cesena,
Ockham,
Petrum Johannem Olivi).

Marsilius and *Johannes de Ganduno* are quoted in this connection some 18 times.

Among the scholastics proper are some who must be considered as setting stars at the time Hiltalingen wrote. One might expect to find them oftener on the pages of Hiltalingen. I enter the number of quotations in parentheses, with a star if the indirect manner of quoting is rather obvious.

[86]) Knowing the dogmatic importance of a papal saying or writing, Hiltalingen remarks in Clm 26711 f. 226^{rv}: Notandum tamen quod non erat tunc papa cum praedictam rationem contra praedictum Petrum <Olivi> fecit sed vocabatur Jacobus tit. S. Priscae presbyter Cardinalis ut patet in rubrica operis antedicti.

S. Albertus	(6)	Landulfus	(1)
Alexander de Halis	(5)	Matthaeus de Aquasp.	(1)
S. Bonaventura	(13)	Petrus Abaelardus	(1)
Durandus *	(23)	Petrus de Alvernia	(1)
Franciscus de Marchia	(3)	Petrus de Tarentasia	(6)
Gilbertus Porret.	(2)	Praepositinus	(4)
Godofridus	(7)	Richardus de Mediav.	(5)
Guido Terreni	(3)	Robertus Cowton	(3)
Hervaeus	(2)	Simon Carnot. Tornac.	(1)
Linconiensis *	(8)	Wm. of Ware (Varro) *	(1)

Of course, there is no ready-made thumb rule for counting quotations ; one remains always hesitant between two alternatives: whether the occurrence of the simple name or the number of quoted chapters should be counted.

The following short list sets the tone for Hiltalingen's system:

Aegidius Romanus (Dominus, Magnus, Doctor noster)	252
Thomas de Argentina, Doctor noster (Sent. *1-4*)	188
Gregorius, Doctor noster Authenticus (Sent. *1-2*)	133
Hugolinus, Magister, Dominus (Sent. *1-4*)	193
S. Thomas (with special reverence when contradicted)	232
Henricus de Gandavo	152
Scotus	246

These are the non-Augustinian sources of Hiltalingen:

Sententia communis	83	
Adam (1^a, 2^a Lectura)	27	(often with Gregorius)
Albertus (discipulus Osberti ?)	2	
Armacanus (Hibernicus, R. Fitzralph)		
[Lectura		
De paupertate Christi		
Libellus quem edidit in Curia		
Summa de QQ Armenorum]	75	
Bacon<thorp>	5	
Bradwardine, Doctor Profundus	80	(perfect capitulations)
Brinkil [87])	39	

[87]) The complete name of Brinkil is Doctor Anglicus, O. Min., Richardus Brinkil Folvil. Very rich material about this Anglicus is found in the QQ Super Secundum Guillelmi de Cremona, O. Min., [Socius of Hiltalingen] MS Fribourg Cordeliers 26 f. <modern> 143^r-190^r. I shall publish excerpts from William of Cremona whom Ehrle [*Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters v. Candia* (Münster 1925) 279] misidentifies as the Augustinian General William Amidani of Cremona. Ehrle (68 f, 71, 277-78) deals with Brinkil on the basis of other documents.

Chillington [= once *Calikan*] [88])	25
Franciscus de Perusio, Vesperiae	4
Halifax (Audifax, Eliphat: indirectly ?)	6
Jacobus de Spinalo	1
Johannes de Ripa	
[Determinationes	
Super Primum	
QQ Ordinariae]	76
Nicolaus Aston	13
Nicolaus de Orem	3
Ockham	18
Osbertus	10
[Pickingham, Buckingham ?]	7
Paulus de Perusio	26
Richardus Barbe (discipulus de Ripa)	5
Robertus Holcot	14
Rodington	5
Rosetus	15
Petrus Aureoli (originally)	23
[Large secondary additions	
in MS Toulouse 248]	
Petrus Clarevallensis Ceffons	1
Ulcredus Monachus Niger	3

The Augustinians quoted by Hiltalingen are:

[88]) Chillington edited: 10 QQ theologales, 10 QQ morales = Super librum Ethicorum, 10 QQ physicales = Super librum De generatione, found together in the MS Bruges 503, written by one hand of ca. 1350. The QQ theologales 1-10 are listed (all ten) in MS Bruges 188 f. 2^{v}; but in no MS are all ten preserved. — The QQ morales are announced in the QQ theologales as finished; cf. MSS Paris Nat. lat. 14576 f. 140^{r} = Vat. lat. 4353 f. 24^{r} = Bruges 503 f. 98^{r} (alias respondebam in QQ super librum Ethicorum; similarly in Paris Nat. lat. 15561 f. 210^{v}). The QQ morales 1-10 are copied in MS Bruges 503 f. 51^{r}-79^{v} but attributed by the same hand to Magister *Clariton* [= Chillington] de Anglia; the style is the English essay-form, the same as in the QQ theologales. Of course the endless quotations from Augustine we find in the QQ theologales are not in the Aristotelian commentary of Chillington on the liber Ethicorum. — Chillington also wrote QQ physicales as he says himself in the QQ theologales cf. Vat. lat. 4353 f. 41^{r} (alias probavi legendo physicam). Also the Vat. lat. 986 f. 56^{r} quotes Kilmiton (!) in QQ suis super librum Physicorum. Hiltalingen quotes the QQ physicales under the name of *Calikan* [= Chillington] cf. Clm 26711 f. 174^{v}. This large passage of Hiltalingen is found exactly, without variation, in MS Bruges 503 f. 50^{r}.

	times
Alexander de S. Elpidio, quondam Generalis noster [= *Alexander* in: Thom. Argent.] whom he quotes indirectly ; cf. ed. 1585 [Th. Arg.] f. 62^{r}, 97^{r}	2
Alfonsus de Toleto	34
Antonius de Arimino (in Logica parte 2 cc. 3, 4, 6)	4
Bartholomaeus de Urbinio, several times, [also under *Milleloquium*]	
Bernardus Oliverius, indirectly from Alfonsus	
Bonsimilant: Sent. 1-2 ; Principia ; Vesperiae [89])	51
Facinus de Ast: Sent. *2-3* ; never Sent. 1	64
Gerardus de Senis: Sent. 1-2	31
Gregorius, Doctor noster Authenticus: Sent. 1-2	133
Gyso de Colonia	3
Godofridus de Hardeby	2
Henricus de Vrimaria	8
Hermannus de Schildicz (Mag.)	11
Hugolinus, Mag. Generalis, Dominus: Sent. 1-4 [Sent. 3 very rarely, Sent. 4 rarely]	193
Jacobus de Appamiis quidam antiquus doctor huius scholae [indirectly from Gregory]	1
Jacobus de Viterbio, Doctor noster Inventivus [Quol. 1-3, QQ De praedicamentis divinis]	72
Johannes de Lana [indirectly]	1
Johannes de Braculis, « Magister » (Socius of Ebracus) [De symbolo = De radicibus theologiae De videndo deum ; but no Lectura !]	33
Johannes Klenkok [Quolibetum, Postilla super can. Johannis, super Actus Apostolorum, Expositio litteralis Sent. 1-4, QQ Super Secundum]	87
Rudolfus de Castello, Magister (Regens 1360) [Determinationes, Vesperiae]	6
Johannes Romani, Magister	2
Jordanus de Saxonia, Lector [Postilla, Theorem. de passione, De stimulo amoris, Super Missus est]	12
Michael de Massa venerabilis vir licet non Magister [indirectly from Alfonsus !]	3
Prosper de Regio [indirectly]	1

[89]) The Vesperiae of Bonsimilant I have found anonymous in Vat. lat. 981 after the Determination of J. de Ripa. The Vesperiae are on f. 71^{v}-74^{v}. F. 75^{r}-97^{v} probably belong to Bonsimilant. Being a Socius of Ludovicus de Padua [= de Venetiis], O. Min., (who was a disciple of de Ripa and caused the indirect condemnation of Ripa) Bonsimilant is in the Vat. lat. 981 for a very natural reason.

Onofrius de Florentia [Bacc. in Responsione]	4
Thomas de Argentina	188
Aegidius	252

John of Basel quotes Aegidius 252 times but disagrees with him over 50 times. He calls him either plainly Aegidius, or Aegidius Magnus (3 times), Dominus Aegidius (20), Dominus Aegidius Magnus (3 times). He treats him as the head of the School, Doctor noster Aegidius (3 times), and has him parade at the head of long processions: Doctores nostri Aegidius, Thomas, Bonsimilant ; or: Aegidius cum sua parte (Gerardus, Thomas) ; or: Schola nostra, Aegidius, Gregorius, Hugolinus, Jacobus et alii doctores scholae nostrae ; or: Aegidius, Gerardus, Thomas, Hugolinus, Klenkok. It need not be underlined that Hiltalingen tells us sometimes that his opinion is *de mente Aegidii*, that he lavishes his praise on the sayings of the Master with the scholastic *pulchre, satis pulchre, bene, satis prolixe, diffuse et prolixe*. This last compliment is almost a criticism because Aegidius can be very long-winded indeed. Amusing it is to see that John gives his Doctor Noster no titles when he contradicts him with a salva reverentia.

The works of Aegidius known to Hiltalingen are:

times	
74	Sent. 1
60	Sent. 2
11	Sent. 3
9	Tractatus de Corpore Christi [theoremata et commenta]
8	De primo principio [secundum aliam intitulationem: De esse et essentia]
1	De regimine principum
2	De clerico imperfecte ordinato
1	De cognitione angelorum
3	Tractatus de mensura angelorum
1	De compositione angelorum, indirectly from Alfonsus [= Alveus, Hervaeus ?] *lib. 3 q. 3* !
6	Theoremata de esse et essentia [theoremata, commenta, articuli]
9	Liber de articulis Petri Johannis [Tractatus de erroribus (de reprobatione errorum) Petri Johannis]
6	Tractatus de erroribus philosophorum
3	Tractatus de peccato originali
1	Tractatus de resignatione papae
6	Expositio decretalis Firmiter, Extra De summa trinitate...
1	Expositio decretalis Cum Marthae

1 Tractatus quomodo reges... bona immobilia possunt ecclesiae dare
4 De influentia dei in beatos
39 Quodlibeta 1-6
1 Tractatus de subjecto theologiae

Names marking the different steps in the career of Hiltalingen

Socii: ..... Dominicus Michael de Sorbona
[Mag. Stephanus Godetti (Galdeti)
Guillelmus de Cremona, O. Min.
Paulus de Fonte, O. Carm.
Godoscalus de Pomulcz, O. Cist.]
Albertus Ranconis [de Bohemia]
Bartholomaeus de Ripario, Mag. O. P.: Tolosae
Bonsimilant, Mag. O. E. S. A.
Conradus de Ebraco, nondum Mag. O. Cist.
Dionysius Foullechat, Bacc. O. Min.
Eberhardus nunc abbas Furnensis
Guillelmus Cantor Parisiensis, Mag. [de Salvarvilla]: Parisiis
Guillelmus Arnaldi, Mag.: Parisiis
Guillelmus Jordan de universitate Oxoniensi, Mag.
Johannes de Calore de Sorbona, Mag. (Prior ?)
Johannes Cusin, Mag. O. P.
Johannes Romani, Mag. O. E. S. A.
Nicolaus de Amatrice, Mag. O. E. S. A.
Onofrius de Florentia, Bacc. O. E. S. A.
Stephanus Godetti [Galdeti]

The preceding list of quotations found in Hiltalingen is by no means definitive ; some names have not yet been definitely identified, others will come up in indirect quotations. There are of course many quotations from Canon Law, which I have not mentioned. Self-quotations occur in Hiltalingen 229 times ; they are valuable in examining his doctrinal progress.

The venture of editing Hiltalingen is in the process of realization ; the encyclopedic wealth of information contained in his writings makes him the gateway to research and study in Augustinian Modern Theology.

With Hiltalingen we have reached practically the end of the Augustinian Schola Moderna. There are some extant Lecturae subsequent to Hiltalingen but they are mostly *Lecturae secundum alium*: Simon's Lectura secundum Hugolinum ; Montina's Lectura secundum Conradum = secundum Hugolinum ; Dobelin's Lectura secun-

dum Klenkok et Hiltalingen ; Gracilis' Lectura secundum Hiltalingen.

These Lecturae secundum alium are not merely repetitious ; they contain sometimes new elements of information but in this article I have to aim at brevity ; it must suffice to evaluate the Lectura secundum alium as a type. For this purpose I want to examine at least one Lectura secundum alium. I choose the interesting case of Simon de Cremona (MS Cremona 118).

Simon de Cremona

The importance of a Lectura secundum alium

In the patrimony of Augustinian scholasticism of the 14th century figures a beautiful Commentary on the Four Books of Lombard by Simon of Cremona [*Baccalarius Secundarius Augustiniensis in scholis interioribus O. E. S. A. 1365-66*].

The date of his Lectura has been established with probability in another article [90]). With the additional facts contained in this article, the date 1365-66 becomes practically certain.

Simon does not pretend to write a new Commentary of his own but states plainly that he reads *secundum Hugolinum* whom he excerpts in all Four Books, adding in the First Book passages from Alfonsus, in the first two Books some from Bonsimblans [Badoarius] de Padua.

The characterization of Simon's doctrine is thereby intimated. In regard to style one has to admit that Simon writes a facile Latin. The manner of subdividing his text-material is far away from the loose English essay-style. He follows a mathematical pattern of subdivision: 3×3, that is, *three* principal arguments at the beginning, are answered by *three* articles in the *Quaestio*. This rule is applied with methodical care, but the inconveniences of a too detailed divisional pattern which we find in Hiltalingen ($3 \times 3 \times 3$) [91]) are avoided by Simon's.

[90]) Cf. D. Trapp, *The Portiuncula Discussion of Cremona*, in: *Recherches de théol. ancienne et médiévale* XXII (1955) 82 n. 9. Also F. Stegmüller, *Disput. de indulgentiis S. de Cremona* [et] *Tractatus de deo trino Hugolini de Urbev.* in: *Annali Biblioteca Gov. Cremona* VII, 1 (1955) 5-7.

[91]) Cf. D. Trapp, *Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations*, in: *Augustiniana* IV (1954) 417.

Like Hugolin, Klenkok, and Hiltalingen, Simon does not quote on the margin of text-columns ; he quotes in the text itself. Quotations from Augustine are good at the beginning of the Commentary, poor at the end. In the Third Book which I have copied, I found only some 50 short and meager quotations from Augustine. There are many names in Simon's texts, for he belongs to the historico-critical group of the Augustinians. To indicate all names would create a wrong impression as they have been taken from Alfonsus, Gregory, Hugolin, and Bonsimblans. I list only the significant ones:

Socii: Franciscus de Mediolano, Bacc. Ord. Serv. S. Mariae
Magister Stephanus de Collegio Laudunensi
Doctores: Aegidius, Doctor noster *Egregius*
Alfonsus, Dominus, Doctor noster
Bonsimblans (!), Magister de Padua
Gregorius, Doctor noster *Authenticus*
Ugolinus (at end: Hugolinus)
Doctor noster *Luculentus* (very often)
Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus (sometimes)
(*The other names will be enumerated together with the Tituli Quaestionum in my larger study*).

Simon's *Lectura* belongs to the type of the *Lectura secundum alium*. This type is not rare in the late 14th century, as we know, and has a history extending into the preceding decades although we cannot verify it with the same ease because the authors quote less and on account of less quoting parade more originality.

I am only interested here in those *Lecturae secundum alium* where the « *alius* » is an Augustinian. Of that kind I know several after 1365, both among the Augustinians and — this is rather strange at first sight — also among the Cistercians.

There seems to be a symbiotic relationship between the Augustinian and the Cistercian theology of the late 14th century.

1 Godescalcus de Pomulcz [92]), Baccalarius O. Cist., 1365-66, wrote *secundum Gregorium*, as the Augustinian *Socius* of Godescalcus, John of Basel, and the Cistercian contemporary,

[92]) On the MSS of Peter Gracilis, Simon of Cremona, Angelus Dobelin, Dionysius de Montina, Conrad of Ebrach, John Hiltalingen, Jacobus of Eltville, and Godescalcus of Pomulcz [Pomuk] cf. F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Lombardi* I (1947) s. v.

Jacobus de Altavilla, *Baccalarius* 1369-70, well knew. Hiltalingen names *Gregory and Godescalcus* in one breath four times within his I Sent. q. 2 and q. 6. Jacobus brackets the two together in his Commentary MS Cambrai 570 f. 2^{r}, 5^{v}, 45^{v}, 128^{v}; in the last place the identification is somewhat puzzling « *Dominus Cocalchus Bacellarius huius Colengii <de S. Bernardo>* » but *Baccalarius* need not, and does not, mean here *Socius*.

2 Jacobus de Altavilla, *Baccalarius O. Cist.*, 1369-70, composed his Sentences *secundum Johannem* de Basilea. I have examined a large part of the First and Second Book of Jacobus (MS Cambrai 570) and found very many and copious passages which are taken literally from Hiltalingen.

3 This Lectura of *Jacobus secundum Johannem de Basilea* was read also to the Monks of Ebrach, 1382, when Henry of Langenstein on his return from Paris stopped at the abbey of his friend, Jacobus de Altavilla, and acted as guest-lecturer [93]).

4 Conradus de Ebrach, Baccalarius O. Cist., 1370-71, drafted his Sentences *secundum Hugolinum*. My confrère, Adolar Zumkeller, has already mentioned it [94]). Conrad's Warsaw MS 390 (Zumkeller 23) adds this note:

[93]) Cf. A. Lang, *Heinrich Totting v. Oyta*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXXIII, 4-5 (Münster 1937) 32 f. — Lang mentions only the Henry MS Erfurt Ampon 2° 118 as the Ebrach Lectura.

F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Lombardi* I (Würzburg 1947) 155 under no. 331 mentions also the MS München Clm 11591 which I have found to be identical to the MSS of Jacobus de Altavilla. Clm 11591 which Stegmüller attributes to Henry of Langenstein must therefore be returned to the rightful owner, namely, to Jacobus de Altavilla, if Clm 11591 is typical as text-witness for Henry's *Lectura at Ebrach* because the Clm 11591 is absolutely identical to the MS Cambrai 570 (Jacobus) in all the numerous passages which I copied during the confrontation Jacobus-Hiltalingen.

[94]) Cf. Adolar Zumkeller, *Dionysius de Montina*, in: *Cassiciacum* (German series) Bd. X (2. Reihe, 4. Bd) [Würzburg 1948] 18 in footnote.

A. Lang, *Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Schol. des 14. Jh.*, in: *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXX, 1-2 (Münster 1930) 238: « Sein Standpunkt (Lang refers to Conradus) deckt sich mit den Ansichten der Augustinerschule... Am nachdrücklichsten scheint er mir durch Hugolinus Malabranca beeinflusst zu sein ». Zumkeller quotes this passage of Lang, who based his statement certainly on MS Paris Nat. lat. 3070 f. 11^{v} mentioned above in the text.

Nota quod <Conradus> sequitur Hugolinum qui <Conradus ?> fecit quasdam responsiones suorum <Hugoloni ?> dictorum Parisius.

The Klosterneuburg MS 292 f. 97^{v} (Zumkeller 40) documents the relationship Hugolinus-Conradus with the words of Conradus himself: Hugolinus Generalis eiusdem ordinis <O. E. S. A.> quem in isto articulo et in multis aliis sequor <ego Conradus>.

I saw another statement of this sort in Conrad's MS Paris Nat. lat. 3070 f. 11^{v}:

Respondeo <Conradus> sequendo doctrinam solidam Magistri Hugolini sicut solitus sum frequenter.

5 Dionysius de Montina, *Baccalarius O. E. S. A. 1371-72*, read this Conradus-Commentary to his own Augustinians because it was a new kind of Hugolinus presented with the critique of Conradus, and therefore of lively interest to the Augustinians [95]).

6 Among the Augustinians themselves, Angelus Dobelin, *Baccalarius* 1374-75, read openly *secundum Klenkok et Hiltalingen.*

[95]) The reader may ask how works of Augustinians could be read in the lecture hall of the Cistercians. Any answer must postulate a great doctrinal similarity between the two orders. Corporative pride would have never permitted it if this similarity had not existed. To make the *recitatio* of an outsider possible, too-revealing quotations were a little retouched. The great doctors like Aegidius and Thomas of Strassburg were allowed to stay in the *recitatio* of the Augustinian outsider; their names were not suppressed. Smaller figures or contemporary Augustinians quoted in the *recitatio* were rendered anonymous and shrouded under a « *quidam* ». I have often been amused by this technique which Jacobus de Altavilla in his *recitatio* of Hiltalingen uses; ex. g. in 2 Sent. q. 7 (= Hiltalingen 2 Sent. q. 15 and 16) Jacobus repeats the definition of the *peccatum veniale* given by Klenkok who is expressly named in Hiltalingen but rendered nameless by Jacobus: « *quidam doctor linguae meae* » [Klenkok and Altavilla are both German]. The Jacobus MS Kassel Theol. Fol. 16 f. 199^{v} and Cambrai 570 f. 162^{v} have the same phrase.

The editor of Dionysius de Montina who wanted to make him a Cistercian used the same palliative technique in regard to quotations found in Dionysius.

These *Lecturae secundum alium* were read with the approval of the Superiors who were happy to know that the voice of a good Master was re-echoing in their lecture halls. As long as the basic requirements of their school tradition were fulfilled, even an outsider could be « recited ». The annual turnover of professors (*Baccalarii*) provided for variety, but was also likely to endanger continuity and solidity of doctrine.

7 Petrus Gacilis, *Baccalarius* 1375-76, followed not only the footsteps but the very phrases of Hiltalingen in a way so deceptive that it does not cast the best light on Gracilis. He read *secundum Hiltalingen* without ever mentioning him. Only by a lucky coincidence was I enabled to « unmask » Gracilis' dubious literary honesty. I am willing, however, to give him the benefit of the doubt. The MS of Gracilis, Brit. Museum, Royal 10 A 1, is a late copy (1440) ; the original may have had an *Incipit* or *Explicit* which clearly stated that the *Lectura Gracilis* was *secundum Hiltalingen*. When the British manuscript was copied the name of Hiltalingen was under the cloud of a *damnatio memoriae* [96]).

8 Bertholdus de Ratisbona to whom we owe the preservation of the literary legacy of Hiltalingen (Clm 26711) was *Baccalarius Oxoniensis* O. E. S. A., 1398-99. He was the *Recollector* of Hiltalingen and read him to his Augustinian students at Oxford and later in Wien [97])

9 Simon de Cremona, *Baccalarius Secundarius* O. E. S. A., 1365-66, read *secundum Hugolinum*. And in this case we are supported by the sources in saying that Simon *therefore* recollected the works of Hugolinus.

Before such a list of *extant Lecturae secundum alium*, a list which *lost Lecturae* might increase, one may have a feeling of deep dismay. Today we immediately think of « plagiarism » and regret the waste of ink which these productions seem to imply.

The last two in our list, Bertholdus and Simon, give a different evaluation to the *Lecturae secundum alium*: the greater the « plagiarism », the greater may be the merit before posterity !

In the age of the manuscript, to copy meant to deserve the gratitude of posterity, to excerpt meant to promote the cause of solid science. Thus we are indebted even to the worst « plagiarist ».

But some of these *Lecturae secundum alium* were not animated

[96]) Hiltalingen was one of the most active agents of the schismatic curia of Avignon; after the Schism (1378-1415) Hiltalingen's name was suspect because he had been anti-general under Avignon and schismatic bishop of Lombez near Lourdes.

[97]) On Bertholdus de Ratisbona cf. a forthcoming study on the history of the Augustinians in Wien by Dr. Fr. Rennhofer (to appear in 1956).

at all by the spirit of plagiarism ; on the contrary, by the avowed intention to make complete editions of an author. To these *Lecturae secundum alium* we owe that the works of many authors have been preserved in one *corpus*. In the age of the manuscript the different « Books » could freely be scattered, an all-inclusive copy could very well become impossible.

After the Baccalareatus of an author his single books were lying around in their first draft, perhaps completely unbound, their margins crowded with *notae, notulae*, their sequence of text in disorder on account of inserted *sexterni*, and *folia* of all sizes [98]). In his capacity as Baccalareus Formatus the author was busy with sermons and other scholastic requirements, among them the time-consuming preparation for the prescribed *Responsiones*. To qualify for the *Magisterium* it was enough to present for approval a *complete draft* ; the amanuensis inserted *sexterni, folia, notae* and *notulae* somewhere in the text, rightly or wrongly, as time and competence would permit. Such a *complete draft* we have in the Gregory edition of 1522 (reprint 1955) [99]) because Gregory never found a Baccalarius willing enough to give the finishing touch of the editor to Gregory's *Lectura notata* (complete draft).

But Hugolinus was lucky enough to meet a *Recollector* (editor) in a Baccalarius whom I identify with Simon de Cremona. Simon studied the complete draft of Hugolin (*Lectura notata*) before his own Baccalareatus in 1365, put enough reference signs and remarks into Hugolin's complete draft to be able to read Hugolin in class, and after the Baccalareatus (1365-71 ?), at least before 1377, released a complete and harmoniously *edited* Hugolin-text for circulation. This is the story I want to develop in the following.

Simon the Recollector Hugolini

Several MSS of Hugolinus [100]) conclude the *Lectura* with this remark :

[98]) Cf. my forthcoming edition of the Epistula Introductoria of Peter Ceffons in *Traditio* (1956).

[99]) Cf. above in this article p. 193 ff under Gregory of Rimini.

[100]) Cf. A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto u. seine theol. Erkenntnislehre* (Würzburg 1941) 105-123. Zumkeller has not identified the Recollector Hugolini.

Lectura fuit notata A. D. 1352, sed
Recollectio fuit facta A. D. 1365.

Most MSS of Hugolinus begin with a *Recollector's* preface of which I excerpt the most significant and relevant passages:

Exemplo veri summique Magistri dicentis Joh. 15 « Quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis »
<1> *dicta* scil. per... Hugolinum... studui pro viribus in unum *recolligere* et
<2> ceteris in mea Lectura Sententiarum Parisius impertiri...
Tanto quippe magis aestimo *mihi et aliis*... proficere quanto studiosius
<3> *coepero* illius *scripta* requirere et
<4> inventa frequentius atque attentius recensere...
Sed antequam ulterius prosequar, fateor me ad huiusmodi RECOLLECTIONEM DEBITO ORDINE SECTANDAM omnino non sufficere. Et ideo si quid correctionis dignum reperies, non auctorem <Hugolinum> huius operis arguas, sed collectori... ignoscas...

Interpretation based exclusively on this text alone

<1> The primary intention of the Recollector was to recollect or collect again the *dicta Hugolini* ; it existed already in the past (cf. *studui*), before 1365, but its realization was left to the future, to the time after 1365 (cf. *ad recollectionem sectandam*).

<2> The secondary purpose of the Recollector was to read the recollected *dicta Hugolini* to a scholastic audience during the *Baccalareatus Recollectoris*.

<3> He could not read the *Lectura notata* of 1352 in the lecture hall as the text passages were disarrayed in many places. To achieve harmony among the *dicta Hugolini*, incorporated in the interim-edition of 1352, the Recollector was conscious of the imperative need to look immediately for MSS of Hugolin (cf. *quanto coepero illius scripta requirere*) and to peruse them carefully and repeatedly (cf. *quanto coepero inventa scripta frequentius et attentius recensere*), before his own Baccalareatus (cf. *tanto magis aestimo mihi proficere*), during his teaching as Baccalareus (cf. *tanto magis aestimo aliis proficere*), and after his Baccalareatus in preparation for the final edition of Hugolinus which the

Recollector hoped would be perfect. For any imperfections the Recollector assumed personal responsibility.

Interpretation in the light of accessory evidence

1352 An interim-edition in the customary shorthand (*nota*) was prepared which shifted all additions and marginalia somewhere into the text-column. This interim-edition must have looked like the reprint of Gregorius Ariminensis of the year 1955.

1365 While other Baccalarii prepared themselves for their Lectura by revising their own Lectura texts, SIMON DE CREMONA, O. E. S. A., decided to read « *secundum Hugolinum* » ; he went over the *Lectura notata* of 1352 several times, and made his reference signs where disarrayed text-passages needed better harmony and sequence. When in doubt he consulted other MSS, copies of the *Lectura Lectoris Hugolini*, or the *Lectura Ordinata Hugolini*, or perhaps the original from which the *Lectura notata* had been copied.

1365 The *Lectura notata* of 1352, in recollected form, was read in the lecture hall of the Parisian Augustinians, and so underwent its first test of fire. The result of this public reading, the *reportata* by students of SIMON, and Simon's further application brought about a copy of Hugolinus which Simon considered as harmonious and complete as his ideal demanded. Simon had an *archetypus* copied by a *stationarius* of Paris.

1377 Before his *Licentia* [101]) Simon had to present a *Lectura* of his own for official approval to meet the requirements of the *Magisterium*. Simon assembled this *Lectura* of his own from a *florilegium* of Hugolinus' Four Books, inserting excerpts of Alfonsus in the First Book, and excerpts of Bonsemblans in Book 1-2. This *Lectura Simonis* was copied by a *stationarius* of Paris and is our actual MS Cremona 118. The same *stationarius* was ordered by Simon to make a copy of the *archetypus* of Hugolin which Simon took along to Italy ; this Hugolinus-copy was first in Simon's possession, passed into the hands of the Augustinian General Bartholomaeus Venetus (*de civitate Venetiarum*) and was in-

[101]) Cf. foot-note n. 90.

corporated among the library treasures of Pope Gregory XII (1411). It is our MS Vat. lat. 1094 [102]). A comparison between the handwriting of Vat. lat. 1094 and Cremona 118 leaves little or no doubt that both these MSS are the product of the same artistic pen, the same illuminator !

This interpretation hinges on the identification of the *Recollector Hugolini* with Simon de Cremona, O. E. S. A. I find it fascinating that this identification is vouched for by a threefold coincidental identity between the *Recollectio Hugolini* and the Commentary of Simon de Cremona.

First, Simon did read *secundum Hugolinum* as his MS Cremona 118 amply proves, and the *Recollector's* claim requires.

Second, the Lectura-year of Simon coincides with the identical date of the *Recollectio*: 1365.

Third, one of the best Hugolinus MS, the Vat. lat. 1094, certainly a close descendent of the *archetypus recollectoris*, as well as Simon's own *Lectura*, the MS Cremona 118, are products of the same penmanship and the same artistic taste. According to Pelzer's Catalogue the Vat. lat. 1094 has been written by three hands ; also the MS Cremona 118 has three hands. The main hand is identical in both MSS. At the end of the MS Cremona 118 is a discussion on the Portiuncula indulgence probably by the hand of Simon himself. It would clinch the proof if this hand were also found in the Vat. lat. 1094.

Recollector = *recollector operum*
and/or = *recollector ordinatorque idearum* ?

To render our interpretation more plausible we must focus and fix the meaning of *recolligere* and its derivative *recollector*. Why *recollector* should mean *editor* as our interpretation demands is not a priori evident. To the modern ear, at least, *recollector* implies more *recolligere omnia opera* than *recolligere omnes textus dispersos recollectosque ' debito ordine ' ordinare*.

A factual consideration shows that the two meanings need not be mutually exclusive ; no editor can go to work without having

[102]) Cf. A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto* (1941) 115 and A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini 679-1134* II, 1 (Vatican 1931) 697 where a possessor's name is partly erased: « ... de civitate venetiarum ». I interpret the erasure as: Bartholomaeus de Civitate Venetiarum.

under his hands all the literary productions of an author if he wants to make a complete edition, *collectanea* in medieval parlance.

Therefore the first meaning which we might read into this medieval word *recollector*, is never excluded when we meet with medieval *Recollectores* because they, actually, assembled the *opera omnia* of those authors whom a kind fate preserved from oblivion.

But the second signification of *recollector = editor* is not only involved automatically by the realities of medieval book-lore but also warranted by the medieval dictionary.

Hugolin's *Recollector* himself insinuates that *recolligere* signifies *recolligere debito ordine* (cf. ad recollectionem debito ordine sectandam). That *recolligere* conveys the idea of *recolligere* OMNIA *debito ordine* is made patently obvious by the terminology which Michael de Massa, O. E. S. A., uses in his *Lectura* on the First Book.

Michael writes a Commentary which although consisting of *Quaestiones* has yet the ambition to treat *all the ideas* of Lombard. Historically speaking, the first Commentaries on Lombardus were text-commentaries which followed the text-passages of Lombardus with a step-by-step explanation ; the later Commentaries on Lombardus (ca. 1350) consisted, on the contrary, of *Quaestiones* which had only a loose connection with *one or two ideas* of Lombardus.

An intermediate category of Commentary is found in Michael de Massa († 1337). After having read to his students the *capitula* of a Lombard-*distinctio* Michael formulates one sentence (*problema, propositio, assumpta*) *which is supposed to contain all the ideas* of Lombardus and therefore gives Michael a chance to draw from each word or *clausula* of this *propositio* material for one or more *Quaestiones* so that all the ideas of Lombard receive full treatment.

Now — this is important to note — Michael always calls this *propositio* a *propositio* RECOLLECTA [103]) or *propositio* RECOLLIGENDA

[103]) Cf. Michael's MS Bologna Università 2214 [= Bu] and Bologna Collegio di Spagna 40 [= Bs].

Dist. 1 [Bu 59^{r} Bs 57^{r}] Veteris et novae legis etc. Ex contentis in hac distinctione *recolligo* [Bu: colligo] unum tale problema: Fruendum est rebus in quibus voluntas quietata conquiescit.

Q 1-4 Prima pars huius problematis... (Here four Quaestiones are announced).

Q 5-8 [Bu 65^{r} Bs 61^{v}] Restat nunc declarare Quaestiones pertinentes ad secundam

where *recolligere* without any possible doubt must mean — « to assemble ALL ideas ».

From the medieval dictionary used by the Recollector Hugolini and by Michael de Massa, we know consequently that *recolligere* implies not only *recolligere dicta debitoque ordine ordinare* but even more *recolligere ordinareque* OMNIA *dicta*.

Faithfulness of Simon's Recollectio Hugolini

The contingencies of any editing effort obviously require also the elimination of superfluous material and the change of a few words here and there.

Peter de Ceffons in his *Epistula introductoria ad Correctores* (MS Troyes 62) which I hope to publish in *Traditio* frankly advises the *Correctores* to delete passages or quotations as they see fit, an advice which the *Correctores* did not follow at all. There are too many ' loose ends ' left in the Commentary of Peter de Ceffons. But the words of Ceffons underline the possibility that medieval editors may have suppressed text-passages from their *Recollectiones* [104]).

partem problematis quo respiciebat fruitionis obiectum cum dicebatur *rebus* (cf. above). Et circa istam particulam moveo quattuor Quaestiones...

Q 9-12 [Bu 72^{v} Bs 68^{r}] Restat nunc tractare Quaestiones pertinentes ad tertiam partem supradicti problematis...

Dist. 2 [Bu 79^{v}; Bs lacuna] Hoc itaque vera et pia fide tenendum. Ex contentis in hac secunda distinctione *recolligo* unum tale problema: unam esse causam omnium quae est deus...

Q 1-4 Sit igitur prima Quaestio circa primam partem praetacti problematis pertractandi.

Q 5-8 [Bu 87^{r}] Restat nunc pertractare Quaestiones pertinentes ad secundam particulam.

Dist. 3 [Bu 93^{v}] Apostolus namque ait... Ideo ex contentis in hac distinctione *recolligo* unam talem propositionem: Sub adaequato obiecto nostrae potentiae intellectivae trinitatem personarum, relucentem in vestigio et imagine creaturae, non est rationale aliqualiter contineri.

« *Propositio recollecta, recolligenda* » is similarly used on Bu 93^{v} (twice), Bu 108^{v}, Bu 117^{r}, Bu 133^{r}, Bu 152^{r}, Bu 162^{r}, Bu 196^{r}.

[104]) There are *Recollectiones Warrae* (quoted by Dionysius de Burgo MS Erfurt Amplon. 2° 131 f. 22^{v}). The *Recollectiones* quoted in Vat. lat. 943 apparently refer to Prosper de Regio, called *Recollector*, because he tried to collect a complete Summa on the Lombardus of his day from his personal *and* from other works. — In the Index of Pelzer's *Catalogue* (p. 91) s. v. Libraria[Res] there is rich material on *Recollectiones*.

The question arises whether Simon de Cremona, *Recollector Hugolini* (1365) used a free hand in cancellating texts of the *Lectura notata* (1352).

All signs point in the opposite direction. The many texts which John of Basel quotes from Hugolinus all coincide with the *Lectura Recollecta* although — we are forced to say now — they were taken fom the *Lectura* notata (1352). If John had quoted one or two passages from Hugolin they might have been culled from the *Lectura Recollectoris* some years *after* 1365 and shifted [105]) from Hiltalingen's margins into Hiltalingen's text *well after* 1365, the year of the *Baccalareatus* of Hiltalingen.

But Hiltalingen quotes Hugolin close to two hundred times (!) with text-passages more than abundant. This fact and chronological considerations make it highly improbable that Hiltalingen used *only the Lectura Recollectoris Hugolini.* In Hiltalingen's *Decem Responsiones* (1366-70) and his *Vesperiae* (1371) he *may* have quoted from the *Lectura Recollectoris.*

For the *Responsio 7* of Hiltalingen I set the stage at Avignon, Pentecost 1368, when the Augustinians in General Chapter elected Hugolin as their General. In this *Responsio 7* Hiltalingen twice (Clm 26711 f. 274) quotes Hugolin as *Prior nunc Generalis noster* while the *Responsio 8* in a similar case has the calmer title of Hugolin: *Prior noster Generalis* (Clm 26711 f. 284^{v}). The *Decem Responsiones* of Hiltalingen were published immediately after delivery ; they are veritable show-pieces of Hiltalingen's learning and therefore had to appear quickly if they were to enjoy some of the ephemeral glory of Paris. Neither their time of delivery nor their date of publication make it *impossible* that the *Decem Responsiones* culled some quotations from the *Recollectio Hugolini.*

The same applies to the *Vesperiae* of Hiltalingen (1371) where Hugolin significantly is called « *Dominus* » [*Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus*: Feb. 10, 1371 [106]].

More complicated is the case of the *Lectura Hiltalingen* (1365-66).

Delivery and editing of the Third Book of Hiltalingen were far apart. Hiltalingen's reference to Hugolin as *Pater Generalis noster*

[105]) On *marginalia-shift* cf. D. Trapp, *Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations,* in: *Augustiniana* IV (1954) 420.

[106]) The date is found in A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto* (1941) 94.

actually means *qui fuit Generalis noster* as I have proved in the just quoted article [107]). First and Second Book of Hiltalingen were published when the election of Hugolin as General was still news ; it causes no wonder that Hugolin is titled *nunc Prior Generalis noster* in Hiltalingen's 1 Sent. q. 1 and 2 Sent. q. 2 ; or *Prior Generalis noster* 1 Sent. q. 9.

Titles which Hiltalingen bestowed upon Hugolin during the quoting process were brought up to date during the editing process, at least in some instances. By these titles it can never be proved that Hiltalingen used as his source *only* the *Lectura Recollectoris Hugolini*.

About two hundred times therefore we have proof that the *Lectura recollecta* and the *Lectura notata* of Hugolin have an identical text ; this optimistic figure of 200 may be reduced to 150 or even to 100, if the *Lectura recollecta* was also used by Hiltalingen — which cannot be demonstrated too often.

But does not Hiltalingen himself voice some doubts about the *Lectura recollecta* ? My confrère A. Zumkeller [108]), was impressed by some passages in Hiltalingen which seem to discredit the *Lectura recollecta*.

In 1 Sent. q. 32 Clm 26711 f. 141^{v} Hiltalingen quotes Hugolin as his opponent and finds Hugolin's opposite view so amazing that the usual scholastic phrase « *Miror de tanto doctore* » would have been appropriate ; actually, Hiltalingen expresses his amazement with a different turn of expression:

Unde non possum credere quod doctor iste <Hugolinus> fecerit hanc rationem sicut continetur in libro.

Facere rationem here means to formulate an argument in oral discussion ; from this passage we can prove only that Hiltalingen doubted whether the written wording corresponded to the oral formulation. About the written phrases of one edition (*Lectura notata*) and of another edition (*Lectura recollecta*) nothing is said.

In the *Vesperiae* of Hiltalingen there is a much more interesting statement. In the course of a discussion with the *Magister Stephanus Galdeti* who heavily leans on Gregory of Rimini (!) Hiltalingen makes the position of Galdeti precarious by denying

[107]) Cf. *Augustinian Quotations* 428.

[108]) Cf. A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin v. Orvieto* (1941) 121.

any justification for such an interpretation of Gregory ; whereupon Galdeti insists that the Augustinian, Hugolin, manifestly supports this interpretation of Gregory. Hiltalingen evicts Galdeti from this new position by charging Hugolinus with misinterpetation of Gregory :

Et si aliter intelligeret Hugolinus vel translator Hugolinus [MS Clm 26711 f. 395^{r}: *Hug.*] dicerem quod non verum Gregorio imponeret sicut satis patet ex dictis Gregorii.

Zumkeller reads the abbreviating ' suspension ' « *Hug.* » as *Hugolini* and thereby creates an artificial allusion to the *Recollector Hugolini* = *Translator Hugolini*. *Translator* in this place means *commentator* ; context and medieval dictionary guarantee this meaning.

According to Hiltalingen I Sent. q. 9 Hugolinus once interprets Augustine (De cognitione verae vitae) in a way which does not meet with the approval of Hiltalingen who words his criticism thus :

Ideo videtur quod translator [Hugolinus] huius rationis <Augustinianae> non bene formavit formam...

Among the book-titles of Henry of Oyta [109]) are many *translationes* on Aristotle, that is commentaries. I report them here to prove my point. Oyta wrote :

Translatio veteris artis
Translatio priorum
Translatio posteriorm
Translatio elenchorum
Translatio physicorum

In conclusion we may say that we have no reasons to doubt the faithfulness of the *Lectura Recollectoris* ; at the same time we have many to underline the excellence of this text-witness of Hugolinus. Simon de Cremona who renounced the glory of a *Lectura* of his own, and was realistic enough to use for his *Baccalareatus* the *Lectura Hugolini*, shouldered the burden of the editing efforts which the *Lectura Hugolini notata* (1352) needed to become the *Lectura recollecta* (1365 sq.). In his obscure role as editor Simon has done more for the Augustinian tradition than other writers with their own *Lecturae*.

[109]) Cf. A. Lang, *Heinrich Totting v. Oyta*, in : *Beiträge Baeumkers* XXXIII 4-5 (Münster 1937) 131, 132; also 133 n. 167.

Conclusion

Characterization of the Augustinian Modern School

Augustinianism is the cohesive factor of the Augustinian Old and Modern School ; first in the old-fashioned way of relying more on the principal works of Augustine without exact quoting, then — after Gregory — with a new Modern wealth of Augustinian erudition taken from all of Augustine's works. This historico-critical attitude produced the gigantic compilation of the *Milleloquium S. Augustini* [110]).

The historical mentality of the Augustinians is evinced by their quoting from other scholastics ; the Augustinians are conscious of the advantage which better quoting gives. They all quote with gusto although with varying accuracy in different decades of the 14th century. Their quoting technique passes through three progressive stages ; it culminates in Alfonsus and Hiltalingen who are veritable literary source books of medieval theoloy.

The road-signs along the development of the Augustinian Modern School are the names of Scotus, Durandus, Aureolus, Ockham, Johannes de Ripa, and, of course, St. Thomas and Aegidius.

St. Thomas throughout the 14th century remains the revered *Doctor communis*, Aegidius the *Doctor noster* ; they are always listened to first but often contradicted *salva reverentia*, St. Thomas more than the *Doctor noster*.

Among the Aegidians is one group which must be called ultra-Aegidian ; the two names, Jacobus de Viterbio and Alexander de S. Elpidio, lead the opposition within the Augustinian older School. Michael de Massa who belongs to the ultra-Aegidians disappears from the roster of the Agustinian scholars.

Interesting, too, is a pair of early doctors who had an intimate connection with the early Aegidian School ; there is practically no early Augustinian who does not quote Robert Cowton, and William of Ware (Guarro).

[110]) For an introduction to the Milleloquium cf. B. Peebles, *The Verse Embellishments of the Milleloquium S. Augustini*, in: *Traditio* X (New York 1954) 555-566.

The Franciscan School gives the Augustinian *Moderni* great inspiration. In the wake of Scotus, Aureolus, Ockham, and Johannes de Ripa the traditional views are reexamined again and again, a process which has not only negative results in the development of the Augustinian School.

The Cistercian School is also close to the Augustinian in the later 14th century but so far it seems that it is by giving that the Augustinians receive.

Characterization of the individual Augustinian Moderni

Dionysius and Gerardus are Augustinians of Aegidius, the first influenced by Scotus, Durandus, and Hervaeus; the second by the same and also by Aureolus. Michael de Massa, the last of the ultra-Aegidians, is sympathetic towards Aureolus and unfriendly towards Gerardus whose fanatic critique of Aureolus he rectifies on every *folium*. Michael assumes a sophisticated attitude towards Jacobus and Alexander, two masters whom he takes under his shield when Gerardus impugns them mercilessly; yet Michael acts more as tutelary patron than obsequious disciple of the two. Ockham and Ockhamists find no grace before Michael. Thomas of Strassburg is the last of the Aegidians; Gregory the first Augustinian of St. Augustine, Alfonsus the first literary historian. Hugolinus starts to quote within the text, although not too frequently; he hails the Parisian condemnations of 1347 without reservations. Klenkok, too, has the new quoting technique; he reflects the Oxonian echo of the condemnations of 1347 but formulates some reservations. Klenkok follows the historico-critical trend in the Modern theology of the 14th century. Mysterious remains the figure of Facinus de Ast who is influenced by the Anglici and Johannes de Ripa; he quotes by name only St. Augustine, and in his First Book very carefully. Hiltalingen is the best literary historian of the Augustinians, the gateway to research in Augustinian theology. Simon de Cremona is another Hugolin, Dionysius de Montina an indirect Hugolin, Angelus Dobelin writes secundum Hiltalingen et Klenkok, Gracilis secundum Hiltalingen.

Synopsis of Augustinian Dates Guaranteed by Concurring Socii

To base the lamentably uncertain chronology of many a Baccalareatus on the safe foundation of the concurring Socii is still a wise policy. Yet there are few MSS which give an elenchus of the Socii ; only personal friends or Magistri apparently enjoyed the privilege to be cited by name. Besides even in Paris a bi-ennial Lectura was possible. Aureolus read Book I and IV: 1316-17, Book II and III: 1317-18 ; Gregory [111]) II-III: 1342-43, IV-I: 1343-44 ; Facinus II-III: 1361-62, IV-I: 1362-63. The chronological argument drawn from concurring Socii thus loses some of its infallibility. In the following synopsis an * indicates the author who supplies the names of the Socii, [] means a construction based on outside evidence.

Thomas de Argentina: Lectura Parisiensis; extant LL I-4. [Mag. 1341]
1336-37: I-IV
Socii: Thomas*
Petrus de Croso
Johannes Vogolon, O. Carm.

Gregorius de Arimino: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant LL 1-2. Mag. 1345
1342-43: II-III [*Reprint 1955*]
1343-44: IV-I
Socii: Gregorius*
Johannes Scotus
Franciscus de Tervisio, O. P.
Guillelmus de Bellomonte

Alfonsus de Toleto: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant L 1. Mag. 1348
1344-45 [*Reprint 1952*]
Socii: Alfonsus*
Paulus Perusinus, O. Carm.*
Magister Fernandus
Magister Johannes Ferrati
Rudolfus Minor
Mag. Johannes Scotus
Johannes *de Magno Monasterio*

[111]) In the Gregory edition of 1522 (1955) there is a misleading colophon at the end of the Supra Secundum; this colophon belongs only to the Supra Primum whence it was shifted to the end of the Supra Secundum. Over the beginning of the Supra Secundum (f. 1 [A] we read the correct date for the delivery of the Supra Secundum: « Inceptus est die 17 Maii 1342. In nomine Jesu Christi ». — Gregory must have read the extant Supra Secundum and the lost Supra Tertium partly in the summer semester (vacations) of 1342.

Hugolinus de Urbeveteri: Lectura Paris. ; extant LL 1-4. Mag. 1352
1348-49
Socii: Hugolinus
Petrus de Ceffons*
Dominus Prior Sorbonae Mag. Grimerius Bonifatii
Magister Laurentius
Magister Johannes
[Bartholomaeus de Ansiacho, O. P.]
[Petrus de Turribus, O. Carm.]
Johannes Klenkok: Lectura Oxoniensis ; extant LL 1-4 and QQ Super 2^m. Mag. 1359
1354-55
Socii: Klenkok*
Ulcredus Monachus Niger Dunelmensis
Thomas Stubbs, O. P.
Facinus de Ast: Lectura Parisiensis; extant LL 2-3; L. 1. [Mag. 1368]
[1361-62: II-III]
1362-63: IV-I
Socii: [none]
Johannes de Basilea: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant LL 1-4. Mag. 1371
1365-66
Socii: Dominus Michael de Zerbona
[Paulus de Fonte, O. Carm.]
[Godoscalcus de Pomulcz, O. Cist.]
[Guillelmus de Cremona, O. Min.]
[Mag. Stephanus Galdeti]
Hiltalingen*
[Simon de Cremona]
Simon de Cremona: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant LL 1-4. Mag. 1377
1365-66
Socii: Franciscus de Mediolano, Ord. Serv. S. Mariae
Magister Stephanus de Collegio Laudunensi
Simon*
[Hiltalingen]
Dionysius de Montina: Lect. Paris. ; extant LL 1-4 [Mag. ca. 1374]
1371-72
Socii: Dionysius*
Magister Galeranus de Pendref de Collegio Navarrae
Johannes Thomae, O. P.
Gombaldus de Ulagia
Angelus Dobelin: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant LL 1-4. [Mag. 1379]
[1374-75]
Socii: Andreas Brunonis
Marsilius [Luisius Marsilius, de Marsiliis, O. E. S. A.]
Angelus*
Petrus Gracilis: Lectura Parisiensis ; extant LL 1-4. [Mag. 1381]
1375-76

Socii: Gracilis*
Mag. Petrus de Alliaco
Mag. Nicolaus de Messereyo de Coll. Haricuriae
Mag. Gerardus de Hoysen
Johannes de Florentia Servita
Robertus Bernardita
Bacc. Collegii *Maioris Monasterii*

Without extant Lecturae:

Guido O. E. S. A.: Baccalarius Parisiensis ; revocatio Maii 16, 1354. 1353-54

Rudolfus de Castello: Baccalarius Parisiensis. Mag. Regens 1360 ca. 1355

Bonaventura Baduarius: Baccalarius Parisiensis. Mag. 1362 [1359-60]

Bonsemblans Baduarius: Baccalarius Parisiensis. [Mag. 1363] [1358-59]

Socii: Mag. Johannes de Calore de Cerbona
Mag. Alanus
Petrus de Cluniaco
[Mag. Ludovicus de Padua (Venetiis) O. Min.]
Bonsemblans*

Nicolaus de Amatrice: Baccalarius Parisiensis. [Mag. 1370] [1364-65]

Socii: N. de Amatrice
[Nicolaus a S. Saturnino, O. P.
Hugo de Montfort, O. P.
Franciscus Baconis: *]
[Dionysius Foullechat, O. Min.]

Onofrius [Stecchetti dei Visdomini] de Florentia: Bacc. Parisiensis 1369-70

Socii: Onofrius [112])
Johannes Corbechon, O. E. S. A.
Johannes Regis, O. Min.*

[112]) Apparently nothing has been left of the writings of Onofrius. D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* III (1935) 210-211 has a list on which figures also a Commentary to the Sentences, MS Rome Angelica 217 (B. 8.21). However it belongs to Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis and Robertus de Kilwardby [STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Lombardi* (1947) 296 no. 612]. Already Narducci had seen that the handwriting made the attribution to Onofrius very problematical [cf. PERINI, 210].

John of Basel quotes Onofrius 4 times in I Sent. q. 21; q. 32; and in the Vesperiae, art. 2 concl. 6. According to these quotations the doctrine of Onofrius was one wave in the stream of Augustinian theology and rose and fell rhythmically within it. Once Onofrius is bracketted with Gregorius, and Hiltalingen takes exception to both. Then Onofrius tries unsuccesfully to save Hugolinus. Together with Gregorius, Hugolinus, and Thomas Argen-

Mag. Richardus de Bello Monte, secretarius Reginae
Mag. Franciscus Christopheri de Sorbona
Mag. Johannes Textoris de Sorbona
Jacobus de Altavilla, O. Cist.
Dominicus, O. P.
Mag. Johannes de Diadona

Johannes de Braculis: Baccalarius Parisiensis [Mag. ca. 1374]
Lector Parisiensis 1361

1370-71

Socii: J. de Braculis
[Conradus de Ebrach, O. Cist.*
Petrus (Borroni, Bayroni), O. P.
Bartholomaeus, O. P.]

Appendix

Heraldic Mystifications

P. Glorieux, *Le commentaire sur les Sentences attribué à Jean Gerson*, in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* XVIII (1951) 128-39 has all the facts and details about the *Socii* of *Onofrius*. To Glorieux goes the credit for the identification of the Ps.-Gerson (MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156) with *Johannes Regis*. If Glorieux still harbors some lingering doubts about the correctness of his identification it is only because he overlooks the heraldic importance of a *Thema Collationis Principii*. A *Baccalarius Principians* had to select a *Thema* from Holy Scripture for a sermon on Lombard, his Sentences and on Holy Scripture. It marked the first public appearance before the University, and originally had the purpose of showing the rhetorical capacities of the new latinist, who by custom was bound to use a highly complicated rhetorical pattern of rhymed tetrads. Later on, in the 14th century, the *Thema* itself had to contain a heraldic allusion to the author's name, a requirement which made the selection very difficult. — I have

tinas « *Pater et amicus Baccalarius Onofrius in Responsione proxima Ordinaria* » defends the possibility of eternal creation but Hiltalingen maintains its absolute impossibility.

Hiltalingen quotes the *Lectura* of Onofrius (1369-70) from hearsay; the *Responsio* which Onofrius had to deliver before Masters and Students, Hiltalingen quotes from memory.

In the work of Johannes Regis, *Socius Onofrii* [MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156], there are other short reminiscences from Onofrius; in the work of Jacobus de Altavilla, *Socius Onofrii*, Onofrius seems not to be quoted. Jacobus wrangles only with a « *Socius Collegii S. Bernardi* » who does not belong to the year 1369-70 but 1365-66, the year of Hiltalingen's Lectura, namely Godoscalcus de Pomulcz, O. Cist.

examined all the *Themata Collationis Principii* which Stegmüller (*Repertorium Lombardi*) lists. The result of my examination shows so many heraldic allusions to the names of the authors that these mystifications must be considered common practice to secure « copyright » during the historical-minded 14th century.

1. One kind of heraldic mystification alludes from a similar *Latin* word of the *Thema* to the similar *Latin* name of the author. ex. g. the *Thema: Ascendit in unam navem quae erat Simonis Lc. 5* belongs to the Commentary of *Simon* of Cremona. [Lc. 5 = *Luca 5* may contain an allusion to the father's name of Simon: Luca].

Dionysius de Montina selects his *Thema* from Act. 17, 34 with the words *Dionysius Areopagita* ; gr. pagos means « a craggy hill » = *Montinus* ; according to the allusion the author's name must be *Dionysius Montinus* [de Montina].

Johannes de Wasia [*Waes*] selects: Facies [German pronunciation: *Vasies*] eius sicut sol lucet. Scribitur Apoc. 1.

Alfonsus chooses: Ego sum alpha et O = I am Alfo<nso>.

[Ceffons lampoons: <Ego sum> *O* !].

2. Another kind of heraldic mystification supposes a *translation* of the *Latin Thema* into the *vernacular*, and alludes from the *similar vernacular* word of the translated *Thema* to the *similar name* of the author ex. gr., *Gerson*'s authentic *Thema*: Quaesivi sponsam [garçonne ?] mihi assumere [Sap. 8, 2] may mean « I *Gerson* [*garçonne*] tried to espouse Eternal Wisdom ! (Glorieux reports this authentic Thema *l. c.* p. 137 n. 17).

3. A third kind of heraldic mystification alludes from the general *meaning* of the Thema to the *author's name*. This is the case of the pseudoepigr. MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156 which certainly belongs to Johannes *Regis* because the *Thema Collationis Principii* is: *Ipse vero apprehensum sanavit eum* Lc. 14. To the medieval mind the *general meaning* of the *Thema* evoked the association to the solemn ceremony of a *king*'s healing the *king*'s evil by royal touch (cf. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1936) XIII, 398-99). « *King's* », or in this case, « *du roi* » corresponds to the Latin « *Regis* » [*Johannes* Regis].

The reader's amusement will have reached by now an intense degree ; but I ask him to ponder the following coincidence: the writer who attributed the MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156 wrongly to *Gerson* also looked for an heraldic mystification under the *Thema: Ipse vero apprehensum sanavit eum* because he knew it to be hidden somewhere ; his wrong attribution came from: *Sanavit* = *Sanatio* = *Guerison* = *Gerson* !

To open the discussion on the heraldic importance of the *Thema Collationis* I add a few more of mystifications in the *vernacular*. Of course I do not pretend to have the final answers.

Italian

Thema of Johannes de Ripa:
Amice ascende superius...
= Sozio va [de riva, *dialect.* for « di sopra ? »]
= So ' Ziova ' [de Riva ?]
= Sono Giovanni [da Ripa ?]

Thema of Dionysius de Burgo:
Ascendit Petrus in superiora domus Act. 10
= Salì Pertus « al Borgo » di casa, negli atti dieci
= Herewith appeareth Berto, by family-name al Borgo, in the records [of baptism] « Diegi » (dialect. for *Dionigi*?)

English

Thema of Adam Goddam (*not*: *Wodham*):
Ista est lex Adam, Domine Deus 2 Reg. 7
= This is the Writ of Adam, Lord God<ham>: Second Book of Kings 7
= This is the Writ of Adam Lord Godham, his Second *Lectura*: King's <year> 7 (Edward III: 1327-77) = 1334
Pelzer's Catalogue to Vat. lat. 1110 indicates as date:
« MCCCXXXII et alio (?) »
= MCCCXXXII et <IIII°> ??

French (*Italian* ?)

Thema of Aureolus (Oriolus)
Expandit librum coram me qui scriptus erat intus et foris *Ez. 2*
= Il <l'auteur> ouvrit un livre chez moi écrit *dedans et dehors*
= dès d'ans et « de ore » (?)
= The author opened the Book before me, written years ago and recently (allusion to the *Lectura Secunda* of Orioli ?)

Other *Themata* of Orioli contain the word « rotae ». In Dante, Paradiso XXIV, 13 (E come cerchi in tempra d'*oriuoli*...) ORIOLI is the same as clockwork (ROTAE). If no southern French word of the 14th century ORIOLES exists one could suppose that Dante was no stranger in southern France around 1317. Thus the

Thema: Ingredere in medio rotarum... *Ez. 10* (: Orioli 1 Sent.)
= Enter <my reader> into ORIOLI... [Ezéch. dit (!)
= allusion to a place-name Aizecq ?]

Thema: Rota una iuxta Cherub unum, et rota alia iuxta Cherub unum *Ez. 10*
= One Oriolo stood by a cherub, and another Oriolo... (allusion to double edition of Orioli ?)
Interestingly also the Hebrew « cherub » (chariots of God) evokes the idea of « rotae » (Orioli).

German

Thema of Thomas of Strassburg, born at Hagenau:

Dedit abyssus vocem suam Habacus 3

abyssus = vallis silvestris = Hagenau

= Hagenau gab seinen Namen: Habacuc drei <= dreh!>

= Hagenau gave him the name: turn around Habacuc

<Guggenbach ? ?>

<Kuchenback ? ?>

German Incipit of the *Oxonian* Klenkok (Klenke).

Confidens in illum qui labore lassis refecturum se promisit intellectum <dans> *parvulis* — quorum ut essem *Minimus* tribuit —...

Parvulus = Klein (Low German: *Klen*)

Parvulorum Minimus = Kleinchen (Low German: *Klenke*).

We know from documents that Klenkok's Low German family-name was abbreviated Klenke in the 15th century. Here we find that the same is true for the 14th century.

The question is open now for discussion. There is some truth in my observations.

Anyone acquainted with *Collationes Principiorum* of the 14th century which are so fantastic that most MSS have omitted them, must have wondered sometimes where the limit of human aberration lies if such productions could be read before a University.

But if the *Thema Collationis* by custom had to contain an allusion to the name of the author we can easily understand why the *Collationes Principiorum of many 14th-century Commentaries had to stretch their Themata on a Procrustean bed in order to wring from them some allusion to Peter Lombard, his Sentences, and Holy Scripture* all the more so as a difficult tetradic pattern in rhetorical rhymes was prescribed. If no allusion to the author's name had been needed, the Sapiential Books of Holy Scripture would have provided beautiful *Themata Collationis* in the 14th century as they actually did in the 13th.

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Le « Mare Magnum »

Un code médiéval du couvent augustinien de Paris

Dans la collection des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris, se trouve un petit recueil de pièces, qui se rapportent à l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin. D'après le catalogue, ce recueil, à reliure moderne en veau fauve, contient des statuts de l'Ordre des Augustins, décrétés en 1447 par le Prieur Général Julien de Salemi, une copie de XIII bulles papales concernant l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin, d'autres statuts donnés par le Prieur Général Guillaume Becchi en 1464, et finalement le « Mare Magnum », signalé aussi comme : « Statuts » [1]).

La description, que donne le catalogue, n'est pas tout à fait exacte et un peu incomplète parce qu'elle fausse l'ordre des pièces et donne une impression trop générale de la teneur de ces textes. Les statuts du P. Julien de Salemi, indiqués comme manuscrit A, constituent en réalité le manuscrit B, tandis que la copie des Bulles forme le manuscrit A. Comme nous en informe le catalogue, le manuscrit C consiste en deux pièces. Ces deux pièces du manuscrit C, les préceptes du P. Becchi et le « Mare Magnum », sont des copies, faites par le fr. Matthieu Maquarelli, au couvent de Paris. Celui-ci acheva la transcription des statuts du P. Becchi le 15 juillet 1469 ; quant au « Mare Magnum », il le termina en la fête des saints martyrs Processus et Martinien, le 2 juillet de l'an 1468 [2]).

Ni les statuts de Julien de Salemi, ni ceux de Guillaume Becchi, ni le « Mare Magnum » ne sont des directives pour l'Ordre entier, comme le suggère le catalogue, mais ils ont été composés et spécialement rédigés pour le couvent de Paris.

[1]) H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, II, p. 93-94. MS 774.

[2]) Arsenal MS 774 C, fol. 3vo, 16vo.

Rédigés environ au milieu du XV^e siècle, les statuts des Prieurs Généraux Julien de Salemi et Guillaume Becchi règlent différents aspects de la vie au couvent augustinien de Paris. Les conditions de vie ayant évolué, les législateurs ont adapté leurs instructions à la vie actuelle. En temps utile, nous espérons fournir une étude plus approfondie de ces documents.

Présentement, nous nous occuperons de la seconde partie du manuscrit C : le « Mare Magnum ». Commencée au folio 5, cette copie continue jusqu'au folio 16^vo inclus.

Comme les deux documents des Prieurs Généraux, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, celui-ci comprend une série de préceptes concernant la vie de la communauté des Augustins de Paris. Cette collection de règlements et d'instructions bien détaillés, groupés en plusieurs parties, s'appelle « Mare Magnum ». Ce titre manque au début de l'ouvrage ; mais on le trouve en tête de presque chaque division importante, et, à la fin de son œuvre, le copiste désigne ainsi cette collection de statuts.

Le « Mare Magnum » se compose de VII parties, subdivisées en plusieurs chapitres ; il comprend une grande série de préceptes, d'instructions et de directives, qui règlent les différents aspects de la communauté parisienne.

Au Moyen Age, le couvent de Paris était le centre principal des études théologiques de l'Ordre et relevait directement du Prieur Général. Il abritait une communauté internationale dont les membres, originaires des différentes provinces, étaient, pour la plupart, des étudiants et des professeurs. Par conséquent, les conditions de vie étaient, en beaucoup de cas, différentes et plus difficiles que dans les autres couvents. Il était donc nécessaire, pour sauvegarder l'observance monastique, de les adapter aux circonstances plus ou moins extraordinaires et aux diverses tâches des moines, et de définir les devoirs et les prérogatives des uns et des autres selon leur état.

Les préceptes et les instructions de ce code concernent entre autres le culte divin, l'économie et les finances du couvent, la vie en commun, la discipline, les fonctions, la bibliothèque, les études, etc. [3]). Or, tous ces règlements diffèrent beaucoup, quand on les compare avec ceux de Guillaume Becchi ou de Julien de Salemi.

Qui a rédigé et promulgué ces règlements et depuis quand

[3]) Denifle n'a pas connu ce texte important.

étaient-ils en vigueur ? Ni l'ouvrage lui-même, ni le copiste ne nous en informent. Cependant, il y a plusieurs indications, dont on peut déduire l'origine de ce code.

Le Prieur Général Julien de Salemi, qui a promulgué ses statuts en 1447, cite deux fois le « Mare Magnum ». Au IX^e^ chapitre de la VIII^e^ partie, où il traite des études et où il parle de la visite canonique que le Provincial de la Province de France devait faire au couvent de Paris, il se réfère expressément au « Mare Magnum » [4]). Dans la préface de ses instructions il révèle que la discipline a été relâchée au couvent parisien pendant une trentaine d'année à cause de guerres et de calamités [5]). L'auteur fait sans doute allusion ici aux faits qui venaient de s'accomplir : la guerre de Cent Ans avec toutes ses conséquences, déchirant la vie normale, et le Schisme d'Occident, si néfaste à la vie de l'Eglise et à la discipline monastique.

Il s'ensuit de ces indications que l'origine du « Mare Magnum » est certainement antérieure à 1447, et qu'elle doit être reportée jusqu'au début du XV^e^ siècle ou à la fin du XIV^e^ siècle ; car, en comparant par exemple les préceptes des Chapitres Généraux de l'Ordre, tenus en 1345 et 1348, avec ceux du « Mare Magnum » sur l'enseignement de la philosophie, on est frappé par une certaine concordance.

Les Actes s'opposent à la doctrine d'Occam. Bien que l'enseignement du Nominalisme ait été proscrit par plusieurs décrets de la Faculté des Arts, il ne s'en poursuivait pas moins. Or, le « Mare Magnum » interdit précisément aux étudiants augustins d'assister aux cours de la susdite Faculté [6]).

[4]) Arsenal MS 774 B, fol. 13. « Insuper quantum ex ordinationibus nostrorum prae(de)cessorum, et maxime Maris Magni, expense superflue... ».

l. c. fol. 15. « Preterea ordinamus quod prior provincialis provincie Francie iurisdictionem ordinariam habeat in conventu parisiensi, ita dumtaxat conventum parisiensem visitabit nec oppositum repertum est in Mari Magno, ymo potius videtur... ».

[5]) Arsenal MS 774 B, fol. 1. « Nunc vero mundum guerris variisque alliis discriminibus colapsum, et pene in exitum deditum, alios mores aliosque leges expetere plane cernimus. Unde opus est ut ipsa antiqua instituta pro conventu parisiensi edita mitigentur et accomodentur condictioni vite praesentis... Quae omnia quamquam hoc tempore difficilissima sint, tum propter indispositionem temporum, cum ob longam et diuturnam consuetudinem conferme sint anni triginta quibus modus vivendi ordinis in ipso conventu neglectus sit... ».

[6]) *Analecta Augustiniana* (désormais: *Anal. Aug.*) IV (1911/12) 257-258.

Le Prieur Général Thomas de Strasbourg, dit « de Argentina », qui a gouverné l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin de 1345 jusqu'à sa mort survenue en 1356, était un adversaire déclaré du Nominalisme, tandis que son successeur, Grégoire de Rimini, adhérait plutôt à cette doctrine [7]). Il semble donc que le « Mare Magnum » date du généralat de Thomas de Strasbourg.

D'autres indications plus sûres se trouvent au chapitre I^er^ de la IV^e^ partie et au chapitre VI de la VI^e^ partie, où l'auteur se réfère au chapitre 36 des « Additiones » aux Constitutions de l'Ordre. Ces « Additiones » ont été rédigées par le Prieur Général Thomas de Strasbourg, en vertu d'un ordre spécial du Chapitre Général de 1345. Au Chapitre Général de 1348, ces « Additiones » furent approuvées et confirmées [8]). Le « Mare Magnum » fut donc rédigé après 1348.

On peut encore préciser la date de composition de ce code, parce qu'il y a dans le « Mare Magnum » un précepte concordant nettement avec une instruction du Chapitre Général, tenu à Bâle

« ... praecipue bacalariis et lectoribus atque studentibus, quatenus nullus eorum doctrinas varias et peregrinas, que in scandalum sunt simplicium et fidei lesionem ortodoxorum, sequi, tenere seu docere praesumat... ».

l. c. 276. « ... mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus nostri Ordinis quatenus nullus tenere audeat loycam Okami, vel aliquod aliud opus ejus studere, docere, vel quoquo modo sequi, aut alias similes doctrinas varias et peregrinas et inutiles doctrinis approbatis non innitentes ».

Arsenal MS 774 C, fol. 13. — *Mare Magnum*, pars 6, cap. 7. « Ad eundem etiam magistrum studentium pertinet dare licentias studentibus eundi ad actus scolasticos qui in loco nostro vel extra fierent, exceptis actibus qui fiunt in vico straminis, nisi forte ad honorandum aliquam personam ». Le « vicus straminis » est la rue du fouarre où la Faculté des Arts avait son siège au XIII^e^ siècle (cf. note 82).

[7]) Cf. D. TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, dans *Augustiniana* VI (1956) 182-190.

[8]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 254. Acta Cap. Gen. 1345. « Committimus patri nostri generali [Thomas de Strasbourg], ut diffinitionibus omnibus hucusque conditis auctoritate presentis diffinitorii faciat moderamen, addendo, cassando anullando et declarando, prout sue providentie, saluti animarum proficuum, et statui ordinis videbitur expedire ».

l. c. 275-276. Acta Cap. Gen. 1348. « In primis, additiones, moderationes et declarationes circa constitutiones et diffinitiones seu ordinationes Ordinis per prefatum patrem nostrum magistrum Thomam [de Strasbourg] priorem generalem ex commissione sibi facta virtute capituli generalis proxime Parisius celebrati [1345], per capitula constitutionum editas, auctoritate presentis diffinitorii approbamus et confirmamus... ».

en 1351. Ce Chapitre prit la décision suivante : Si un Frère, en vertu d'une bulle papale, ou pour une autre raison, avait le privilège d'occuper la place d'un bachelier ordinairement délégué par les Autorités de l'Ordre, le délégué ordinaire devait désormais remplir la fonction de bachelier sententiaire immédiatement après ce privilégié. Or, au chapitre IX de la VI[e] partie on retrouve le même statut en termes presque identiques [9]). Il est donc évident que le « Mare Magnum » fut rédigé après 1351.

D'autre part, en 1354, le Chapitre Général réuni à Pérouse, ratifia tous les règlements et les bonnes coutumes, mis en vigueur dans le couvent de Paris par le Prieur Général de l'Ordre, toujours le Père Thomas de Strasbourg [10]). Sans doute s'agit-il du code appelé « Mare Magnum ». Il fut donc rédigé avant cette date.

En conclusion, on peut dire que le « Mare Magnum » a été rédigé entre 1351 et 1354, et qu'il est l'œuvre du Prieur Général Thomas de Strasbourg.

Antérieurement, en 1328, le Prieur Général Guillaume de Cremone avait rédigé un code semblable, auquel, deux ans plus tard, en 1330, il ajouta encore quelques préceptes [11]). Or, le code de Guillaume de Cremone est moins long et beaucoup moins détaillé que le « Mare Magnum ». On y trouve des préceptes ou des directives concernant le culte divin, la vie communautaire, la discipline, la vie des étudiants et leurs études, la formation des novices et des jeunes religieux, la bibliothèque, l'économie, les fonctions, etc.

[9]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 278. « Item diffinimus et ordinamus quod si contingat locum aliquem de diffinitis vel diffiniendis pro futuris temporibus ad legendum Sententias Parisius occupari per bullam Summi Pontificis, vel alias quoquomodo absque sua culpa, primo diffinitus immediate legere debeat post illum, qui locum suum, ut premictitur, occupavit.

Arsenal MS 774 C, fol. 14. — *Mare Magnum*, pars 6, cap. 11. « Si contingat locum aliquem de diffinitis vel diffiniendis ad legendum Sententias per bullam Summi Pontificis occupari vel alias absque sua culpa, primo diffinitus immediate legat post illum qui locum occupavit... ».

[10]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 309. « Item, presenti diffinitione confirmamus omnes ordinationes et bonas consuetudines actenus positas in conventu parisiensi per nostrum priorem generalem [Thomas de Strasbourg], mandantes priori provinciali Francie ut neglectores sive sit prior, sive procurator... vel... cuiuscunque status aut conditionis existat, taliter corrigat et emendat, et correctiones eorum citius, sicut poterit provincialis predictus intimet generali priori, ut idem pater generalis cognoscere valeat suam diligentiam in premissis ».

[11]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 57-65; 106-108.

Dans le « Mare Magnum » on retrouve presque tous les sujets que traitent les statuts de Guillaume de Cremone. En rédigeant son code, Thomas de Strasbourg s'est inspiré probablement de ces statuts, mais il a donné à son ouvrage un schéma plus net. Guillaume de Cremone rédigea ses statuts pour supprimer la multitude et la variété des lettres, des préceptes, des directives et des décisions, décrétés par ses prédécesseurs, en ce qui concernait le couvent de Paris. La multitude des instructions, parfois surannées, pouvait embarrasser les religieux. Il les abolit et donna de nouveaux statuts, adaptés aux circonstances actuelles, et y inséra par exemple quelques décisions des Chapitres Généraux [12]).

Thomas de Strasbourg fit la même chose, lorsqu'il rédigea, vers 1354, le « Mare Magnum ». On y retrouve des statuts, empruntés aux instructions de Guillaume de Cremone, plus ou moins modifiées et des décisions des Chapitres Généraux, tantôt plus succinctes, tantôt plus détaillées et plus précises. Le précepte ordonnant de mettre une vitre aux portes des chambres et l'interdiction d'introduire le « scriptor » ou d'autres laïques dans les chambres, se trouvent déjà, par exemple, dans le code de Guillaume de Cremone [13]). Dans plusieurs chapitres du « Mare Magnum », on retrouve des décisions, prises en 1338, au Chapitre de Sienne par rapport au

[12]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 57. « Ad tollendam varietatem et multitudinem litterarum, preceptorum, sententiarum et ordinationum per plures predecessores nostros pro ordinatione parisiensis conventus diversis temporibus ordinatarum, quibus ignoratis vergi poterant in non parvum periculum animarum, decrevimus de maturo consilio, conservatis quibusdam et aliis de novo superadditis, prout visum fuit honestati et ordinationi conventus decentius convenire, quod omnes tales littere et ipsarum continentia tenore presentium sint cassate et nullam habeant roboris firmitatem, decernentes quod solum robur habeant et serventur que inferius sunt subscripte ».

[13]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 62. « Item, cum per plures venerabiles predecessores nostros prudenter in isto conventu parysiensi ordinatum extiterit quod celle fratrum nullatenus velarentur, quinymo ab extrinsecis huiusmodi cellas posset clare et lucide intueri,... ordinamus et... stricte precipimus et mandamus quatenus in ostio cuiuscumque fratris sint et fiant tot foramina et tam magna aperta quod per totam cellam lucide possit et clare ab extrinsecis intueri... ».

Cf. *Mare Magnum*, pars 5, cap. 1.

l. c. 64. « Item... precipimus et mandamus quatenus nullus frater cuiuscumque conditionis existat aliquem scriptorem seu iuvenem secularem ad suam cellam seu alterius cellam quacumque de causa introducere audeat vel praesumat ».

Cf. *Mare Magnum*, pars 5, cap. 2.

couvent de Paris [14]). Nous avons déjà signalé plus haut la décision de 1351, qu'on retrouve dans le « Mare Magnum ». Dans une étude sur le « Studium » de Paris, que nous préparons, nous avons l'intention d'en mentionner encore d'autres.

En plus des décisions et des statuts qu'il adapta, Thomas de Strasbourg a donné beaucoup d'autres instructions, règlements, ordres et directives.

En rédigeant le « Mare Magnum », Thomas de Strasbourg a donc travaillé plus ou moins suivant le même processus que Guillaume de Cremone. D'autre part, la manière de travailler de Thomas de Strasbourg s'apparente aussi beaucoup à la méthode d'adaptation appliquée à la rédaction des « Additiones ». Ici, comme dans les « Additiones » aux Constitutions de l'Ordre, il se révèle un excellent législateur.

MARE MAGNUM

Prima pars [15])

Primum Capitulum.

Precipimus et mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus in con-

[14]) *Anal. Aug.* IV (1911/12) 182. « In primis, quod omni anno, per mensem ante solutionem bursarum de mense septembri, eligantur duo fratres, unus per fratres de consilio, coassumptis tribus vel quatuor ad plus de melioribus fratribus de conventu, alter vero communiter per studentes ».

Cf. *Mare Magnum*, pars 4, cap. 1, 2, et 16.

l. c. 182. « Item volumus quod forenses, undecumque advenientes Parysius, post unam diem solvant taxationem consuetam, videlicet, persona (quaelibet) unum grossum Turonensem pro quolibet die qua steterit in conventu ».

Cf. *Mare Magnum*, pars 4, cap. 13.

l. c. 182. « Item, committimus priori, magistris et bacellariis, qui pro tempore Parisius fuerint, ut si quos fratres conventuales ad procurandum pro conventu negligentes seu inutiles viderint, possint et debeant illos ad priorem provincialem provincie Francie transmittere, per eundem in aliis conventibus collocandos, aliis bonis et utilibus fratribus, quos dicti prior et Magistri atque bacellarii postulaverint, in locum amotorum Parisius conventualiter subrogandis ».

Cf. *Mare Magnum*, pars 7, cap. 1 et 5.

[15]) Le texte du « Mare Magnum », copié au XV^e^ siècle, comprend 16 feuillets, 204 sur 145 millimètres. L'écriture est minuscule et serrée mais régulière. Nous avons essayé de reproduire avec la plus grande fidélité le texte et l'orthographe du MS. Cependant, pour les abbréviations nous avons suivi l'orthographe classique. Le titre manque. Le copiste commence par ces mots: « Prima pars »; une

ventu Parisiensi commorantibus ut Officium morose et punctuatim dicatur, horisque et temporibus quibus scilicet tenerentur convenire ad Officium dicendum conveniant et intersint Officio secundum nostri Ordinis instituta etiam cuiuscumque condicionis aut status existant.

Contemptores prior puniat secundum nostras ordinationes per ordinem per nos transmissas quas ratas et in suo robore volumus permanere.

2m Capitulum.

Mandamus cuilibet fratri sacerdoti, cuiuscumque gradus aut condicionis existat, ut omni die audiat vel legat Missam juxta ordinationem Constitutionum Capitulo 6° [16]).

Insuper precipimus quod quilibet studens ad minus ter in septimana celebret, et frater conventualis, cuiuscumque gradus aut condicionis existat, omni die ; Magistri et baccalarij ad minus semel in septimana.

Quod si secus per aliquem dictorum fuerit factum, reatum inobediencie se noverit incurrisse, reservantes nobis absolucionem nisi sit excusacionis causa legittima. Quod si non sit causa legittima : si studens fuerit vel conventualis simplex, qui nec biblicus nec baccalarius, nec Magister nec lector in generali studio vel triennali vel prior in loco studij generalis, pro qualibet vice qua defecerit, unam recipiat disciplinam et duobus diebus sedeat ad terram nudam in medio refectorij in pane et aqua.

Si vero lector fuerit in generali studio vel triennali legisset vel

autre main y a ajouté: « Maris Magni ». Le numérotage des chapitres a été écrit par le copiste dans la marge de droite.

[16]) Les Constitutions de l'Ordre auxquelles l'auteur renvoie, sont celles que le Chapitre Général de Ratisbonne a ratifiées et confirmées en 1290. Le Prieur Général Thomas de Strasbourg, chargé en 1345 par le Chapitre Général de Paris d'adapter les différents actes des Chapitres Généraux tenus depuis 1290, les a complétés par les « Additiones ». Les Constitutions et les « Additiones », qui les suivent, ont été publiées par le Prieur Général Gabriel Venetus et éditées à Venise en 1508. Nous citons cette édition.

« Cap. 6: Missam conventus omnes fratres simul audiant, nec foris quisque remaneat, nisi sit infirmus aut communi negocio occupatus, quod commode dimitti non possit, vel de prioris licentia speciali. Et si aliqui communibus negociis occupati, misse conventus interesse non possunt, etiam infirmi quibus ex motu non surgit probabilis de recidivatione timor horas observent, in quibus privatas missas audire teneantur ».

prior in loco studij generalis, duobus diebus ad terram sedeat sine disciplina.

Si vero baccalarius vel biblicus, duobus diebus sedebit ad mensam nudam in pane et aqua.

Si vero Magister et conventuali Misse vel private interesse aut celebrare, ut dictum est, neglexerit, inobedientie crimine se senciat esse gravatum, non autem absolutum nisi in capitulo de culpis dictis petat veniam ; et tunc a simplici sacerdote potest absolvi.

3m Capitulum.

Item ordinamus quod quicumque frater minister in Missa conventuali deffectum fecerit, tarde veniendo vel alium deffectum notabilem faciendo, duobus diebus sedeat in mensa nuda in pane et aqua pro prima vice ; pro secunda dupplicatam penam portabit, infligendam per priorem. Cui sub eadem pena execucionem mandamus.

4m Capitulum.

Item precipimus conversis et laycis ut sint prompti ad serviendum [fol. 5vo] in Missis privatis, nisi sint occupati in alijs negociis conventus, et hoc cum cappa sine clamide [17]) et capite discooperto quando sacerdoti respondent vel in aliquo ministrabunt.

Quod si defficiant sedeant duobus diebus ad terram nudam cum disciplina quam prior infliget.

5m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori ut compellat juvenes et novicios non sacerdotes ut ad serviendum in Missa conventuali et in privatis sint in sacristia parati usque ad finem maioris Misse, quod si non fecerint eos prior corrigat.

6m Capitulum.

Mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus quod, tempore quo debet cantari in medio chori, nullus audeat manere in stalis suis ; Magistris, baccalarijs et fratribus senioribus vel infirmitate gravatis exceptis. Contrafacientes pro qualibet vice sint vino privati : mandantesque priori ut exequatur.

[17]) Avec capuchon sans manteau.

7m Capitulum.

Mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus in choro existentibus quod, tempore quo divina in ecclesia celebrantur Officia et Missarum solemnia abstineant a discursibus non necessariis et confabulationibus inter se vel [cum] personis extraneis.

Similiter precipimus ut in ingressu ecclesie et egressu chori iuxta et ante gradum primum maioris altaris discooperto capite humiliter se inclinent, sub pena privacionis vini pro qualibet vice.

8m Capitulum.

Item precipimus priori vel eius vicemgerenti ut advertat qualiter diebus et horis, quibus studentibus non conveniunt cum conventualibus, reddant horas, canonicas scilicet, et delinquentes puniat. Et ut hec Parisius conveniencius fiant, statuimus quod Magister studencium preficiat unum de studentibus qui ad hoc faciendum congreget studentes ; quem sic praepositum volumus obligatum fore, si non denunciaverit priori delinquentes, sicut Magistrum studentium decernimus obligari, et ad penas taxandas.

Finit prima pars Maris Magni. Incipit eiusdem 2a Pars. [fol. 6].

Secunda Pars

Primum Capitulum [18]).

Statuimus quod die quo conventus carnibus vescitur, unum mutonem [19]) habeant in prandio et alium in cena.

Magistrorum cuilibet coste dentur quinque in prandio et quinque in cena. Priori vero et praesentato [baccalario] et bachalariis actu legentibus et formatis, dupplicata porcio aliqualiter melior, ordinatis vero ad lecturam dupplicata. Alij vero fratres habeant simplicem portionem.

Si de aliis carnibus, quam de mutone contingat ministrari, ministretur iuxta quantitatem mutonum.

Diebus jeiunii, scilicet a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque Nativitatem, quibus fratres utuntur lacticiniis quilibet Magister habeat 4or ova, quilibet baccalarius 3, similiter et prior. Et quilibet eorum dupplicatam habebit porcionem de caseo.

[18]) Ecrit en marge par le copiste: « Primum capitulum secundae partis maris magni ».

[19]) Mouton.

Ceteris vero fratribus dentur cuilibet duo ova et simplex portio de caseo detur.

Aliis diebus quibus non comeduntur lacticinia, de piscibus iuxta modum consuetum unicuique detur.

De vino vero Magistri, praesentatus, et actu legentes, et prior portionem recipiant duplicatam, pro quolibet duas sopinas [20]) de sancto Dyonisio. Non legentes vero baccalarii formati alii ab istis, et ad lecturam Sententiarum ordinati, pro quolibet pintam parisiensem in prandio et tantum in cena.

Addentes quod Magistri a die Resurrectionis preter portionem vini superius nominatam usque vigiliam Omnium Sanctorum pintam parisiensem pro collacione recipiant et non ultra.

Decernentes insuper quod a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Resurrectionem domini exclusive pro faciendo ignem in camera omni die quilibet eorum recipiat tria ligna [21]). Pro potagio vero eorum et omnium baccalareorum ligna quinque, tria de mane et duo de sero nisi sit jeiunium.

Mandamus quando alibi quam in coquina de dictis quinque lignis posse decoqui, et similiter si quis ultra decoquere velit potagium, nichil de illis lignis tribuatur.

Item mandamus quod ligna pro Magistris et pro potagio non possint pro toto tempore ministrari vel simul dari sed ligna frustratim tradantur.

2m Capitulum.

Item mandamus quod si conventus pre caristia vel inopia non possit, ut consuetudo est, de victualibus ministrare, mandamus priori et officialibus ut saltim ad minus ter in septimana detur pitancia ; pro qualibet vice unus muto ut dictum est.

Committimus tamen patribus, si dictos tres mutones partire vellent in vices plures, possint ut saniori parti et maiori videbitur.

3m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori et patribus omnibus de consilio [22]) quod, si tempore indigencie conventus panis et vinum subtraheretur vel

[20]) Sopina de sancto Dyonisio, mesure de capacité pour les liquides et les boissons.

[21]) Ici: bûches.

[22]) Voir: pars 5, cap 1.

minueretur porcio consueta, tam de carnibus quam de pane decenti et vino hibneo [23]) juxta facultatem conventus faciant ministrare.

Contrafacientes vel per negligentiam vel malitiam nolumus per nobis inferiorem absolvi, [fol. 6vo] sed absolutionem nobis retinentes. Si vero ita contingant, [per impossibilitatem vel inopiam mandamus ut prior et patres conveniant in unum et juretur] [24]) quod fratribus non potest provideri ut sic exhoneretur (!) eorum conscientias ab inobedientia antedicta. Aliter decernimus eos irretitos.

4^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus ut omnes et singuli fratres, cuiuscumque condicionis aut status existant, conveniant quando debent comedere cum conventu. Defficientes vero puniantur iuxta ordinationem 5° capitulo contentam, decernentes ex nunc contemptorem penas ibidem contentas incurrere ipso facto.

5^{m} Capitulum.

Item statuendo precipimus omnibus et singulis fratribus in conventu parisiensi commorantibus, sub pena excommunicationis, ut nullus praesumat comedere in sua cella vel aliena, nisi fructus vel confettiones [25]) aut bolum [26]) unum vel tres ad plus de pane, non pro refectione sed ne potus noceat.

Excipimus tamen duos Magistros, scilicet actu regentem et seniorem conventus. Quorum quilibet cum duobus fratribus sociis <si> ipse sit tertius et non pluribus — nisi aliqui Magistrorum in conventu morancium vel noviter veniencium, vel baccalarii vellent comedere cum eisdem — de licencia tamen prioris pro qualibet vice petita et obtenta, comedere possint non obstante mandato.

Excipimus insuper baccalarios legentes Sententias, supra Bibliam, aut ordinatos ad Sententias et Bibliam, sic et non aliter, quando scilicet intrabunt cameras suorum predecessorum vel alias, deputatas actu legentibus, finita lectura illorum quibus debent succedere et non ante.

[23]) Mot difficile à lire: hybleo ?

[24]) Le texte entre crochets a été oublié et rajouté ensuite en marge par le copiste.

[25]) Confitures.

[26]) Bouchée.

Nullus tamen dictorum baccalareorum possit nisi cum uno fratre socio comedere in camera dicta.

Excipimus eciam illos qui habent dispensacionem per nostras litteras speciales.

Si quis autem alius a dictis, aliter quam ut praemittitur, comedere presumpserit illum, trina et canonica monitione premissa in hiis scriptis, licet inviti, vinculo excommunicationis innodamus.

Concedentes tamen tenore praesentium baccalareo praesentato vel eius vicem gerenti, qui de jure actus scolasticos visitabit, quatenus cum uno socio possit in sua cella comedere.

Et idem concedimus ceteris baccalariis quos, pro tempore quo conventus reficitur, in actibus scolasticis continget occupari <quatenus> possit eciam quilibet baccalariorum predictorum solus in cella comedere, quando pro suo studio sibi fuerit opportunum.

6^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus sub sententia excommunicationis omnibus et singulis fratribus in conventu parisiensi commorantibus, cuiuscumque condicionis aut status existant, quod in nullo convivio carnium aut piscium, quod faciant infra sceptam [fol. 7] conventus parisiensis fiendo nostre religionis subiectis, ultra commune potagium aut ultra portiones consuetas dare praesumant, nisi de uno solo ferculo [27]) et uno parato. Excipiuntur a dicta sentencia caseus, fructus et carnes salse, quae in modica quantitate diebus congruis possunt in convivio ministrari. Dispensamus tamen de conviviis aule et signeti et vesperiarum [28]), dummodo non excedant quantitatem expensarum taxandarum infra in capitulo 7°.

[27]) Mets, plat.

[28]) « Aula, signetum et vesperae » étaient les trois phases de la solennité qui entourait la promotion d'un nouveau maître en théologie. L'« aula » était la deuxième séance publique, qui se tenait à l'« aula episcopi », où, après avoir reçu la barette, le candidat-maître prononçait sa harangue.

Le « signetum » était le repas solennel, à la veille de la licence, pendant lequel le candidat était invité à recevoir la « licentia docendi » le lendemain à l'« aula episcopi ».

« Vesperiae » était le nom de la première séance officielle, tenue le soir, pendant laquelle deux thèses étaient défendues, l'une par un bachelier sous la direction du candidat-maître, l'autre par le candidat lui-même.

7m Capitulum.

Item mandamus sub eadem sentencia excommunicationis omnibus et singulis fratribus conventus parisiensis promovendis ad gradum Magisterii, ut nullus pro die licencie et aule expendat ultra XL (40) florenos, pro pitancia vesperiarum 8 florenos tantum.

Et sub eodem tenore precepti et sententie excommunicationis mandamus baccalariis et biblicis ut ..... [29]) eorum in sue lecture principio transeat 16 florenos, eciam si alij vellent eis ministrare [30]). Et sub eadem sententia teneri volumus, quod nullus baccalarius in responsione [31]) de quolibet vel resumptione [32]) Magistri pro qualibet vice ultra quatuor florenos expendeat.

In aliis responsionibus, si quas facit, pro qualibet vice duos florenos precise (?).

Eisdem sub eadem sententia mandantes, antequam de conventu parisiensi recedant, omnia utensilia que pro camera sua receperunt, assignent conventui.

8m Capitulum.

Item sub eadem sententia excommunicationis lata mandamus, quatenus nullus studens conventus parisiensis, Magistro vel baccalario aut biblico, venientibus Parisius ad commorandum vel ab eodem conventu recedentibus completo termino eorum, faciant pitanciam.

Hospitibus vero aut studenti noviter accedenti potest facere, si sit de sua provincia studens ; et hoc semel vel bis ad plus.

Si vero Magister aut baccalarius vel biblicus recipere vellet fratres noviter venientes, liberam habeant potestatem, reservato moderamine ferculorum.

Aliter vero facientes prelibatam sententiam volumus incurrisse ipso facto.

9m Capitulum.

Item inhibemus sub eadem sententia excommunicationis omni-

[29]) Un mot reste illisible.

[30]) « Hereticum (irritum ?) mandatum » écrit en marge à gauche par le copiste.

[31]) Pendant l'Avent le bachelier devait « répondre » dans une discussion quodlibétique, mais toujours sous la direction d'un maître.

[32]) La vraie leçon inaugurale d'un nouveau maître.

bus et singulis fratribus, cuiuscumque condicionis aut gradus existant, ut nullus studenti beianizanti [33]) vel respondenti aut disputanti [34]) vel lectionem legenti pro examine lectorie aut lectoria assumpta, faciat pitanciam vel propinet vinum pro collacione, occasione acquisitionum predictorum.

Et sub eadem pena nolumus quod propinetur vel detur pitancia Magistro vel baccalario pro dictis actibus, exceptis baccalariis qui in responsione de quolibet et in aliis responsionibus facere possunt, ut supra capitulo septimo exprimitur. [fol. 7vo].

10^{m} Capitulum.

Item precipimus Magistris et baccalariis quatenus nullus in die licencie [35]) aut in die aule nec in principiis [36]) Sententiarum aut Biblie invitet ad prandium personam nostro Ordini non subiectam, illis solum exceptis qui de jure Universitatis vel de consuetudine sunt soliti invitari, sub pena inhabilitatis et suspensionis omnium gratiarum ab Ordine concessarum.

Quam contra suspensionem facientes, trina monicione premissa, ferimus in hiis scriptis et ipsos manere suspensos tamdiu volumus, quousque per generale capitulum vel per priorem generalem cum eis fuerit dispensatum.

[33]) Initiation d'un nouvel étudiant. Voir note 74.

[34]) Défendre, sous la direction du maître, une thèse proposée par celui-ci dans une dispute ordinaire.

[35]) Licence d'enseigner donnée, tous les deux ans, par le chancelier de l'Université aux « baccalaurei formati ». Après avoir reçu cette licence, les bacheliers pouvaient faire leurs demandes pour être intronisés comme maîtres et déposer leurs questions à défendre.

[36]) Les leçons solennelles d'ouverture du bachelier sententiaire ou biblique. Le bachelier prononçait son éloge de l'Ecriture Sainte. Les Quatre Livres des Sentences étaient introduits par quatre ' principia ', le ' 1^{m} ' en septembre, le ' 2^{m} ' après Noël, le ' 3^{m} ' en avril, le ' 4^{m} ' en mai. Chaque ' principium ' commençait avec un petit sermon sur la Bible et sur les Sentences, compliqué outre mesure par l'emploi obligatoire de rimes tétradiques. Une question théologique était annoncée tout de suite, développée selon les règles, et discutée à base d'arguments écrits — auparavant échangés entre les bacheliers — et maintenant débattus oralement par les mêmes en présence de toute l'Université. — Les MSS augustiniens ont conservé seulement les quatre ' principia ' de Hugolinus de Urbeveteri, les quatre de Bonsemblans Baduarius et les deux premières de Johannes Hiltalingen de Basilea.

11^m Capitulum.

Item sub eisdem penis quibus supra, mandamus noviter magistrandis ut nullus eorum in receptione sigilli vel signeti vel in suo magisterio novo, alteri Magistro aut fratri vestimentum aut aliam rem ad valorem 4^or grossorum turonensium det vel dari faciat, nisi illis quibus, de Universitatis jure vel de consuetudine approbata, consuetum est dari.

Ad easdem etiam penas baccalarios et biblicos pro suis principiis obligamus.

Tertia Pars

Primum Capitulum.

Primum capitulum est de pena prioris et omnium aliorum, si non eligatur decimarius, si domus pro infirmis ad aliud deputetur ac eciam, si de omnibus introitibus peccunialibus sacristie ac procuratorie pars decima non fuerit sequestrata, et pro infirmis decimario assignata, iuxta tenorem additionum capitulo 13° [37]).

Declaratur etiam ibidem quod si contingeret aliquem Magistrum infirmari et sibi vellet de medicinis persolvi, provisionem non recipiat septimanalem a conventu.

[37]) *Additiones*, cap. 13. « ... de cura infirmorum addimus, quod in quolibet loco ubi est possibilitas sit una domus pro infirmis; extra quam nulli egro, exceptis magistris sacrae theologiae, liceat residere, nec conventus teneatur alicui, extra domum illam in necessariis infirmitatis providere... Talis autem domus a nullo, qui non sit patenter infirmus, possit occupari, praecipue quando in loco sint aliqui fratres infirmi.

Ut autem commodius et facilius, sine distractione bonorum loci, habeantur expendenda pro necessitatibus fratrum, quando infirmantur, volumus et mandamus quod de omnibus introitibus procurarie et sacristie in pecunia semper sequestretur pars decima, et ponatur apud aliquem fidelem fratrem, ad hoc pro conventu electum, qui non sit sacrista nec procurator. Et ab ipso accipiat infirmarius, aut simul cum ipso expendat de dicta pecunia pro necessitatibus dictorum infirmorum ».

Cf. *Constitutiones*, cap. 13. « Qui vero graviter infirmatur utpote febribus... seu alio gravi languore... laborantes, talium cura uni ex fratribus... prior iniungat: qui eis cum omni caritate die noctuque necessarii ministret, atque si propter multitudinem infirmantium, aut diversitatem infirmantium, solus unus non sufficit, coadiutor detur eidem... Sollicite etiam [prior] intendat ne aliquid desit infirmario, quod necessitati expediat infirmorum ».

2m Capitulum.

Secundum capitulum est de pena prioris, si ultra decimarium et procuratorem infirmorum non habeatur unus famulus, in nullo alio quam servicio infirmorum occupatus, et quod eisdem infirmis de medico et medicina provideatur iuxta tenorem addicionum nostrarum communiter directarum ; et est in quinto capitulo ordinationum talium [38]).

3m Capitulum.

Item mandamus per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena excommunicationis omnibus et singulis fratribus, cuiuscumque gradus et condicionis existant, in conventu parisiensi commorantibus, exhortantes eos nichilominus et monentes primo, 2° et 3° quatenus nullus portet aut extrahat culcitras [39]), linteamina [40]), coopertoria [41]), tobaleas [42]), sudaria [43]), manutergia [44]), pulvinaria [45]), cussinos [46]), vasa enea aut stagnea [47]) et alia utensilia, pro servicio infirmarum communiter deputata, [fol. 8] extra domum pro infirmis communiter assignatam, ad alias cameras aut usum specialium personarum.

Contrarium facientes, illum an illos, trina monicione praemissa, in hiis scriptis, licet inviti, vinculo excommunicacionis innodamus.

4m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori, sub pena absolutionis ab officio suo et annualis provisionis, ut unum de fratribus magis aptum eligat, qui una cum famulo curam habeat infirmorum ; qui frater, dum actualiter sint infirmi, in nulla alia obedientia occupetur.

[38]) Ni le chapitre 5 des « Additiones », ni celui des « Constitutiones » ne concernent ce sujet. Consultez pourtant la note précédente.

[39]) Matelas.

[40]) Draps.

[41]) Couvertures.

[42]) Touailles, nappes.

[43]) Linges, mouchoirs pour essuyer la sueur.

[44]) Essuie-mains.

[45]) Pulvinars, espèce de coussin.

[46]) Coussins.

[47]) D'étain.

Quarta Pars

Primum Capitulum.

Statuimus quod, sicut in electione supprioris, sacriste, magistri operum ac eciam cellerarii conventus parisiensis, sic eciam in electione bursarii [48]) ex parte conventus, vocem habeant simul cum patribus de consilio et aliis fratribus de conventu cuiuslibet (provincie) unus studens, sicut in 36° capitulo addicionum continetur plenius de aliis officialibus [49])

2m Capitulum.

Item statuimus quod procuratorem conventus unus studens associet hoc modo. Nam studens qui consocius debet esse procuratoris per unam ebdomadam associabit. Qua completa, successive secundum cameras, quilibet per ebdomadam.

Cellerarium vero studens unus associabit et tamdiu durabit officium studentis quamdiu tinellus [50]) vini durabit.

Bursarius vero conventus sic associetur per studentem.

Eligant omnes studentes, scilicet omnes vel maior pars, unum studentem providum omni anno in mense augusti quo bursarius eligitur a conventu vel alio tempore quo bursarium studentem vaccare contingeret. Excipientes ab hiis electionibus antedictis studentes de Provincia Francie active et passive fiendo.

Portarium vero prior et patres de consilio eligant honestum.

3m Capitulum.

Item statuimus quod sacrista non recipiat pecuniam nisi de proventibus sacristie ; eidem sub pena furti mandamus, et etiam aliis quibus non incumbit ex officio, ut non recipiant pecuniam quae

[48]) Boursier, celui qui gardait l'argent versé par les provinces pour leurs étudiants.

[49]) *Additiones*, cap. 36. « Volumus tamen quod in electione subprioris, procuratoris, sacristae et magistri operum ac etiam cellerarii conventus parisiensis (quem per electionem constitui volumus) cuiuslibet provinciae ordinis nostri studens unus antiquior in studio parisiensi ex nunc vocem habeat, et si duo de eadem provincia in antiquitate studii pares fuerint antiquior eorum in ordine vocem habebit in electione praedicta ».

[50]) Tonneau.

devolvitur ad conventum, nisi in casibus per nostras ordinationes vel Ordinis constitutiones vel additiones concessis [51]).

Si tamen immineret casus repentinus, ita quod praesentia protinus adesse non posset ita celeriter sicut voluntas dantis pecuniarum exposceret, volumus quod possit recipi ab alio cum bono tamen testimonio ; quo casu tamen dato, monemus illum fratrem sic primo, 2° et 3° sibi iniungentes per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena suspensionis ab ingressu ecclesie, si infra diem naturalem procuratori vel eius vicemgerenti pecuniam per eum receptam non assignaverit ; et si ulterius moram contraheret in assignando sub pena excommunicacionis [nisi] infra 3 dies assignet [fol. 8vo].

4^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus, sub pena carceris, sacriste et eius socio ut ponant diligentem curam, quod peccunia oblacionum missarum in pixidibus [52]) fideliter reponatur sine diminucione.

Advertant eciam ne in servaturis et aliis lesionem aliquam pacientur propter quam oriri possit suspicio extrahendi pecunias vel non ponendi.

Alias, si suspicio fuerit violenta quod propter eorum negligentiam vel malitiam contigerint supradicta, penam prelibatam decernimus incurrisse.

5^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori et patribus de consilio et ceteris fratribus conventus claves omnium pixidum parvarum in magna pixide po-

[51]) *Constitutiones*, cap. 31. « De bonis autem pertinentibus ad conventum prior non recipiat: nec apud se retineat: sed si quandoque ipsum aliquid a persona aliqua recipere contingat, quod invitus facere debet, illud quantum et quale procuratori domus statim cum fuerit in loco resignet et det, et in libro procuratoris illud lucide et clare et nomen et cognomen eius qui dedit et causam quare dedit scribi faciat.

Frater vero quicunque sit qui de bonis pertinentibus ad conventum aliquid receperit et praedicto modo non resignaverit: si de hoc probabiliter fuerit convictus, poenae furti subiaceat: et per omnem modum furti iudicio condemnetur ».

Additiones, cap. 31. « ... de officio prioris addicimus inhibentes districte ne quis prior ullo modo pecuniam sui conventus recipiat, pertractet seu expendat, aut alias de officio procuratoris quomodolibet se intromittat nisi secundum formam nostrarum constitutionum... ».

[52]) Boîte.

nantur ; in qua magna pixide erunt due claves et diverse, quarum unam tenebit prior et aliam bursarius studens.

Quam magnam pixidem prior et studens bursarius non apperiant sine praesentia baccalarii praesentati, si sit in villa. Et si non esset, sine praesentia senioris baccalarij formati. Et sine praesencia magistri studentium vel locum eius tenentis. Et si nullus esset in villa, fiat in praesentia duorum baccalariorum legentium vel disputandorum.

Volumus tamen quod semper conventualis bursarius debeat interesse aperitioni magne pixidis.

Decernentes quod, si studens bursarius esset impeditus quando posset interesse apertioni pixidis, clavem tradat uni studenti provido qui habeat loco eius interesse.

Decernentes quod, quocienscumque videbitur priori expediens, apperiat parvas pixides iuxta formam traditam.

Addentes insuper et sub eadem pena qua supra, mandamus priori et aliis supradictis quod in trunco, qui est in ecclesia, fieri faciat duas claves varias et diversas, quarum unam habeat prior, alia reponatur in parva capsa in quam bursarum pecunia reservatur.

Et in eius apercione sint qui in apercione magne pixidis debent esse ; et pecunia reponatur in magna pixide si non debeat cito expendi.

6^m Capitulum.

Item statuendo decernimus ad procuratoris conventualis et consocii studentis officium spectare, recipere omnes introitus et expensas facere iuxta formam infra traditam, scilicet, si magne fuerint quantitatis, sic quod notabiliter supersint ab expensis pro communi vita fiendis, introitus tales recipient ; partem tantummodo retinentes quam prior iuxta necessitatem expensarum determinaverit retinendam ; residuum vero bursariis assignabit.

Et sint duo quaterni [53]), quorum unum habeat procurator conventualis, alium consocius studens, in quibus scribentur introitus et expensas ; et reddent rationem omni mense.

Reddita ratione omnium in utroque libro, prior vel eius vicemgerens conscribet de manu sua sommam pecuniarum.

Mandamus insuper, sub pena furti, ut nullus sine praesentia sui consocii aliquid recipiat vel expendat, nisi forte in casu fortuito

[53]) Cahiers.

et repentino ; quod si quandocumque contingeret, statim infra diem naturalem suo socio studeat insinuare.

Mandantes [fol. 9] insuper eisdem, sub pena octo dierum standi ad terram, quatinus omni die de sero intiment priori illius diei introitus et expensas, et a quibus et per manus cuius vel quorum receperunt ; et ipse prior in suo libro notet et similiter nomen studentis consocii procuratoris.

Contrafacientes penas, quas iniunximus, incurrere volumus ipso facto.

7m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori ceterisque fratribus, cuiuscumque conditionis aut status existant, ut taliter disponant, ut ad minus semel in mense reddatur racio de omnibus introitibus et expensis factis per procuratores, per bursarios, per sacristam, per decimarium, per infirmarium et per magistros operum ; quibus racionibus omnes fratres intersint de conventu, exceptis noviciis et infirmis.

Et si de fratribus non interfuerint, si sit Magister, ad mensam nudam sedebit. Si studens, uno mense in gravioribus culpis sine dispensacione manebit. Si conventualis, sicut studens penam portabit.

Si quis huiusmodi penam non portaverit, eum inhabilem reddimus et voce privatum.

Addentes quod, si studens fuerit, lectorari non possit quousque penas illas fecerit.

8m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori et procuratoribus conventus, quatenus fieri faciant unam capsam cum duabus clavibus diversis clausam, que capsa in cellis procuratoris conventualis servetur, quarum clavium unam teneat procurator conventus, aliam consocius eius studens.

In qua capsa volumus quod ipsi procuratores omnem pecuniam ad eorum manus venientem, pro communibus expensis traditam, teneant ; sic quod unus sine reliquo habere non possit, nec penes se retinere, sub pena carceris quam, si secus factum fuerit per eos, ipso facto decernimus incurrisse.

9m Capitulum.

Item mandamus sub pena inobedientie, priori, ac ipsis procuratoribus sub pena carceris, quatenus, si veniat magna pecunia ad

conventum, preter bursias [54]), prior det partem procuratoribus pro expensis fiendis iuxta necessitatem ; residuum compellat procuratores tradere bursariis cum effectu, et quilibet istorum scribat in suo libro.

Mandantes studenti consocio procuratoris, ut in fine septimane ipse et procurator conventus coram studente, qui convenienter socius debet esse procuratoris, capsam apperiant in qua sub clavibus eorum peccunia servatur, et peccuniam inventam numerent et valorem eius sequens studens inscribat cedule, quam in capsa reponet ; in qua cedula scribet omnem similiter pecuniam que de novo suo tempore reponitur. Et similiter quantitatem que extrahetur pro expensis communibus. [fol. 9vo].

10^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus quod in cellario vini ac alijs locis, in quibus panis et alia per cellerarios [55]) conserventur, in quolibet eorum fiant due claves distincte et varie, sic quod in quolibet locorum conventualis cellerarius sine studente, nec econtra, ingredi possit ; quarum clavium unam habeat studens cellerarius, aliam conventualis, ipsique duo semper sint presentes quando vinum extrahitur et similiter simul stent cum panis reponitur et deponitur et similiter claudant.

Declaramus insuper quod, quamdiu durat tinellus vini, unus studens clavem teneat et eo completo sequens recipiat, ut 2° capitulo expressum est.

Volumus insuper quod studens, qui pro tempore tenet clavem, ministret vinum fratribus et distribuat unicuique partem suam.

Addentes quod, finito tinello, de novo nihil extrahant nisi magistro studentium assistente. Qui 3, scilicet 2 cellerarij et tertius magister studentium, descendant ad cellarium determinetque magister studentium qualitatem vini magis aptam pro tempore ministrandam et de illo et de nullo alio ministrabunt.

11^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus quod cellerarij antedicti, ab eleemosinariis [56]) qui questam [57]) panis faciunt, panes faciant numerari et similiter

[54]) Voir: note 48.
[55]) Cellérier.
[56]) Quêteur.
[57]) Quête.

quot panes recipiunt a pistore ; et finito tinello vini reddet rationem de pane in scriptis sub hac forma : De questu B die C recepi tot panes. Et similiter, tot recepi sextaria [58]) panis ut sic concludatur numerus sextariorum in fine septimane ; eo[dem modo] fiet de vino.

12m Capitulum.

Item precipimus per obedienciam salutarem et sub pena furti maioris cellerariis, quatenus nullus eorum aliquid recipiat, expendat vel dispenset, sine suo socio consenciente et praesente, de hiis quae spectant ad eorum officium.

Mandantes eisdem per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena praedicta, quatenus nulli fratrum, cuiuscumque gradus existant, ultra portionem sibi debitam aliquid dare presumant.

13m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori, procuratori, cellerariis et portariis quatenus cum fratres hospites venerint ad conventum, statim infra diem naturalem bursariis nuncient et bursarij dies singulos computabunt, quot scilicet diebus dicti hospites fuerint in conventu post primam diem adventus ipsorum.

Exigentque a quolibet eorum pro qualibet die, preter primum, unum grossum Turonensem, sive in illo loco comederint sive non.

Et in hoc iustitiam faciendo, bursariis nostras committimus vices ut dictam taxam ab eis exigant.

Mandantes dictis hospitibus, sub pena privacionis omnis status et gradus et inhabilitatis ad omne officium habens curam animarum ac etiam privationis vocis, quatenus omni die solvat bursariis ; decernentes quod, si bursarii, prior et alii superius nominati negligentes existerent, penam de appropriatis eisdem solvendi conventui volumus quod incurrant. [fol. 10].

14m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus conventus parisiensis, quatenus nullus vasa vel utensilia ad usum refectorii deputata, similiter et coquine, audeat extrahere ; quod si per aliquem ad alia loca fuerint deportata, penam solvendi ad dupplum incurrant, monentes eosdem primo, 2° et 3°, iniungentes eisdem sub sententia

[58]) Mesure pour les grains (setier).

excommunicacionis, quatenus infra quindecim dies solvant dupplum ; quod si recusaverint, trina monicione praemissa, in hiis scriptis, licet inviti vinculo excommunicationis innodamus ; permittentes quod de licentia cellerariorum vasa refectorii extrahi possint et coquine de licentia coquinarii principalis, penis antedictis non obstantibus.

Sic tamen quod cellerarius vel coquinarius signum notabile vel pignus valoris recipiat a portantibus huiusmodi vasa.

15m Capitulum.

Item mandamus procuratori et cellerario conventus per obedienciam salutarem et sub pena unius mensis gravioris culpe, quatenus una cum sociis eorum, infra 6 dies a notitia praesentium, duo registra faciant, in quorum uno omnia vasa et utensilia ad refectorium spectantia scribantur, in altero vasa ad coquinam spectantia.

Et si perdantur, compellatur cellerarius conventus pro vasis refectorii satisfacere, nisi illum assignet qui vasa substraxerit.

Similiter intelligimus de vasis coquine, ut principalis coquinarius cellerario cogatur ad restitucionem.

16m Capitulum.

Item statuimus ut omni anno, de mense Augusti, eligatur bursarius conventualis per illos ad quos spectat, eligantque fratrem bone probitatis.

Studentes insuper eciam ex seipsis eligant studentem providum, qui cum bursario conventuali exercere possit officium.

Mandantes bursario conventuali et eciam studenti, sub pena furti maioris, ut nullus sine altero recipiat peccuniam nec expendat sine sui consocii scitu et consensu.

Quod si fiant contrarium... potestatem [59]) penam prefatam volumus incurrisse.

Addentes quod, si post electionem praefatorum bursariorum aliquem eorum abesse contingeret vel non posse exercere officium, volumus ut, quam celerius fieri potest, alius eligatur quocumque tempore contingat sic abesse.

17m Capitulum.

Statuendo decernimus ad officium bursariorum pertinere provi-

[59]) Deux mots restent illisibles.

siones recipere temporibus infrascriptis, scilicet, de mense apprilis 4^{or} florenos, de mense Septembris 8 florenos, a quolibet studente, exortantes (!) studentes omnes et singulos atque monentes semel, 2° et 3°, precipientes eisdem per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena excommunicacionis, quatenus bursiam unusquisque, ut praefertur, tempore statuto solvat cum effectu ; contrafacientes tenore praesentium licet inviti in hiis scriptis vinculo excommunicacionis innodamus.

Ad eorum etiam officium spectat, omnem sommam maiorem peccunie recipere per manus procuratoris de mandato tamen prioris, ut capitulo IX plenius continetur.

Item ad officium eorum spectat, de mandato prioris, assentiente consilio patrum vel maiore et saniore parte eiusdem, tradere procuratoribus pro expensis communibus peccuniam, si quam prefati bursarii preter bursias studentium habeant [fol. 10vo] vel de praefatis bursiis, si conventus esset fulcitus pane et vino, usque ad recepcionem aliam bursiarum.

Et dare eciam magistris operum pro edificiis et reparatura domorum ac eciam decimario pro expensis infirmorum modo consimili.

Ad officium eciam eorum spectat, emere vinum atque bladum [60]) pro communi vita conventus.

Item ad eos spectat ab hospitibus et forensibus, preter primam diem adventus eorum, exigere grossos turonenses ut continetur capitulo 13.

Ad eos eciam spectat, florenos quos recipiunt pro bursia ponderare, ne conventus recipiat dampnum.

Ad eos eciam spectat, interesse apertioni magne pixidis atque trunci et recipere peccuniam, si esset in magna quantitate, eciam de pixidibus cappellarum et eam expendere de mandato prioris.

Ad eos eciam spectat, tenere unam de clavibus magne pixidis, quam studens bursarius retinebit. Et similiter clavem unam depositi bursiarum illarum parve capse, quam eciam studens bursarius gubernabit, in qua bursie studentium conservantur.

18^{m} Capitulum.

Item statuimus institucionem custodum librarie ad patres omnes de consilio vel ad eorum maiorem partem et saniorem pertinere ;

[60]) Espèce de blé.

quibus precipimus ut tales duos studentes de Provincia Francia, et non aliunde, providos et fideles, unum pro magna libraria, alium pro parva, eligant.

Ad quorum officium pertinet, custodire libros et eos facere reparari ; prius tamen priori, Magistris et baccalariis omnibus deffectum ostendendo.

Ad eos etiam spectat, tam libros cathenatos [61]) quam alios sub eorum habere custodia. Similiter pecias [62]) et quaternos mutuare fratribus et aliis, iuxta formam in sequenti capitulo positam.

Contestatio [63]) pecie, quaterni et libri ponatur in registro, quorum unum habeat custos magne librarie, aliud habeat custos parve librarie, 3^{m} habeat Magister regens.

Tenenturque dicti librarii, sub pena prefata, bis in anno praesente et magistro studentium si in villa fuerit, si non fuerit duobus senioribus baccalariis, omnes libros et quaternos et pecias iuxta inventarium demonstrare.

Mandamus insuper dictis baccalariis ut ad videndum dictos libros accedant, quando a custodibus requirentur.

19^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus custodibus librarie, sub pena excommunicationis, quatenus nulli fratri, cuiuscumque condicionis aut gradus existat, nec alteri alicui persone Ordini nostri non professe, mutuet quocumque praetextu librum positum in cathenis vel deputatum ad ponendum in libraria ; hoc tamen concesso quod quilibet Magistrorum posset habere 4^{or} volumina, quilibet baccalarius formatus tria, et totidem baccalarius legens et dispositus proximus ad Sententias.

Biblicus vero legens et dispositus de proximo ad legendum, non nisi iuxta librum quod legerit.

Concedentes quod, si aliqui dictorum haberent facere actum specialem, possint praefati librarij libros ad actum opportunos mutuare.

[61]) Livres retenus par une chaîne, à cause de leur valeur ou de leur intérêt.

[62]) Les ' peciae ' des livres connus pour leur authenticité et leur actualité n'étaient pas reliés de suite, mais pouvaient être copiées et prêtées les unes après les autres.

[63]) Comm-initiatio ? (Commencement). Les premiers mots du second « folium » et les derniers du pénultième fournissaient des données certaines pour leur identification.

Decernentes quod, completo actu, infra diem naturalem libros illos restituat.

Nec est nostre intentionis quod Magistri et baccalarij [fol. 11] de qualibet libraria recipiant numerum antedictum librorum, sed de pertinentibus ad unam tantum vel ad ambas, recipiant dictum numerum.

Concedimus tamen quod, si aliqua persona notabilis librum spectantem ad librarias postularet, cui sine scandalo vel dampno loci vel Ordinis non posset negari, data cautione sufficienti, de consensu prioris et patrum de consilio vel maioris et sanioris partis eidem concedatur.

Et sub eadem pena precipimus Magistris et baccalariis et biblicis, ut non plures recipiant libros nisi ut praefertur.

Contrafacientes, trina monicione praemissa, illum vel illos in hiis scriptis vinculo excommunicationis innodamus.

20m Capitulum.

Insuper mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus parisiensibus, quatenus nullus eorum, per se vel per alium, publice vel occulte, sine causa librum aliquem de librariis antedictis extrahat, custodibus librariarum dumtaxat exceptis.

Contrafacientes vel deficientes tales, trina monicione premissa in hiis scriptis vinculo excommunicaciones innodamus.

21m Capitulum.

Item mandamus quod in conventu parisiensi annuatim duo fratres experti magistri operum eligantur ; qui nullam pecuniam recipiant nisi per manus bursariorum ; quod si attemptarent, ex nunc eos pene carceris adiudicamus.

Ad quos eciam spectat, novis preesse edificiis ; ut antiqua serventur et ruinosa edificia reparentur.

22m Capitulum.

Item ad officium portarii pertinet, cum omni reverentia recipere venientes et ab eis petere causam adventus, ut habetur capitulo Constitutionum 20 [64]).

[64]) *Constitutiones*, cap. 20. « Si enim aliqui fratres sine testimonio litterarum sui provincialis extra provinciam propriam exierint, venientes quidem ad locum

Ad ipsum etiam pertinet, advertere ne aliquid extra conventum de bonis fratrum fraudulentur exportetur.

Similiter, si eleemosine pro conventu portentur, procuratoribus coram rectore conventus faciat assignari ; si pro fratre, ipsum vocet celeriter.

Sitque assiduus ad portam ; et si contingat eum recedere, rectori conventus denunciet ut alium ponat.

Nec ipse, sub pena inobedientie, aliquid a venientibus ad conventum exigat.

Quinta Pars [65])

Primum Capitulum.

Item precipimus et mandamus priori et procuratori conventus, quatenus diligenter advertant utrum in omnibus hostiis (!) cellarum dormitorii sint foramina vel cancelli aperta et non velata, et si non fuerint faciant fieri infra 6 dies ; precipiendo rectori conventus sub pena privationis vocis et annualis vestimenti, procuratori sub pena unius mensis gravioris [culpae].

Addentes quod, bis in septimana, prior faciat inquisicionem tam de foraminibus quam de velaminibus eorumdem, puniatque iuxta formam capituli superius nominati.

2m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus, cuiuscumque condicionis aut gradus existant, conventus parisiensis, sub pena excommunicacionis, quatenus nullus eorum cellarum vel camerarum [fol. 11vo] ostia, serraturas [66]) ostiorum, armariorum vel capsarum perticas [67]), stabiles vel affixas, cathedras, scamna [68]) studorium vel scabellum [69]), armaria vel capsas fenestris, debita vel ostia fenestrarum vel lecticam [70]) audeat mutare vel vendere vel alicui fratri concedere ad usum alterius camere, sive destruere, nisi forte vetustate

hostiarius intromittat, sed postquam testimoniales litteras sciverit non habere, id quam citius caute priori domus insinuet ».

[65]) Maris magni.

[66]) Serrures.

[67]) Barres, tiges.

[68]) Tables simples.

[69]) Escabeau.

[70]) Lit.

consumpta. Et tunc, de licentia prioris antiquae poterint moveri et nova reponi. Contrafacientes, trina monicione premissa in hiis scriptis, licet inviti vinculo excommunicationis innodamus.

3^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori, sub pena privacionis annualis vestimenti et unius mensis gravioris culpe, quatenus infra 6 dies a notificatione praesentium, destrui faciat omnes caminos [71]) et foculamina [72]) de cellis dormitoriorum, capituli, scolarum, refectorij, aule magne et aliarum domorum coherentium dormitoriis antedictis et aule magne ; cameris dumtaxat exceptis.

Mandantes fratribus singulis in dictis cellis commorantibus, sub pena duorum mensium gravioris culpe, quatenus de cetero nullus eorum qui in cellis morabuntur ignem in cella, in qua iacet, faciat, nisi in casu infirmitatis ; priorem vero negligentem exequi quod mandavimus, etiam alios fratres contemptores, volumus penas supradictas incurrisse.

4^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus, sub pena privationis vocis si sit Magister, si sit baccalarius vel biblicus, formati (!), actu legens vel ordinati, sub pena privationis vocis et unius mensis gravioris culpe, si studens sub pena privationis studij, si conventualis sub pena carceris, quatenus nullus eorum de cetero inducat in cameram aut cellam scriptorem aliquem seu personam saecularem ad scribendum vel ad moram contrahendum, nisi esset forte de familia qui ex debito permittitur infra locum commorari.

Contrafacientes penas predictas volumus incurrisse.

Concedimus tamen quod valentes persone et nuncij et familiares eorum et amici Ordinis introduci possint ad cameras venerabilium Magistrorum et baccalareorum et seniorum et proborum fratrum qui ad consilium commorantur.

Concedimus etiam quod venerabiles persone praefate ad cellam alicuius studentis vel conventualis, vellent accedere, introduci possint de licentia prioris petita et obtenta.

Contrafacientes, iuxta statum cuiuslibet, penam antedictam decernimus incurrisse.

[71]) Cheminées.

[72]) Foyers.

5m Capitulum.

Item ne bona conventus, proborum fratrum sudore quesita, et edificia incendio destruantur, mandamus quod quicumque frater, cuiuscumque status vel eminencie sit, deinceps sive sompnolentia sive inadvertencia, ebrietate vel alio modo qualitercumque, accensionis ignis in loco vel in aliqua parte loci causa fuerit vel occasio, statim per 6 menses carceri mancipetur.

6m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus, per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena carceris, quatenus infra villam parisiensem nullus audeat pernoctare [fol. 12] sine licencia prioris ; pro qualibet vice in scriptis habita causam pernoctacionis exprimentem.

Sub eadem pena mandantes ne infra villam ad tabernam accedant.

7m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus hospitibus ad conventum parisiensem venientibus ac etiam commorantibus in eodem, et sub pena carceris, ut nullus infra villam parisiensem accedat ad balnea sive stuphas [73]).

In hoc capitulo suspendentes et revocantes licencias a provinciali obtentas, nisi in casu infirmitatis que non possit aliter sine personali periculo evitari quam balneorum remedio.

Et sub eadem pena mandamus et precipimus quod ad domos suspectas nullatenus accedant, eorum januas gradiendo, nisi eleemosinarum questu vel visitatione infirmi vel alia causa licita ; quam tamen infra diem naturalem, quaecumque fuerit, ille priori coram senioribus indicabit.

8m Capitulum.

Item, quia regularis observancia a quibusdam levibus in dormitorio, capitulo, ecclesia, claustro et refectorio sepius violatur a facientibus beiaunias [74]), cachinnis, sibilis, clamoribus, percussionibus manuum, strepitu pedum, appensione vel impositione plumarum,

[73]) Etuves.

[74]) Initiation du nouvel étudiant (bec jaune, béjaune, freshman, Fuchs). Voir note 33.

palearum, pannorum ac etiam proiectione liquidorum, pulsatione et sonitu vasorum et aliis [75]) actibus turpibus et rumoribus dissolutis, ut in praefatis insolentiis frenum imponamus, mandamus priori, quatenus quemcumque fratrem cognoverit, per se vel aliorum relatu, talia perpetrasse vel suasisse ut fierent, eum compellat ad penam 15 dierum gravioris culpe sine dispensacione.

Tales vero sic delinquentes ipso facto, si sit studens, ipsum studio decernimus esse privatum, si talem penam antedictam recusaverit portare. Si vero simplex conventualis fuerit, penam gravioris culpe per mensem portabit ; quam si recusaverit portare carceri mancipetur.

Si Magister fuerit, per 3 dies ad mensam nudam sedebit.

Si vero baccalareus vel biblicus, per 6 dies coram toto conventu ad terram sedebit in pane et aqua.

9^m^ Capitulum.

Item ne ecclesia fiat domus dissolutionis (?), omnibus et singulis fratribus conventus parisiensis mandamus, quatenus nullus eorum moram ante portam ecclesie, ad extra vel intra, sive in porta faciat, nec etiam cachin[n]os, risus, confabulationes vel alios actus dissolutos ibidem stando.

Inhibentes sub pena trium dierum sedendi in terra nuda in pane et aqua et recipiendo qualibet die disciplinam, si studens vel conventualis non lector sit transgressor mandati.

Si vero conventualis, qui nec lector fuerit in studio generali vel conventuali, nec prior in studio generali, portabit penam similem cum studente ; si vero baccalareus vel prior in studio generali in premissis delinquant 3 diebus sedebunt ad mensam nudam in pane et aqua.

Si Magister, dicat culpam suam specialiter in capitulo et petat veniam a priore.

Concedimus tamen quod, si essent persone honeste quae a fratribus associari deberent, servata honestate, possent residentiam facere et cum eisdem loqui.

Et similibus penis subiaceant qui per ecclesiam discurrunt, vagabundi cum habitu vel in albis, hora qua de mane Officium celebratur divinum. [fol. 12^vo^].

[75]) Cf. H. RASSDALL, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, III[2] (Oxford 1936) 376-85.

Sexta Pars [76])

Primum Capitulum.

Statuimus quod in conventu parisiensi de jure Ordinis duo Magistri, scilicet, actu regens et ille qui legenti cathedram resignavit vel qui antiquior Magister fuerit destinatus, poterunt residere.

Et actu regens spacio quindecim dierum non possit se absentare sine Prioris generalis licentia speciali, sub pena privacionis vocis et omnium gratiarum ab Ordine sibi concessarum.

Insuper, si contingeret conventum parisiensem habere fratrem Magistrum in theologia, ordinamus quod cum aliis Magistris maneat, sic tamen quod provisionem septimanalem a conventu nec socium possit habere studentem ; et si studentem habere voluerit, pro illo contribucionem studentis solvat.

Declarantes quod, si plures Magistri filij conventus, senior residebit in conventu.

Exortamur (!) tamen illum ut in predicacionibus et aliis actibus utilibus pro conventu sollicite laboret, sic quod ex eius mora conventus sentiat profectum et honorem ; quod, si neglexerit, ex nunc pro tunc hec nostra ordinacio de sua mansione in conventu sit irrita et inanis.

2m Capitulum.

Item statuimus quod in conventu parisiensi sine contribucione bursie esse possunt infrascripti baccalarii et non plures ; quibus mandamus, quatenus de parisius nullomodo recedant sine prioris generalis speciali licentia ante adeptionem sui gradus, scilicet praesentatus, duo praesentandi, magister studentium, actu legens Sententias et Bibliam et lecturus immediate Sententias per annum ante et lecturus Bibliam per 6 menses ante.

Similiter de provincia Francie 7 studentes possunt stare sine contributioni (!) bursie.

Similiter duo studentes de provincia Lombardie stare possunt sine contributione, ex conventione facta inter dictam provinciam et conventum [77]).

[76]) Maris magni.

[77]) On ne sait pas à quel contrat entre les provinces de Lombardie et de France l'auteur fait ici allusion.

Cuiuslibet provincie Ordinis possunt duo studentes stare, quorum quilibet solvet predictam bursiam, sola provincia Francie excepta, quae non potest alios mittere a septem dictis.

Declarantes quod ad minus de provincia Francie tres sint tales quod sciant predicare.

Teneanturque ipsi omnes ire ad funera tempore necessitatis, prout priori videbitur expedire.

Tenenturque predicare cum eis iniunctum fuerit.

Si vero de provincia predicta aliqui essent qui solverent bursiam, nolumus eos ad talia obligari.

3^m^ Capitulum.

Item statuendo decernimus quemlibet Magistrorum duorum in parisiensi conventu commorantium, tenore Addicionum capitulo 36, posse tenere unum studentem, absque persolutione contribucionis et bursie consuete, et eorum quilibet unum famulum et non plures, etiam si vellent eis expensas solvere [78]).

Similiter et tot Magister senior conventus filius teneat et non plures. Decernimus etiam quod actu legentes Sententias et Bibliam habeant unum famulum, praesentatus et omnes bacalarii habeant unum famulum communem, communi omnium servicio deputatum, qui victum famuli recipiat a conventu tantummodo.

Exortantes (!) tamen ut recipiant famulos honestos nec retineri eos volumus aliomodo ad servicia infra domum nisi servata forma Constitucionum capitulo 44 in fine [79]) [fol. 13].

4^m^ Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis patribus conventus parisiensis quatenus nullus eorum aliquem nostrum fratrem qui vacacionum tempore Sententias Parisius legerit [80]), associet ad praestan-

[78]) *Additiones*, cap. 36. « Volumus autem quod magister parisius uno socio studente et converso vel famulo sit contentus ».

[79]) *Constitutiones*, cap. 44. « Prior quoque famulum vel secularem servitorem, nisi sit ordinis oblatus, nullum intra claustrum loci permanere aut conversari permittat. Tales enim in ordinatione morum et vitae consueverunt interdum novitios et iuvenes ordinis inficere, et antiquiores suis levitatibus et inordinationibus contristari ».

[80]) A cause des prérogatives et des exemptions dont jouissaient les Maîtres en théologie, beaucoup de religieux aspiraient à la maîtrise. Durant la première moitié

dum iuramentum ut a cancellario et congregatione admittatur ad lecturam praefatam.

Nec eidem praestare auxilium, consilium et favorem, publice vel occulte, per se vel per alium, ut dictum consequatur effectum.

Si autem contingeret quod reciperetur ad lecturam, non recipiatur in concentu, nec in scolis nec in conventu legere permittatur nec in actibus associetur.

Si quis vero in aliquo praeteritorum dictorum delinquerint (!), vinculo excommunicationis innodamus tales ; talem etiam sic legentem ipso facto ex nunc praesentatione privamus.

Precipiendo eciam quod praesentationem non procuret nec fratres ipsum praesentent vel praesentari faciant, sub eadem lata sententia.

Si tamen ad magisterium perveniret, ipsum graciis, quibus gaudere sive gaudent Magistri parisienses, privamus et in Ordine pro simplici conventuali habeatur.

Item toto tempore vacacionum quo stat Parisius, duos grossos parisienses in die pro se solvere cogatur.

5^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus et singulis fratribus lecturis Bibliam in conventu parisiensi, ut libros non alio ordine legant quam qui ad legendum cum suo successore sunt condivisi.

Et ut tollatur omnis ambiguitas ordinamus in duobus annis a duobus biblicis omnes libros Biblie perficere, sic quod prius, qui

du XIV^e siècle, des religieux de divers Ordres tâchaient de passer avant leurs confrères en accomplissant la lecture des Sentences le plus tôt possible. Cette envie donnait lieu de temps en temps à des faits peu édifiants. Afin de parvenir à leur but, maints religieux sollicitaient du pape le privilège de lire les Sentences à Paris le plus tôt possible et cela pendant un bref laps de temps, c'est-à-dire pendant les vacances, qui duraient de la fête de SS. Pierre et Paul, le 29 juin, jusqu'au 1 septembre. Puis, ils essayaient de se rendre maître de la barette (Cf. DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis*, II, Introd. ix). Tout cela multipliait bien les maîtres, mais n'élevait pas le niveau des études théologiques.

Chez les Augustins aussi, il y avait des confrères qui, avant d'être nommés par les Autorités de l'Ordre, s'efforçaient de lire les Sentences pendant les vacances en vertu d'un privilège papal (Cf. DENIFLE, *l. c.*, n^os 847, 856, 945, 1207, 1208, 1212). Pour couper court à cette tendance, tout appui, tout support était interdit aux candidats lisant pendant les vacances, et, par anticipation, toutes les prérogatives leur étaient refusées.

incipit legere, penthateucon (!) cum sequentibus et sapiencialibus omnibus legat. Et in uno perficiat anno.

Sequens vero incipiat ysaiam consequenter legendo prophetas et novum testamentum ordine quo sequantur.

Si quis autem contra dictam ordinationem fecerit nullatenus pro biblico habeatur. Et ipso facto provisione sit privatus.

6m Capitulum.

Item approbamus sententiam excommunicationis, latam per nostros predecessores ac eciam Additionum 36 capitulo approbatam, qua eos qui pro Magisterio alicuius baccalarij nostri Ordinis apud saeculares aut ecclesiasticas personas impetrant litteras, sic quod praesentatum impediant vel retardent [81]).

7m Capitulum.

Item illum decernimus debere esse magistrum studentium, qui immediate ante actu legentem Sententias complevit.

Cuius officium est legere librum unum, ad peticionem studencium vel maioris partis, in phylosophia morali vel metaphisica ; quem si compleverit mandamus, si tempus habuerit, alium librum legat.

Si vero non fuerit in conventu, unus de baccalariis formatis, quem actu regens decreverit ad legendum, lecturam faciat antedictam quousque legens Sententias compleat.

Ad eundem etiam magistrum studentium pertinet dare licentias studentibus eundi ad actus scolasticos qui in loco nostro vel extra fierent, exceptis actibus qui fiunt in vico straminis [82]), nisi forte ad honorandum aliquam personam.

Item ad eius officium pertinet distribuere disputationes et ipsas

[81]) *Additiones*, cap. 36. « Insuper statuimus quod nullus procuret aliquid quod sit impedimentum expeditionis bacellarii praesentati, nec utatur aliquis bulla impetrata pro magisterio, nisi de consilio magistrorum vel magistri, si solus sit, qui sic ordinet quod per hoc non impediatur praesentatus. Alioquin tam procurans litteras quam magistri obliquantes iudicium eo ipso excommunicationis sententiam incurrant ».

[82]) La rue du Fourre, jadis des Escoliers (1260), de l'Ecole (1300), du Feurre (XIVe s.) (à cause de la paille sur laquelle s'asseyaient les écoliers pour assister aux cours) et par altération: rue du Fouarre (XVIe s.).

Au XIIIe siècle, l'Université assigna la rue aux cours publics de la Faculté des Arts; les quatre Nations y eurent leurs écoles. M. DE ROCHEGUIDE - M. DUMOULIN, *Guide pratique à travers le vieux Paris*, (1923), p. 415.

regere et tenere ; quas singulis diebus sabbatinis vel alia die septimane magis commoda fieri volumus, sub pena inobedientie Prioris generalis. Et sub eadem pena mandamus omnibus baccalariis ut intersint, nisi habeant legitimam causam.

Exortamur (!) [fol. 13vo] etiam venerabiles Magistros ut intersint disputationi antedicte.

Item ad eius officium pertinet, omnes studentes cogere et exortari ut singulis diebus post prandium veniant ad disputandum in aula vel alibi, et vadat ordo inter studentes respondentes vel arguentes secundum ordinem cellarum.

Item ad ipsum spectat, interesse apercioni magne pixidis et parvarum ac trunci et similiter interesse debet numeracioni peccunie.

Item ad ipsum pertinet, videre tinellum de vino quod est noviter ministrandum ad eligendum de quo debet ministrare et qualiter et quibus.

Item ad ipsum spectat, instituere unum de studentibus qui studentes congreget ad dicendum horas sive Officium divinum quando studentes non tenentur interesse cum conventualibus.

Item ad eum spectat, disponere studentes secundum bonum numerum quantitate ipsorum pensata, et eos compellat ut vadant ad actus scolasticos qui fiunt extra locum et similiter ad illos qui in nostris scolis fiunt.

Disponatque studentes in numero convenienti dividentes in 4^{or} personas vel plures ut videbitur, si multitudo studentium est magis.

Item ad ipsum pertinet, denuntiare priori studentes deficientes in actibus antedictis et facere ut puniatur pena taxata in capitulo 9°.

8^{m} Capitulum.

Item mandamus omnibus Magistris et baccalariis parisiensibus, sub pena inobediencie et excommunicacionis, quatenus infra sex dies post adventum alicuius studentis Parisius conveniant in unum et eligant duos formatos baccalarios sive non formatos vel ad Sententias aut Bibliam ordinatos, quorum unus ultramontanus sit, alter citramontanus, qui examinent novum studentem.

Qui baccalarij sic electi corporale praestabunt iuramentum in manibus Magistri regentis, ad quem spectat consilium convocare, tactis sanctis Evangeliis, quod fideliter examinabunt de infrascriptis punctis et fideliter referent sufficientiam eius.

De examinandis : primo in grammaticalibus, an congrue loquatur latinum non a casu et usu sed secundum regulas grammatice [83]).

2° an principia logice et philosophie sciat et competenter intelligat.

3° an in terminis theologicis sit aliqualiter expertus vel dispositus quod infra triennium possit proficere.

Et si sic inveniatur sit studens parisiensis.

Si vero dicti Magistri vel baccalarij non convenienter eligerent pro examine nec baccalarij electi examen bene facerent in hiis scriptis, licet inviti, illum vel illos, trina monitione praemissa, vinculo excommunicationis innodamus.

9m Capitulum.

Item mandamus per obedientiam salutarem omnibus et singulis studentibus parisiensibus, quatenus quilibet sua vice respondeat de quaestione sabbatina.

Quae disputatio si omissa fuerit ex defectu studentis, nisi in casu infirmitatis excepto, super terram nudam octo diebus pro prima vice sedebit, pro 2ª vice XV, 3ª vice integro mense ; semper in qualibet vice penitentiarum 2ª, 4ª et 6ª feria in pane et aqua.

Et in qualibet die feriarum praedictarum coram fratribus recipiet publice disciplinam.

Et si praefatas penitentias non impleverit sit studio suo privatus.

Et si studens, in cothidianis disputationibus quae fiunt post prandium, qui debet arguere vel respondere principaliter, pro qualibet vice sex diebus ad terram sedebit coram conventu sine dispensacione et die qualibet post completorium recipiet disciplinam ; et si 4or vicibus arguendo vel respondendo principaliter defecerit, vel si peni-

[83]) Cf. « Dits des moutiers de Paris », composés vers 1320.

Après est Saint Andrieu des Ars
Où mainte dame de leurs ars
Ont maintes fois lancié et trait,
Et maint homme (ont) a eulz atrait.
Après i r'est Saint Augustin
Où l'en parole bien latin.
A Saint Germain des Prés m'en vois
Où l'en sert Dieu à haute vois.

A. Longnon, *Pouillés de la Province de Sens*, p. 366. Recueil des Historiens de la France.

tentias pro tribus praedictis non fecerit, studio sit privatus et inhabilis ad lectoriam. [fol. 14].

Nec volumus quod in disputacionibus ordinariis et cothidianis studens possit alium subrogare, sub eadem pena.

Si vero studens aliquis qui ad actum debet ire scolasticum extra domum, si non ierit aut recesserit antequam actus finiatur notabili spatio, per 6 dies ad terram sedebit.

Si habuerit rationabilem causam, illam notam faciat magistro studentium et ille iuxta conscientiam iudicet veritatem ; et si causa non fuerit rationabilis et praefatam paenitentiam non impleverit Parisius non lectoretur sine licentia Generalis prioris speciali.

Et eidem pene subesse volumus studentes illos qui defecerint interesse lectioni biblie pro vice et tempore a magistro studentium ordinatis.

10^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus per obedienciam salutarem et sub pena excommunicacionis omnibus et singulis Magistris et baccalariis, quatenus in ultima lectione lectorandi conveniant nisi habeant legitimam causam ; quibus sic congregatis mandamus legenti ut legi faciat punctuatim coram omnibus que sequuntur, ne indigno gradus conferatur.

Et ut sciatur dignitas lectorandi Magister regens coram omnibus jurare faciat lectorandum, sacrosanctis tactis Evangeliis, quod dicet veritatem de omnibus infrascriptis.

Primo, si in principio sui adventus ad studium parisiensem fuerit examinatus.

2° si Parisius responderit de questione ordinaria septimanali.

3° si Parisius compleverit triennium

4° si deficiendo in actibus scolasticis penitentiam fecerit.

Et si in principio sui adventus non fuisset examinatus sui (!) culpa, sine dilatione ad propria remittatur sine lectoria et compellatur ad solvendum pro tempore quo stetit Parisius, pro qualibet die grossum turonensem, computando in sortem bursiam quam persolvit.

Et si non responderit de quaestione ordinaria sui culpa, vel si Parisius triennium non compleverit vel si deficiendo (?) in actibus penitentiam non compleverit, non lectoretur.

Si vero sine sui (!) culpa non fuisset examinatus, ponatur lectorandus noviter ad examen ut supra capitulo 8°, hoc addito quod examinetur an in theologia convenienter instructus sit.

Hiis peractis Magister regens requirat de vita et scientia lectorandi. Si inveniatur sufficiens et complevisse omnia predicta, lectoretur absolute.

Si vero per Magistrum regentem vel per deponentes (!) vel per aliquem prefatorum forma hic tradita non fuerit observata vel oppositum fuerit factum, illos vinculo excommunicaciones innodamus.

Sub eadem pena precipimus Magistro regenti et deponentibus pro lectorando, ut nichil recipiant pro huiusmodi et sub eadem pena precipimus lectorando ut nichil det.

Si vero contingeret aliquem studentem antequam compleret triennium infirmari, propter quod ipsum opporteret recedere de Parisius pro vite conservatione, habito consilio medicorum non ficto, servata forma prius tradita excepto quod triennum non complet, Magister regens eum lectoret.

11^m Capitulum.

Item ordinando mandamus per obedientiam salutarem omnibus et singulis Magistris et baccalariis parisiensibus, ut diffinitionem factam et in multis capitulis approbatam [84]) observent ; cuius tenor sequitur.

Si contingat locum aliquem de diffinitis vel diffiniendis ad legendum Sententias per bullam Summi Pontificis occupari vel alias, absque sua culpa, primo diffinitus immediate legat [fol. 14^vo] post illum qui locum occupavit, vos advertentes quod quandocumque contingit aliquem de diffinitis causa rationabili non posse venire Parisius, die qua debet suum facere principium lecture, volentes decernere quid tunc agendum, statuendo decernimus quod casu tali, si Parisius est aliquis de diffinitis, primus post eum, incipiet lecturam.

Et si primus post illum non esset, alius sequens locum obtineat.

Et si contingeret nullum de diffinitis esse pro tunc Parisius sed essent ordinati vel dispositi ad lecturas, ipsi suo ordine quo vocati sunt prosequantur ut de diffinitis dictum est.

Si vero contingat quod nec diffiniti nec dispositi adessent statuto tempore pro lectura, Magister regens et patres de consilio, omnes vel maior et sanior pars, poterunt unum subrogare.

[84]) Dans les Actes des Chapitres Généraux, il ne figure aucun précepte rédigé comme le suivant, sauf celui du chapitre 1351. Cependant il y en a qui concernent le même cas. Voir les notes 9 et 81.

Et similiter, si postquam Bibliam incepisset et continuare non posset, praefati ordinent alium ad lectiones prosequendas et ad aliud principium faciendum ; quem ex nunc gracias quas biblici habent, volumus obtinere.

Addentes quod si ille qui pro illo anno debuisset incipere, medio tempore lecture veniret Parisius ad legendum, ille subrogatus cedat in medietate temporis et lecture.

Et medietate lecture iste principiendo prosequatur et ambo biblici censeantur.

Si vero subrogatus post principium alterius lecturam prosequatur, eandem in nullo supervenienti cedere teneatur, ex eo quod locum sibi vendicat illius qui incepit et non potuit terminare ; ex quo actu nullus a loco sibi debito retardatur.

Addentes semper in omnibus supradictis quod inter naciones honorum distribucia conservetur.

Item quia quandoque contingit quod oportet unum de studentibus lectorare, ut in casu legat, dispensamus cum tali de triennio complendo in conventu parisiensi, si tamen studens lecturus sit talis ut statuta Ordinis ipsum non excludant.

12^m Capitulum.

Item quia non sunt Magistrorum camere et baccalariorum actu legencium et aliorum stabiliter edificate, non valemus statuere sed prioris et patrum de consilio arbitrio hoc reliquimus.

13^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus, quatenus nullus frater presumat associare extra locum parisiensem de Parisius recedentes baccalarios vel studentes aut fratres alios excepto quod si aliquis Magister recedat duo tamen fratres et non plures eum associent petita tamen licentia a priore et obtenta sic tamen quod sic associantes Magistrum non pernoctent extra conventum sed eadem die ad conventum redeant.

Contrarium facientes si sit studens vel conventualis, penam gravioris culpe per XV dies indispensabiliter portabit.

Si baccalarius, per octo eandem penam portabit.

Si sit Magister, illo anno provisione septimanali sit privatus.

Si quis vero sic pernoctare auderet sicut suspectus de lapsu carnis et ut nostrorum mandatorum contemptor et inobediens, carceri mancipetur.

Septima Pars [85])

Primum Capitulum.

Item ad evitandum dubia de « patribus » de consilio statuendo decernimus istos et non alios esse tales :

Magistros, baccalarios formatos et non formatos pro tunc in conventu parisiensi residentes. Nec sub isto [fol. 15] « patribus » intelligitur prior, [licet sit caput et pater. Nec in litteris missis « patribus » intelligitur prior [86])] nisi nomen eius specialiter exprimatur.

Unde, quandoque usi sunt aliqui predecessorum nostrorum hoc modo scribendi : Venerabilibus et religiosis viris priori et patribus etc., solum igitur de consilio patrum sunt Magistri, baccalarii ut dictum est.

2m Capitulum.

Item statuendo decernimus quod omnes, scilicet, Magistri et baccalarii formati et non formati, qui sunt patres de consilio, vel maior aut sanior pars eorum, possit (!), si contingat biblicum lecturum non adesse tempore opportuno vel non posse lecturam continuare, subrogare, ut dictum est capitulo undecimo.

3m Capitulum.

Item mandamus [quod] ille qui immediate post actu legentem Bibliam est lecturus, ut lectorem mense corrigat si male legat ; et si talis non esset in refectorio, mandamus regenti ut unum de studentibus eligat qui legentem sciat corrigere.

4m Capitulum.

Item ordinamus ut nullus studens parisiensis ante completum triennium possit lectorari quo completo regens eum lectoret forma observata supra parte 6, capitulis 8 et decimo.

Si oppositum fecerit licentia lectorie sit irrita et inanis.

5m Capitulum.

Item committimus priori et patribus de consilio, maiori et saniori parti eorum, quatenus possint fratres de provincia Francie providos

[85]) Statutorum maris magni.

[86]) Le texte entre crochets a été oublié, puis rajouté en marge par le copiste.

eligere et vocare et conventuales facere Parisius juxta conventus necessitatem, dum tamen non sint actu priores vel lectores studiorum generalium vel triennalium.

Similiter possint alios conventuales removere et ad provincialem remittere, ut alibi collocentur.

Mandantes tamen priori et patribus antedictis, ut zelo pro conventu et non aliter moveantur ad vocandum vel deponendum fratres. Aliter penam inobedientie se noverint incurrisse.

Eodem tenore committimus priori et patribus ut possint sic per eos electos penis temporalibus et spiritualibus compellere, etiam per censuram ecclesiasticam, ubi eos reperiant contemptores.

Et si noticiam talium electorum prior et fratres haberent, provinciali vel vicario vel diffinitoribus notificent qualitatem et officia in quibus possunt conventui servire.

Et ipsi, sub pena inobediencie generalis, de magis aptis fratribus iuxta prioris et patrum peticionem dare teneantur celeriter.

6^{m} *Capitulum.*

Item committimus praedictis fratribus, scilicet, priori et patribus de consilio, vel maiori et saniori parti eorum, quod possint, si placet, 4^{or} de conventualibus antiquioribus et maturis ad huius consilium conumerare quando eis videbitur.

7^{m} *Capitulum.*

Item ordinamus quod prior parisiensis, de scitu et assensu patrum de consilio, vel maioris et sanioris partis eorum, ferre possit sentenciam excommunicationis in casibus occurrentibus.

Et eodem tenore ordinavimus ut idem prior iuvenes conventuales vel studentes in dicto studio residentes ad sacros possit promovere ordines Ordinis forma servata Constitutionum et nostrarum ordinationum tradita supra capitulo 2^{o} [87]).

Possit etiam prior consilium patrum convocare quandocumque

[87]) Le chapitre 2 de cette partie ne contient rien qui concerne ce sujet.

Constitutiones, cap. 31. « (Prior) De subditis vero suis professum ad sacros ordines nullum sine licentia sui provincialis promoveri faciat... ».

Constitutiones, cap. 33. « Volumus etiam quod fratres qui sunt ad sacros ordines secundum instituta ordinis promovendi, ut de expressa licentia provincialis ordinentur ».

sibi videbitur expedire et dare licentiam singulis fratribus eundi ad balnea vel stuphas Constitutionum tamen ordinatione servato [88]).

8^m Capitulum.

Item mandamus patribus omnibus de consilio, quatenus priori assistant, prebendo ei auxilium, consilium et favorem, ita ut prior in pace et regularibus observanciis conventum gubernare possit.

Exortantes (!) eosdem patres ut, quando ad consilium vocantur, [fol. 15^vo] celeriter accedant nec recusent.

Statuentes ut quotiescumque fuerint vocati et aliquis non accederet, si Magister fuerit, pro prima vice quae destiterit, sit annuali provisione privatus, si baccalarius, per XV dies ad mensam nudam sedeat in pane et aqua 2^a, 4^a, 6^a feriis.

Magister pro 2^a vice sit septimanali et annuali provisione privatus ; si baccalarius pro secunda vice penam sustineat dupplicatam.

Pro 3^a Magister sit lignis privatus [89]), [Baccalarius] ad terram sedeat coram toto conventu. Pro 4^a Magister pane, vino et ..... [90]) sit privatus per 3 menses ; baccalarius penam gravioris culpe unius mensis indispensabiliter portet.

Magister pro quinta vice sit voce privatus et baccalarius suo gradu, quem habet et in posterum esset habiturus, exceptis casibus rationabilibus atque impedimentis.

Et tunc sic se excusans iuret priori, in praesentia trium patrum, ipsum habere causam legitimam quare nullo modo potest venire.

Retinentes nobis absolutionem talium nolentium assistere conventui in consiliis dandis nisi publice fateatur culpam suam et penitentiam compleat antedictam, et sic poterit absolvi a quolibet sacer-

[88]) *Constitutiones*, cap. 13. « Unde quia plures nostri patres et maiores facti evidentia didicerunt ex hoc plura animarum pericula provenire, cupientes huiusmodi viae vitiis obviare, omnibus pariter et singulis fratribus nostrae religionis stricte, et in virtute sancti Spiritus praecipimus et mandamus, ut nullus ad balneas vel stuphas quae sint extra locum ordinis, aliqua occasione ire, vel intrare praesumat sine magna et evidenti necessitate. Et hoc fiat semper de expressa prioris provincialis licentia speciali in scriptis habita... Qui autem balneo ex aliqua infirmitate indiguerit, prior suus in loco balneum fieri faciat et eo utatur quotiens opus fuerit de consilio medicinae ».

[89]) Ce qui suit concerne probablement le Baccalaureus. Evidemment le copiste a oublié quelque chose.

[90]) Un mot reste illisible.

dote. Et si contingeret Magistrum aliquem residere in conventu qui annuale non reciperet indumentum neque septimanales provisiones, iste pro prima vice careat per 3 menses, pro 2ª vice per 6, pro 3ª pro toto anno, pro 4ª sicut simplex conventualis sine socio et famulo maneat in conventu, pro 5ª sit voce privatus et exemptionem nullam habeat magistralem, quousque secum per generale capitulum vel per Generalem fuerit dispensatum.

Priorem tamen ortamur (!) in Domino et per obedientiam salutarem praecipimus et sub pena suspensionis ab officio prioratus, quatenus Magistros et alios patres de consilio cum digna reverentia pertractet eosque habeat sicut principalia membra Ordinis.

Sine eorum consensu et consilio graves studentibus penas non imponat nec alia gravia suo arbitrio audeat sed semper in talibus consilium patrum exequatur.

..... [91]) in penitentiis per nos taxatis quas prior, absque patrum consilio, delinquentes sic portare compellat. Quod si de praedictis oppositionem iteratum faceret, in hiis scriptis trina monicione praemissa, decernimus ipsum et volumus esse suppressum ab officio, quousque per Priorem generalem secum fuerit dispensatum.

Et in casu iterato sit sicut conventualis et supprior regat conventum, si conventus habeat. Si autem non habeat, ille regat conventum quem patres de consilio, vel maior pars, praeficiet, quousque de priore fuerit aliter ordinatum.

9m Capitulum.

Item mandamus priori per obedientiam salutarem quatenus, attenta utilitate conventus et animarum salute, una cum patribus de consilio studeat fratres mittere ad terminos honestos et providos, qui devocionem populi provocent predicacionibus, confessionibus et virtuosis actibus ac bona vita.

Eisdem iniungentes priori et patribus de consilio ut, postposita affectione, illos transmittant qui fideliter et sollicite respondeant, tam loco quam populo, quam cum deo possunt de omnibus supradictis ; maxime tamen mittantur tempore devocionis, scilicet, in Quadragesima et in Adventu.

Inhibentes dictis terminariis, ut nulli fratri aliquid in speciali tribuant ut ad dictos terminos transmittantur, sub pena privationis omnium bonorum sibi appropriatorum.

[91]) Un mot reste illisible.

Quod si contrafecerint, ipso facto conventui parisiensi confiscamus et illum, qui ab eis recepit, similem penam incurrisse decernimus.

Mandamus eciam priori, sub eodem [fol. 16] tenore precepti, ut fratres ordinet qui in villa parisiensi predicent populo verbum Dei ut necessitas requirit.

10^{m} Capitulum.

Item quia frequenter suspicionis causam generat actus, factus bona fide, ideo statuendo mandamus per obedientiam salutarem priori et sub pena furti, quatenus nullatenus audeant officium procuratoris, bursarij et cellerarij pro parte electorum conventus, si quandoque vacare contingerit, fratri alicui vel per se committere, sed statim ita celeriter sicut fieri potest, eligatur alter qui officium exerceat iuxta formam 4^{o} capitulo traditam parte 4^{a}.

Si vero aliquo capitulo contingeret quod oporteret electionem differre, de consensu omnium patrum, vel maioris et sanioris partis eorum, recommendare poterit alicui fratri cui placuerit.

Si oppositum faceret prior penam supradictam incurrat.

11^{m} Capitulum.

Item ordinamus quod quilibet frater conventualis in loco nostro parisiensi habeat annuatim a conventu pro suo vestimento et calceamentis duos florenos, cum sint magis gravati quam fratres conventuales in aliis conventibus.

12^{m} Capitulum.

Item quia nichil valet ad morum ..... [92]) servandam, statuta condere et promulgatio legum nisi qui aliis praesunt sint solliciti ut a subditis observentur, quod paucissimum facerent nisi aliqua lege constringentur ad penam, ideo priori parisiensi, vel quovis titulo ibidem presidenti, precipimus ut diligenter advertant ad omnia puncta quae in dictis ordinationibus continentur, ut Deo adiuvante animarum salutem consequi valeant et ordo sustineatur in conventu.

Et si prior negligens fuerit in praedictis, ex tunc, sicut contemptorem mandatorum Prioris generalis, pena dierum XV gravioris culpe sine dispensatione puniendum decernimus per suppriorem, si

[92]) Un mot reste illisible.

fuerit in conventu ; si non, per illum quem patres omnes vel maior pars in tali casu praeficient.

Cui ex nunc auctoritatem impertimur administrandi in temporalibus et spiritualibus, sicut in nostro Ordine est concessum.

Et peracta penitentia, si iterato deficeret negligendo officium, eadem pena, qua supra, puniatur modo simili, pro tercia vice si deficiat ipso facto sit ab officio absolutus.

13^m Capitulum.

Item cum mos perversorum sit excogitare vias quibus possint animos praelatorum pervertere a iusticia muneribus... [93]) nos, volentes talium malicie frenum imponere subditorum, omnibus et singulis fratribus provincie Francie et conventualiter residentibus in eadem, mandamus per obedientiam salutarem, quatenus sub pena inobediencie et persolucionis quadruplicis, quod expendetur pro aliquo prelatorum provincie dicte, quatenus nullus frater dicte provincie... [94]) expendat pro aliquo praelato eiusdem provincie, nisi semel tantum cum ad conventum devenerit, nisi unum grossum in anno.

Conventus vero ad quem praelatus dicte provincie declinat, si causa visitacionis accesserit, et provincialis fuerit vel visitator dicte provincie, volumus quod trina refectione sumptibus [fol. 16^vo] conventus pascatur et duplici manerie [95]) et modo duplici tantummodo praeparata cibaria ministrentur.

Aliis vero diebus sumptibus conventus reficiatur, sic tamen quod (?) nisi una manerie et uno modo parata ministrentur.

Si vero non causa visitacionis accedit, una tantum vice possit recipi a conventu et cibariis una vice coctis sive maniere et uno vino.

Et si contingeret in conventu eum pluribus diebus commorari, reficiatur iuxta Ordinis statuta [96]).

[93]) Dans le texte un espace de trois centimètres est resté blanc. En marge le copiste a écrit: « cibi et potus quae sub aliis terminis ponuntur ».

[94]) Un espace de trois centimètres est resté blanc. En marge a été écrit: « in eisdem terminis cibi et potus ».

[95]) Manière.

[96]) *Constitutiones*, cap. 22. « A resurrectione usque ad festum omnium sanctorum exceptis solemnibus ieiuniis, et sextis faeriis et die praecedente ascensionem domini et nativitatem beatae mariae virginis fratres ad ieiunium non cogantur, et tunc conventus uno ferculo tantum, in prandio et in coena contentus erit, nisi interdum aliquid aliud prior addendum providerit, ad quod illum nisi sicut sibi videbitur volumus non teneri ».

Et si per aliquem fratrem dicte provincie aliter fuerit ministratum quam dictum sit, illum penam prius taxatam volumus de facto incurrisse et ipsum ex nunc voce privamus et inhabilem reddimus ad omne officium animarum curam habens.

Si vero conventus aliter quam dictum sit recipere attemptaret, prior illius loci de facto sit ab officio absolutus.

Procuratorem vero qui huiusmodi expensas in libro suo scripserit, a praedicatione et confessione [suspendimus] et ad expensas condempnamus.

Nec etiam volumus quod terminarii in suis terminis tales praelatos recipiant expendendo ultra plus unum turonensem sub eadem pena.

Et praelatus qui talia recipit, trina monicione praemissa in hiis scriptis, ab officio suspendimus, quousque per generale capitulum fuerit cum eo dispensatum.

Et quamvis dicta constitutio ad omnia loca (?) provincie Francie se extendat, pro loco tamen parisiensi eam taliter moderamus quod (?) nisi de ferculo uno modo parato supra porciones communes et potagia consueta et pro vice qualibet a tribus fratribus de conventu et non pluribus associetur nec pro qualibet vice ultra florenum possit expendi.

Nec etiam si transseundo, ad conventum perveniat ultra primam diem possit sine contributione morari, sed volumus quod sicut forensis et hospes praeter primam diem unum grossum turonensem pro se et pro quolibet qui in sua comitiva fuerit die qualibet solvere teneatur.

Et similiter volumus de Magistris qui accedunt non conventualiter moraturi sub pena superius praetaxata. Amen.

Explicit mare magnum finitum anno domini millesimo cccc LXVIIJ^{mo} in die sanctorum martyrum Processi et Martiniani quod festum semper cadit infra octavas sanctorum Appostolorum Petri et Pauli per manus fratris Mathei Maquarelli ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini conventus Parisiensis. Maquarellj.

E. Ypma, O. E. S. A.

Paris.

Etienne de l'Ile († 1382)
Ermite de Saint Augustin
Archevêque de Kalotcha (Hongrie)

Dans cet essai, nous voudrions présenter un Ermite de S. Augustin qu'un auteur récent affirme être une des plus belles gloires de son Ordre [1]). Autrefois déjà, Th. Gratianus en fait mention : « Stephanus ex Hungaria Patriarcha Hierosolimitanus doctrina et vitae integritate celebris. Edidit doctissimas conciones. Scripsit quoque super 4 librum Sententiarum » [2]). Plus tard, Etienne Katona recueille quelques dates sur son curriculum vitae [3]) ; enfin l'ouvrage « Episcopatus Nitriensis ejusque praesulum memoria » (Posonii, 1835, p. 268) le signale brièvement. Il est étonnant que François Fallenbüchl, qui publia naguère un livre sur les Ermites de S. Augustin [4]) ne fasse pas allusion à Etienne de l'Ile. Par contre, les savants qui étudient les relations culturelles franco-hongroises du moyen âge le mentionnent maintes fois. Ceux-ci constatent également que dans les échanges scientifiques et théologiques franco-hongrois du XIV[e] siècle, les Augustins ont joué un rôle prépondérant [5]). Le premier d'entre eux fut *Alexandre de Hongrie*. Au chapitre de l'Ordre tenu à Naples en 1300, le général François de

[1]) I. SÖTÉR, *Magyar francia kapcsolatok* (les rapports franco-hongrois). Budapest, 1946, p. 50. — Nous signalerons les ouvrages hongrois en français entre parenthèses. Ceux avec titre hongrois et latin seront signalés uniquement en latin.

[2]) *Anastasis Augustiniana, in qua Scriptores ordinis Eremitarum... in seriem digesti sunt.* Antverpiae, 1613, p. 168.

[3]) *Historia metropolitanae Colocensis ecclesiae.* Colocae, 1800, I, p. 388.

[4]) Fr. FALLENBÜCHL, *Az Agostonrendiek Magyarországon* (les Ermites de S. Augustin en Hongrie). Budapest, 1943.

[5]) A. GÁBRIEL, *Magyar diákok és tanárok a középkori Párisban* (les étudiants et les professeurs hongrois à Paris au Moyen Age), dans *Archivum Philologicum* 62, 1938, p. 187.

Monte Rubiano déclara qu'il avait l'intention d'envoyer Jacques de Orto et Alexandre de Hongrie à Paris pour y obtenir le grade de Maître [6]). Ce dernier enseigna d'ailleurs quelques années à Paris ; un de ses fameux disciples fut Prosper de Reggio dont l'ouvrage citant Alexandre de Hongrie, son maître, à plusieurs reprises repose aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Vaticane, codex n° 1086 [7]).

Etienne de l'Ile lui succéda en 1343 ; après lui Nicolas Nicolai ; puis Pierre Verebély, dont nous reparlerons plus loin.

1. — Etienne de l'Ile ou Stephanus de Insula provenait d'une famille noble dont les premiers membres connus s'appellent Godfred et Albert. Vers 1155, ils acquirent du roi Géza II diverses possessions ; ainsi dans le comitat de Vas, reçurent-ils deux villages appartenant à la forteresse de Karakó et la forêt de Sár ; ce même roi leur céda encore les propriétés de Locsmand, de Girót et de Sárosd dans le comitat de Sopron. C'est d'eux qu'est issu Berthold dont il est question en 1211. Son fils Frank laissa son nom à la propriété de Sárosd. Cette propriété porte aujourd'hui encore le nom de Frankó. Dès lors, ses descendants s'appelleront « Frankó » ou « Frankló » [8]). Le fils du susdit Frankó s'appelait Antoine qui eut deux fils : Jean, promu plus tard chanoine de Cinq Eglises [9]) et Etienne devenu ermite de S. Augustin.

Il faut savoir que celui-ci est mieux connu sous le nom de Stephanus de Insula [10]) et plus rarement sous celui de *Stephanus de Hungaria.*

Notez bien « de Insula » n'est pas un nom de famille, mais dérive du fait qu'Etienne entra chez les Augustins à « Ile », en hongrois « Sziget ». Au verso d'un document capitulaire de Vasvár, en date du 24 mai 1384, figure l'annotation suivante : « Littera

[6]) A. GÁBRIEL, *Alexandre de Hongrie, Maître régent à la Sorbonne médiévale,* dans *Archivum Philologicum* 65, 1941, pp. 27, 38.

[7]) Le manuscrit est décrit par A. PELZER, *Codices Vaticani Latini,* Paris prior, Bibl. Vat. 1931, p. 654 sqq. Voici son titre: Incipit compilacio Opinionum ordinata per fratrem Prosperum de Regio Fratrum heremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini secundum quod materia quattuor librorum sententiarum requirit.

[8]) M. WERTNER, *Szigeti István kalocsai érsek származása* (l'origine d'Etienne de l'Ile, archevêque de Kalotcha). Turul 28, 1910, p. 33.

[9]) A. BOSSANYI, *Regesta supplicationum.* Budapest, 1916, tome I, 2e partie, p. 211.

[10]) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Philippi filii Petri de *Insula fratrum heremitarum* prope Kethyda concambialis » [11]). Près de Kehida, anciennement Kethyda, se trouve en effet une bourgade appelée « Ile des Moines », en hongrois « Barátsziget ». Jadis il y avait en cette localité un couvent des Ermites de S. Augustin. C'est là qu'Etienne se fit moine, d'où son nom Etienne de l'Ile.

On ignore sa date exacte de naissance, mais comme en 1366 il se dit avancé en âge [12]), on pourrait l'établir vers 1305.

2. — Entré chez les Ermites de S. Augustin, Etienne brilla par ses talents si bien que ses supérieurs l'envoyèrent étudier à Paris. D'après le chapitre général de 1284, on ne pouvait envoyer à Paris que de jeunes religieux et les meilleurs ; de plus il était requis que tout candidat « sit vitae laudabilis et in grammaticalibus et logicalibus sufficienter instructus » [13]).

Vers 1325, nous le voyons à Paris. Ses études achevées, il enseigna d'abord à l'université (studium) de son Ordre en Hongrie. Ce studium fondé au XIII[e] siècle, était à Esztergom. Le fait est rapporté par un diplôme du roi André III daté de 1290, dans lequel le roi confirme sa donation à l'Ordre et mande qu'avec les revenus de cette donation, le monastère d'Esztergom érige un studium de théologie : « Fratres siquidem heremite ordinis Sancti Augustini prope Strigoniensis civitatis menia sive muros in cenobio Sancte Anne religiosam et Deo placitam vitam ducentes, nobis humiliter supplicaverunt, ut terram Armenorum, iuxta eos vicinaliter sitam in ampliacionem... regia munificentia conferre dignaremur... Hac consideracione interna..., ut *studium theologie et aliarum arcium* ibidem cum aliis ministeriis studiorum valeant aptissime collocari et jugiter exerceri, donacionem auctoritate presencium confirmamus » [14]).

Plus tard, Etienne de l'Ile revint en France professer à l'académie augustinienne de Toulouse. En 1343, il reçut une grande distinction : le chapitre de l'Ordre tenu à Milan cette année-là l'envoie enseigner les Sentences du Lombard à Paris [15]). Deux de

[11]) Selon WERTNER, *l. c.*

[12]) A. BOSSÁNYI, *Regesta supplicationum*, II, p. 451.

[13]) A. GÁBRIEL, *Archivum Philologicum* 65, 1941, p. 27.

[14]) F. KNAUZ, *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Esztergom, 1882, II, pp. 274-275.

[15]) DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, p. 535.

ses confrères, Nicolas de Verdun et Nicolas de Interamne, furent envoyés avec lui. En qualité de lector secundarius sententiarius, il était tenu d'expliquer deux livres des Sentences par année pour finir les quatre livres en deux ans. Selon le statut des Augustins le baccalaureus sententiarius faisait cours sous le contrôle d'un magister [16]).

Peu après, rappelé en Hongrie, il dut prendre congé de Paris. En 1345, il est mentionné comme « lector provinciae Hungariae ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini » [17]). Louis Ier était alors roi de Hongrie. Ce fut l'un des meilleurs du pays [18]). Non seulement il consolida la politique nationale mais, comme prince chrétien, il s'évertua surtout à ramener les peuples schismatiques voisins à l'unité de l'Eglise. Or, pour cela, il lui fallait de bons théologiens pouvant l'aider comme conseillers et disputer en même temps avec les schismatiques sur des questions de foi. Le roi songea donc aux Augustins qu'il estimait beaucoup ; il sympathisait d'ailleurs avec leur philosophie sereine. Protéger l'ordre augustinien était chose traditionnelle chez les Anjou. Le cardinal Richard Annibaldi, alors protecteur de l'Ordre, y était pour une large part. N'est-ce pas lui qui couronna Charles d'Anjou après s'être vu confier le siège de Naples par Urbain IV ? La dynastie angevine avait importé en Hongrie l'amour de l'Ordre augustinien. Ainsi s'explique comment son attention fut attirée sur Etienne de l'Ile, qui, en ce temps-là, était un des meilleurs théologiens du royaume.

Dans le dessein de grandir son autorité devant les schismatiques, le roi lui proposa de conquérir le grade de maître en théologie et écrivit personnellement au pape Clément VI pour le prier de bien vouloir faire examiner Etienne de l'Ile par une commission spéciale. Il alla même jusqu'à demander que cette commission soit composée d'Ermites de S. Augustin, avança le nom de maître Jean, et réclama pour son favori les mêmes droits et privilèges que pour les maîtres en théologie de l'université de Paris. Mais le pape décida qu'Etienne

[16]) Définitions du chapitre général de Naples en 1300. Cfr. *Analecta Augustiniana*, vol. III, pp. 14-20 et DENIFLE, *o. c.*, t. II, p. 85.

[17]) A. BOSSÁNYI, *Regesta supplicationum*, tome I, 2e partie, p. 111.

[18]) Après l'extinction de la dynastie des Arpad (896-1301), la dynastie angevine de Naples lui succéda par l'effet d'un mariage. Le premier roi hongrois de cette dynastie est Charles-Robert (1307-1342) auquel succéda Louis Ier ou Louis le Grand (1342-1382), son fils.

serait examiné par une commission de cardinaux [19]). Etienne subit l'examen avec succès ; dorénavant les documents le nommeront « magister sacrae paginae » [20]).

3. — Vu sa science et sa vie exemplaire, le roi et la curie l'estimaient hautement. C'est ainsi qu'à la requête du roi Louis, le pape Clément VI le nomma évêque de Nyitra le 11 janvier 1350 : « Dilecto filio *Stephano de Insula* electo Nitriensi salutem... ad te ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini professorem, in sacerdotio constitutum, *sacrae theologiae magistrum* convertimus oculos nostrae mentis... » ainsi débute la bulle de nomination [21]).

Mais il n'eut pas qu'un diocèse à gouverner. Les besoins de l'Eglise réclamèrent sa présence ailleurs aussi. A l'époque, les Cumans, peuple semi-païen, faisaient grand tort aux évêques. Orientaux, ils avaient fui devant les Mongols dans la première moitié du XIII[e] siècle et une partie de la nation avait obtenu du roi Béla IV l'autorisation de se fixer en Hongrie à la condition d'embrasser le christianisme. Les chefs et d'autres se firent bien baptiser mais dans le fond ils restèrent païens. En 1241, la Hongrie fut affreusement dévastée par les Tartares. Aussi fallut-il plusieurs décades

[19]) « Significant Ludovicus... rex et Elisabeth... regina Hungariae, quod pericia doctorum in sacra sciencia theologie in ipsorum... consilio sepe se senciunt indigere, maxime in his, que fidei veritatem magis de propinquo respiciunt, qui *scismaticorum et infidelium*, quibus vallantur ex giro... racionibus perversis multociens habent obviare... Supplicant prefati rex et regina, quatenus speciales eis gratiam facientes in personam religiosi viri fratris *Stephani de Insula* lectoris provincie Ungarie ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini... quem nunc inter alios religiosos ipsorum regnicolas labor studii, exercicium continuum jam per viginti annos, tam studendo Parisiis, quam legendo per diversa studia generalia in Regno Ungarie et Tholose, in ipsa sacra sciencia profecisse famat uberius... qui eciam olim in generali capitulo sui ordinis Mediolani celebrato per generalem... pro successivis temporibus ad legendum sentencias Parisiis fuit ordinatus... Predicti fratris examen in curia Sanctitatis vestre sub magistro Johanne ordinis predicti primario, Vestra Sanctitas vel sub aliquo alio magistro ejusdem ordinis... committere et eundem... magistralis honoris titulo insignire... dignemini... Examinetur per Cardinalem Tusculanum et sanctorum quattuor coronatorum ». BOSSÁNYI, *Regesta supplicationum*, I, 2[e] partie, p. 111.

[20]) Par exemple en 1378: « fratre Stephano Colocensi archiepiscopo sacre pagine magistro ». *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, V, p. 161.

[21]) A. THEINER, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*. Roma, 1860, I, pp. 776-777. Dans un diplôme royal du 2 septembre 1349, il est déjà indiqué comme évêque de Nyitra (*Episcopatus Nitriensis memoria*, p. 268).

avant que le pays se relève. Ce n'est donc qu'au XIV[e] siècle que les Cumans furent christianisés définitivement [22]).

L'évêque Etienne contribua beaucoup à cette évangélisation. Le 31 octobre 1353, le roi Louis annonça au pape qu'une partie des Cumans réclamait le baptême et lui demanda de bien vouloir leur remettre la dîme qui constituait un obstacle à leur conversion [23]).

Il travailla encore parmi les *schismatiques* habitant les provinces limitrophes du pays, notamment parmi les Valaces, ancien nom des Roumains, et les Bulgares. Or, à lui seul, il ne pouvait suffire à une entreprise pareille. C'est pourquoi il appela des confrères à son aide. Il est peut-être intéressant de noter qu'il exigea d'eux non seulement la science mais aussi les grades académiques.

De par l'histoire, nous connaissons deux augustins qui secondèrent Etienne dans son apostolat. Le premier est un certain *Nicolas*, natif du diocèse de Grand Varadin. Il fut lecteur à l'académie de Paris et ailleurs, et, en 1353, nous le voyons déjà chapelain de la Cour. Le 31 octobre de la même année, le roi pria le pape de bien vouloir décerner à Nicolas le grade de bachelier en signe de faveur de sorte qu'il puisse enseigner les Sentences du Lombard et jouisse des mêmes privilèges que les bacheliers de Paris. Le roi motiva sa demande en alléguant que l'évêque de Nyitra occupé à la conversion des schismatiques avait besoin d'auxiliaires compétents. Sur décision papale, Nicolas fut examiné à Paris [24]).

L'autre collaborateur connu s'appelle *Pierre de Verebel* (Verebély dans la prononciation actuelle). Né dans l'archevêché d'Esztergom, il appartenait à la province hongroise des Ermites de S. Augustin et fut également lecteur à Paris et chapelain de la famille royale. Il excellait par sa science. En 1366, l'évêque Etienne venu

[22]) Pour éviter tout malentendu, il n'est pas superflu de faire remarquer qu'une partie des Cumans resta en Roumanie.

[23]) Bossányi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 277.

[24]) « ... supplicat (Ludovicus rex) quatenus cum regnum Ungarie multis paganis et scismaticis inhabitatum, litteratis et eruditis viris ad conversionem infidelium... plurimum indigeat: nullumque pro nunc magistrum habeat in theologia preter *magistrum Stephanum episcopum Nitriensem,* qui in eorum negociis *plurimum occupatus,* prout necesse esset ad predicta, *solus non sufficit,* in personam dilecti capellani fratris Nicolai, ordinis heremitarum Sancti Augustini de dicto regno oriundi... lectoris Parisiensis et aliis studiis exercitati specialem graciam facientes, ut... sentencias legere possit, concedere dignemini facultatem ». Bossányi, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 277-278.

en Avignon pria Urbain V de bien vouloir faire examiner ledit Pierre à la faculté avignonnaise par l'évêque de Frioul, confesseur du S. Père, et, en cas de réussite, de lui conférer le grade de Maître en théologie. Etienne exposa au Souverain Pontife que pour instruire les convertis et convertir les schismatiques, il avait besoin de collaborateurs à la hauteur de leur tâche [25]).

4. — Souvent, le roi Louis envoya l'évêque de Nyitra en ambassadeur à Avignon. Sa prudence et sa connaissance des relations en France l'avaient rendu apte à traiter les affaires royales avec succès. Au début de 1354 déjà, nous le rencontrons à Avignon en qualité d'ambassadeur de Hongrie [26]).

Sa mission de 1366 revêtit un caractère particulier. Pour le comprendre, il faut envisager les circonstances politiques de l'époque. Dans la seconde moitié du XIV[e] siècle, le péril turc était devenu de plus en plus imminent. Le sultan Amurat I[er] avait transporté son siège d'Asie à Edirné (Andrianople). Pour mettre son royaume en sûreté, Louis I[er] s'empara du nord-ouest de la Bulgarie et prit la ville de Vidin. Il mettait ainsi la main sur le banat de Vidin dont Benoît de Hem fut nommé premier gouverneur. Le roi désirait fortifier cette province pour servir de rempart contre les Turcs. Aussi s'efforça-t-il d'unir les hérétiques et les schismatiques du banat avec l'Eglise romaine. Il entreprit l'œuvre sur l'invitation de plusieurs franciscains du vicariat de Bosnie [27]). La conversion avança à grands pas. En cinquante jours, les franciscains convertirent près de 200.000 hommes. Le roi avait ordonné d'inscrire le nom des

[25]) « Supplicat fr. Stephanus episcopus Nitriensis ambassiator domini regis Ungarie, quatinus nedum sibi, sed toti regno Ungarie, omni alio magistro in theologie facultate carenti..., cum tamen tam *pro eruditione conversorum, quam pro conversione infidelium* plurimum indigere noscatur, gratiam specialem facientes... Episcopo Forojuliensi confessori Vestre Sanctitatis vel alteri committere, ut fratrem *Petrum de Verebel*... provincie Ungarie ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, *lectorem Parisiensem*, dominorumque regis et regine capellanum... in theologie facultate hic in Avinione ad gradum magistri licenciare... clementi pietate dignemini ». BOSSÁNYI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 439. Egalement ST. D'IRSAY, *Histoire des Universités françaises et étrangères*. Paris, 1935, t. II, p. 179.

[26]) Le 26 janvier 1354, il pria le pape de bien vouloir élever son frère au canonicat de Cinq Eglises (Supplicat frater Stephanus episcopus Nitriensis ambassiator regis Ungarie...). BOSSÁNYI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 282.

[27]) Au vicariat de Bosnie appartenaient les franciscains qui se consacraient à la conversion des Bogomiles. Ce vicariat relevait immédiatement du Ministre Général des Frères Mineurs.

convertis dans un registre. La noblesse se présenta avec ses manants, les hérétiques et schismatiques avec leurs prêtres et leurs moines. Même les patarins se montrèrent plus enclins qu'ailleurs à la conversion. On tient tout ceci d'une lettre du franciscain Marc de Viterbe à un confrère d'Italie. Il notait également que le roi de Hongrie demandait encore d'envoyer deux mille franciscains dans le banat de Vidin pour convertir cette province. « C'est pourquoi — écrit Marc de Viterbe — je vous prie de montrer cette lettre à tous les frères qui se rendront prochainement à la Portioncule pour qu'ils la lisent. Toi, encourage-les, afin qu'ils se décident à cette tâche de charité. Ceux qui seraient prêts à suivre l'appel divin et à se mettre en route, envoie-les moi » [28]). Quant à l'union des schismatiques, le roi Louis nourrissait de grands espoirs.

Au printemps de 1366, Jean V Paléologue vint solliciter l'aide du roi de Hongrie contre l'Islam. Si on le secourait, l'empereur des Grecs promettait d'abjurer le schisme. Ajoutant foi à cette promesse, Louis I^er^ envoya Etienne de l'Ile au pape pour l'avertir de la promesse de l'empereur. Etienne était accompagné du chevalier grec Maginkaires, délégué impérial. Le pape répondit par une lettre dans laquelle il conseilla la prudence car, en pareil cas, les empereurs avaient déjà fait mainte promesse mais leurs intentions n'étaient ni droites ni durables [29]).

Entre-temps, Jean V Paléologue était tombé entre les mains de Sasman, tsar des Bulgares, et les Turcs étendaient de plus en plus leur puissance vers la Thrace. Alors le roi jura de délivrer l'empereur captif puis d'attaquer le sultan. Le comte de Savoie étant cousin de l'empereur, puisque la mère de ce dernier était Anne de Savoie, Louis dépêcha un délégué à Amédée VI pour lui enjoindre de combattre les Bulgares. Par l'entremise d'Etienne de l'Ile, il fit savoir au pape qu'il guerroyait contre l'Islam et réclamait pour ses troupes les mêmes indulgences que pour les Croisés [30]). L'évêque Etienne conta à Urbain V les succès de l'œuvre de conversion et d'unification au banat de Vidin. Tout cela combla le S. Père de joie. Vu la situation, le souverain pontife tint aussitôt un consistoire auquel Etienne de l'Ile et Georges Maginkaires furent

[28]) A. PÓR, *Nagy Lajos* (Louis le Grand). Budapest, 1892, p. 389.

[29]) V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország összeköttetése, a római szentszékkel* (les rapports entre la Hongrie et le Saint-Siège). Budapest, 1901, I, p. 249.

[30]) A. PÓR, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

admis. Ceux-ci renseignèrent l'assemblée sur les négociations en cours entre le roi Louis et l'empereur Jean. Le consistoire écouta le rapport avec satisfaction et ordonna ce qui suit : on enverra à l'empereur la profession de foi de Michel Paléologue qui la fit en des circonstances analogues ; les évêques hongrois prêcheront la croisade contre les Turcs ; les soldats pourront gagner les mêmes indulgences que les croisés [31]).

Profitant de son séjour en Avignon, Etienne traita plusieurs affaires à caractère privé. Le 13 juin 1366, il sollicita du S. Père le canonicat pour Nicolas d'Alba, son cousin [32]), et Briccius, son chapelain [33]). Le 6 juillet, il obtint du pape la faveur que son confesseur lui accorde l'indulgence plénière in articulo mortis [34]). Il réclama une faveur identique pour l'évêque de Grand Varadin [35]) et son confesseur Jean Capi, un religieux septuagénaire [36]). Il demanda également une prébende pour Michel Ramaz [37]) et ses chapelains Pierre et Martin [38]) qui l'aidèrent à régler ses affaires en Avignon de même que pour Emeric, clerc du diocèse de Zagreb [39]).

5. — Le zèle apostolique d'Etienne était estimé tant du Saint-Siège que du roi. C'est ainsi que le siège archiépiscopal de Kalotcha, en hongrois Kalocsa, devenu vacant [40]) lui échut le 10 février 1367 : « ... ad te episcopum Nitriensem, consideratis *grandium virtutum meritis*, quibus personam tuam prout fidedignorum percepimus testimonio, Altissimus insignivit, quodque tu, qui regimini ecclesie Nitrensis hactenus laudabiliter prefuisti, prefatam *Colocensem ecclesiam* scies et poteris, auctore domino, salubriter gubernare, direximus oculos mentis nostre... » — dit la bulle de nomination [41]).

Quand Etienne monta sur ce siège, la situation était confuse. Venant du sud, les serbes schismatiques faisaient de fréquentes

[31]) *Ibid.*, p. 392.
[32]) Bossányi, *op. cit.*, II, 439.
[33]) *Ibid.*, p. 440.
[34]) *Ibid.*, p. 451.
[35]) *Ibid.*
[36]) *Ibid.*
[37]) *Ibid.*
[38]) *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[39]) *Ibid.*, p. 453.
[40]) *Kalotcha* est situé au sud de la Hongrie. L'archevêché fut fondé en l'an 1000.
[41]) A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, I, p. 250.

incursions sur le territoire de l'archevêque. On signale surtout trois princes slaves qui causèrent bien des dégâts dans le midi du pays. Ce sont : Strazimir, Georges et Balsa. Georges réussit souvent à percer jusque Kalotcha et à incendier la ville. Le pape leur enjoignit de ne plus toucher aux églises et au clergé. Il semonça surtout le le prince Georges qui molestait Kalotcha depuis longtemps [42]).

Le chapitre de Kalotcha était tellement appauvri par les incursions et les brigandages des schismatiques que le nombre des chanoines avait été réduit à six. Le nouvel archevêque ordonna qu'au moins dix sièges capitulaires soient bien pourvus [43]). Il revendiqua également tous les avoirs de l'archevêché spoliés durant les incursions. En 1375, il intenta même un procès auprès du procureur pour revendiquer Halász, son bien [44]).

L'archevêque réagit aussi contre les abus apparus ici et là dans la vie du clergé. C'est ainsi qu'un certain Bakko de Pologne, prévôt de la cathédrale, fut exclu du chapitre « suis demeritis ita exigentibus » [45]).

Afin de promouvoir la vie spirituelle et l'apostolat dans son archidiocèse, il protégea les ordres mendiants. Dans ce but, il chercha à gagner les gros propriétaires. Ses paroles ne furent pas vaines. Nicolas de Gara érigea à Csereg une église en l'honneur de S. Pierre pour les franciscains et résolut de bâtir un monastère auprès. Le 11 septembre 1372, Grégoire XI légua le pouvoir à l'archevêque de permettre la fondation du monastère [46]). Mentionnons en passant que le 3 mai 1377, il signa à Batch un diplôme par lequel Nicolas de Valfer était autorisé à ériger une chapelle en l'honneur de sainte Dorothée sur sa propriété d'Asszonyfalva [47]).

Etienne de l'Ile joua encore un rôle important dans la vie politique. Le roi Louis l'avait promu *chancelier*. Vers le milieu du XIV[e] siècle, le chancelier du roi de Hongrie ne devait plus délivrer lui-même les diplômes — c'était désormais la tâche du vice-chan-

[42]) G. FEJÉR, *Codex diplomaticus*, IX/7, p. 277.

[43]) P. WINKLER, *A kalocsai és bácsi főkáptalan története* (l'histoire du chapitre de Kalotcha et de Batch). Kalocsa, 1935, p. 9.

[44]) FEJÉR, *op. cit.*, IX/7, p. 372.

[45]) *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, Budapest, 1881, Series I, vol. III, p. 148.

[46]) THALLÓCZY, Aldásy, *Codex diplomaticus partium Hungariae adnexarum*. Budapest, 1907, II, p. 19.

[47]) Diplomatarium Zichy, IV, p. 15.

celier — il devait simplement sceller les documents pourvus d'un sceau d'or [48]).

En outre, il était *membre du Conseil royal*. Le roi estimait toujours ses vues, les papes eux-mêmes le recherchaient comme le témoignent plusieurs lettres où ils le prient de régler certaines questions avec le roi. Le 28 septembre 1371, Grégoire XI lui enjoignit de gagner son roi à un accord avec l'empereur Charles IV. Comme fédéré des princes de Bavière, qui étaient eux-mêmes en guerre avec l'empereur, le roi Louis avait envahi la Moravie en 1371. Ce conflit déplaisait au pape qui avait appelé l'empereur à son secours contre Barnabò Visconti qui assiégeait la cité pontificale de Ferrare. Or pour obtenir son aide, il fallait d'abord rétablir la paix entre les belligérants. Dans ce but, Jean, patriarche d'Alexandrie fut envoyé par le pape en Hongrie afin de ramener l'entente entre le roi Louis et l'empereur. Pour assurer celle-ci, Grégoire XI écrivit à Etienne de l'Ile en lui demandant de faire bon accueil au patriarche et d'arranger tout avec lui en vue d'atteindre le but poursuivi [49]).

6. — Comme archevêque de Kalotcha, Etienne continua l'œuvre de conversion des schismatiques d'autant plus que ces derniers étaient aux confins de sa province ecclésiastique. Le mouvement d'union, déjà précité, progressait. Deux franciscains, Jean de Rhin et André de Pérouse, en avertirent le pape personnellement. Ils lui annoncèrent qu'au pays des Raitzi, des Bulgares et des Bosniaques, beaucoup rentraient dans le giron de l'Eglise à l'instigation de Louis Ier. En vue de hâter la tâche, le pape demanda à l'archevêque de Kalotcha le 3 juillet 1368 d'envoyer des prêtres en ces provinces pour seconder les franciscains et de s'adonner lui-même au ministère des âmes [50]).

Vidin était le centre de la mission bulgare où Benoît et Pierre de Hem étaient à la tête du banat. Entre-temps, des désordres avaient éclaté à Vidin. Le tsar bulgare Sasman avait envahi la ville et cinq franciscains reçurent la palme du martyre le 12 février 1369. Mais le roi Louis rétablit bientôt la paix. Il jugea donc préférable de déposer les deux préfets hongrois et de rétablir le prince

[48]) I. SZENTPÉTERY, *Magyar oklevéltan* (diplomatique hongroise), pp. 162, 165.

[49]) A. PÓR, *Anjouk és Wittelsbachok* (Les Anjou et les Wittelsbach). Budapest, 1907, p. 44.

[50]) THEINER, *Monumenta Historica Hung*, II, p. 87.

Strazimir jusque-là emprisonné, comme son vassal, à condition toutefois de ne plus entraver l'action de l'Eglise romaine. Le roi ordonna à l'archevêque de Kalotcha de se rendre en Croatie où Strazimir était détenu pour le libérer, le ramener à Vidin et l'installer au nom du roi comme préfet de ce banat [51]).

Après cette installation, l'archevêque fut chargé de gagner la sympathie de Strazimir et des Bulgares, étant donné qu'il avait la mission d'organiser l'Eglise romaine en Bulgarie et de l'incorporer dans la province ecclésiastique de Kalotcha.

Commencé sous le règne du voïvode Alexandre Bassaraba (1335-1364), le mouvement d'union florissait aussi parmi les Valaces. Le fait est rapporté par une lettre du pape Clément VI adressée à Louis I^er^ en 1345 : « Olachi Romani commorantes in partibus Ungariae Transilvanis, Ultralpinis et Sirmiis... ipsorum aliqui jam viam veritatis agnoverunt per susceptionem fidei catholice » [52]). Plus tard, Vladislav, voïvode de Valachie entra en conflit avec le roi de Hongrie qui s'empara de Turnu Sévérin en 1369 et signa un accord avec Vladislav. Par cet accord fut constitué le banat de Sévérin. Devenu vassal du roi, Vladislav dut promettre de ne pas entraver l'expansion de l'Eglise catholique. Vladislav tint parole. Le 25 novembre de la même année, il promulgua un édit dans lequel il annonçait à ses vassaux qu'il confiait la bénédiction des églises et l'administration de la Confirmation à Démétrius, évêque de Transylvanie [53]).

Là aussi les conversions s'accrurent tellement qu'il devint nécessaire d'organiser une hiérarchie de l'Eglise latine. Le promoteur de cette organisation fut le pape en personne. Grégoire XI écrivit une lettre aux archevêques d'Esztergom et de Kalotcha le 13 octobre 1374 pour leur faire savoir que grâce aux soins de leur roi, beaucoup

[51]) L'autorisation du roi Louis: « Noveritis quod nos de fide et fidelitatis constantia venerabilis patris domini *Stephani archiepiscopi Colocensis* fiduciam obtinentes indubiam, ipsum nostra intentione voluntate et mente plenarie informatum ad te duximus destinandum, cujus verbis et dictis pro parte nostri tibi (Benoît de Hem) enarrandis fidem debeas adhibere creditivam, et omnia quae idem dominus archiepiscopus tam in facto resignationis civitatis Bydiniensis et ejus districtus, quam etiam super aliis negotiis tecum tractandis disposuerit, ita rata et grata habere debeatis, ac si... per nos in propria persona disposita... extitissent ». Századok 34, 1900, p. 597.

[52]) Theiner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 691.

[53]) Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus*, IX/4, p. 210.

de Valaces avaient embrassé le catholicisme et que le nombre des convertis augmenterait s'ils avaient un diocèse propre avec un évêque indigène à la tête. Des nouvelles il ressort que les Valaces ne se contentent pas de prêtres magyars. Comme évêque, le pape propose Antoine de Spolète, un franciscain, qui travaillait parmi eux avec succès et savait même leur idiome. Que les archevêques l'examinent donc pour voir s'il est apte à cette charge, sinon qu'on veuille bien lui soumettre un autre candidat [54]).

D'après le plan arrêté, les nouveaux évêchés seront rattachés à la province ecclésiastique de Kalotcha. Etienne de l'Ile avait donc la mission de mettre ce plan à exécution. Pour la remplir, il accepta de devenir *légat du Saint-Siège* pour la province archiépiscopale de Kalotcha. Dans un diplôme daté du 4 décembre 1379, nous lisons ce qui suit : « frater Stephanus, magister sacrae paginae, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia Patriarcha Jherosolimitanus ac administrator perpetuus ecclesiarum Colocensis et Bachiensis invicem unitarum, *provinciaeque nostrae sedis apostolicae legatus*, ac aulae regiae cancellarius » [55]).

a) C'est d'abord l'évêché de Sévérin qui fut érigé. D'aucuns affirment que l'érection remonte à 1376 [56]). D'après les sources, on peut démontrer son existence dès 1380. Le « liber cancellariae apostolicae » rapporte que l'évêché de Sévérin faisait partie de la province ecclésiastique de Kalotcha [57]). Le premier évêque est mentionné en 1382 : « Gregorius... episcopus Severini necnon partium Transalpinarum » [58]). L'évêché comprenait au début deux provinces politiques, à savoir : le *Banat de Sévérin* qui s'étendait de la rive droite de l'Olt à la frontière hongroise, et la *Valachie* (ladite Transalpina ou Ultralpina) qui allait de la rive gauche de l'Olt à la source du Sereth.

b) Plus tard la Valachie se sépara du diocèse de Sévérin et

[54]) THEINER, *op. cit.*, II, p. 152.

[55]) K. SZABÓ, *Az Erdélyi Muzeum okleveleinek kivonata* (registre des diplômes du Musée de Transylvanie), Nr. 38. Les archevêques de Kalotcha portent aussi le titre d'archevêque de Batch. Ceci vient du fait qu'au Moyen Age les archevêques résidaient souvent à Batch. Dans un registre de 1185 on lit: « Archiepiscopus Colocensis sedem habet Bachiensem ».

[56]) J. SÁNTA, *Régi magyar püspökségek a mai Románia területén* (les anciens évêchés sur le territoire de la Roumanie actuelle). Dés, 1914, p. 56.

[57]) G. ERLER, *Der Liber Cancellariae apostolicae vom Jahre 1380*. Leipzig, 1888, p. 25.

[58]) K. SZABÓ, *Székely oklevéltár* (diplomataire des Székely), I, p. 78.

un nouvel évêché fut fondé à *Arges*. Ce dernier fut fondé par le pape Urbain VI le 9 mai 1381. La bulle de fondation est perdue mais il en reste une copie : « Urbanus VI. septimo Idus Maji pontificatus sui anno quarto erexit locum de Arges in civitatem in Valachia majori et ad instantias Ludovici regis Hungariae constituit ibi ecclesiam cathedralem, cui praefecit episcopum fratrem Nicolaum ordinis praedicatorum et vocatur *ecclesia Argensis in provincia Colocensi* » [59]).

c) Il est probable que la fondation du *diocèse de Vidin* date de son archiépiscopat. Après l'occupation du banat par les Turcs, le diocèse disparut. Par après, plusieurs évêques ont encore porté le titre d'évêque de Vidin. A notre connaissance, le dernier est mentionné en 1547 ; celui-ci faisait fonction d'évêque consacré de Grand Varadin [60]).

Ainsi du vivant d'Etienne de l'Ile, la province ecclésiastique de Kalotcha fut enrichie de trois nouveaux évêchés. En récompense de ses mérites, le pape le créa *patriarche de Jérusalem*. Nous avons cité ci-dessus le document relatant cette promotion. Néanmoins, il resta administrateur de l'archevêché de Kalotcha jusqu'à sa mort, laquelle est survenue entre le 5 et le 23 mars de l'an 1382 [61]).

Ce court aperçu a voulu montrer qu'Etienne de l'Ile est une figure éminente de l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin. D'abord lecteur en Hongrie puis à Toulouse et à Paris, il devint en 1350 évêque de Nyitra, en 1367 archevêque de Kalotcha, ensuite légat papal et finalement patriarche de Jérusalem. Telles sont les étapes de sa vie apostolique féconde. Son activité littéraire comprend surtout des homélies précieuses et des commentaires sur le IV livre des Sentences. Il est digne et juste qu'on garde sa mémoire.

Dr. Joseph UDVARDY.

Szeged.

[59]) J. KARÁCSONYI, *Az argyasi püspökség* (l'évêché d'Arges). Budapest, 1905, p. 5. Ce registre nous est aussi communiqué sans grand changement par ERLER, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note 1.

[60]) *Történelmi Tár* (sources historiques). 1905, p. 252.

[61]) D'après un diplôme du chapitre d'Eger daté du 5 mars 1382, il était encore en vie car on peut y lire: « ... venerabilibus in Christo patribus dominis Demetrio presbytero cardinali, *Stephano patriarcha Jherosolimitano*, ecclesiarum Strigoniensis et Colocensis conservatoribus et gubernatoribus existentibus ». F. SZÉLL, *A Bessenyey család története* (l'histoire de la famille de Bessenyey). Budapest, 1890, p. 131. Par contre d'après un autre document, le 23 mars 1382 l'archevêché de Kalotcha était vacant. FEJÉR, *Codex diplomaticus*, IX/5, p. 566.

Notes on the Early History of the Augustinian Order in Southern France

The history of the Augustinians in southern France (defined here as that part of present-day France roughly south of a line drawn from Geneva to La Rochelle) has yet to be studied very extensively ; this is especially true of the early period. The aim of the present brief article is a restricted one : to offer some data on the beginnings of a few Augustinian houses in that area, and a few generalizations concerning the Order's expansion there.

The Order was always stronger in southern France than in the northern half of the country ; it was, however, the last of the « four orders » of friars to reach that country, and it long remained the smallest of them. Prior to 1300 its growth in France was, relatively speaking, slow and halting ; its weakness there is particularly striking as compared with its great strength in Italy and its quite substantial strength in the German lands. In southern France, between six and eight foundations were made before 1275 [1] ; this compares with at least 113 Franciscan, 45 Dominican, 22 or 23 Carmelite, and 31 Sack Friars convents. By 1300, this total had risen only to sixteen ; during

[1]) See F. ROTH, « Cardinal Richard Annibaldi », offprint from *Augustiniana*, II-IV (1952-1954), p. 147-150. He there examines the evidence for the earlier foundations of the Order in France, and reaches the figure of eight houses for that area (plus four in the north). My own opinion differs from his on two points : as will be seen below, I cannot, on the present evidence, accept the date of 1268 for Lyons, and I am dubious about the date of 1260 for Avignon. On the other hand, I think it quite likely that Montpellier should be moved into this group of early houses ; it, too, will be discussed below.

In the discussion that ensues, I am assuming foundations as follows (in almost every case the evidence seems conclusive ; for many of these datings I am indebted

that quarter century, the number of Carmelite foundations rose to 39. But by 1350 there were 44 Augustinian houses in the south of France ; in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Order made 28 new foundations, as compared with 18 Carmelite, 15 Dominican, and a mere six or seven Franciscan foundations. The Augustinians had become the most rapidly growing of the mendicants in this area.

This slowness of development of the Order in southern France in the thirteenth century is shown by the fact that in the six towns that had, by 1275, houses of all four orders [2]), the Augustinians were the last to be established in five — Aix, Avignon, Marseille, Montpellier and Toulouse ; only in Narbonne, where they preceded the Carmelites, did they achieve third place. And by 1275, there were twelve other towns that had convents of the other three orders but not of Augustinians: Agen, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Cahors, Carcassonne, Clermont, Figeac, Limoges, Montauban, Nîmes, Perpignan, La Rochelle.

A second aspect of Augustinian expansion in southern France is notable. Down to 1275, of eight foundations, five were made in towns already possessing three mendicant convents, two in towns that already had two such houses, and one (Grasse) in a town that had but a single convent hitherto. This is merely to say, of course, that the Order tended to put its houses into the larger urban centers. Of the eight foundations between 1275 and 1300, five (Agen, Bordeaux, Cahors, Carcassonne, Limoges) were in towns with three houses of friars, and a sixth (Draguignan) already had one. But two

to Father Roth, who has been most generous in putting at my disposal the fruits of his own extensive researches, especially in the archives of the Order):

Before 1275: Aix, Arles, Avignon, Grasse, Marseille, Montpellier, Narbonne, Toulouse.

1275-1300: Agen, Bordeaux, Cahors, Carcassonne, Castellana, Draguignan, Limoges, Puget-Theniers.

1300-1350: Barjols, Bayonne, Béziers, Brignoles, Crémieu, Ennezat, Figeac, Limoux, Lisle-sur-Tarn, Lyon, Marvejols, Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Montagnac, Montauban, Mortemart, Montflanquin, Nice, Nîmes, Pamiers Pernes, Perpignan, La Rochelle, Saint-Geniez, Saint-Rome-de-Tarn, Saint-Savinien, Saverdun, Seyssel, La Voulte.

1350-1450: Arthez, Beaurepaire, Caudiès, Domme, Fiac, Fleurance, Geaune, Marciac, Marquefave, Mézin, Montluel, Montrejeau, Morestel, Saint-Pierre-d'Albigny, Thonon.

[2]) For this purpose, I am ignoring the houses of the two orders of friars that were suppressed after 1274 — the Sack Friars and the Pied Friars.

(Castellane, Puget-Theniers) were made in relatively small towns in which no friars had settled. From 1300 on, the Order displayed an increasing tendency to found its new houses, not in the larger towns where other orders of friars had established themselves, but in smaller centers as yet untouched by the mendicant movement. Of the 28 houses founded between 1300 and 1350, 14 were put into towns of this type (Barjols, Crémieu, Ennezat, Lisle-sur-Tarn, Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Montflanquin, Montagnac, Pernes, Saint-Geniez, Saint-Rome-de-Tarn, Saint-Savinien, Saverdun, Seyssel, La Voulte). None of these towns was of much size ; Saint-Rome-de-Tarn, for instance, was counted at 322 hearths in 1341, Lisle-sur-Tarn at 103 in 1375, and Montagnac at 154 in 1378. Of the fifteen additional foundations made by the Augustinians between 1350 and 1450, fourteen came in towns with no other house of friars: Arthez, Beaurepaire, Caudiès, Domme, Fiac, Fleurance, Geaune, Marquefave, Mézin, Montluel, Montréjeau, Morestel, Saint-Pierre-d'Albigny, Thonon). This is a rather striking phenomenon. It is not to be explained on such simple ground as that the larger urban centers had been settled so that the Order had to turn to smaller towns ; at the end of the medieval period there remained in southern France nine towns with Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite convents only (Albi, Bergerac, Clermont, Condom, Lectoure, Millau, Orange, Le Puy, Vienne), and not less than thirty-three towns that had houses of two other mendicant orders but not of Augustinians. There were, in short, sufficient larger centers in which the Order could have made foundations. The explanation is probably at least as much social and economic as religious.

One other geographical aspect of Augustinian expansion in southern France is of some interest. The fifteen houses founded before 1300 were extraordinarily localized ; they formed a line running along the Mediterranean coast from Nice to Narbonne, and curving thence upwards to Bordeaux — only the house at Limoges, a major trade-route center, fails to fit that pattern. The twenty-eight foundations made between 1300 and 1350 are much more widely scattered, though showing tendencies to cling to the major trade routes, and to more dense settlement of the areas already penetrated before 1300. But the fifteen foundations made between 1350 and 1450 show a new and distinct localization ; five of them were made in the small area east of the Rhone between Grenoble and Geneva, and seven others were made in the extreme

south-west, between the Garonne and the Atlantic, south of the 44th parallel. This may be partly explicable in military terms — this was the century of the Hundred Years' War — but it probably reflects other social, economic, and demographic developments. A study of all the foundations of all the orders of friars from this point of view might prove enlightening and significant.

* * *

The beginnings of mendicant convents are likely to be rather obscure — especially of the older ones, before papal records come to our assistance in any volume. Rarely do we have today the archives — or the full archives — of such a house ; the vicissitudes of time, human negligence, flood and fire, expropriation, revolution and war, have taken their toll. For this reason, the earliest date for many, perhaps most, such houses will turn up in stray acts such as wills, which are particularly helpful in this respect. They have, in my judgement, the great virtue of setting, in effect, what might be called maximum as well as minimum dates for the establishment of houses of friars, and this is a use to which they have seldom, if ever, been put. The present writer cannot claim to have made exhaustive searches for such pertinent wills ; rather, the data that follows is, for the most part, the product of hurried trips to a rather limited number of French public archives [3]).

AGEN (Lot-et-Garonne)

Lauzun, in *Revue de l'Agenais*, XIV (1887), 23, has already narrowed the date for the foundation of this house to *inter* 1287-1300. It is possible to narrow this somewhat further by citing a will of 1291 that mentions only Dominican, Franciscan, and Carmelite convents here (BN, Coll. Doat, XLI, f. 123v). Thus it may be dated *inter* 1291-1300.

[3]) In the citations that follow, the following abbrevations are employed:
AC: archives communales (followed by name of town)
AD: archives départementales (followed by name of department)
AN: Archives Nationales (Paris)
BN: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
Besse: *Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France* (*Archives de la France monastique*)
Herrera: *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid, 1644)
Lubin: *Orbis Augustinianus* (Paris, 1672).

AIX (Bouches-du-Rhône)

The oldest reference to this house seems to be in a will of 1276, listing Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Sack Friars and Augustinians (*fratribus sancti Augustini*) at Aix (AD: Bouches-du-Rhône, 2. G. 29, 183). The house must have been very new at that time. A will of 1261 mentions only the Franciscans (2. G. 17, 100) ; one of 1274 lists the Franciscans, Dominicans (whose house we know was founded in 1272), Carmelites, and Sack Friars only (2. G. 27, 166). It seems safe to date this house *inter* 1274-1276.

AVIGNON (Vaucluse)

The date of 1260 is given for this convent by Besse (II, 131) and Labande (*Avignon au XIII^e siècle*, p. 233). The first notice I have found occurs in a will of 1281 printed in the *Annales d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin*, III (1914), 94. No Augustinian house is mentioned here in the alms granted by Alfonse de Poitiers in 1269, though the Dominicains, Franciscans, and Carmelites of the town all appear therein (Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alfonse de Poitiers*, p. 468 ; Molinier, *Correspondance administrative d'Alfonse de Poitiers*, I, 769). A will of 1260 mentions only the Dominicans and the Franciscans (AD. Vaucluse, ser. H, Fonds dominicains, 3, 4). An act of 1291 gives us the name of *frater Henricus de Lovinheyo prior domus ordinis beati Augustini heremitarum civitatis Avinionis* and ten friars of the house (AD: Vaucluse, G. IX. 9). The house should probably be dated *inter* 1269-1281.

BÉZIERS (Hérault)

The first reference to this house seems to fall in the year 1329 when a total of four of its friars, including the lector, served as councillors at two inquisitorial procedures (Douais, *L'Inquisition: ses origines, sa procédure*, pp. 331, 336). Its foundation must be placed after 1283, when a very full will lists the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites of Béziers, but not the Augustinians (BN, ms. lat. nouv. aq. 2462, 15). Thus the house can only be dated *inter* 1283-1329.

FIAC (Tarn)

Not listed by either Besse or Herrera, this house is dated 1425 by Lubin (p. 58). It existed by 1357, when it was twice mentioned in a will as *domus fratrum Augustinorum de Siaco* (BN, Coll. Doat. XLIV, f. 74v, 76).

FIGEAC (Lot)

This house was dated 1425 by Herrera (I, 262), and is listed without dates by Lubin (p. 58) and Besse (IV, 21). It was in fact

much older, being mentioned in a will of 1317, along with the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites of the town (BN, ms. lat. nouv. aq. 22358, 7). A will of 1268, and three wills of 1278, list only the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Sack Friars of Figeac (BN, ms. lat. nouv. aq. 1661, f. 30 ; BN, ms. fr. nouv. aq. 10188, f. 23, 50v, 76v). It is possible that this was one of the towns in which the Augustinians succeeded to the site of the Sack Friars ; there is no available information on the fate of that Order's house here. At any rate, it can be assumed that he Augustinian convent of Figeac was founded *inter* 1278-1317.

LIMOUX (Aude)

Lubin (p. 58) dated this house 1380. It was, however, the principal beneficiary of a will drawn up in Toulouse by one Petrus Cortanlini, son of master Bernardus Cortanlini (a notary of Limoux) (AD: Haute-Garonne, ser. H, Fonds des Augustins, liasse 134), and dated 1331. The only other mendicant houses in Limoux were those of the Franciscans and the Dominicans (founded only in 1325). Wills of 1270 and 1276 mention only the Franciscans (BN, Coll. Doat, XLI, f. 44v ; Moutié, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Roche*, p. 454). Evidently the Augustinian house here must be dated *inter* 1276-1317.

LISLE-SUR-TARN (Tarn)

Lubin (p. 58) lists this house without date ; Besse merely puts it in the 14th century (IV, 9). It first appears in a will of 1330 (BN, Coll. Doat, XLIII, f. 4), and occurs also in a will of 1343 printed in *Annales du Midi*, IV (1892), 218. Arvengas, « Le Couvent des Augustins de Lisle », *Revue du Tarn*, n. s., V (1939), 26-33, dates it *circa* 1341. There was no other mendicant house in this town.

LYON (Rhône)

Traditionally this house was founded before 1268 under Archbishop Philip of Savoy (1245-1267). But a will of 1267 mentions only Dominicans and Franciscans (*Chartes du Forez*, IX, 968). As late as 1305, when Duke John II of Brittany died at Lyon, gifts to the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites only were enumerated (*Bulletin et mémoires de la société archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, XXII [1893], 210). Again, a will of 1314 mentions only Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites (*Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*, XXIX [1894], 361). In the absence of other documentary evidence, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that this was a new house when, in 1315, the general chapter assigned it to the province of Provence (*Analecta Augustiniana*, III [1909-10], 180) ; such an assumption seems to me to be suggested by the very phraseology of that ruling. The traditional date in this case appears to

be based exclusively on the dating of Philip of Savoy. It seems likely that the real confusion lies between Philip of Savoy (1245-1267) and Archbishop Peter of Savoy (1308-1332), under whom, if I am correct, the house was really founded.

MAS-SAINTES-PUELLES (Aude)

This convent has been the object of some confusion, since it has at times been wrongly identified with Mercedarian house at the same place ; see, for example, Sabarthès, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Aude*, p. 231, where an act of 1397 mentionning the *conventus fratrum Augustinorum de Manso Sanctarum Puellarum* is referred to the Mercedarians. Neither Besse nor the *Histoire générale de Languedoc list this house* ; Herrera (II, 122) and Lubin (p. 59) date it 1420. Its existence much earlier is attested by wills of 1326 and 1337 (BN, Coll. Doat, XLII, f. 306 and XLIII, f. 75 v).

MONTAGNAC (Hérault)

Besse lists this house without date (IV, 134). Herrera puts it before 1461 (II, 128) ; Lubin says cautiously that it was believed to have been founded *circa* 1290 (p. 88). An act of 1340, dealing with a legacy to this house in a will of 1339, proves its existence by that date, and names the prior, one fr. Mathieu Menrald (Pasquier & Olive, *Le Fonds Thesan aux archives du château de Leran*, p. 28).

MONTPELLIER (Hérault)

Besse (IV, 197) and the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (IV, 821) place ths house at the end of the 13th century ; Herrera (II, 114) and Lubin (p. 11) put it at 1324. But a will of 1287 mentions the *fratres sancti Augustini* along with the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Sack Friars of Montpellier (AC: Montpellier, Armoire E, Caissette 6, Louvet n. 2313). Wills of 1268 and 1270 mention all these houses save the Augustinians (BN, Coll. Doat, XL, f. 330v, 346). It seems possible to date the foundation of this house with some assurance as *inter* 1270-1287.

NARBONNE (Aude)

This house was one of the oldest in France, and probably the first established west of the Rhône. According to the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (IV, 681-2), it was founded by 1262, and moved to a new site in 1528. But this was sharply challenged by the late Abbé Sabarthès in his *Etude historique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Paul de Narbonne* (Narbonne, 1893), pp. 160-161, 164 ; he could find no trace of the house prior to 1325, when the friars reached an agreement with the abbatial church of St. Paul, in whose parish they were then located. He argued that the convent

could hardly have existed for sixty years without some such arrangements, and concluded that the Augustinians had reached Narbonne only shortly before 1325. Actually, the house is first mentioned in a will of 1256 (AC: Narbonne, AA. 105, f. 45). The will of a knight of the city, Arnaldus Margalionis, in 1261, is of some interest, for it contained a bequest of land: *Item lego fratribus sancti Augustini medietatem unius modiatae terrae in alodo et de illo et in illo campo quem habeo prope ecclesiam sancti Foelicis, in qua possint aedificare ecclesiam ad honorem Dei si ipsos contingerit ibi facere mansionem* (BN, Coll. Doat, XL, f. 315v-16). The church of St. Felix was located just north of the walls of the city, and settlement there explains why the friars needed no accord with the church of St. Paul, whose parish was across the river, in the bourg. An act of February 17, 1262 shows the convent and its prior (*frater Arnaldus prior conventualis domus fratrum heremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini in Narbona*) aquiring an annual rent-charge of 35 sous on land near the church of St. Felix by exchange with the cathedral chapter of St. Just (BN, Coll. Doat, LVIII, f. 87-93); this was clearly a step in the assembling of a site. An act of 1292 tells us the friars were still occupying this site at that date (Rocque, *Inventaire des actes et documents de l'archevesché de Narbonne*, I, f. 242v — ms. in the municipal library of Narbonne). But in 1317 the house received permission from John XXII to accept a new site, inside the walls, in either the bourg or the city (Mollat, *Lettres communes de Jean XXII*, 6030). At just that time, a new location presented itself. In the bourg, near the gate of St. Paul and in that parish, stood a communal leprosary. For some years its neighbors had agitated for its removal to a more distant spot, and on October 25, 1317, the royal seneschal of Carcassonne ordered this done, *quod tales infirmi a comunione et chohabitatione aliorum ceperentur* (AN: S. 4858, 45). A series of extant acts in late 1318 shows us the consuls of the town, in obedience to this order, alienating various plots of the leprosary site to private citizens (AN: S. 4858, 4, 24, 33, 42, 43). Apparently the Augustinians aquired part of this property at that time (although there is no surviving document to demonstrate this beyond question) for we know that before May 14, 1319, the consuls, in the name of the leprosary, had aquired land formerly held by the friars, *per modum excambii* (AN: S. 4858, 63). It is perhaps worth noting that the old house of the Sack Friars had adjoined this leprosary; it had been sold on papal authority to the abbey of St. Paul in 1280, and its subsequent fate is unknown. Perhaps it had been taken over by the leprosary, or perhaps it was now aquired by the Augustinians directly from St. Paul, with an additional plot from the leprosary holdings to enlarge it. In any case the transfer to the parish of St. Paul must have been effected by the Augustinians late in 1318 or early in 1319 — and hence the agreement of 1325 between the

friars and that church which disturbed Abbé Sabarthès. Two centuries later, the convent was moved again, for the last time, to the opposite side of the bourg, in the parish of Our Lady.

NIMES (Gard)

All authorities seem to agree in putting the establishment of this house in 1350 or 1351. But an act of 1344 shows the Augustinians already present in the town (Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, VII, 404). The house is not mentioned in various local wills running as late as 1313 (Menard, *Histoire de Nismes*, II, 8), and must therefore be dated *inter* 1313-1344.

PAMIERS (Ariège)

Besse (IV, 323) gives no date ; Herrera (I, 81) puts it before 1425 ; Lubin (p. 88) has it before 1345. Its first appearance seems to be in a will of 1318 (BN, Coll. Doat, XLII, f. 248). Four friars are listed as inquisitorial councillors in 1324, and four more, including the prior and lector, in 1329 (Douais, *L'Inquisition*, p. 296, 301-302, 323-4). Only the Dominicans and Franciscans are listed in a will of 1307 (BN, Coll. Doat, XLII, f. 57v). It would thus seem to have been founded *inter* 1307-1318 (theCarmelite house here was established in 1311).

PERPIGNAN (Pyrénées-Orientales)

Besse gives no date for this house (IV, 232) ; Herrera puts it before 1419 (II, 307). The date of its foundation can be fixed with considerable accuracy from Perpignan wills, which are preserved in large numbers in the many surviving notarial registers of the town. A profusion of wills prior to 1317 make no mention of it ; it first occurs in a will of August 29 of that year (AD: Pyrénées-Orientales, ser. E, Fonds des notaires, 23, f. 43), and it appears regularly in wills thereafter. First located outside the walls, it was licensed to move to the interior of the town in 1325 by Pope John XXII (Mollat, *Lettres communes de Jean XXII*, 24020). There are numerous stray references to the convent after that date. An act of 1329 names fr. Berengarius Vergerii as *viccarius* of the convent (AD: Pyrénées-Orientales, ser. E. Fonds des notaires, 42, f. 5). Fr. Franciscus Catalani was lector in 1331 (AD: Pyrénées-Orientales, B. 25, f. 3v), and fr. Raymundus Miri was lector in 1332 (*Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, I [1910] 720). An act of October 20, 1332, lists thirteen friars of the convent, *in claustris domus dicti conventus ad sonum campane congregati capitulumque facientes*, headed by fr. Franciscus Egidii, *viccarius dicti conventus* (AD: Pyrénées-Orientales, ser. E, Fonds des notaires, 49, f. 9v).

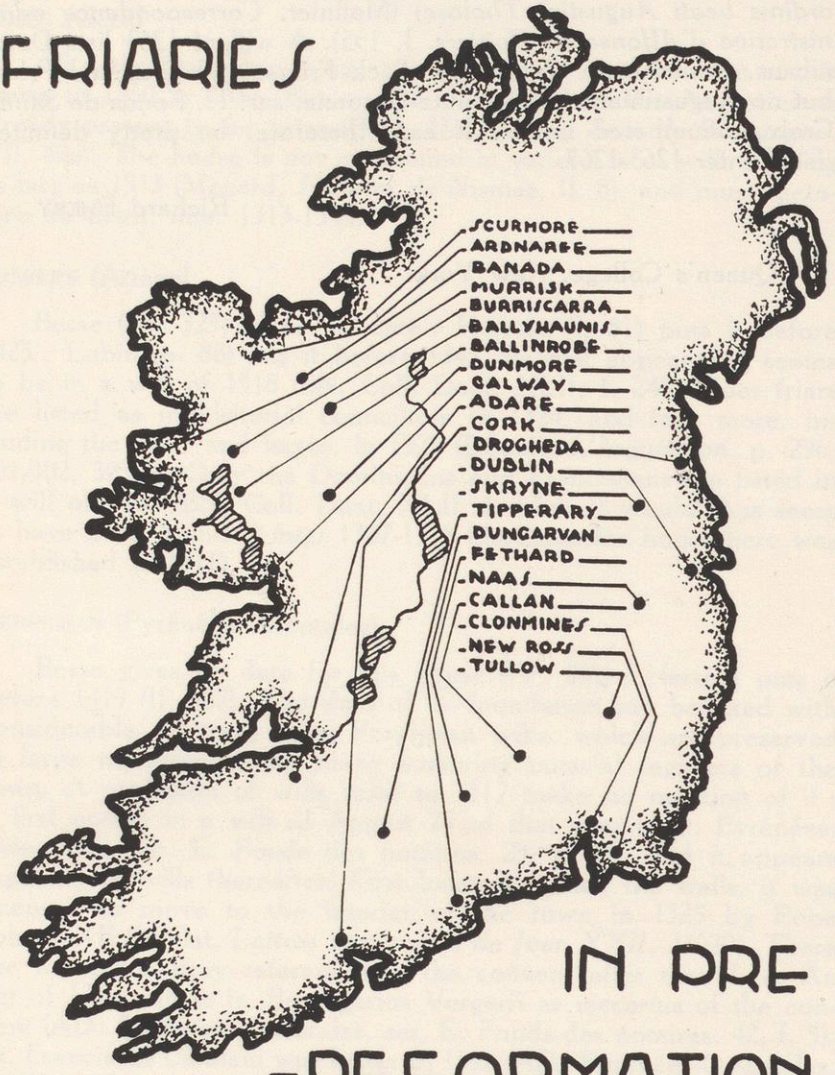
TOULOUSE (Haute-Garonne)

Lubin dates this house before 1269 (p. 11), and Herrera before 1341 (II, 478). The first reference seems to come in 1267 (*fratribus ordinis beati Augustini Tholose*) (Molinier, *Correspondance administrative d'Alfonse de Poitiers*, I, 155). A will of 1263 lists Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Sack Friars, and Crutched Friars, but no Augustinians (AD: Haute-Garonne, ser. H, Fonds de Sainte-Croix unnumbered liasse). It can, therefore, be pretty definitely dated *inter* 1263-1267.

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THE AUGUSTINIAN FRIARIES



IN PRE-REFORMATION IRELAND

The Augustinian Friaries in pre-Reformation Ireland

Augustinian Friaries in pre-Reformation Ireland

	Name	*County*	*Diocese*	*Year*
1.	Adare	Limerick	Limerick	pre 1316
2.	Ardnaree	Sligo	Killala	pre 1400
3.	Ballinrobe	Mayo	Tuam	pre 1337
4.	Ballyhaunis	Mayo	Tuam	ca 1430
5.	Banada	Sligo	Killala	1423
6.	Burriscarra	Mayo	Tuam	1413
7.	Callan	Kilkenny	Ossory	1461
8.	Clonmines	Wexford	Ferns	1317
9.	Cork	Cork	Cork	ca 1300
10.	Drogheda	Louth	Armagh	ca 1295
11.	Dublin	Dublin	Dublin	ca 1280
12.	Dungarvan	Waterford	Lismore	ca 1290
13.	Dunmore	Galway	Tuam	ca 1423
14.	Fethard	Tipperary	Cashel	1306
15.	Galway	Galway	Galway	1500
16.	Murrisk	Mayo	Tuam	1456
17.	Naas	Kildare	Kildare	ca 1340 (?)
18.	New Ross	Wexford	Ferns	pre 1320
19.	Scurmore	Sligo	Killala	1454
20.	Skryne	Meath	Meath	1342
21.	Tipperary	Tipperary	Emly	ca 1300 (?)
22.	Tullow	Carlow	Leighlin	1314

Nothing critical or substantial has been published on the general history of the Augustinians in pre-Reformation Ireland. Before such a general account is attempted certain fundamental work must be completed. Two objects in particular must be attained. One is to publish the documents relating to Ireland in the central Augustinian archives in Rome. This will compensate to some degree for the total destruction of medieval Augustinian archives in Ireland. With-

out some such substantial source it would be almost impossible to write a satisfactory account of the Irish Augustinians. The other object is to establish a critical list of the pre-Reformation Augustinian houses in Ireland. By means of such a list we can discern certain characteristics and trends throughout Augustinian development in Ireland. It also supplies a framework for the hitherto scattered and unrelated fragments of Irish Augustinian history.

The pre-Reformation documents referring to Ireland in the general archives have been prepared for publication by Rev. Alberic de Meijer, O. S. A., and Rev. F. X. Martin, O. S. A., and will appear in the forthcoming issue of *Archivium Hibernicum*, xix (1956). It is intended that this present contribution will supply the critical list of Augustinian houses in pre-Reformation Ireland.

* * *

The problem

The lack of source materials hampers this compilation as it does all other attempts at research in medieval Irish history. Two methods suggest themselves as means of arriving at the definitive list of Augustinian friaries. One is to secure sufficient contemporary documents, foundation charters and the like. From this point one can proceed, adding in details about founders, benefactions, architecture and so forth. The other is to take the list of Augustinian houses at the time of the suppressions under Henry VIII and to trace the history of each house back to its foundation. Unfortunately both methods have their pitfalls and dangers.

In some cases the lack of contemporary documentation defies any attempt to fix with precision the year of foundation or the names of the founders. Indeed, in the case of the friaries at Naas and Tipperary we appear to lack even a single contemporary pre-Reformation reference of any kind.

On the other hand the list of religious houses drawn up by royal agents in the sixteenth century is not fully accurate. No infallibility is guaranteed for civil servants, and at least one serious mistake is made concerning the Augustinians — the Franciscan house at Buttevant, county Cork, is described as an Augustinian friary. Furthermore, the suppressions under Henry VIII were possible only where the king's writ ran. For this reason there was no

mention at that time of the Augustinian friaries at Ardnaree, Ballinrobe, Ballyhaunis, Banada, Burriscarra, Galway, Murrisk and Scurmore. However, by using both methods — contemporary documentation from the medieval period, and the list of houses suppressed in the sixteenth century — we can arrive at a reliable list.

Primary sources

The first aim is to establish some definite information about the foundation of each house. For our purposes there are four main contemporary sources — English state papers, papal records, the registers of the Augustinian priors general, and miscellaneous Irish sources. The state papers supply information about the foundation of houses at Adare, Clonmines, Fethard, Skryne and Tullow ; papal registers give precise facts about the houses at Banada, Murrisk and Scurmore ; the registers of the priors general allow us to fix with some accuracy the foundation of the houses at Banada and Ballyhaunis ; miscellaneous sources such as Galway city records, the register of the Dominican priory at Athenry, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, and a Cork will, supply facts about the foundation or early history of the houses at Galway, Ballinrobe, Banada and Cork [1]).

Secondary sources : Mervyn Archdall

Where contemporary documentation is not available one has to depend on trustworthy secondary sources. It is the exceptional Irish diocesan or local history which supplies copies of, or references to, original documents when dealing with the history of the Augustinian friaries. Canon W. Carrigan's, *History of the diocese of Ossory*, the *Memorials of Adare* by the earl and countess of Dunraven, an article by Rev. E. A. Foran, O. S. A., deal in some detail with the foundation of the houses at Callan, Adare and Clonmines. Such specialised treatment is the exception, and one must have recourse to general reference works. The obvious manual to consult is Mervyn Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, first published in one

[1]) Strictly speaking an Augustinian house should be called a ' priory ' or ' friary ', but in Ireland the term ' abbey ' has often been applied to the Augustinian houses. This remains the local traditional title for the present houses at Ballyhaunis and Fethard.

volume at London in 1786, and partly edited in two volumes by Rev. P. F. Moran (Dublin, 1873-6).

Sir James Ware

A close examination shows that Archdall's information about Irish Augustinian history was taken mostly from Sir James Ware, Archbishop William King, and Louis Alemand. Sir James Ware (1594-1666) was a cautious historian who in so far as was possible drew his facts from original sources. His findings on Irish Augustinian history are contained in his brief, all too brief, *Monasteriologia,* which was published as part of his *De Hibernia et antiquitatibus eius disquisitiones* (London, 1654). At least for the Augustinian houses Ware appears to have drawn whenever possible from official government records. Several such references may be traced to state papers which still exist. In some cases Ware erred when not relying on original sources, as in ascribing the house at Any, county Limerick, to the Augustinians, or in placing the foundation of the friary at Tipperary town in the reign of Henry III. Other statements which he acknowledged as based merely on tradition can now be shown as accurate according to records not then available to him, for instance the foundation of the house at Murrisk, county Mayo, by the O'Malleys. One may accept with some confidence the further traditions which cannot now be checked from contemporary sources, but which suit the context of Irish ecclesiastical and local history — the foundation of the friary at Ballyhaunis, county Mayo, by the de Angulo family, and the house at Dungarvan, county Waterford, by the earls of Desmond.

Ware: Nicolaus Crusenius: Thomas Herrera

Ware used Nicolaus Crusenius, *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich, 1623), but did not accept him as a reliable source. It was a decided loss for his work that Ware apparently did not know of Thomas Herrera's valuable *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (2 vols, Madrid, 1644). Herrera had the signal advantage of examining the Augustinian general archives in Rome as well as the papal registers. His references from papal archives to Irish Augustinian friaries are particularly valuable since several of the Vatican and Lateran registers consulted by him are now lost. It is by means of Herrera

that we know of papal documents which fix with some accuracy the date of foundation of the houses at Banada, Callan and Dunmore.

Archbishop William King

William King (1650-1729), Anglican archbishop of Dublin, had a profound interest in Irish ecclesiastical history, and showed an instinctive appreciation of the necessity of basing his conclusions on original documents. Unfortunately his religious and political activities allowed him no opportunity to publish his historical findings. Though Archdall used King's MSS to advantage he rarely if ever quoted the document *verbatim* as transcribed by King. He referred to King as the authority rather than to the sources quoted by King. One must therefore have recourse to the King MSS in Trinity College, Dublin, or to the copies made by Walter Harris (1686-1761) and now in the National Library of Ireland. Among the King transcripts are documents dealing with the foundation of the friaries at Skryne and Tullow, as well as other documents treating of early Irish Augustinian history.

Louis Alemand

One must recognise the worth of Louis Alemand's *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, published at Paris in 1690 [2]). Alemand threw his net wide when fishing for information about the Irish Augustinians. He used both oral traditions and published records to advantage. An Irish exile in Paris, a descendant of Hugo Talon of Tullow, supplied an interesting snippet of information about the founder of Tullow priory. Alemand recorded the tradition that the Kavanaghs were the founders of the house at Clonmines, a tradition we can now substantiate from state papers.

Alemand : Thomas Herrera

The problem of Alemand's printed sources for Irish Augustinian

[2]) Translated with some additions by J. Stevens, and published anonymously at London in 1722. Though Stevens in his introduction remarks that his publication is neither a mere translation nor yet a new compilation, his additions add nothing of note for the history of the Augustinian friaries. In some cases he omits useful information found in Alemand's work.

history is a complicated matter. He was able to use not only Ware's work but was also able to draw upon Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (2 vols, Madrid, 1644), Lubin, *Orbis Augustinianus* (Paris, 1659, 1672), and Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani* (8 vols, Bologna, 1659-86). Herrera's is certainly the most useful and reliable of these works. Herrera made extensive use of the general archives in Rome, and was accustomed to give exact references for his statements. Fortunately Alemand depended upon Herrera when discussing the Irish Augustinian houses. Nevertheless, Alemand and many who followed him misunderstood Herrera on one important point. When Herrera mentioned any Irish Augustinian house or friar he supported his statement by reference to some entry in the general registers or the papal archives. At the time Herrera was composing his work the oldest Augustinian registers, Dd 1 (May 1357 - July 1360) and Dd 2 (Dec. 1383 - Feb. 1387), were not available [3]). This, however, was not as great a loss as it might seem at first sight. We now know that though the Dd 1 and Dd 2 registers contain several important documents for Irish Augustinian history they do not name a single friary in Ireland. In consequence all of Herrera's references to Irish Augustinian houses are based on the fifteenth century registers. Alemand and others misunderstood Herrera's references to mean that when he quoted a reference to an Irish friary from the general archives he was then giving the date of foundation as found in the official registers of the Order. It was for this reason that Lubin and Alemand put the foundation, for example, of the Cork friary in the year 1475, when it was already over 170 years established ! In actual fact Herrera when dealing with the Cork house simply stated that is was mentioned in the general registers in the year 1475. He made no attempt to suggest the year of foundation.

Alemand : A. Lubin. A historiographical problem

Torelli, like Herrera, used the general registers to good effect, but he lacked the precision of Herrera. He has been of little use for later historians interested in the Irish houses. It was Lubin's *Orbis Augustinianus*, and Alemand's use of the work, which introduced complete confusion into Irish Augustinian historiography.

[3]) Cf. *Analecta Augustiniana*, v (1913-14), 57, 255-9; x (1923-4), 553.

Torelli referred to seven Irish friaries ; Crusenius listed ten : Herrera mentioned twelve ; Ware placed the number as high as twenty two. Lubin stated in a most matter of fact way that there were 61 Augustinian houses in Ireland, and he proceeded to give their names and locations. It was little wonder that a later historian like Alemand took the opportunity to sharpen his wit at the expense of what appeared to be Lubin's gross exaggerations.

Solution of the problem

Lubin's statement was not the ridiculous claim that it seems at first sight. Now for the first time we can understand Lubin's statement by means of unpublished documents in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, and the Propaganda Archives, Rome. The involved problem may be put thus briefly. The Augustinian Order had been almost wiped out in Ireland by the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. A revival began in 1615 [4]) and by the year 1624 there were almost 30 Augustinians in the country [5]). From that time forward their numbers grew rapidly. They found, however, that most of their former friaries were occupied by lay folk. The Augustinians also found that they lacked any regular means of support. An ingenious solution was sought for the difficulty.

It so happened that the Augustinian, Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1628-52), had been appointed vicar general for the Canons Regular of St Augustine, then extinct in Ireland [6]). At his bidding the Augustinians petitioned for the rights to the Canons Regular monastery of Holy Cross at Limerick city [7]). After much negotiation, and some opposition from interested parties, the Augustinians were granted their petition by a papal brief of

[4]) Cf. the letter of Aleixo de Meneses, O. S. A., primate of Portugal and archbishop of Braga (1612-17), to the Augustinian general, Nicòla de Sant' Angelo, undated but probably early in 1615 — Augustinian General Archives (A. G. A.), Aa, 42, f. 421r-v.

[5]) The Irish provincial, Nicolaus a S. Patritio (i. e. Dermot MacGrath), to the prior general, Waterford 1 May 1624 — A. G. A., Dd 65, f. 65r.

[6]) Cf. W. M. Brady, *Episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1400-1875*, ii (Rome, 1876). 71.

[7]) Cf. the Augustinian petitions to the Holy See during the years 1629-30, in Archiv. Prop. Fide, Scritt. rif. cong. gen., 391, ff. 175r, 389r; petition to the pope from the Irish Augustinians in *ibid.*, 392, f. 137r.

18 October 1632 [8]). Having won this test case the Augustinians pressed during 1643 for the rights to various other Canons Regular houses in Ireland [9]). This was an ambitious proposal since the Canons Regular in pre-Reformation Ireland formed the largest and richest group of religious in the country [10]). Apparently the petition was successful [11]).

The friar who acted as agent in Rome during the negotiations about Holy Cross monastery was Maurice O'Connell, O. S. A. [12]). He was a first cousin of James O'Mahony, O. S. A. [13]). The two were to be found together in the diocese of Kerry during the 1630s [14]). Since both occupied the highest administrative positions in the Irish province they must have discussed the negotiations for Holy Cross and for the other houses of the Canons Regular in Ireland. O'Mahony while provincial was driven into exile by the Cromwellian persecution, and settled at Brussels [15]). While there during the year 1656 O'Mahony was in correspondence with the French Augustinian, Augustin Lubin, who was gathering materials for his *Orbis Augustinianus* (Paris, 1659, 1671-2) [16]). In reply to a query from Lubin O'Mahony sent a list of the Augustinian houses in Ireland [17]). This included the pre-Reformation Augustinian friaries

[8]) Summary of the Limerick case in *ibid.*, 392, f. 122r-v; another summary by Ingoli, secretary of Propaganda in *ibid.*, 292, f. 140r. Copy of the papal brief, 18 Oct. 1632, in *ibid.*, 294, f. 417r-v.

[9]) Petition of the Irish Augustinians in *ibid.*, 405, f. 221r. The idea had already been mooted to Maurice O'Connell in 1630 by Ingoli of Propaganda, cf. *Wadding Papers*, ed. B. Jennings, O. F. M., (Dublin, 1953), pp. 430-1.

[10]) Cf. [J. STEVENS], *Monasticon Hibernicum* (London, 1722), pp. 2-3.

[11]) This may be concluded from the fact that the Augustinians took over the Canons' houses at the city of Derry, at Killagh, co. Kerry, at Lorrha, co. Tipperary, at Holy Island, Lough Ree — *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ed. P. F. Moran, i (Dublin, 1874), 184, 208; W. B. BATTERSBY, *History of... the Hermits of St Augustine in Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), p. 68. The stronger argument is that O'Mahony, who was provincial during the 1640s-1650s, assumed that the friars had taken over the Canons' houses or had acquired the rights to them.

[12]) Cf. *Wadding Papers*, cit., pp. 346, 405, 431.

[13]) Cf. *Archivium Hibernicum*, xv (1950). 75.

[14]) Cf. document cited in *ibid.*, xiv (1949). 22.

[15]) Cf. biographical notice of O'Mahony in *ibid.*, xv. 74-5.

[16]) For Lubin cf. F. OSSINGER, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt-Augsburg, 1768), pp. 514-19.

[17]) O'Mahony to Lubin, Brussels, 1656, in Bibl. Royale, Brussels, MS II 2590, ff. 221r-v, 223r-v, 225v.

and the houses of the Canons Regular to which the friars now laid claim, and in some cases had occupied. O'Mahony made no mention in his letter of the distinction to be drawn between the Canons' houses and the friaries. Lubin incorporated the entire list in his work, confident that he could have no more accurate source for such information than the Irish provincial. It was in this way that Alemand, who copied from Lubin, reproduced the lengthy list of Augustinian houses in Ireland. So confusion was introduced into what little there was of Irish Augustinian historiography.

* * *

Augustinian development in Ireland, 1280-1613

It is intended that this contribution to the jubilee volume do no more than establish a critical list of the Augustinian houses in pre-Reformation Ireland. Whenever possible there is added the date of foundation of each house [18]), the names of the founders, the titular patron of the church, the first reference to the house in state and Augustinian records, and any characteristic which distinguishes the particular house in question. The foundation and early history of each house are the better understood when placed against the background of Augustinian development in Ireland. A few general remarks will suffice for our purpose.

There appears little doubt that it was Augustinians from England who introduced the Order to Ireland. The first house was founded at Dublin about 1280, and foundations followed at Dungarvan (ca 1290), Drogheda (ca 1295), Cork (ca 1300), Tipperary (ca 1300 ?), Fethard (1306), Tullow (1314), Adare (before 1316), Clonmines (1317), New Ross (before 1320), Ballinrobe (before 1337), Naas (ca 1340 ?), and Skryne (1341). One may consider that with the foundation of the friary at Skryne in county Meath one phase of Irish Augustinian history ended. A glance at the map shows that (with the exception of the house at Ballinrobe) the Augustinian friaries formed part of a semi-circular sweep from Drogheda near the borders of Ulster to Adare near the river Shannon. This line reflected somewhat

[18]) The word « foundation » is here taken to mean the legal recognition, either by the papacy or by the king, of the right of the Augustinians to establish themselves in a particular area. The mere grant of land by a local lord or benefactor is merely the means which makes the legal recognition possible.

accurately the extent of English culture and power in the country up to the middle of the fourteenth century. It would even seem that the Augustinian friary at Tullow, like the Carmelite house at nearby Leighlin Bridge, was part of the English line of military defence against the native Irish [19]).

Up to this stage the Augustinians appear to have acted as part of the English colony in Ireland [20]). About the middle of the fourteenth century there appeared the first indications that the friars in Ireland were chafing under direct supervision from the English provincial. The uneasiness grew into tension, and eventually hostility became so apparent that the Irish vicariate was deprived of its privileges [21]). The Anglo-Irish refused to submit to the adverse decisions of the English provincial. With a gesture of defiance they sent two spokesmen to the general chapter held at Würzburg in 1391 [22]). The general chapter showed its sympathies for the brethren in Ireland, and measures of a limited local self-government were restored to them by the prior general, Bartolomeo da Venezia, in May 1392 [23]). These were confirmed by the general chapter held at Rimini in 1394 [24]). The year 1394 may be regarded for convenience as ending another phase of Irish Augustinian history.

It will be noticed that the movement for semi-autonomy was led by the Anglo-Irish friars, not by the native Irish. This was in the nature of things since the Augustinians were not established to any noticeable degree in the Gaelic areas. A remarkable change occurred, however, during the first half of the fifteenth century, and may be traced back to the foundation of the house at Ballinrobe in the early fourteenth century. In itself the foundation at Ballinrobe was but another Anglo-Irish friary, distinguished only at that time because it was part of an English colony set among the native Irish in Connaught. But the effects of the foundation were momentous for the future of Irish Augustinian history. The

[19]) Cf. infra 'TULLOW' in the list of houses.

[20]) Cf. A. GWYNN, S. J., *The Austin friars in England in the time of Wyclif* (London, 1940), p. 15; documents in the general archives, edited in *Anal. Aug.*, v (1913-14), 105-11. These will be reedited, with other pertinent documents, in *Archiv. Hib.*, xix (1956).

[21]) Cf. *Anal. Aug.*, v, 110-11 (A. G. A., Dd 3, ff. 163v-164r).

[22]) Cf. *Anal. Aug.*, v, 108, 110-11 (A. G. A., Dd 3, ff. 163v-164r).

[23]) *Ibid.*

[24]) Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS 483, ff. 171v-172v. Cf. *Anal. Aug.*, v. 126-9.

house at Ballinrobe was the seed from which came a new flowering of Augustinian life, associated particularly with the west of Ireland. Friaries were founded at Ardnaree, co. Sligo (ca 1380 ?), Burriscarra, co. Mayo (1413), Banada, co. Sligo (1423), Dunmore, co. Galway (ca 1423), Ballyhaunis, co. Mayo (ca 1430), Scurmore, co Sligo (1454), Murrisk, co. Mayo (1456), Callan, co. Kilkenny (1461), Galway city (1500). The victory of the Gaelic element was signalized in 1457 when Hugh O'Malley, first superior of the house at Murrisk, was appointed vicar of the Irish chapter by the prior general, Giuliano Faciglia da Salemi [25]). This was another landmark in the history of the Irish Augustinians.

Hugh O'Malley went from Banada to found the house at Murrisk. The vitality of the Augustinians during this period was due to the Observant reform which began with the foundation of the house of Corpus Christi at Banada in 1423[26]). The reform spread to the other houses. The Observants were introduced to Callan, co. Kilkenny, in 1472 [27]), and by a decree of the prior general, 23 June 1479, this house became the centre of an Observant Congregation independent of the English province [28]). The Observant movement appeared to have reached its triumph on the eve of the Reformation when the prior general ordered the reform of the friaries at Dublin and Drogheda [29]). It was in the paradox of religious history that Richard Nangle, vicar provincial of Ireland and apparently a member of the Observant movement, should have thrown in his lot with George Browne and become first Anglican bishop of Clonfert [30]).

Nevertheless, it was the reform movement which ensured the survival of the Augustinian Order in Ireland. All the priories in Leinster and Munster were suppressed, and the friars were dispersed. The house at Dunmore in Connaught was exempted from the general suppression by a special concession of the Lord Deputy

[25]) A. G. A., Dd 6, f. 165v — 5 March 1457.

[26]) *Ibid.*, Dd 4, ff. 130v-131r — 29 Dec. 1423.

[27]) *Ibid.*, Dd 6, f. 19v — 26 Feb. 1472.

[28]) *Ibid.*, Dd 7, f. 19v.

[29]) *Ibid.*, Dd 12, f. 101r — 27 March 1517; Ff 1, f. 27r — 27 March 1517.

[30]) Cf. M. V. RONAN, *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-58* (London, 1926), pp. 98, 106-7, 127, 147 n. 2, 204.

[31]) Decree of the Lord Deputy and Council, 7 July 1542, in MORRIN, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ireland, Henry VIII-Eliz.*, p. 84.

and Council [31]). The other Augustinian friaries in Connaught were outside the reach of the government officials. A report of 1574 stated that among the unsuppressed abbeys and priories in Connaught were the Augustinian houses at Ardnaree, Ballinrobe, Ballyhaunis, Banada and Murrisk, ' possessed either by friars or rebels so as Her Majesty hath no commodity by the same ' [32]). Though these houses were in their turn suppressed by the year 1610 the friary at Dunmore remained as a link between the reform movement of the fifteenth century and the new era which began with the advent of the Counter-Reformation to Ireland and the arrival of Dermot MacGrath in 1613 as restorer of the Order in Ireland.

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Francis Xavier MARTIN, O. S. A.

List of abbreviations

A. G. A. — Archivum Generale Augustinianorum, Romae.
ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.* — L. ALEMAND, *Histoire monastique d'Irlande* (Paris, 1690).
ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.* — M. ARCHDALL, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (London, 1786).
Archiv. Prop. Fide — Archivum de S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide.
BATTERSBY, *Hist. Aug. Ire.* — W. B. BATTERSBY, *History of... the Hermits of St Augustine in Ireland* (Dublin, 1856).
C. P. L. — *Calendar of papal registers : papal letters.*
GROSE, *Antiquities* — F. GROSE, *The antiquities of Ireland,* 2 vols (London, 1791).

[32]) *Cal. Carew Papers, 1601-3,* p. 474.

HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.* — T. HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1644).
I. E. R. — *Irish Ecclesiastical Record.*
KNOX, *Hist. Mayo* — H. T. KNOX, *A history of the county of Mayo to the close of the sixteenth century* (Dublin, 1908).
KNOX, *Notes* — H. T. KNOX, *Notes on the early history of the dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry* (Dublin, 1904).
LODGE, *Peerage* — J. LODGE, *The peerage of Ireland*, 4 vols (London, 1754).
N. L. I. — The National Library of Ireland.
R. S. A. I., Jn. — *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.*
WHITE, *Monast. possess.* — N. B. WHITE, *Extent of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1* (Dublin, 1943).

ADARE

: f. before 1316

Adare, a small town on the banks of the Maigue, in the barony of Kenry, the county and diocese of Limerick.

The Augustinian friary was known as « the Black Abbey », and stood near the bridge on the south side of the river. It is generally stated, but inaccurately, that the friary was founded in 1315. The foundation was made by John Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, first earl of Kildare (1271-1316). This emerges from the charter of confirmation issued by the lord deputy, Roger Mortimer, 13 December 1317, and addressed to Thomas, son of John — cited in Latin and English in *Memorials of Adare manor : historical notices of Adare*, by the earl and countess of Dunraven (Oxford, 1865), pp. 68-9. Earl John granted the Augustinians certain lands and tenements in the town of Adare, consisting of a place, two burgages and a half — ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 415.

The first reference to Adare in the registers of the priors general is under the date 15 May 1472, when Myler Cantwell and two other friars were granted permission to introduce the Observant reform there — A. G. A., Dd 7, f. 16r.

Splendid remains of the buildings have been preserved. The style is Early English, executed for the most part in hewn limestone. The chancel and nave date from the early fourteenth century, while the tower, south aisle, cloister and refectory are of the fifteenth century. Since the year 1811 part of the buildings has been roofed and used as the Protestant parochial church. The most striking

part of the friary ruins are the cloisters with their gothic windows decorated with escutcheons of English and saltire crosses. The former refectory has been converted into a parochial school.

For historical notes on the friary cf. J. BEGLEY, *Diocese of Limerick, ancient and medieval* (Dublin, 1906), pp. 363, 365-6 ; E. A. FORAN, ' Historical notes on the Augustinian abbey of Adare ', in *I. E. R.*, ser. 5, iii (1914). 584-93. For illustrated descriptions of the ruins cf. R. F. HEWSON, ' The Augustinian priory, Adare ', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, i (1938). 108-12 ; *Memorials of Adare*, cit., pp. 61-74 ; T. J. WESTROPP, ' A survey of the ancient churches in the county of Limerick ', in *R. I. A. Proc.*, xxv (1904-5). 378 (69), plates xi & xiv.

ARDNAREE

St Mary's : f. before 1410

Ardnaree, a small town on the banks of the Moy, in the barony of Tirawley, the county of Sligo and diocese of Killala.

It is commonly stated that the Augustinian friary was founded in the year 1427 — cf. ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 625 (which appears to be a mistake for the 1425 of HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, i. 81), or some time between 1417-27 by the chieftain Tadgh Riabhach O'Dowda — J. O'DONOVAN, *Genealogies, tribes and customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (Dublin, 1844), p. 359. In fact the foundation must date back well into the fourteenth century. A papal letter of 16 December 1411 grants indulgences to those who visit the church and give alms for the repair of the Augustinian friary of St Mary's, Ardnaree, which has its buildings partly collapsed and partly threatening ruin — *C. P. L.*, vi, 220. The Irish annals tell that Muirchertach O'Dowda, ' who had never refused anything to a suppliant if he had it to give ', son of Donnchad O'Dowda, died in 1402 and was buried at Ardnaree — *Annals of Connacht*, ed. M. Freeman (Dublin, 1944), p. 382 ; it is presumed that the burial was in the Augustinian church — KNOX, *Notes*, p. 276. The O'Dowdas were patrons of the priory — T. O'RORKE, *Hist. Sligo*, ii (Dublin, 1892), 387.

The first mention of this house in the registers of the priors general was on 12 December 1425 when Matthew O'Clery of Ardnaree friary was transferred to that of Dunmore — A. G. A., Dd 4, f. 182r.

The ruins which remain show that the buildings were of impressive size — KNOX, *Notes*, p. 276.

BALLINROBE

St Mary's : f. before 1337.

Ballinrobe, a small town in the barony of Kilmaine, on the river Robe, two miles east of Lough Mask, in the county of Mayo and the archdiocese of Tuam.

The date for this Augustinian foundation is uncertain. The house was already in existence in the year 1337 when it was mentioned in the register of the Dominican priory of Athenry — cf. ' Registrum monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry ', ed. A. Coleman, O. P., in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), 207. KNOX, *Hist. Mayo*, p. 95, IDEM, *Notes*, p. 275, suggests that this was the first Anglo-Norman religious foundation in the county, and that it was probably built by Maurice Fitzgerald. But the Maurice Fitzgerald in question died in 1257 — cf. G. H. ORPEN, *Ireland under the Normans*, iii (Oxford, 1920), 196. The Augustinians did not come to Ireland until about the year 1280, when they settled at Dublin — cf. infra sub « DUBLIN ».

It is not unlikely that the foundation was made about the year 1312 by Elizabeth de Clare, grand-daughter of Edward I, and wife of John de Burgh, son and heir of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. Elizabeth married John in 1308, and their son and heir, William, was born in 1312 — cf. G. E. COCKAYNE, *Complete peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs & others, iii (London, 1913), 245. At the time of their marriage Earl Richard ceded them the manor of Lough Mask, which included Ballinrobe as its centre — ORPEN, *Normans*, cit., iii, 208. The de Clare family had introduced the Augustinians to England when Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, brought them to Clare, Suffolk, in 1248 — *V. C. H., Suffolk*, ii, 127. Elizabeth de Clare is remembered as one of the munificent benefactors of Clare priory where she was responsible for the building of a new chapter house, refectory, and dormitory during 1310-14 — *ibid.*, ii. 128. The birth of an heir in 1312 was a suitable occasion for Elizabeth and her husband to order the building of a friary at Ballinrobe as a gesture of thanksgiving.

The priory gained notoriety in Irish history during 1338. In that year Edmund de Burgh, son of Richard « the Red Earl » of Ulster, was taken prisoner in the Ballinrobe friary by his cousin

Edmund Albanach de Burgh and his followers. He was brought to an island in nearby Lough Mask, and while discussions for a reconciliation were in progress under the archbishop of Tuam some of the Stauntons put him in a weighted sack and drowned him in the lake. The murder had lasting effects. Following upon the murder of Earl William in 1333 it ended the first period of English rule in Connaught. For details of the murder and its effects cf. KNOX, *Hist. Mayo*, pp. 134-5 ; R. O'FLAHERTY, *Chorographical description of Iar Connaught*, ed. J. Hardiman (Dublin, 1846), pp. 47-8 ; G. H. ORPEN, in *Camb. med. hist.*, viii (1936). 454.

The first reference to this house in the general archives is under the date 1 March 1423 when Richard O'Madden was made a permanent conventual member of Ballinrobe priory — A. G. A., Dd 4, f. 105r. Bernard de Burgh was mentioned on 17 January 1424 as prior at Ballinrobe — *ibid.*, f. 133r.

The foundation at Ballinrobe had far-reaching effects on Irish Augustinian history, though these did not become apparent until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Ballinrobe priory was Anglo-Irish or English in origin, but by thus introducing the Augustinians to Connaught the way was prepared for the native Irish foundations at Banada and Murrisk. From these came that Irish Augustinian Observant movement which by the time of the Reformation had taken over even the houses at Dublin, Drogheda, Callan and Adare. The politico-religious policies of Henry VIII and Elizabeth practically stamped out Augustinian life in Leinster and Munster. It was the unsuppressed friaries in Connaught, and particularly the house at Dunmore, which ensured the continuity of Augustinian life in Ireland.

Sufficient ruins remain to show that the priory at Ballinrobe was an important foundation — cf. KNOX, *Hist. Mayo*, p. 95 ; IDEM, *Notes*, p. 275. On 1 June 1400 Boniface IX granted indulgences to those who assisted the repair and conservation of the friary — *C. P. L.*, v, 269-70. On 2 July 1431 Eugene IV granted indulgences to those who assisted the rebuilding of the friary and church — *ibid.*, viii, 340-1 ; an entry in the general registers, under 12 January 1473, stated that the house at Ballinrobe was ' in continua structura et hedeficio ' — A. G. A., Dd 7, f. 16v.

BALLYHAUNIS

St Mary's : f. ca 1430

A town in the barony of Costelloe, the county of Mayo and archdiocese of Tuam.

The traditional date for the foundation of Ballyhaunis friary is 1348 — cf. *The Augustinian abbey of St Mary the Virgin, Ballyhaunis, 1348-1948* (Dublin, 1948), p. 6. The foundation is associated with a picturesque story about the coming of the friars from the shores of Lake Mannin. Tradition alive in 1685 stated that the friary was founded by a descendant of Jordan Dubh MacCostelloe (i. e. de Angulo or Nangle), who was killed in battle during 1367, and that the founder's grave is still to be seen in the friary church marked by the family crest — *ibid.*, p. 7 ; KNOX, *Notes*, p. 275 ; E. A. D'ALTON, *Hist. archdiocese Tuam*, ii (Dublin, 1928). 225. The crest may mark the founder's grave, but there is no contemporary evidence to support the story of a foundation in 1348. Confusion has been created by those who identify the founder with Jordan Dubh MacCostelloe.

A reference in the register of the prior general, Agostino Favaroni, under the date 23 September 1432, refers to the Irish friary ' de Hanahannassa, noviter capto '. The name has puzzled investigators of Irish ecclesiastical history. ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 318, agreed with LUBIN, *Orbis Augustinianus*, that it probably signified the Augustinian house at Any, county Limerick. This was a reckless guess. The house at Any was a hospital of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem from the time of its foundation in the twelfth century until its suppression in the sixteenth — cf. BEGLEY, *Hist. diocese Limerick*, cit., i, 361-2.

The only Irish Augustinian foundations made about this time, to which ' noviter capto ', could be applied were those at Banada and Ballyhaunis. But the Banada friary is consistently referred to in the fifteenth century registers of the priors general as ' Benfada ', ' Beaunfada ', ' Benfad '. The form ' Hanahannassa ' is more likely to be a form of ' Ballyhaunis ' rather than of ' Banada ' ; in the *Fiants of Elizabeth*, n. 3368, Ballyhaunis is styled ' Ballahanasse '. Another strong argument in favour of Ballyhaunis is the entry of 23 September 1432, in the general register, where the name of Friar Philip Nangle is associated with the foundation. Ballyhaunis is the only Augustinian house whose foundation is attributed to the Nangles

or de Angulos — cf. WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 221. KNOX, *Notes*, p. 275 ; IDEM, *Hist. Mayo*, p. 98, states that the architecture shows the church as no earlier than the end of the fourteenth century.

It appears, therefore, that the traditional date for the foundation (1348) is incorrect, and should be placed instead about the year 1430.

The plan of the buildings is similar to that of the establishments at Ballinrobe and Burriscarra — a long rectangle, with a chapel at the west end opening into the north or south wall of the nave, and with conventual buildings on the opposite end — KNOX, *Hist. Mayo*, p. 95. For comments on the site cf. H. T. KNOX, ' Some Connacht raths and motes ', in *R. S. A. I., Jn.*, ser. 6, i (1911). 333-7.

The friary buildings have disappeared, but the church buildings or part of them have remained in constant use. During the years 1936-9 the church was restored so as to cover the site of the pre-Reformation building — cf. popular illustrated booklet, *Augustinian Abbey of St Mary the Virgin, Ballyhaunis*, cit., p. 29.

BANADA

Corpus Christi : f. 1423

Banada, a village on the river Moy, in the barony of Leyney, in the county of Sligo and the diocese of Achonry.

The Spanish Augustinian historian, Herrera, who examined the Vatican registers during the 1620s or 1630s describes the papal permission for the foundation of an Augustinian house at Banada as ' de licentia Martini V, dat. 13 kalen. Novembris, anno 1423 ' — *Alphab. Aug.*, i, 125. He adds that the ground was donated by Donough O'Hara (Donatus Heagia), son of John (Joannis Pheadgra). The register containing this permission is now missing.

By a decree of the Augustinian prior general, Agostino Favaroni, dated 29 December 1423, the new foundation at Banada was established as a house of the Observance, and was placed under the care of the general — A. G. A., Dd 4, ff. 130v-131r. The first superior of the house was a Friar Charles — *ibid.*, f. 130v, and it has been suggested that he was an O'Hara — T. O'RORKE, *Hist. Sligo*, i (Dublin, 1890), 149-50. This is likely since the O'Haras were rulers of the barony of Leyney.

The friary was distinguished at an early date. The O'Hara, Donough O'Hara Dubh, son of John and founder of the friary,

resigned the lordship to his brother in 1439, and entered as an Augustinian at Banada — *Annals of the Four Masters,* ed. J. O'Donovan, iv (Dublin, 1851), 917. The house remained a preserve for the O'Hara family if we are to believe the complaint of Friar Cormac O'Casey who stated that the prior and community at Banada were almost all related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred, and disposed of the conventual property as they wished without consulting the remaining members of the community. A directive from the Holy See dated 25 June 1460, ordered that if the complaint were well-founded no property of the house was to be disposed of without the consent of O'Casey and the other members of the community — *C. P. L.*, xii, 88.

Though the permission of the prior general, dated 29 December 1423, spoke of a friary as already built, 'quem ipse [Frater Carolus] de consensu apostolico construxit', a papal letter of 24 February 1445 granted indulgences to those who contributed alms for the building of the church and friary recently begun at Banada — *C. P. L.*, ix, 455. A further papal letter of 6 November 1460 renewed this offer of indulgences, adding that the prior and community stated that the house was situated in a desert and barren place, and lacked choir, cloister, chalices, books and other things, and that the friars themselves were in want of food — *C. P. L.*, xii, 103. Presumably the buildings existing in 1423 were only of a temporary nature. The ruins still existing in the eighteenth century showed that the buildings were eventually completed in fitting style — ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 628; KNOX, *Notes,* p. 276. Two excellent engravings of Banada in the eighteenth century, from sketches by Bigari and Cocking, are published in GROSE, *Antiquities,* plates 94-5. Today only the striking tower of hewn mountain stone, seventy feet high, remains intact — O'RORKE, *Hist. Sligo,* cit., i, 150.

The house at Banada had a special importance in Irish ecclesiastical history. From it came the Augustinian Observant movement which was such a vital factor until the time of the Reformation. The Augustinian movement which originated at Banada anticipated even that of the Franciscans which began at Quin in 1433 — *C. P. L.*, viii, 457; E. B. FITZMAURICE, and A. G. LITTLE, *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, 1230-1450* (Manchester, 1921), pp. xxxii-xxxiv. The Augustinian house at Murrisk was

founded in 1457 through the agency of Hugh O'Malley, a member of the Banada community — *C. P. L.*, xi, 294.

Since the year 1858 the Banada property has ben in the possession of the Irish Sisters of Charity — cf. *Life and work of Mary Aikenhead, foundress of the Congregation of the Irish Sisters of Charity* (London, 1924), pp. 232, 420-1.

BURRISCARRA

St Mary's : acquired 1413

Burriscarra, a parish in the barony of Carra, in the county of Mayo and archdiocese of Tuam.

This house was originally founded for the Carmelites in the year 1298 by the Stauntons of Carra — KNOX, *Hist. Mayo*, pp. 95-6. It was abandoned about the year 1383 and was unoccupied for thirty years. At the instance of Edmund Staunton, descendant of the founder, and with the consent of the archbishop of Tuam and the local vicar, the Augustinians took possession of the friary. The occupation was approved by a papal decree of 25 January 1413 — *C. P. L.*, vi, 387.

Burriscarra was not destined for a quiet existence. A papal letter of 1 May 1430 offered indulgences to those who visited and gave alms for the restoration of the Augustinian church at Burriscarra, which had been burned down — *C. P. L.*, viii, 162. The Augustinian prior general, Gerardo da Rimini, wrote from Bologna on 3 January 1438 to the English provincial, William Wells, Junior, commanding him to examine and judge with impartiality on the dispute between the Carmelites and the Augustinians about the occupation of the friary — A. G. A., Dd 5, f. 23r. The Augustinians remained at Burriscarra, as the later history of the house proves.

The ruins which remain show the buildings to have been similar to the large and handsome establishment at Ballinrobe — KNOX, *Notes*, p. 275.

CALLAN

: f. 1461

Callan, a market town on the King's river, in the barony of Kells, the county of Kilkenny and the diocese of Ossory.

The friary at Callan is the only one of the Augustinian houses in Ireland, about whose foundation a satisfactory account has been

published. Its history as given by Canon W. CARRIGAN, *Hist. diocese Ossory*, iii (Dublin, 1905), 310-13, may be summarised as follows. Edmund Butler, son of Sir Richard Butler, son of James, 3rd earl of Ormonde, may in one sense be regarded as the founder. It was at the request of him and his wife that Pius II issued a brief, dated 3 November 1461, commanding the abbot of St Mary's, Ferns, to forward the foundation of a house for Augustinians at Callan. The plan did not materialise at that time. Edmund Butler, though a powerful lord, was defeated in battle during 1462. This was probably the reason why he did not fulfill the project at Callan. The honour of being the founder in fact fell to his eldest son and successor, Sir James, the father of Pierce Ruadh, earl of Ormonde. This appears definite from Rothe's ' Register ', which tells that James died on 16 April 1487 and ' was buried in the friary of Callan which he himself had founded '.

CARRIGAN, cit., iii, 311-12, suggests that James' building of the friary was an act of reparation. He had been living in concubinage with his relative, Syve Kavanagh, but secured a dispensation from Rome and married her solemnly, probably in 1467. The building of the church and friary was likely to have taken place during 1468-9.

One piece of information about the foundation escaped Carrigan's notice. He depended entirely upon HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, i, 158, for information concerning the brief of foundation, 3 November 1461. The Lateran register containing the official copy of this brief is now lost. However, a summary index of some of the missing thirty six registers is now available, and corroborates Herrera's statement. It lists the permission granted in 1461 to Edmund Butler and his wife of Ossory diocese, to establish an Augustinian friary — *C. P. L.*, xii, p. xxv. Cf also LODGE, *Peerage*, ii, 15.

This house deserves special attention because it became the centre of the Irish Augustinian Observant movement. On 26 February 1472 the prior general, Giacomo d'Aquila, granted permission for Dermot O'Kane and Eugene O'Gavigan to introduce the Observant reform to the house at Callan. He stated that the priory was to be affiliated to the famous Roman house of Santa Maria del Popolo, the head house of the Lombard Observant Congregation. Callan priory was declared independent of the English provincial and his vicar in Ireland, and was placed directly under the prior general — A. G. A., Dd 6, f. 19v. The next prior general, Ambrogio da

Cora, by a decree of 23 June 1479 established Callan as the centre of an Irish Observant Congregation — A. G. A., Dd 7, f. 19v.

The scrappy evidence which remains shows that the Observant movement came to Callan through friars from Connaught. It is possible that their influence may be traced to Catherine, wife of Edmund Butler (« first founder » of the Callan friary), and daughter of Gildas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breffny. The Augustinian priory of Banada, founded by the O'Haras, lay in the barony of Leyney, county Sligo, and friendship between the O'Haras and the O'Reillys may account for the appearance of friars from Connaught at Callan in county Kilkenny. There was no Augustinian house in the O'Reilly territory, though an Augustinian, Thady O'Reilly, was appointed bishop of Dromore in 1511 — BRADY, *Episcopal succ.*, cit., iii, 482-3. There is record on 10 April 1507 of a grant of a messuage of land in Callan to the Augustinian prior — N. B. WHITE, *Irish monastic and episcopal deeds, 1200-1600* (Dublin, 1936), pp. 238-9. The Callan friary was noted for its rich library — it had copies of all the codices in Jerpoint Abbey — and for its care of the poor — CARRIGAN, cit., iii, 312.

The friary buildings have now disappeared, but impressive ruins of the church and tower still remain — cf. description by CARRIGAN, cit., iii, 312-13. Within the past few years the ruins have been placed in charge of the Board of Public Works.

CLONMINES

St Nicholas': f. 1317

Clonmines, formerly a town on the banks of the Scar, at the inlet of the sea called Bannow, in the barony of Shelbourne, the county of Wexford and the diocese of Ferns.

There has been much uncertainty about the date of the foundation at Clonmines — v. g. W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, *Hist. diocese Ferns* (Waterford, 1916), pp. 145-6. Rev. E. A. Foran, O. S. A., when transcribing an entry on the Patent Rolls of Edward II recording the confirmation of Adare Augustinian friary (1317), found beside it an entry relating to the licence granted to the Kavanaghs to alienate a parcel of ground to the Augustinian friars for a house at Clonmines (This parchment roll was destroyed during the burning of the Four Courts in 1921) — E. A. FORAN, ' The Augustinians at Clonmines and Grantstown ', in *Good Counsel College Annual,*

1929, pp. 21-30. This confirms the tradition recorded by Alemand that the Kavanaghs were the founders — *Hist. monast.*, p. 306.

There is no mention of the Clonmines house in the registers of the priors general. In 1385 « the clerck » Master Nicholas Fitz-Nicholas received royal permission to bestow a messuage and garden in Clonmines upon the prior and convent of the friars of St Augustine — FORAN, cit., in *Good Counsel College, Annual, 1929*, p. 23 ; WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 151.

Nearly all of the friary buildings have disappeared, but impressive ruins of the church still remain. The graceful tower, the great east window in fourteenth century style, and the substantial tracery work, speak of a prosperous establishment. Foundations of the cloister may still be traced out. A portcullis over an adjoining gate recalls the other fortified Augustinian friaries at Callan, Tullow and Murrisk.

Confusion about the Augustinian foundation has been created by the fact that there was at one time a Dominican priory at Clonmines. WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 151, stated that some believed that the Dominicans took over the Austin friary ; N. B. White, in his edition of *Extent of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1* (Dublin, 1943), p. 365, made the error definite by inserting a sub-heading, ' Dominican house of Clonmines ', to describe the report on the monastic possessions at Clonmines. While it is clear that the Dominicans did not take over the Augustinian establishment it would appear that the reverse was the case. The declaration of the friary property at the time of the suppression in 1539 shows that the Augustinians were in occupation of the Dominican property — cf. P. H. HORE, *Hist. town and county Wexford*, ii (London, 1901). 203. Presumably the Dominicans left when the local mines declined and the town fell into decay.

For an illustrated description of the Augustinian ruins cf. HORE, *Hist. Wexford*, cit., ii. 200-12.

CORK

: f. before 1306

Cork city, capital of the province of Munster and of the county of Cork, in the diocese of Cork.

The Augustinian friary was known as « the Red Abbey », apparently because of the red sandstone visible in the building.

WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 197, states that it was founded in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). The first contemporary reference to the Augustinians at Cork occurs in the year 1306, in the will of John de Wynchedon. He left the friars money for Masses to be said for the repose of his soul, directed that his body was to be buried with those of the Augustinian brethren, and also bequeathed eight marks ' to the repair of the stalls of the Augustine friars ' — cf. a note from the Croker MSS inserted by R. Day and W. A. Coppinger in C. SMITH, *Ancient and present state of the county and city of Cork* (Cork, 1893), p. 414. There is a passing reference to the Augustinian friary in a deed of 1323 — details of the document are given by R. CAULFIELD in *Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, 1689-1690* (London, 1857), p. 153, note b. The document was then in the possession of T. R. Sarsfield.

The Augustinian provincial, James O'Mahony, writing to Lubin, Brussels 18 March 1656 (Bibl. Royale, Brussels, MS II 2590, f. 213r) stated that the Cork friary was richly endowed with lands stretching from the port of Cork right up to the priory. He recalled a custom that all Cork merchants with foreign trade were bound when leaving and returning to the city on business to offer some gift to the friary. O'Mahony added that the friars had many patrons among the citizens. He made special mention of the Nugents who were unusually generous, and the Sarsfields who paid for a beautiful chapel in the church.

The first available state reference to the Cork Augustinians is from 8 July 1348 when Edward III contributed to the support of some Irish Augustinian students in England, and in return had Mass celebrated daily at four of the Irish friaries including Cork — *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. III, 1348-50*, p. 114. The first reference to this house in the general archives is under the date 15 May 1472 when Myler Cantwell and two other friars got permission to introduce the Observant reform among the Cork community — A. G. A., Dd 7, f. 16r.

The friary was situated on the south side of the city. The church was large if we judge by the tower (64 feet high), by the walls, and the magnificent east window (30 feet by 15), which remain. The tower is one of the landmarks of the city, and in recent years has come under the care of the Board of Public Works.

It is stated that Patrick Lord Kinsale, one of the de Courceys, who lived in the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI, was the founder

— LODGE, *Peerage*, iv, 35. This is inaccurate, but de Courcey was probably a benefactor.

For the history of this house see the notes in D. O'SULLIVAN, 'The Augustinian convent of medieval Cork', in *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, xlvi (1941). 144-5. Several references to this house will be edited in *Archiv. Hib.*, xix (1956), from the fifteenth century registers of the priors general.

DROGHEDA

: f. before 1300

Drogheda, a main seaport in the county of Louth and the archdiocese of Armagh.

In the year 1300 the Augustinian prior was summoned to answer for appropriating to the use of this friary a burgage in the town of Drogheda, contrary to the statute of mortmain. The prior produced the king's writ, dated 5 February 1300, ordering the said burgage to be restored to the friars — ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, pp. 459-60. There is no precise evidence of the time the friars came to Drogheda.

The history of this friary has been confused, even by local historians, with that of St Mary's de Urso Hospital — v. g. J. DALTON, *Hist. Drogheda* (Dublin, 1863), pp. 112-13 ; M. J. KELLY, 'Three monasteries of Drogheda', in *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, x (1941-4). 29. The confusion appears to have arisen from the fact that the Crutched Friars, following the rule of St Augustine, were put in charge of the hospital during the thirteenth century — ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 454. It is quite clear from the monastic suppressions under Henry VIII that the Austin friary was a distinct establishment from the hospital of St Mary de Urso — cf. WHITE, *Monast. possess.*, pp. 242-4, 246-7.

What are said to be the ruins of the friary, « the old abbey » is the local name, are on the south side of Narrow West Street. Some walls are preserved, as well as an archway which formerly supported the tower. A road now runs beneath the archway. It must have been a large friary as a general chapter of the Augustinians in Ireland was held there in 1359 — ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 460.

It is unknown who were the founders, but the Brandons repaired the friary at a later date — ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 306.

DUBLIN

The Most Holy Trinity: f. before 1282

Dublin, the capital of the country, in the county and archdiocese of Dublin.

ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 305, remarks that he found in an anonymous English author that the Dublin priory was founded by the Talbots, ancestors of the dukes of Tyrconnell. WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 144, states it was founded about 1259. The date is unlikely. Elizabeth Le Grant of Dublin left bequests in her will of 31 March 1275 to the various religious houses in the city, to the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Friars of the Sack, but there was no mention of the Augustinians — cf. *Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland, 20th Report* (*Cal. Christ Church Deeds*), no. 106, p. 54.

The first sure date is 16 April 1282 when William de Stafford, before his departure for the Holy Land, left legacies to various churches in Dublin, and to the Friars Minor of Dublin $^1/_2$ mark, to the Austin Friars 10s, and to the Friars of the Sack 2s — *Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin*, f. 59v, ed. H. J. Lawlor, in *Royal Irish Academy Proceedings*, Sec. C, xxvii (1908-9). 31.

On 5 June 1284 Edward I at Carnarvon issued a command to the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin to allow the Augustinians at Dublin acquire by gift or purchase one acre of land contiguous to their lands for the enlargement of their property, and to permit them to hold it without impediment, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain — *Cal. Close Rolls, Ed. I, 1279-88*, p. 298.

The friary was situated on the southern bank of the Liffey, on a site now occupied by Cecilia Street and the northern part of Crowe Street. The Augustinian property sloped down to the river bank — J. J. GILBERT, *Hist. city Dublin*, ii (Dublin, 1859). 170. The first prior whose name is known was Roger, one of the witnesses against the Templars in May 1309 — cf. D. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnae Brittaniae et Hiberniae*, ii (London, 1737). 379.

ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 212, describes the Augustinian house as ' a very considerable foundation ', and ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 306, states it was the general college for all the Augustinians in Ireland. The college does not appear to have been established earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century. On 19 May and again on 8 July 1348 the Augustinians at Dublin

petitioned the king for financial assistance to send six friars from the Irish houses to study theology and the liberal arts in England because such studies could not be done in Ireland — *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. III, 1348-50*, pp. 94, 114. John Dale, appointed vicar of the Irish limit on 23 September 1359 is described as ' sacra pagine professori ', as is John Holywood, appointed vicar of the Irish limit on 11 May 1392 — A. G. A., Dd 1, f. 107v, Dd 3, f. 163r. On 22 November 1421 the general appointed Galfrid Schale regent of studies in the Dublin friary — A. G. A., Dd 4, f. 64v.

For notes on the Dublin house cf. GILBERT, *Hist. Dublin*, cit., ii. 170-1 (and for the later history of its site, *ibid.*, ii. 170-255) ; ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, pp. 305-6 ; ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, ed. P. F. Moran, ii (Dublin, 1876). 76-7 ; M. V. RONAN, *The Reformation in Dublin* (London, 1926), pp. 203-4.

DUNGARVAN

St Augustine's : ca 1290

Dungarvan, a seaport in the barony of the Decies, in the county of Waterford and the diocese of (Waterford &) Lismore.

An Augustinian friary was founded here by Thomas Lord Offaly († 1296), Justiciary of Ireland in 1295 — LODGE, *Peerage*, i, 8. The MacGraths of Sleady endowed the friary with a castle and some contiguous lands, and the O'Briens of Commeragh were also patrons of the house — C. SMITH, *Antient and present state of the county and city of Waterford* (Dublin, 1746), pp. 88-9. Under the north window, near the altar, in the ruined church is the tomb of Donal MacGrath who was interred there in 1400, as the inscription tells — *ibid.*, p. 89 ; E. KEOHAN, *Illustrated hist. Dungarvan* (Waterford, 1924), p. 101.

Roger was prior in the year 1312 when he was sued by Adam Brown for seven acres of land situated in Ballony, county Waterford. The land was granted by Brown in free alms, for the support of a chantry in the friary church, but was afterwards alienated by Prior Roger to John Tyrrell and Letitia, his wife, contrary to the form of the grant — Harris MSS, N. L. I., xiii, 423 ; ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 688.

The earliest reference to this house in the Augustinian general archives was the mention on 14 December 1488 of Thomas MacGrath as prior of Dungarvan — A. G. A., Dd 8, f. 31r.

The friary was situated on the section of land (now known as Abbeyside) on the northern shore of the estuary opposite the town, and separated from it by the sea. Like its sister foundation at Clonmines it was built on the edge of the sea. The friary buildings no longer exist, but they must have been on a generous scale if we are to judge by their remains and by the ruins of the church. The church tower, sixty feet high and sprung on a curious vaulted arch, still remains. Part of the old church, now roofed and renovated, serves as a parish church for Abbeyside. When the civil commissioners made a report on the Augustinian property in 1541 they mentioned that the church served as the parish church — WHITE, *Monast. possess.*, p. 347. The O'Briens of Commeragh held the rectorial tithes of the parish — SMITH, *Waterford*, cit., p. 89.

For this friary and a description of the ruins cf. *ibid.*, pp. 88-9 ; ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 688.

DUNMORE

St Mary's : ca 1423

Dunmore, a market town in the barony of Dunmore, the county of Galway and the archdiocese of Tuam.

An Augustinian friary was founded here by de Bermingham, Lord Athenry — MORRIN, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry VIII-Eliz.*, p. 84 (7 July 1542) ; WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 216. The date of foundation is usually given as 1425 — v. g. ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 283 ; KNOX, *Notes*, p. 276. This is a mistake due to a misinterpretation of HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, i, 204. Herrera merely stated that Dunmore was mentioned in the register of the priors general under the year 1425. The actual entry in the register, Dd 4, f. 182r (12 Dec. 1425), refers in passing to Dunmore priory, presupposing that it was already in existence. D'ALTON, *Hist. diocese Tuam*, cit., i, 217, states that it was founded in 1423. This may be accurate, but no authority is given for the statement. However, the foundation is likely to have occurred about this year since a letter of Martin V, 8 January 1430, offers indulgences to those who assist and contribute towards the building of the friary and the equipment for the church — partly quoted by HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug., i*, 204, from one of the papal registers no longer available.

The founder of the friary was Walter « Mor », ninth baron Athenry (1370-1428), a remarkable warrior who died at a ripe old age — G. E. C., *Peerage*, cit., i, 293. The O'Kellys were also

generous benefactors of this house. Thomas Ruadh O'Kelly, a man of great wealth and celebrity in his time, built a fine tomb for his family in the church — J. O'DONOVAN, *Tribes & customs of Hy-Many* (Dublin, 1843), p. 128.

The Dunmore priory had a particular importance in the history of the Irish Augustinians. At the time of the suppression of the religious houses by Henry VIII Lord Bermingham interceded for this house, stating that it was founded by his ancestors, that it was a poor monastery' ' amongst the Irishrie ', without profit or lands but ' only the small devotion of the people ', and that its suppression would be of no gain to the king. The request was granted by the Lord Deputy and Council on 7 July 1542, the prior and four friars were allowed to remain in occupation — MORRIN, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry VIII-Eliz.*, p. 84 ; *Fiants Henry VIII*, no. 317 (3 July 1542) in *Seventh report Dept. Keeper Public Records Ireland* (Dublin, 1875).

Dunmore became a centre of Augustinian life during two centuries of persecution. A Protestant remonstrance of June 1641 stated that at Dunmore was a fully organized monastery with a prior and some thirty friars who did not fear to appear publicly in their habits — cited in O. J. BOURKE, *Hist. Catholic archbishops of Tuam* (Dublin, 1882), p. 125. A century later Dunmore was still an Augustinian centre — cf. documents quoted in W. P. BURKE, *The Irish priests in the penal times, 1660-1760* (Waterford, 1914), pp. 254-66.

Though the friary buildings have disappeared and their site is now occupied by the market place, a main part of the church is still standing. The chancel has been converted into the local Protestant church — cf. description of the ruins by Rev. J. NEARY in *Galway Arch. Soc. Jn.*, viii (1914), 100-1. An interesting drawing of the ruins by Bigari is reproduced in GROSE, *Antiquities*, i, plate 34.

FETHARD

St Augustine's : 1306

Fethard, a market town six miles east of Cashel, in the country of Tipperary and the archdiocese of Cashel.

The house at Fethard, though not important in its pre-Reformation history, is of special interest because sufficient documents survive to show the legal process by which a friary was founded.

During the early years of the fourteenth century the Augustinians were introduced to Fethard by one Walter Mulcote, who

granted them an acre and a half of land which he held free of all service from Maurice MacCarwell, archbishop of Cashel (1303-16). On 28 December 1305 King Edward I sent a writ to John Wogan, justiciar of Ireland, to enquire if it would be to the damage of the king, or any other, if he should grant to Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, the right to give one acre and a half of land at Fethard in perpetual alms to the friars of the Order of Saint Augustine, to build there a house in which to dwell — *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., Ed. I, 1305-7*, p. 237. Wogan was then too occupied to undertake the investigation personally. He delegated the commission to Walter L'Enfaunt and his fellow justices itinerant in county Tipperary. The inquisition was held at Cashel before L'Enfaunt and his fellows on Thursday, 21 April 1306. The jurors gave as their opinion that Mulcote's grant was not to the king's disadvantage, since he held the land quit of all charges from Archbishop Maurice. The writ and the result of the inquisition were then given to the friars to bear to the king — *ibid.*, p. 237.

A writ was issued by Edward I from Beverly on 22 July 1306 — *ibid.*, p. 310. Pardon was granted to the Austin friars of Fethard for acquiring, contrary to the statute of mortmain and without the king's permission, an acre and a half of land in pure alms by ffeoffment from Walter de Mulcote and with the confirmation of Archbishop Maurice.

There were two further royal grants to the Fethard friary during this century — Harris MSS, N. L. I., xiii, 426-7 (ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 657) ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Richard II, 1388-92*, p. 116. The establishment prospered over the years, if we are to judge by its possessions at the time of the suppression by Henry VIII — cf. ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, pp. 657-8.

There is no mention of this house in the pre-Reformation registers of the priors general. A civil commission of 1541 stated that the friary church had served as a parish church from time immemorial — WHITE, *Monast. possess.*, p. 329.

For a description of the church (which is still in use) and the priory ruins (of refectory, kitchen and dormitory) cf. the useful but uneven work by J. A. KNOWLES, O. S. A., *Fethard, its abbey* (Dublin, 1903), pp. 80-99. For historical notes on the friary and church cf. pamphlet [by E. O'Leary, O. S. A., and M. Hughes, O. S. A.], *Fr William Tirrey, O. S. A., and the Augustinian abbey, Fethard, co. Tipperary* (Waterford, 1932).

GALWAY

St Augustine's : f. 1500

Galway, the capital of the province of Connaught, in the county and diocese of Galway.

The priory at Galway was the last pre-Reformation Augustinian foundation. It is the only Irish Augustinian house about whose foundation we have an account with personal details. While Stephen Lynch FitzDominick Dubh († 1536), for many years mayor of the city, was on a long voyage overseas his wife, Margaret Athy, built the Augustinian church and priory on the hill on the south side of the town outside the walls. This was done at the request of the Augustinian, Richard Nangle. When Lynch's ship rode into harbour he was greeted by the vision of this monument to his wife's piety — J. HARDIMAN, *Hist. Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 272, n (quoting from unspecified ' Annals ') ; J. LYNCH, *Pii Antistis Icon*, ed. C. P. Meehan (Dublin, 1848), p. 28 ; R. O'FLAHERTY, *Chorog, description Iar Connaught*, cit., p. 40.

There is discrepancy among authors about the date of foundation. O'FLAHERTY, *op. cit.*, puts the foundation in the year 1506 ; Archbishop King in Harris MSS, N. L. I., xiii, 426, places it during the years 1508-9 ; HARDIMAN, *Hist. Galway*, p. 272, states the house was founded in 1508, as does KNOX, *Notes*, p. 276. All these authors appear to err. The most reliable source at present available is the testimony of a notary, 2 Sept. 1674, certifying to the pedigree of Dominick Lynch, O. P., regent of the Dominican college at Seville. The notary based his historical statements on ' local annals in folio ', ' four fingers thick ', written in English and belonging to the chapter at Galway who ' were wont to write the antiquities and the most remarkable things that happened in the said town of Galway '. There was also a Latin copy which the notary, a Spaniard, used. According to these annals the foundation took place in 1500, when Margaret Athy began to build the friary during the absence of her husband — ' Pedigree of Dr Dominick Lynch ', ed. J. O'Donovan in *Miscellany of the Irish Archaelogical Society*, i (Dublin, 1846), 47, 51. Several of the various conflicting statements may be reconciled if the building began in 1500, and was completed in 1506 or 1508. A copy of Stephen Lynch's will still survives, though undated — cited in BATTERSBY, *Hist. Aug. Ire.*, pp. 277-8. In it he commends to his children the care of ' St. Augustin's place upon the hill, obtained in my and my wife Margaret by name,

with all the Fryers thereof, and specially Master Doctur Nagle [i. e. Nangle]'. He bequeathed to the friars all his arable land east of Galway — nine properties are mentioned.

Margaret Athy acted at the request of the Augustinian, Richard Nangle. His signature is found as witness to a will dated at Galway 12 July 1508 — ed. by O'Donovan, in *Miscellany*, cit., p. 81. A deed of the year 1517 mentions that at that time the prior of the Galway house was Donough O'Malley, while Richard Nangle was described as a professor of theology — ed. by J. Hardiman in O'FLAHERTY, *Chorog. description Iar Connaught*, cit., p. 243.

The buildings were in a commanding position and had a strategic value. It was for these reasons that they were demolished in 1652. From the agreement concerning the demolition we have an accurate description of the church — cf. documents cited in W. B. BATTERSBY, *History of... the Hermits of St Augustine in Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp. 169-73.

A fairly thorough historical account of the Augustinians at Galway has been published [by D. Travers, O. S. A., and M. J. Tighe] in *The Gailliv : an illustrated history of the ancient city of Galway* (Galway, 1901).

MURRISK

: f. 1456

Murrisk, a townland on the south shore of Clew Bay, in the barony of Murrisk, the county of Mayo and the archdiocese of Tuam.

On 12 February 1456 papal permission was granted to Hugh O'Malley, Augustinian friar of the house at Banada to establish a church and friary at Leithearwmurage (i. e. the half-quarter of Murrisk), on land granted by Thady O'Malley, ' captain of his nation '. The friary was stated as necessary because ' the inhabitants of those parts have not hitherto been instructed in the faith ' — *C. P. L.*, xi, 294 ; cf. note by P. Moran in *R. S. A. I., Jn.*, lxxiv (1944), 187.

Hugh O'Malley was in Italy in 1457, for a discussion on Irish Augustinian affairs with the general, and on 5 March 1457 was appointed vicar of the chapter to be held in Ireland — A. G. A., Dd 6, f. 16v.

The picturesque ruins of the church and priory stand in the shadow of Croagh Patrick. They have been declared national mo-

numents, and were thoroughly repaired within recent years. A detailed report on the ruins has been published by H. LEASK, ' Murrisk Abbey, county Mayo ', in *R. S. A. I., Jn.*, lxxiii (1943). 137-41. The most striking feature of the ruins is the battlemented parapet of the south wall. An eighteenth century engraving from the sketch by Bigari is to be seen in GROSE, *Antiquities*, i, plate 64.

NAAS

: f. early 14th century (?)

Naas, a town formerly important, in the barony of Naas, the county and diocese of Kildare.

It is generally stated that this house was founded in 1484, and HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, ii, 550, is quoted as the source by v. g. ALEMAND, *Hist. Monast.*, pp. 411-12. But Herrera merely refers to an Irish friary, which he styles « Vas », and where regular observance was to be introduced by order of the prior general, 24 March 1484. In actual fact the entry in the prior general's register reads ' ras ', not ' vas '. — A. G. A., Dd 8, f. 30v. This might be interpreted as a mistake for ' nas ' (i. e. Naas), but it is as likely to be ' ras ' (for [New] Ross). In either case the entry gives no indication of when a priory was founded at Naas.

At present we have no information about the foundation or pre-Reformation history of Naas priory. But from the trend of Irish ecclesiastical history — cf. St J. D. SEYMOUR, ' The medieval Irish Church ', in W. A. PHILLIPS, *Hist. Church of Ireland*, ii (London, 1934). 89-95 ; E. CURTIS, *Hist. medieval Ireland* (London, 2nd ed., 1938), chap. ix, and from the pattern of Augustinian development in Ireland, it is likely that this foundation was made in the first half of the fourteenth century. It was heavily endowed (compared with the other Augustinian friaries) at the time of its suppression in 1539 — cf. ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, pp. 337-8. The list of possessions indicates that they had been accumulated over a long period, and strengthens the suggestion that the foundation dates back to the first half of the fourteenth century. The suggestion gains strength from a comparison between the Augustinian and Dominican possessions at Naas at the time of the suppressions. The Augustinian properties far exceeded those of the Dominicans, whose priory was founded in 1355 — *ibid.*, p. 356.

It is stated that the Cullens of county Dublin were the founders, while another opinion grants the honour to the Whites — cf.

BATTERSBY, *Hist. Aug. Ire.*, cit., p. 251. The Irish Augustinian provincial, James O'Mahony, in a historical account sent to Lubin, Brussels 18 March 1656, mentions that the Eustaces were its patrons — Bibl. Royale, Brussels, MS II 2590, f. 212v.

Because of its proximity to the moat the friary was known as « the Monastery of the Moat ». The ruins of the church were of impressive size, and stood until the year 1835 — cf. M. COMERFORD, *Collections relating to the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, ii (Dublin-London [1885]), 274. An engraving of the ruins as sketched in 1772 is to be seen in GROSE, *Antiquities*, ii, plate 30.

NEW ROSS

: f. before 1320

New Ross, formerly an important inland port, on the river Barrow, in the barony of Bantry, county of Wexford and diocese of Ferns.

It is stated that the Augustinians were introduced to the town in 1320 by William de la Roche — HORE, *Hist. Wexford*, cit., i, 100. But a letter of John XXII, dated December 1320, shows that the Augustinians were then already established at New Ross — Archiv. Vat., Reg. Vat., 72, f. 300r (Reg. Archiv., 15, f. 488r) ; HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, ii, 361, refers in passing to this letter but gives no details of its contents. The letter mentions several friars who had changed from the Augustinians to the Franciscans, and deals in particular with one Augustinian, John de Ros. He left his Order to join the Franciscans, then later changed back to the Augustinians, and was readmitted by the Augustinians of New Ross. The Franciscans claimed that the Augustinian prior and community of New Ross were automatically excommunicated because Friar John was received back without the necessary permissions and formalities. John XXII settled the matter by absolving the Augustinians lest they had in fact incurred excommunication.

The friary is mentioned in a royal declaration of 8 July 1348, where it is stated that in return for financial support from the king for six Irish Augustinian students in England Mass would be celebrated at New Ross and three other houses in Ireland — *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. III, 1348-50*, p. 114.

The Irish house at ' ras ' (which may stand for ' Ross ') is mentioned in the prior's general register of 24 March 1484 as due

to be reformed by the Irish vicar provincial, Cornelius — A. G. A., Dd 8, f. 30v.

The site of the church and priory can still be pointed out in South Street, where a timber yard now stands. Some window transomes, vestiges of the friary stonework, can be seen within the entrance to the timber yard.

For historical notes on this house cf. J. B. CULLEN, ' The Augustinians in New Ross ', in *I. E. R.*, ser. 5, xv (1920), 303-12 ; HORE, *Hist. Wexford,* cit., i, 74, 100.

SCURMORE (i. e. Inistormore)

The Most Holy Trinity : f. 1454

An isolated position on the banks of the river Moy, in the parish of Castleconor, the barony of Tireragh, the county of Sligo and the diocese of Killala.

Thady O'Dowda, a lord in the diocese of Killala, presented a property of his at Inistormore to two Augustinian friars, Eugene O'Knavin and Thady MacFirbis, as the site for a priory to be dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity. The Augustinians accepted the gift, then applied to the Holy See for pardon and confirmation. This was granted on 12 December 1454 — *C. P. L.*, x, 677.

ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 326, and after him ARCHDALL, *Monast. Hib.*, pp. 502-3, doubted if this house ever came into existence, and were unaware of its exact location. There was no mention of it in the government appropriations of the sixteenth century. A first pointer towards a solution was given by Dudley MacFirbis, the Gaelic scholar who assisted Ware's historical researches. MacFirbis got his information about the foundation at Inistormore from an Irish Augustinian, William O'Meagher, who in his turn gained it from HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, i, 497. The value of MacFirbis' reference in his ' Annals of Ireland ' (ed. by J. O'Donovan in *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, i (Dublin, 1846). 239) is that he was able to identify « Inistormore » with the modern Scurmore, county Sligo. This identification is confirmed for me by Rev. M. J. Connellan, P. P., Strokestown, co. Roscommon, an authority on local traditions and topography. He points out that Scurmore is the townland, and that Inistormore is that part of it bordering on the sea. This fits in with the statement in the papal grant that the friars were allowed to fish for a livelihood because

of the poverty of the place. Scurmore is about a mile from Enniscrone. Local tradition relates that the stones from the friary were used to build a house for the local landlord. The house was converted into a hotel some years ago.

John O'Donovan in his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, cit., iv, 992-3, n. 2, agreed with MacFirbis's identification of Scurmore with Inistormore. O'Donovan in his Ordnance Survey Letters, county Sligo (originals in Royal Irish Academy Strongroom) p. 269, wrote ' There is an old church in ruins in the parish [of Castleconor] called Cill Fhaidle (pron. sometimes ain*d*e and sometimes ain*l*e) which has given name to a townland. It is said that the builder of the castle was the founder of the church or friary '. Above the word ' friary ' the word ' abbey ' is written in O'Donovan's hand, and in the margin ' I find this is not Cill Angli '.

Other facts strengthen our location of the friary. The O'Dowdas, patrons of the Augustinian house at nearby Ardnaree, were rulers of Castleconor — cf. O'Rorke, *Hist. Sligo*, cit., ii, 419-20. We know that the friars at Ardnaree held a quarter of land at Scurmore — Knox, *Notes*, p. 276. O'Knavin and MacFirbis mentioned in their petition to the Holy See that the area around Inistormore was so bare and poverty-stricken that it would be necessary for them personally to undertake the cultivation of the land and to fish, if they were to support themselves and their fellow-friars. On 19 March 1493 the prior general granted Eugene O'Knavin permission to have his meals in a private house because of the poverty of his friary — A. G. A., Dd 8, f. 32v.

Skryne

: f. 1342

Skryne, formerly a small town, in the barony of Skryne, in the county and diocese of Meath.

The Augustinians were introduced to Skryne in the year 1341 by Lord Francis de Feypo, a descendant of one of the early Norman invaders. He granted the friars a property bounded to the west by his own park, and to the east and south by his holdings and land, and by William Genet's land to the north, for the space and term of 99 years, at the rent of a pepper corn annually. He made a further grant of twelve acres of land near the village of Ponetown, at the annual rent of twelve pence, with pasturage for three horses in his own pasturage of Skryne, for the same term

of time — Harris MSS, L. N. I., xiii, 420 ; cf. also A. COGAN, *Hist. diocese Meath*, i (Dublin, 1862), 275. This grant was confirmed by a royal decree of Edward II, 1 May 1342, which also mentions a Friar John Keppocke of the house at Drogheda — Harris MSS, cit., xiii, 420. It was to be expected that the new foundation at Skryne would have come at least partly through the efforts of the Augustinians at Drogheda.

The present ruins of the church and tower stand upon one of the few hills in Meath, and are among the striking monuments of the county — COGAN, *Hist. diocese Meath*, cit., i, 275. An eighteenth century engraving of Skryne friary is to be found in GROSE, *Antiquities*, ii, plate 58.

TIPPERARY

: f. ca 1300 (?)

Tipperary, the chief town in the county of Tipperary and the diocese of Emly (now Cashel & Emly).

A baffling silence reigns over the pre-Reformation history of this house. WARE, *Disquisitiones*, p. 209, states that it was founded in the reign of Henry III. This is an obvious mistake. Henry III died in 1272. The first Augustinian foundation in Ireland was made at Dublin about 1280 — cf. supra « DUBLIN ».

It is likely, however, that the house at Tipperary was founded before that at Fethard (1306). It is stated that Stephen Butler, ancestor to the earls of Carrick, was the founder of the friary at Tipperary — BATTERSBY, *Hist. Aug. Ire.*, cit., p. 250.

A civil commission of 1541 mentioned that the Augustinian church at Tipperary had served from time immemorial as the parish church — cf. WHITE, *Monast. possess.*, p. 327.

Practically all of the friary and church buildings have disappeared. One archway is still be be seen in the property of the present Christian Brothers' school. Beyond the further avenue there appear to be slight traces of foundations — St John D. SEYMOUR, *Diocese of Emly* (Dublin, 1913), p. 136.

TULLOW

: f. 1314

Tullow, a village on the river Slaney, in the barony of Rathvilly, county of Carlow, diocese of Leighlin.

In the year 1314 Simon [the] Lumbard and Hugo Talon donated a house and three acres of land to the Augustinians in the village of St John adjoining Tullow — Harris MSS, N. L. I., xiii, 423 (from Rememb. Rolls, 6th Ed. I).

On 17 October 1331, John de Kells being prior at Tullow, the grant from Hugo Talon was confirmed by the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham, from whom Talon held the land in feud — *Registrum de Kilmainham*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, [1932]), p. 30.

It would appear that the co-founder of the friary, Simon [the] Lumbard was one of the Italian money lenders, royal agents in Ireland at this time. He probably contributed money for the building of the friary and the church. Talon granted the land. ALEMAND, *Hist. monast.*, p. 311, tells that when he was writing his work (published at Paris in 1690) there was an Irish Augustinian in the *Grand Couvent des Augustins* in Paris who claimed to be a descendant of Hugo Talon, and who stated that Hugo died as an Augustinian in the house he founded at Tullow.

There are now no remains of the friary or church, but the friary must have been of a substantial size since it was selected as the rendevous for a chapter of the Irish friars to be held in 1458 — A. G. A., Dd 6, f. 16v. The civil commission of 4 January 1541 commented on the Augustinian establishment ' The church and all the other buildings are very necessary and suitable for the defence of the country, as they stand on the confines of the Irish Kavaners [i. e. Kavanaghs]' — WHITE, *Monast. possess.*, p. 134. This supposes the solid nature of the buildings, and suggests that the Augustinians of Tullow, like the Carmelites at Leighlin Bridge, formed part of the Anglo-Irish line of defence against the native Irish. This fact may also help to explain the readiness with which the Knights Hospitaller confirmed the grant made by Hugo Talon in 1314.

The entry in the prior's general register under 5 March 1457 referred to Tullow as ' Tulagiam ', a rather accurate Latin rendering of the alternate English name, Tullagh. HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, ii, 38, conveniently transcribed this as ' Lagiam ' and so confounded a succession of historians. [STEVENS], *Monasticon Hibernicum* (London, 1722), p. 331, admitted to being baffled by the name.

Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Bayern

Kurz nachdem Papst Alexander IV. im Jahre 1256 durch die Bulle *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* verschiedene Eremitenkongregationen zum Augustiner-Eremiten-Orden vereinigt hatte, begann der erste Ordensgeneral Lanfrank Septala mit der Organisation nördlich der Alpen. Für Deutschland ernannte er den Italiener Guido Salanus zum Provinzial, dessen Aufgabe in Bayern dadurch erschwert wurde, dass die mitangeschlossenen Wilhelmitenklöster hier den Grundstock bildeten. Im Bereiche des heutigen Bayern existierten damals Wilhelmitenniederlassungen in Schönthal, Seemannshausen und Bedernau, deren Insassen nach der Regel des heiligen Benedikt von Nursia und den Gebräuchen des heiligen Wilhelm von Maleval lebten. Es war nicht leicht diese auf ihre Sondergebräuche und Privilegien pochenden Genossenschaften in den grossen Ordensverband einzugliedern. Besonders die beiden in der Diözese Regensburg liegenden Klöster Schönthal und Seemannshausen weigerten sich ihre Ordenstradition aufzugeben, aber Guido fand in Leo Thundorfer, dem Bischof der Diözese, einen mächtigen Helfer. Als päpstlicher Kommissär und Konservator der Rechte der deutschen Augustiner, entschied er sich für den Anschluss und bewog die beiden Häuser, sich zu unterwerfen. Bei den Bedernauer Wilhelmiten scheinen solche Schwierigkeiten nicht bestanden zu haben, zumal sie 1263 ihre Einsiedelei verliessen und ihr Kloster in die Stadt Mindelheim verlegten, getreu den Vorschriften des neuen Ordens in den Städten das Wort Gottes zu predigen und durch das Vorbild frommen Zusammenlebens im Volke zu wirken.

Die eigentliche Ordensorganisation wird im Bayern erst um 1262 bemerkbar, als Guido Salanus nach Würzburg kam und zwei Brüder zwecks Gründung eines Klosters zurückliess. Der Ordensprotektor Kardinal Richard Annibaldi hatte die Augustiner dem Bischof Iringus von Würzburg schon in Rom empfohlen, so dass von dessen Seite keine Schwierigkeiten erwuchsen. Von anderen

Gründungen gibt die Tradition für Nürnberg eine ältere Entstehungszeit an, aber erst um 1265 ist die eigentliche Festsetzung des Ordens in dieser einst freien Reichsstadt nachweisbar. Guido Salanus hat dem Orden in Bayern nur die Wege geebnet, der eigentliche Ausbau der Klöster geschah durch den ersten deutschen Provinzial Engelbert (1264-1274). Unter ihm gewährte der Stadtrat von Regensburg 1267 die Eröffnung eines Hauses innerhalb der Mauern und obwohl die ersten Anfänge schon vor das Jahr 1256 verlegt werden, kann es bis zur Uebertragung nicht als Vollkloster angesprochen werden. Damals griffen die Augustiner auch in das Gebiet des Salzburger Erzsprengels über und versuchten hier eine Niederlassung bei der Magdalenenkapelle in Mühldorf zu errichten, die aber schon 1274 wieder aufgegeben werden musste. Dies gab damals dem Gerücht die Nahrung, dass der Orden als solcher aufgelöst worden sei.

In der zweiten Ausbreitungsperiode von 1279-1300 erstanden die Konvente Münnerstadt, Memmingen, Windesheim, München, Niederviehbach und Lauingen. Der Tatkraft des Provinzials Heinrich von Friemar war es zuzuschreiben, dass der Orden nicht nur innerhalb der bayerischen Grenzen, sondern auch in ganz Deutschland sich so fruchtbar entwickelte. Schon 1299 teilte man Deutschland in vier Provinzen, da die Zahl der Häuser auf 80 angewachsen war. Die bayerische Provinz erstreckte sich nicht nur auf das Herzogtum Bayern, sondern schloss auch Böhmen, Schlesien, Polen, Oesterreich, Steiermark und Kärnten in sich. Ihr Gebiet war so geräumig, dass spätere Provinziale sie in Distrikte teilten und diese durch Vikare verwalten liessen.

In der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts verwandten die Provinziale ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf die innere Konsolidierung der Klöster und suchten die Geistesart ihres Ordens weiter nach dem Osten zu tragen, wo der Konvent St. Thomas in Prag ein bedeutender Mittelpunkt wurde. Freilich brachte der Kampf Kaiser Ludwig des Bayern mit dem Papsttum einen gewissen Stillstand und sogar eine Spaltung der Geister innerhalb der Provinz mit sich. Der auf Seiten des Kaisers stehende Konrad von Tattendorf, Prior des Münchner Klosters, war einer der einflussreichsten Staatsmänner seiner Zeit und hatte die in der Geschichte so rühmlich bekannte Versöhnung des Kaisers mit seinem Gegenspieler Friedrich von Oesterreich zustande gebracht. Tattendorfer stand später als Bischof von Osimo und oberster kaiserlicher Kaplan bis zu seinem Tode an der Spitze der antikurialen Partei. Der Provinzial Nikolaus von

Laun in Prag nutzte diese Lage, die dem Orden durch die politische Konstellation aufgezwungen war, aus, stiess nach Preussen und Litauen vor und schaffte hier neue Positionen für den Orden.

Wenn auch der Schwarze Tod in den Jahren 1348-1351 den Klöstern schwerste Einbussen gebracht hatte und in ihnen die anfängliche Begeisterung der Gründungszeit gewichen war, so entzündete doch die von Italien kommende Welle des Humanismus neue Ideen, die zur Kräftigung augustinischer Geisteshaltung führten und zur verpflichtenden Tradition wurden. Die Ordenshochschulen blühten damals auf. Wien stand an erster Stelle, dann folgte Prag, wo der jüngere Magister Heinrich von Friemar und der Magister Nikolaus von Laun lehrten. Der letztere war zugleich der erste Professor an der Universität, die Kaiser Karl IV. neu gegründet hatte. Seine Hauptstadt galt zugleich als Zentrum augustinischen Lebens. Dem Wunsche dieses Kaisers entsprechend hatte 1358 die Ordensleitung sogar der Abtrennung der böhmisch-mährischen Kloster zu einer selbständigen Provinz zugestimmt. Dieser Beschluss musste aber schon nach kurzer Zeit widerrufen werden. Bischof Johannes von Neumarkt, der Kanzler des Reiches, war dem Orden sehr zugetan und stand in freundschaftlicher Verbindung mit dem Augustinerkonvent Santo Spirito in Florenz, der die führenden Humanisten seiner Zeit oftmals in seinen Mauern sah und dem Boccaccio seine Bibliothek schenkte. Der Bischof zog auch den Magister Johann Klenkok, den grossen Moraltheologen, 1370 an die Prager Hochschule. 1385 wurde der Münchner Prior, Magister Johannes Rushaimer, zum Regens des Studiums in der Moldaustadt ernannt, dem Mag. Hermann von Mindelheim nachfolgte.

Auch die beiden Klöster Würzburg und Münnerstadt, die zur sächsisch-thüringischen Provinz gehörten, hatten für viele Jahre als Provinzial einen hervorragenden Geistesmann in dem Magister Jordan von Sachsen, der durch sein Werk Vitasfratrum die Brüder wiederum zur alten Strenge zurückführen wollte. Durch dieses Standardwerk gewann er im Orden einen bis heute fortdauernden Einfluss. Zu gleicher Zeit regierte den Orden der General Thomas von Strassburg (1345-1357), ein Mitglied der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz und ein hervorragender Theologe.

Durch das grosse Schisma wurde die ganze Christenheit beklagenswerterweise in zwei feindliche Lager gespalten und wie durch alle Orden ging auch durch die Augustiner ein klaffender Riss durch die Wahl zweier sich opponierender Generalprioren. Während das

linksrheinische Gebiet dem unter französischen Einfluss stehenden Avignon anhing, verharrten die rechtsrheinischen Provinzen bei Rom.

Kaum war die innere Einheit des Ordens durch das Ende der Kirchenspaltung wiederhergestellt, da brachten die Hussitenkriege schwere materielle Verluste. Die Klöster in Böhmen, die seit etwa 70 Jahren in hoher Blüte gestanden, wurden 1420 und 1421 geplündert und zerstört und ihre Insassen zum grössten Teil erschlagen. Nur wenige retteten sich in österreichische und bayerische Klöster. Nicht nur alle Niederlassungen des Ordens im böhmisch-mährischen Raum wurden vernichtet, auch die Klöster Kulmbach und Schönthal erlitten das gleiche Schicksal. Erst nach der Schlacht bei Lipan (1434) begann man mit dem Versuch die zerstörten Konvente von Bayern und Oesterreich aus wieder zu besiedeln. Die vertriebenen Konventualen wurden 1437 von der Ordensleitung aufgefordert, sich in ihre Profess-Klöster zurückzubegeben, und als dieser Aufruf nichts nützte, griff der General zu strengem Befehl. Es währte aber fast drei Jahrhunderte, bis der Orden in Böhmen sich wieder erholt hatte.

Schon 1431 hatte Georg von Schönthal die Provinz in 9 Distrikte eingeteilt. Der bayerische Provinzbezirk umschloss 13 Klöster, und zwar Regensburg, München, Seemannshausen, Rattenberg, Schönthal, Niederviehbach, Mindelheim, Kulmbach, Nürnberg, Ramsau, Windsheim und die beiden Klöster in Memmingen. Diese Teilung wurde schon bald durch die einsetzende Reformbewegung vereitelt. Diese Neuordnung der innerlichen Verhältnisse ging nicht vom Haupt des Ordens, von Rom aus, sondern kam von unten, von einzelnen Männern, die in der Erkenntnis der Reformbedürftigkeit die alten Grundformen klösterlichen Zusammenlebens, die strenge Auslegung der Regel und der Konstitutionen wieder erneuern wollten. Da ihre Bestrebungen nicht geachtet wurden, sonderten sie sich von ihren Provinzverbänden ab und bauten unter Aufsicht des Generals ihre eigenen Reformkongregationen auf. Von vornherein muss gesagt werden, dass die im Provinzverband lebenden Klöster meist nicht schlechter waren als die reformierten. Dies zeigt sich zur Zeit der Reformation. Während fast alle Mitglieder der Reformkongregation in Deutschland zur neuen Lehre übertraten und nur wenige Konvente zusammengehalten werden konnten, blieben die nur im Provinzverband stehenden klösterlichen Gemeinschaften von der Glaubensspaltung fast unberührt. Die Reformkongregationen hatten sich am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts in Italien

gebildet. Unter ihnen war die lombardische Kongregation für die deutschen Klöster Vorbild. Gleich an dieser Stelle sei erwähnt, dass auch die sogenannten Rekollekten oder unbeschuhten Augustiner aus einer spanischen Reformkongregation hervorgegangen waren, die sich jedoch später vom Gesamtorden abtrennten. Diese Rekollekten, denen Abraham a Santa Clara angehörte, hatten in Wien und in Taxa bei Dachau Niederlassungen, traten aber mit der bayerischen Augustinerprovinz nie in Verbindung, so dass sie in dieser Arbeit ausser acht gelassen werden.

Die Reformgedanken waren in Bayern schon vor den Hussitenkriegen erwacht. Die Verbindung zwischen Italien und Bayern war durch die zahlreichen Studenten des Ordens hergestellt, die auf italienischen Universitäten oder Ordensstudien ihre akademischen Grade erwarben. Zum Grossteil waren es ja immer Lektoren oder Prioren, die hier mit den Reformideen bekannt wurden und sie bei der Rückkehr in ihre bayerischen Klöster gegen den Willen der Mehrzahl der Mönche zu verwirklichen suchten. Ramsau und Kulmbach sind die ersten Klöster, in denen man 1419 von einer Reform hört. Heinrich Zolter von der sächsischen Provinz wurde vom General 1432 zum ersten Vikar der reformierten Konvente bestellt. Die Räte der Reichstädte Nürnberg und Windsheim sorgten selbst für Erneuerung ihrer Stadtklöster. Die von ihnen angegangene Ordensleitung betraute Zolter mit der Reform. Die diesem gegebenen Vollmachten sprengten den bis dahin einheitlichen Provinzverband auseinander, denn die Jurisdiktion der Provinziale wurde durch diese Anordnung des Generalpriors praktisch aufgehoben. Somit gab die Ordensleitung den Klöstern ein Mittel in die Hand, sich jederzeit den Befehlen des Provinzials zu widersetzen, indem sie sich einfach der Reformgruppe anschlossen. Der an und für sich rein aristokratisch geführte Orden legte durch diese Massnahmen selbst den Grund für seinen Niedergang, indem er sich nicht fähig zeigte, die Reform zentral zu leiten und durchzuführen. Der Grund für diese Unfähigkeit lag gewiss in dem damals die gesamte Christenheit schwer erschütternden abendländischen Schisma, durch welches die Religion Christi zu einem Spielball weltlicher Interessen wurde. Nicht minder trug zur Bildung dieser prekären Gesamtsituation der Zeit die konsiliare Theorie bei, durch die der Jurisdiktionsprimat des Papstes beseitigt werden sollte. So war der Orden in nuce nur ein Spiegelbild der Gesamtkirche.

Der Grund für die Reformbestrebungen war die strikte Durch-

führung des Armutsideals und die gemeinsame Lebensweise. Wir haben sogar von einem Kloster die Nachricht, dass es die Observanz wegen Mangels an finanziellen Mitteln nicht durchhalten konnte. Was Heinrich Zolter begonnen hatte, setzte Andreas Proles aus der sächsischen Provinz fort, nur dass dieser Dresdner Augustiner mehr Tatkraft und Ehrgeiz besass, glücklichere Beziehungen zu Fürstenhöfen hatte und vor keinem Mittel zurückscheute, die strenge Observanz selbst mit weltlicher Gewalt durchzusetzen. 1459 holte sich Proles seine Legitimation vom Ordensgeneral mit der speziellen Befugnis, für seine 5 reformierten Konvente jedes 3. Jahr ein Kapitel abzuhalten und für diese Klöster einen Vikar wählen zu lassen. Während seiner 2 Vikariate (1461-1467 und 1473-1503) gelang es ihm, 27 deutsche Klöster in der Reformkongregation zu vereinigen. Aus dem bayerischen Bereich gehörten zu seiner Kongregation die Häuser in Königsberg in Franken, Nürnberg, Windsheim, Kulmbach, Mindelheim, München und Ramsau. Johann von Staupitz übernahm 1503 die Kongregation, und führte sogleich eine Konsolidierung der reformierten Klöster durch, indem er die Konstitutionen mit allen Aenderungen 1504 herausgab und zur eigenen Sicherung Annäherungsversuche an die lombardische Kongregation machte. Nikolaus Besler, dem Münchner Prior, glückte es auf dem Kapitel der Lombarden in Vercelli 1505 eine Zusammenarbeit mit dieser mächtigsten italienischen Kongregation und eine Bestätigung ihrer gemeinsamen Beschlüsse durch Papst Julius II. zu erreichen. Ueber dieses eigenmächtige Vorgehen war die Ordensleitung sehr erzürnt und verärgert. Besler hätte es fast schwer büssen müssen, wenn nicht der General Augustinus von Interamna durch den mehr versöhnlicheren Aegidius von Viterbo abgelöst worden wäre. Die Kongregation konnte damals Besler als Generalprokurator bis 1509 in Rom belassen, um ihre Belange bei der Kurie zu vertreten. 1507 wurde durch den Kardinallegaten für Deutschland die Union der sächsischen Provinz mit der Reformkongregation ausgesprochen und der General selbst bestellte Staupitz 1510 zum Provinzial der sächsischen Provinz und bestätigte ihn zugleich als Vikar der Kongregation. Diese von Aegidius von Viterbo verfügte Vereinigung liess sich aber wegen des Einspruches gerade der Observanten nicht durchführen.

Die Existenz der Reformkongregation in Deutschland beweist jedoch nicht, dass diese allein die Rückkehr zur strengen Befolgung der Regel für sich allein buchen konnte. Auch innerhalb der baye-

rischen Provinz machten sich reformwillige Kräfte bemerkbar. Unter den Provinzialen befanden sich Männer, denen die Reform wirklich am Herzen lag. Erasmus Günther, ein Professe des Münchner Konventes, bemühte sich auf dem Regensburger Kapitel 1451 um eine Klosterreform und gab auch dem weiblichen Zweig des Ordens neue Satzungen. Auch Paulus Weigl und Johann Ludovici, der spätere Weihbischof von Regensburg, arbeiteten ständig für eine Erneuerung und suchten die strenge Auslegung der Regel in allen ihren Klöstern zur Geltung zu bringen. 1472 ernannte der General Jacobus von Aquila den P. Paulus Weigl aus München zum Vikar des exemten Klosters Mindelheim. Diese Nomination war offenbar eine Aktion gegen die sächsische Kongregation, ein Ziel, das im folgenden Jahre weiter verfolgt wurde, als der General mit diesem Amte den Münchner Georg Teyninger, einen in Rom graduierten Magister, betreute und ihn im Süden Deutschland ein eigenes Reformvikariat aufbauen liess, das die Generalkonvente München, Mindelheim, Memmingen und Regensburg umfasste und der direkten Jurisdiktion des Generals unterstand. Die genannten Konvente hatten ohne Mithilfe von Proles die Observanz durchgeführt ; denn Proles wurde erst 1488 auch zum Generalvikar für die reformierten Konvente in Bayern ernannt. Dies war möglich, weil der Kardinalprotektor die süddeutsche Reformkongregation aufgehoben hatte, da er in dieser Abspaltung von der Provinzleitung eine Gefahr für den Gesamtorden erblickte.

Das Auftreten des Wittenberger Augustiners Martin Luther und die Auswirkungen seiner Lehre haben dem Orden in Deutschland schwerste Einbussen gebracht und die Klöster der sächsischen Reformkongregation fast völlig vernichtet. Augustiner der strengen Observanz waren die ersten, die gegen die Mönchsgelübde öffentlich predigten. Sie wurden die geistigen Bahnbrecher der Reformation und entfachten die religiöse Revolution gegen die Kirche. Die Konvente München, Nürnberg, Windsheim und Kulmbach standen im regen geistigen Austausch mit Wittenberg. Hier war auch Luther kein Unbekannter. Wenzel Link, der engste Freund des Reformators und letzte Generalvikar (1520-1522) nach Staupitz, war in München und Nürnberg Prior und gefeierter Prediger gewesen. Viele Konventualen hatten auf der Wittenberger Alma Mater studiert oder dort als Lehrer gewirkt. So was es kaum verwunderlich, dass nach dem Kapitel in Wittenberg zu Beginn des Jahres 1522 die Ideen der radikalen Elemente innerhalb der Kongregation zum Durchbruch

kamen und die Austritte aus dem Wittenberger Kloster bald Nacheiferung fanden. So sehen wir, wie sich in Nürnberg, Windsheim, Kulmbach, Memmingen, Mindelheim und Pappenheim die klösterlichen Gemeinschaften in kurzer Zeit auflösten. Die Ordenshäuser in Königsberg und Münnerstadt wurden von rebellierenden Bauern 1525 gestürmt, die Mönche wurden vertrieben. In München verhinderte ein Befehl des Herzog Wilhelms IV. jede weitere Verbindung mit der Kongregation und die Konventsmitglieder wurden von Papst Hadrian VI. von der Obedienz gegen die Kongregation entbunden. Trotz dieser radikalen Abtrennung ging das Klosterleben in den altbayerischen Niederlassungen immer mehr abwärts. Die grosse Zeit des Ordens in Deutschland war mit der Reformation vorbei.

Die wenigen Augustiner, die gegen die Neuerungen auftraten, konnten die hereinbrechende Flut nicht mehr aufhalten. In Erfurt musste Arnoldi von Usingen seinen Kampf bald aufgeben und sich in das Würzburger Kloster zurückziehen, wo er weiterhin der geistige Halt dieser Kommunität wurde. In München wirkte in ähnlicher Weise Wolfgang Kappelmaier, ehedem mit Luther Professor an der Wittenberger Universität. Der bayerische Herzog Albrecht V. schrieb in späteren Jahren Kappelmaier die Erhaltung des katholischen Glaubens in München zu. Eine Gestalt wie die des Johannes Hoffmeister, der vom General Girolamo Seripando 1546 zum Generalvikar für ganz Deutschland ernannt wurde, rieb sich in jungen Jahren im Dienst für die Erhaltung der katholischen Lehre auf. Die von der Reformation in Bayern und Oesterreich verschonten Klöster hatten keinen leichten Stand. Der Provinzial Ambrosius Stocker (1519-1528) musste dem General berichten, wie kläglich geradezu seine Klöster leben, wie sie für die Landesherrn das Letzte hergeben müssten und weit schlechter behandelt würden als Tartaren und Juden. Sein Nachfolger, Georg Teschler (1528-1534), predigte nach der Niederlegung seines Provinzialates in Regensburg ganz offen die lutherische Lehre. Für die beklagenswerte Lage der deutschen Augustiner ist ein Schreiben des Generalkapitels zu Bologna 1551 charakteristisch. Darin werden die deutschen Provinzen aufgefordert, endlich einmal einen erfahrenen Mann zum General zu senden, der diesem über den Stand des Ordens in Deutschland Aufklärung geben könnte. Selbst Rom war also völlig im Unklaren über die Schicksale der Klöster nördlich der Alpen. Der General Seripando (1539-1551), später Kardinal und glänzender Theologe auf dem Trienter Konzil,

führte in seinem Catalogus Conventuum unter der Congregatio Alemaniae allerdings noch die Konvente Nürnberg, Kulmbach, Mindelheim und Pappenheim auf, unter der bayerischen Provinz Regensburg, Schönthal, Seemannshausen, Ramsau und ausserdem die der Kongregation untergebenen Klöster Memmingen, München, Kulmbach, Mindelheim, unter der schwäbischen Provinz Lauingen und Pappenheim, unter der sächsischen Provinz Würzburg und Münnerstadt. Auf den Generalkapiteln erschien erstmalig die bayerische Provinz wieder 1587, wo sie den Mag. Jacobus Patavinus aus Rom als Delegierten beauftragte und 1602 war Jacobus von Trient, der Münchner Prior, als Diskrete anwesend.

Um dem ungeheuren Mangel an Ordensleuten in etwa abzuhelfen und die notdürftigste Besetzung der Klöster durchführen zu können, schickte die Ordensleitung in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts Patres aus italienischen Klöstern nach Deutschland. Die sogenannten Fratri haben die schlimmste Zeit einigermassen überbrückt, wenn sie auch nicht hoch angeschrieben und selten rühmende Vorbilder in der Ordenszucht waren. Die italienischen Provinziale werden kaum ihre besten Religiosen ausser Landes geschickt haben. An der Spitze der Provinz standen durchwegs Italiener. In München übernahm 1575 P. Antonius Keerbeck aus Löwen das Priorat. Er kam von der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz und suchte nach seiner Ernennung zum Provinzial den Ordensverband wieder auf eine gesunde wirtschaftliche Grundlage zu stellen. Das verlassene Kloster Ramsau wurde durch seine Vermittlung mit dem Münchner Kloster uniert, das Prager St. Thomaskloster zum Noviziat und Seminar bestimmt. Nach seiner Ablösung als Provinzial wurde Keerbeck 1590 wegen angeblich unordentlichen Lebenswandels angeklagt und eingekerkert. Doch weniger persönliche oder charakterliche Mängel schienen damals der Grund für seine Ausweisung aus der Provinz gewesen zu sein. Vielmehr trieb die Unduldsamkeit und der Neid seiner Mitbrüder diesen wirklich tüchtigen und verdienten Mann in seine alte Provinz zurück. Jacobus von Trient wurde als Südtiroler gerade noch geduldet. Selbst gegen den Generalvikar Felix Milensius machte sich in der ganzen Provinz eine starke Opposition bemerkbar, obwohl er das Verdienst hatte, die Häuser in Seefeld, Salzburg und Ingolstadt in den Jahren 1604-1606 gegründet zu haben. Er wurde ebenfalls angeklagt und eingekerkert. Es ist möglich, dass man ihm unter anderm auch die Abtrennung der böhmischen und österreichischen Klöster vorwarf, die 1604 zu einer eigenen Provinz

erhoben wurden. Schon 1547 waren durch das Generalkapitel von Recanati die Klöster in Polen abgetrennt und zu einer Provinz zusammengeschlossen worden. Sie hatte die Stürme der Reformation am besten überstanden und musste ihre eigenen Wege gehen, da sich nach dem Untergang der deutschen Häuser niemand ihrer angenommen hatte. In Bayern und Oesterreich wehrte man sich gegen jede ausländische Bevormundung. Die Konvente erstarkten allmählich ; der Nachwuchs konnte in eigenen Schulen erzogen werden, nachdem sich geeignete Männer in Italien die nötigen Grade erworben hatten. So konnte Herzog Wilhelm V. im Jahre 1611 dem General die Bitte vortragen, in Zukunft keine ausländischen Patres mehr nach Deutschland, besonders aber nach Bayern zu schicken. Die wirksamste Zurückdrängung der Ausländer erreichte Kaiser Ferdinand III. durch das Verbot, Visitationen durch Fremde vornehmen zu lassen. Von grossem Gewinn dagegen war für die Provinz die Zuteilung von belgischen Patres, deren Hauptverdienst in der Förderung der Studien lag. Nicht weniger wertvoll war ihr erfolgreiches Bemühen, die Einheit mit dem Gesamtorden aufrecht zu erhalten.

Nun bestand die bayerische Provinz nur noch aus den Klöstern in Bayern, Salzburg und Tirol, aber auch hier drängte der wachsende Nationalismus auf eine Teilung. Sie wurde herbeigeführt durch den Salzburger Prior Johannes Baptist Maralt, als er 1673 zum Provinzrektor ernannt werden sollte. Maralt, der ein herrschsüchtiger und eigenwilliger, wenn auch hochbegabter Mensch gewesen sein muss, hatte den Erzbischof Maximilian Gandolf von Salzburg auf seiner Seite. Es kam damals zur Teilung der Provinz. Mag. Fulgentius Travalloni, später General des Ordens, wurde als apostolischer Kommissär nach Bayern geschickt, um die Auseinandersetzungen zu schlichten. Travalloni glaubte dies durch die Absetzung der Prioren zu erreichen. Der Erzbischof von Salzburg protestierte aber gegen eine Amtsenthebung seines Günstlings Maralt und setzte es schliesslich durch, dass das tirol-salzburgische Gebiet aus dem bayerischen Verband herausgelöst wurde. Der neue Ordensdistrikt sollte sich aber einer Nachbarprovinz anschliessen. Da jedoch der Erzbischof unter Mitwirkung Maralts in kurzer Zeit in Kufstein, Tittmoning und Hall neue Klöster gründete, errichtete der General 1682 eine eigene Tirol-Salzburgische Provinz, in der das Kloster Mülln bei Salzburg die Rolle des Zentralklosters übernahm.

Die im unterfränkischen Gebiet liegenden Klöster blühten wieder

im 17. Jahrhundert auf, nachdem Würzburg 1607 und Münnerstadt 1650 der schwäbischen Nachbarprovinz angegliedert worden waren. Würzburg wurde in der Folgezeit der Hauptkonvent der schwäbischen Provinz, die Residenz des Provinzials. Die Bemühungen des Provinzials Keerbeck, das Kloster Mindelheim für den Orden wiederzugewinnen, waren ohne Erfolg. Die Häuser in Würzburg, Münnerstadt und Lauingen haben damals in der Seelsorge, der Wissenschaft und der Jugenderziehung sehr verdienstvolle Arbeit geleistet. Antonius Höhn, Jordan Simon, Possidius Zitter und Engelbert Klüpfel haben als Wissenschaftler und Gelehrte nicht nur unter ihren Ordensgenossen Ruhm und Anerkennung gefunden.

Die bayerischen Klöster wurden im 18. Jahrhundert durch einige Niederlassungen vermehrt. 1688 wurde vom Herzog Max Emanuel II. die Pfarrei Aufkirchen am Starnbergersee dem Kloster München und 1690 die Wallfahrtspfarrei Bettbrunn dem Ingolstädter Kloster übertragen. Auch das bereits schon lange stehende Superiorat Rötz wurde 1724 vom Kloster Schönthal mit mehreren Patres besetzt und zur Residenz erhoben. München war Sitz des Provinzials und des Ordensstudiums. Die hier tätigen Männer ragten weit über den Durchschnitt empor. Die Provinzoberen waren meist hervorragend geschulte Geistesmänner, gute Theologen und glänzende Verwalter, die es verstanden, die Provinz zu heben und dem Orden als solchem Ansehen und Anerkennung zu verschaffen. Das Münchner Kloster stand damals im Mittelpunkt des wissenschaftlichen Lebens der bayerischen Residenzstadt. Männer wie Gelasius Hieber, der gefeierte Prediger und Gelehrte, Angelus Höggmair, Agnellus Kandler und Felix Ossinger, die Ordenshistoriker, Adrian Huber, Agnellus Merz und Fulgenz Mayr, Mitglieder der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, hinterliessen ein reiche wissenschaftliche Ernte auf allen Gebieten der geistlichen wie weltlichen Disziplinen. Der Ordensgeneral Franciscus Xaverius Vasquez, das Haupt der reformkatholischen Bestrebungen in Rom, stand mit den Münchner Patres in regem Briefwechsel. Die Bibliothek des Klosters gab Zeugnis von der fruchtbaren geistigen Arbeit dieser Männer. Die bayerische Ordensprovinz zählte 1778 insgesamt 137 Mitglieder, der Münchner Konvent konnte allein 58, der Regensburger 25, der Schönthaler 19, der Ramsauer 18 und der Ingolstädter 17 Religiosen beherbergen. Die Säkularisation hatte sich in Bayern schon Jahre vorher angekündigt. Die Besteuerungen der Klöster, die staatliche Oberaufsicht über den Gütererwerb der toten Hand, die Behin-

derung der Novizenaufnahme, die Eingriffe staatlicher Organe zeigten immer deutlicher, dass die aufklärerischen Ideen sich nachhaltiger durchsetzten und zur Auflösung der Ordensgemeinschaften drängten. Das Jahr 1803 brachte die endgültige Entscheidung, zugleich die völlige Vernichtung des gesamten Klosterlebens im bayerischen Staatsgebiete. Tittmoning und Regensburg, die noch nicht zu Bayern gehörten, konnten sich bis zur Eingliederung dieser Gebiete an Bayern bis 1806 bzw. 1810 halten.

Die unterfränkischen Klöster verdankten der Herrschaft des Grossherzogs von Toskana ihren Weiterbestand. Auch als Bayern die Herrschaft über das Würzburger Territorium antrat, rettete die Lehrtätigkeit der Augustiner am Münnerstädter Gymnasium das dortige Kloster vor der Auflösung. 1818 wurde Würzburg mit Münnerstadt uniert. P. Anton Lauk, der letzte Prior von Würzburg, blieb in der Mainstadt und erreichte, dass das Noviziat und Klerikat dorthin verlegt wurde. Die Augustiner unterstanden seit der Säkularisation nur noch dem Diözesanbischof. Die damaligen Zeitverhältnisse waren keineswegs günstig. Fast niemand fand den Mut in eine geistliche Gemeinschaft einzutreten. Erschwerend war zudem noch die Verordnung der Staatsregierung, dass alle Kandidaten vor ihrem Eintritt in das Kloster erst die Lehrbefähigung für das höhere Schulwesen nachweisen mussten. P. Prosper Fritzmann, dem Prior von Münnerstadt, gelang es, den Orden vor dem Aussterben zu bewahren und neuen Nachwuchs zu gewinnen. P. Alois Braun, ein Professor des Münnerstädter Gymnasiums, stellte 1834 die Verbindung zur Ordensleitung her, die von der Existenz der deutschen Augustiner kaum noch wusste. P. Braun wurde 1842 zum Generalkommissar ernannt. Dieses Amt übernahm 1859 P. Pius Keller, ein Mann, der mit wahrer innerer Begeisterung die günstige Entwicklung des Ordens in Deutschland in die Wege leitete und die Ordenszucht befestigte. Die Neuerrichtung einer Klosterschule sorgte für den Ordensnachwuchs. In zäher und aufopfernder Arbeit erreichte P. Keller 1895 die Erhebung seiner Klöster zur bayerisch-deutschen Provinz, die ihn an ihre Spitze stellte. Durch Pius Keller war bereits 1864 ein drittes Kloster in Germershausen in der Provinz Hannover errichtet worden. Als dieser Stützpunkt 9 Jahre später durch die Kulturkampfgesetze aufgehoben wurde, übernahm Pius Keller die Wallfahrtskirche Fährbrück in Unterfranken, wo die Patres die Pfarreien Hausen, Opferbaum und Erbshausen übernahmen. 1887 wurde Germershausen dem Orden wieder zurückgegeben. Die Ue-

bernahme der Seelsorge in der Wallfahrtskirche Fuchsmühl in der Oberpfalz brachte dem Orden 1898 die 5. Niederlassung. Beim Tode Pius Kellers 1904 war der Orden in Deutschland auf 47 Patres und 38 Brüder angewachsen. Die Niederlassungen Pleystein in der Oberpfalz und Wies bei Freising wurden 1903 eröffnet. 1906 wurde das Studienseminar St. Joseph in Münnerstadt zum selbständigen Kloster erhoben und 1910 in Regensburg mit der Uebernahme der Pfarrei St. Cäcilie eine Niederlassung gegründet. Schon während des ersten Weltkrieges wurden die Pläne zum Ausbau eines Studienseminars in Weiden in der Oberpfalz zur Ausführung gebracht und hier 1917 eine klösterliche Gemeinschaft gebildet. Seit 1907 stand P. Ambrosius Schubert an der Spitze der Provinz ; er wurde 1921 als Generalassistent nach Rom gerufen. Durch den Ausbruch des 1. Weltkrieges wurden alle Hoffnungen der deutschen Augustiner auf eine gedeihliche Weiterentwicklung der Provinz jäh unterbrochen. Die Provinz hatte unter den Opfern des ersten Weltbrandes 14 ihrer Mitglieder zu beklagen. Den an sie gestellten Anforderungen nach dem Kriege konnte sie nur zum Teil nachkommen. 1920 war es möglich Carthaus bei Dülmen in Westfalen und 1929 St. Rita in Berlin-Reinickendorf zu gründen.

Nicht nur die Nachkriegsschwierigkeiten, auch die Geldentwertung legten der Provinz schwerste Opfer auf. Einige Patres gingen ins Ausland, um durch ihre Arbeit den deutschen Klöstern neue Hilfsquellen zu eröffnen. Aus einer kleinen Gruppe von Augustinern, die damals nach Nordamerika gingen, entstand die heutige Viceprovinz der deutschen Augustiner mit acht Klöstern, an deren Spitze der um die Geschichtsforschung des Augustinerordens verdiente P. Franz Roth steht. Nach dem Kriege hatte 1921 P. Klemens Fuhl die Provinzleitung übernommen. Im Würzburger Kloster wurden Werkstätten, eine eigene Druckerei und eine Brüderschule errichtet. 1933 wurden in Messelshausen bei Lauda und in New York Niederlassungen errichtet. Ein herber Verlust für die deutschen Augustiner war der Tod des seit 1931 zum General des Ordens gewählten P. Klemens Fuhl, der am 31. März 1935 auf einer Visitationsreise in Bolivien starb. Der 2. Weltkrieg forderte von den Klöstern grosse Opfer. Das Zentralkloster in Würzburg wurde noch in den letzten Kriegswochen total zerstört. Der Neuaufbau war nicht leicht, aber durch den persönlichen, eigenhändigen Einsatz sämtlicher Patres und Brüder konnten Kirche und Kloster in kurzer Zeit wieder erstehen. Heute sind die Augustiner in allen Sparten der Seelsorge

tätig. Nach einem Bericht von 1953 umfasst die heutige deutsche Provinz 25 Klöster in Deutschland, Oesterreich, Nordamerika und Kanada sowie in der Schweitz mit 158 Patres, 19 Klerikern und 112 Laienbrüdern. 14 Klöster sind mit Pfarreien verbunden. Sie wirken an den Gymnasien in Münnerstadt und Weiden, sie betreuen die Studentenseelsorge in Würzburg und stellten sich die Aufgabe, die ostkirchliche Arbeit in Deutschland zu fördern. Neben der Seelsorgsarbeit vergessen sie aber nicht die verpflichtende Tradition des Ordens, die Pflege der Wissenschaft. Zwei theologische Sammlungen und eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift geben Zeugnis von ihren wissenschaftlichen Betätigungen. Die bedeutende Stellung der Provinz innerhalb des Ordens ist dokumentiert durch die Wahl des P. Dr. Engelbert Eberhard zum Ordensgeneral im September 1953.

Abkürzungs- und Siglenverzeichnis

BA	Bezirksamt	LK	Landkreis
Bd, Bde	Band, Bände	LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
Bl, Bll	Blatt, Blätter		
BrPr	Briefprotokolle	Mfr	Mittelfranken
Cgm	Codex germanicus monacensis	MF	Ministerium d. Finanzen
Clm	Codex latinus monacensis	MInn	Ministerium d. Innern
Diss.	Dissertation	NF	Neue Folge
ebda	ebenda	Nbb	Niederbayern
GL	Gerichtsliterale	Obb	Oberbayern
GR	Generalregistratur	Opf	Oberpfalz
GU	Gerichtsurkunden	Schw	Schwaben
HS	Handschrift	StA	Staatsarchiv
hg	Herausgegeben	StB	Staatsbibliothek bzw. Standbuch
HStA	Hauptstaatsarchiv	UB	Universitätsbibliothek
KA	Kreisarchiv		
KlL	Klosterliteralien		
KlU	Klosterurkunden	Ufr	Unterfranken
Lit.	Literalien	Ztschr.	Zeitschrift

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Aufkirchen

LK Starnberg, Obb, Diöz. München-Freising — Patron : St. Maria.

Hoch über dem Ostufer des Starnberger Sees im oberbayerischen Alpenvorland ragt die alte Wallfahrtskirche Aufkirchen empor. Das Dorf gehörte der Familie von Hörwarth, von welcher Kurfürst Ferdinand Maria die Hofmark im Jahre 1676 kaufte. Um die Wallfahrt zu fördern überliess Kurfürst Maximilian II. Emanuel i. J. 1686 die Wallfahrtskirche der bayerischen Augustinerprovinz und liess auch die Pfarrei dem Münchner Augustinerkloster inkorporieren. Der Münchner Prior musste bei jedem Wechsel von neuem um die Präsentation einkommen, ausserdem musste das Kloster dem Bischof von Freising alle 20 Jahre 40 Gulden zahlen. München richtete in Aufkirchen alsbald ein Hospiz ein und besetzte es mit 3-4 Patres. Der Superior war zugleich der Pfarrherr, ein Pater der Prediger und 2 Patres versahen die Stellen der Kooperatoren für die 10 Filialkirchen. Als Wohnung diente ein altes hölzernes Herrenhaus. Der erste Pfarrer war P. Josef Staffir. Dieser musste im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg mit dem holzgeschnitzten wundertätigen Muttergottesbild nach München flüchten, wo das Bild in der Augustinerkirche zur Verehrung aufgestellt wurde. Erst im März 1705 konnte das Aufkirchner Heiltum in feierlicher Prozession von München zu seinem Gnadenort zurückgeführt werden. Der neue Superior P. Timotheus Mayr suchte 1705 um die Genehmigung zum Bau eines neuen Pfarrhofes nach, der in den folgenden Jahren als ein stattliches Gebäude errichtet wurde. Gleichzeitig baute der Superior die Bruderschaftskapelle Maria-Trost an die Pfarrkirche. In der Reihe der Superioren ragt vor allem P. Gelasius Hieber hervor, der von 1724-1730 die Pfarrgeschäfte in Aufkirchen führte. Hieber hatte bereits in München und überhaupt in ganz Bayern den Ruf des besten Kanzelredners erlangt, ebenso wurde er als Wissenschaftler und Dichter allgemein geschätzt. Hier in Aufkirchen redigierte er den « Parnassus Boicus », die erste gelehrte und zugleich volkstümliche Zeitschrift Bayerns und verfasste in Musse seine theologischen Arbeiten und Predigtwerke. Die grossen Klosterkirchen des ' Pfaffenwinkels ' riefen ihn

oftmals als Festprediger. Unter dem Superior Daniel Harsch schlug der Blitz in den Kirchturm und setzte ihn und die Kirche in Brand. Die beschädigten Mauern konnten die Last des Turmes nicht mehr tragen und stuerzten zweimal ein und selbst nach einem dritten Aufbau musste man ihn wieder abtragen. Erst dem letzten Prior aus dem Augustinerorden, P. Bonaventura Kolb, glückte der sichere Turmbau. Unter diesem seit 1784 tätigen Superior wurden die Säkularisationsbestimmungen 1803 in Aufkirchen durchgeführt. Das Hospiz wurde aufgehoben, jedoch blieb die Pfarrei bestehen. P. Kolb und seine Kapläne mussten das Ordenskleid ablegen, blieben jedoch auf der Pfarrei und P. Kolb verwaltete noch als Pfarrer bis 1815 die Seelsorge. Das dem Münchner Augustinerkloster zufliessende Einkommen wurde dem Staatssäckel zugeführt. Das Hospiz wurde als Pfarrhof übernommen. Von den Kooperatoren wurde später besonders P. Sebastian Dachauer († 1863) durch seine historischen Abhandlungen bekannt.

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Bettbrunn

LK Riedenburg, Opf, Diöz. Regensburg — Patron : St. Salvator.

Das in der Nähe von Ingolstadt gelegene Bettbrunn oder St. Gross-Salvator ist ein kleines Dörfchen, das nur wegen seiner Hostienwallfahrt berühmt geworden ist. Nach einem Brande der Kirche wurde die gerettete Statue des Erlösers als Gnadenbild verehrt. Da die Wallfahrt so zahlreich besucht wurde, genügte ein Geistlicher nicht mehr und der Pfarrer erbat sich schon seit 1650 Augustiner aus dem nahen Ingolstadt zur Aushilfe. Nach dem Tode des Pfarrers Schnaderbeck übergab Kurfürst Maximilian Emanuel 1690 mit Zustimmung des Regensburger Bischofs Josef Clemens die Pfarrei dem Ingolstädter Augustinerkloster, das nun neben der Kirche eine kleine Residenz erbauen liess. Erster Superior wurde P. Wenzeslaus Praunmüller, der mit 3 Patres die Seelsorge übernahm. Nachdem die Päpste Innozenz XII. und Benedikt XIV. Ablässe für die Besucher der Kirche gewährt hatten und der Provinzial J. B. Inninger die Maria-Trost-Bruderschaft eingeführt hatte, blühte die Wallfahrt unter den Augustinern stark auf. Nach einem Bericht des Paters Kornmesser pilgerten besonders im Frühjahr 9 Städte, 21 Märkte und 114 Dörfer nach Bettbrunn. Unter den Pilgern befanden sich neben den vielen bayerischen Bürgern und Bauern sogar die Bischöfe von Freising und Regensburg und die bayerischen Kurfürsten. In den Jahren 1774-1777 liessen die Patres die Kirche von dem Münchner Baumeister Leonhard Matthäus Giessl im Stil des späten Rokoko umbauen und von dem Wessobrunner Meister Fr. X. Feichtmayr

stukkieren. Die Kirche, ausgestattet mit 6 Altären, war nunmehr so geräumig, dass sie 6000 Personen Platz bot. Der Münchner Hofmaler Christian Wink schmückte 1784 die Decken mit Fresken aus. Aus Bettbrunn stammte der bekannte Ordenshistoriker Angelus Höggmair, lange Jahre Prior in Seemannshausen und München und schliesslich Generalassistent des Ordens in Rom, der in Bettbrunn durch das vorbildliche Wirken der Mönche für den Orden gewonnen worden war. 1802 erreichte der Säkularisationsbefehl auch Bettbrunn. Obwohl die Patres fürs erste die Seelsorge noch fortführen konnten, erhielt der dortige Superior Benedikt Lehmer jedoch schon am 1. März 1803 die Weisung, sofort ohne jede Weigerung auf die Pfarrei zu verzichten, sie dem Regensburger Bischof zurückzugeben und die Abschrift der Resignationsurkunde dem Landrichter zuzustellen. Trotz des Protestes des bischöflichen Ordinariates mussten die Augustiner weichen. Das Hospiz wurde verkauft und schliesslich abgerissen, ohne dass die Aufhebungskommissäre bedachten, dass man für den künftigen Pfarrer auch eine Wohnung haben müsste. Die Wertgegenstände und Votivgeschenke, die Paramente und Kirchengeräte wurden abgeholt und verschleudert. Der letzte Superior ging in das Zentrakloster nach München und führte dort auf Anordnung der Kloster-Spezialkommission die Geschäfte des Priorats bis zur Auflösung des Münchner Konventes am 1. Oktober 1803.

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Ingolstadt

Obb, Diöz. Eichstätt — Patron : Maria Geburt.

Die Marienkapelle an der Schutter in Ingolstadt zählt zu den ältesten Wallfahrtsorten Bayerns. Schon im Mittelalter wurde hier eine aus Holz geschnitzte Madonna mit dem Kind als wundertätiges Heiltum hoch verehrt. Die Besetzung des an dieser Kapelle errichteten Beneficiums stand den bayerischen Herzögen zu. Die Initiative zur Gründung eines Klosters an dem Sitz der ältesten bayerischen Universität ging von Felix Milensius aus. Er wirkte seit 1603 als Generalvikar des Ordens in Bayern und gründete in kurzer Zeit 3 neue Klöster in der bayerischen Ordensprovinz, die sich damals in der Zeit der Gegenreformation allmählich wieder erholte. Dem Generalvikar lag es vor allem am Herzen, in Ingolstadt ein Studien-

seminar für den Ordensnachwuchs zu gründen. Er trug seine Bitte dem Herzog Maximilian vor, der den Wünschen der Augustiner jederzeit sehr entgegenkam. Dieser befahl seinen Beamten, eine geeignete Kirche und ein zweckentsprechendes Haus in Ingolstadt auszukundschaften. Man fand die Schutterkirche. Der Eichstätter Bischof erklärte sich bereit, das Gotteshaus an die Augustiner abzutreten, nur sollte das Benefizium an die Stadtpfarrkirche übertragen werden. Milensius ging nun nach Rom und setzte beim Papste Paul V. durch, dass die Einkünfte des ehemaligen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Schamhaupten der Ingolstädter Universität zugewiesen wurden. Die Hochschule wurde wiederum verpflichtet, aus diesen Einkünften 400 Gulden zum Unterhalt des Augustiner-Studienseminars jährlich beizutragen. Auf diese Weise schuf Milensius die wirtschaftliche Grundlage des künftigen Klosters, das nicht von der Kollektur allein leben konnte. Am 2. Mai 1606 wurde die Kirche durch den Generalvikar des Eichstätter Bischofs an den Vertreter des Ordens, P. Augustin Fuess, übergeben. Im ehemaligen Benefiziatenhaus richteten die Mönche ihre Zellen ein. Der Bau des eigentlichen Klostergebäudes wurde erst um das Jahr 1610 begonnen. Der Herzog bot dazu mit einer Spende von 1000 Gulden seine hilfreiche Hand. Das Ingolstädter Seminar der Augustiner sollte in erster Linie die zum Studium befähigten Ordenskleriker aufnehmen. Als erster Prior wird P. Rupert Engelschal genannt und unter den ersten 6 Studenten befand sich Jordan Degler, der spätere Münchner Prior und Provinzial. Das Ingolstädter Seminar trug in der Folgezeit viel dazu bei, dass sich der Orden im 17. Jahrhundert wieder günstig entwickelte, denn die gründliche theologische Ausbildung der Kleriker kam der gesamten Provinz zugute. So konnte das in Salzburg 1654 tagende Provinzkapitel daran gehen, die Niederlassung zum Vollkloster zu erheben und 4 Patres dorthin zu schicken. Als dieser Beschluss des Kapitels dem Eichstätter Bischof zu Gehör kam, erhob er dagegen Einspruch, da der Weltklerus und die Mendikantenklöster in Ingolstadt Schädigungen ihrer Einkünfte befürchteten, und verlangte die Reduzierung des Konventes auf den früheren Status. Der Provinzial konnte aber immer wieder einen Aufschub des gestellten Termins erreichen. Selbst noch im Jahre 1677 bemühte sich der Provinzial Simplician Niesser um eine friedliche Lösung dieser Frage. Am 2. Januar 1683 konnten endlich die Augustiner mit Hilfe des Kurfürsten Max Emanuel die Erhebung ihres Studienseminars zum ordentlichen Konvent beim Bischof Marquard von Eichstätt

durchsetzen. Dieser unklare Zustand trug wahrscheinlich auch dazu bei, dass der Orden dem Wallfahrtsort Bettbrunn immer wieder seine Aushilfen anbot und schliesslich die Pfarrei dieses Ortes dem Ingolstädter Kloster 1690 inkorporiert wurde. Bald erwies sich für das Wirken der Patres die Schutterkapelle als zu klein und Prior German Auer (1734-1740), ein Sohn Ingolstadts, setzte alles daran, um einen neuen Kirchenbau aufzuführen. Der bayerische Kurfürst unterstützte das Kloster nach Kräften mit Sach- und Geldzuwendungen. Im Jahre 1740 konnte der Eichstätter Weihbischof Johann A. Nieberlein das neue Gotteshaus mit seinen 7 Altären einweihen. Die Kirche ist eines der schönsten Baudenkmäler des Rokokos in Ingolstadt und nach ihrer genialen Struktur wahrscheinlich ein Werk von Johann Michael Fischer. Die Fresken der Deckengemälde schuf der Hofmaler J. B. Zimmermann. Die Altarblätter hatten anerkannte Meister, wie der Hofmaler B. A. Albrecht und F. Hölzl gemalt. Wie schon vermerkt, hatte die bayerische Provinz die Niederlassung in Ingolstadt vornehmlich als Studienkloster gegründet. Daher sollten hier auch immer nur Prioren eingesetzt werden, die bereits an einem Ordensstudium doziert hatten. An der Universität studierten alle diejenigen Kleriker, die künftig für eine Lektur an den Ordensstudien in München oder Regensburg ausersehen waren. Seelsorglich wirkten die Patres nur in der geistlichen Leitung der Bruderschaft zu Ehren des hl. Sebastian und Maria-Trost (1696) und betreuten die Wallfahrt zur « Schuttermutter ». Unter den Prioren von Ingolstadt befanden sich viele, die später als Provinziale wesentlich zum Aufbau des Ordens beitrugen, hier seien nur genannt Eleutherius Agricola (Prior 1613-1615), Jordan Degler (1615), Augustin Höfler (1694-1697), Bonaventura Gästorffer (1740-1749), Alipius Gsodschneider (1767-1770) und der gelehrte Agnellus Merz (1774-1778). Am 20. Februar 1802 verkündete der Aufhebungskommissär in Ingolstadt den Augustinern die Schliessung des Konventes. Nach Anlegung der nötigen Inventare wurden am 5. März 5 Patres in das Zentralkloster nach München geschickt, die übrigen 3 Patres brauchte man noch für die Liquidation der Güter. Das Bräuhaus musste der letzte Prior Johannes Chr. Nikolai den Franziskanern übergeben, die am 30. März hier einzogen, denn die Gebäude der Augustiner waren als Aussterbekloster für den Franziskanerorden bestimmt worden.

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Königsberg

LK Hofheim, Ufr, Diöz. Würzburg. — Patron : St. Maria.

Im nördlichen Teil von Unterfranken, nicht weit von der Veste Coburg liegt das Städtchen Königsberg, das nach der Sage von Kaiser Karl dem Grossen gegründet worden sein soll. Hier hatte die Witwe Kunigunde von Sternberg 1363 ein Klösterchen für die Augustiner gestiftet, nachdem schon vorher Papst Urban IV. seine Bestätigung dafür gegeben hatte. 3 Jahre später erbat sich die adelige Stifterin von ihrer Lehensherrin Sophia, der verwitweten Markgräfin von Brandenburg, die Befreiung der Klostergüter von sämtlichen Lehensverpflichtungen. Auch diese Markgräfin wird in der Klostertradition als eine freudige Spenderin gefeiert, die neben Gülten zugunsten der Kirche auch einen Altar erbauen liess. 1391 wurde die Klosterkirche fertiggestellt und noch im gleichen Jahr von dem Würzburger Weihbischof, dem Augustiner Johannes von Karlsstadt, eingeweiht. Die noch erhaltenen urkundlichen Ueberlieferungen aus dem 14. und 15. Jahrhundert enthalten vor allem Schenkungen von Adeligen und Bürgern an das Kloster. An erster Stelle steht die Familie Truchsess von Wetzhausen, die das Kloster als ihr Hauskloster betrachtete und es mit sehr vielen Zuwendungen bedachte. Im Jahre 1444 wurde eine hohe Geldsumme, die wahrscheinlich von der gleichen Familie stammte, zu einem Erweiterungsbau der Klosterkirche gebraucht. Der Grundbesitz des Klosters war ziemlich zerstreut ; Getreidegülten flossen ihm aus verschiedenen Ortschaften zu. Bekannt wurde die beim Kloster bestehende Agelblumenschwesternschaft, die anlässlich der Weihe der Kirche 1391 gegründet wurde. Adelige Damen stifteten in der Kirche einen feierlichen Jahrtag und viele andere fromme Stiftungen kamen in den späteren Jahren dem Kloster zugute. Die Schwesternschaft wurde 1489 erneuert und bildete gleichsam den 3. Orden des hl. Augustinus. Zu ihr gehörten Mitglieder aus 34 fränkischen Adelsfamilien. In der Seelsorge wirkten die Mönche besonders in den Gemeinden Ober- und Unterhohenried, in Römertshofen, Junkersdorf, Altershausen und Sylbach. Als Heinrich Zolter, der Organisator der strengen Observanz der sächsichen Kongregation, die reformwilligen Konvente der sächsisch-thüringischen Provinz, zu der ja Königsberg gehörte, vereinigte, zählte es neben den Konventen Magdeburg, Dresden, Waldheim und Himmelspforten zu jenen Klöstern, die

den Grundstock der deutschen Augustinerkongregation bildeten. Unter dem Nachfolger Zolters, dem Dresdner Andreas Proles, löste sich 1460 Königsberg wieder aus der Observanz und unterstellte sich dem Provinzial. Obwohl der Generalvikar den Brüdern in Königsberg mit dem päpstlichen Banne drohte, weigerten sich die dortigen Augustiner hartnäckig, wieder unter seine Obedienz zu treten. Der Kampf zwischen Königsberg und Proles verschärfte sich noch mehr, als der Königsberger Prior, der Lektor Johannes Anherr, 1473 Provinzial von Sachsen-Thüringen wurde. Proles glaubte nun mit weltlicher Gewalt die Reformation des Klosters durchsetzen zu können. Herzog Wilhelm von Sachsen hatte dem Konvent Königsberg in der Fastenzeit 1475 die Reformierung angekündigt. Andreas Proles erbat sich für die gewaltsame Einführung der strengen Observanz vom Herzog den weltlichen Arm seines Schwagers, des Pflegers Heinrich von Brandenstein von der Veste Coburg. Ende August 1475 hatte der Generalvikar sein Ziel in Königsberg erreicht. Das Endergebnis dieser willkürlichen, gewaltsamen Einbeziehung Königsbergs in die von Proles getragene Klosterreform bedeutete für diese wahrlich keine Stärkung. Der General Jacobus de Aquila kassierte daraufhin das Vikariat des Proles und zugleich dessen Sonderstellung und alle Privilegien, die er den unierten Konventen zugestanden hatte. Königsberg und die anderen reformierten Klöster kehrten in den Provinzialverband zurück. Selbst als Proles während seines zweiten Vikariates 1477 mit dem Provinzial einen Vertrag über die bereits reformierten Klöster abgeschlossen hatte, merkte man erst nach schriftlicher Fixierung dieser Absprache, dass man Königsberg, auf das Proles ja immer grossen Wert gelegt hatte, unerwähnt gelassen hatte. Aber Johannes Anherr, der jetzt wieder das Königsberger Priorat verwaltete, konnte die unabhängige Position des Konventes festigen. Erst um 1490 gelang es, die Königsberger Kommunität wieder zur Observanz zurückzuführen. Mit Beginn der Glaubensspaltung neigten die Augustiner in Königsberg sehr den reformfreudigen Brüdern in Wittenberg zu. Martin Luther war wahrscheinlich auf seiner Reise zum Heidelberger Kapitel 1518 in Königsberg eingekehrt. Die meisten Mönche sympathisierten mit der neuen Lehre Anlässlich der Bauernunruhen kam es auch in Königsberg zur Scheidung der Geister. Nachdem die Bauern das Kloster geplündert hatten, verliessen die Augustiner Königsberg. Die Wertsachen hatte man noch zu Beginn der Unruhen auf die Veste Coburg verbracht. Der Prior Georg Büttner erhielt eine Ab-

fertigungssumme ausbezahlt und ging an die Universität Wittenberg ; die Mönche stellten sich zum Grossteil in den Dienst der neuen Lehre als Prediger. Bei einer Visitation des Coburger Reformators, Balthasar Düring, war 1528 nur noch der Augustiner Nikolaus Fleischmann als Administrator der Klöstergüter, die an die Coburger Herrschaft fielen, tätig. Die Klostergebäude wurden wegen ihrer Baufälligkeit für keine weiteren Zwecke verwendet und heute zeugt nur noch eine alte Steinmauer von der Existenz dieses Klosters.

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Kulmbach

Mfr, Diöz. Bamberg — Patron : St. Maria Augustin.

Das in dem ehemaligen brandenburgischen Städtchen Kulmbach gelegene Augustinerkloster wurde 1340 von dem Burggrafen Johann II. von Nürnberg gegründet. Das Kloster lag in der Vorstadt, am Fuss der wehrhaften Plassenburg nahe am Ufer des Weismains. 1349 gab Bischof Friedrich von Bamberg seine Zustimmung zum Bau des Klosters. Als grosse Gönner der jungen Gründung erwiesen sich die Burggrafen von Nürnberg und namentlich die Gemahlin Friedrich V., die dem Konvent zahlreiche Wohltaten zukommen liess. Zum Dank für die Stiftung wurde der Hohenzoller mit seiner Gemahlin 1353 vom Provinzial Ulrich von Wien in den geistlichen Ordensverband der Augustiner aufgenommen. Kulmbach gehörte seit seiner Gründung zur bayerischen Provinz. Den Grundstock für die Einkünfte des Klosters bildete die Pfarrei Untersteinach, wo sich fast immer 3 Patres zur Ausübung der seelsorglichen Verpflichtungen aufhielten, sowie die Kapellen in Guttenberg und Kauernburg. Bei Untersteinach mussten gegen 30 Höfe in 20 Ortschaften dem Kloster ihre Abgaben entrichten. Durch den Erwerb der Güter zog im Kloster Wohlstand ein und die Disziplin begann mit der Zeit nachzulassen. Daher bemühte sich der Burggraf Johann III. die Reformierung seiner Augustiner durchzuführen. Als Hauptgrund für den Verfall der Klosterzucht wurde das Terminieren der Mönche genannt, das die Augustiner trotz ihres wirtschaftlichen Wohlstandes nicht aufgeben wollten. Der Burggraf suchte Abhilfe beim Papst und Ordensgeneral zu erreichen. Den Brüdern wurde 1420 das Almosensammeln auf dem Lande verboten. Als Ausgleich für den Entgang dieser Einkünfte schenkte ihnen der Burggraf einige Höfe und

Waldungen. Zugleich beschloss das Provinzialkapitel von Seemannshausen, dass im Konvent baldigst eine Visitation abgehalten werden sollte und nur solche Brüder in die Klostergemeinschaft Aufnahme finden könnten, die die strenge Regel auf sich zu nehmen bereit wären. Der Ordensobere bestätigte 1424 die Reformation des Konventes und gab dem Prior besondere Vorrechte, die denen der Vikare der Generalkonvente glichen. Diese wichtigen Vorrechte liess Papst Martin V. 1425 durch den Würzburger Kanoniker Anton von Rotenhan bekräftigen. Die unabhängige Stellung des Konventes wurde aber bereits 1430 durch den Einfall der Hussiten schwer erschüttert. Die Stadt Kulmbach und das Kloster wurden damals in Schutt und Asche gelegt. Nur durch Verkäufe von Besitzungen konnte der damalige Prior die nötigen Mittel aufbringen, um den Wiederaufbau des Klosters zu wagen. Damals trat das Klosters den Herren von Guttenberg die Kapelle zu Guttenberg und den Zehent der dazu gehörigen Ortschaften Streichenreut und Pfaffenreut ab, wofür es 180 Gulden Entschädigung erhielt. 1444 gestattete Burggraf Johann III. den Augustinern, die Zölle, die ihnen von den Burggrafen in Kulmbach, Trebgast und Berneck geschenkt worden waren, durch Zöllner einzuheben. Um den Aerger mit dem Zoll loszuwerden, verkauften sie diese Rechte 1466 den Markgrafen. Prior Conrad Pleidtner erbaute für dieses Geld den Kreuzgang. Von 1446 bis 1449 war Lucas Schondorf Prior. Nach seinem Priorat hatte ihn der General als Vikar in Kulmbach ernannt. Doch 1452 entband ihn der Ordensobere dieses Amtes und entzog ihm das passive und aktive Wahlrecht sowie die Klosterzelle und den Lebensunterhalt im Konvente. Den Brüdern wurde verboten, dem Exprior Dr. Lucas von Kulmbach zu gehorchen und ihm Unterkunft zu geben. Der eigentliche Grund dieser scharfen Massnahmen des Generals ist unbekannt. Wahrscheinlich ist Dr. Lucas Schondorf daraufhin Pfarrer in Wunsee geworden. 1460 baten die Mönche den Provinzial Johannes Ludovici, den späteren Weihbischof von Regensburg, in ihr Kloster zu kommen, damit er sie im geistlichen Leben und in der strengen Observanz bestärke. Demgemäss stand damals der Konvent noch unter der Jurisdiktion des bayerischen Provinzials. Aus dieser Zeit ist uns auch der Katalog der sehr ansehnlichen Bibliothek mit den dort verzeichneten 288 Handschriften erhalten geblieben. Dieser Katalog dokumentiert das rege wissenschaftliche Leben dieser Ordensgemeinschaft. 1468 hatte der Markgraf Albrecht von Brandenburg eine Visitation durch den Generalvikar der reformierten

Konvente, Simon Lindner von Nürnberg, angeordnet. Auf Albrechts Wunsch hin wurde der Kulmbacher Konvent der Union der reformierten Konvente angeschlossen. Diese Verbindung war jedoch nur vorübergehend. Erst der Generalvikar Andreas Proles sorgte für eine Erneuerung dieser Bindung mit der sächsischen Augustinerkongregation und berief im Jahre 1488 alle Vertreter der reformierten Klöster nach Kulmbach. Seit dieser Zeit verblieb der Kulmbacher Konvent bei der Reformkongregation. Proles selbst hielt sich hier auf, nachdem er 1503 Johannes von Staupitz die Verantwortung für die Provinz übergeben hatte, und starb hier noch im gleichen Jahre. Markgraf Albrecht hatte dem Kloster 1484 das Gericht über dessen Untertanen zuerkannt und behielt sich nur die hohe Gerichtsbarkeit vor. Anlässlich der Errichtung des Franziskanerklosters St. Jobst bei Bayreuth erhielten die Mönche als Entschädigung für die Preisgabe ihrer Terminierrechte eine Stiftung von jährlich 3 Zentnern Karpfen. Auf seiner Rechtfertigungsreise nach Augsburg 1518 hatte Luther im Kulmbacher Konvent Rast gemacht und die Brüder für sich gewonnen. Als nun das Gefüge der Kongregation durch die inneren Schwierigkeiten, vor allem aber durch den Schritt Luthers erschüttert wurde, versuchte der Generalvikar noch einmal mit Hilfe einer ausserordentlichen Versammlung die Lage zu klären und die Gemüter zu beruhigen. Das Kapitel wurde für den 21. April 1520 nach Kulmbach einberufen. Die Kulmbacher Augustiner folgten wohl bald dem Beispiel ihrer Nürnberger Mitbrüder. Nikolaus Besler, der frühere Generalprokurator der Kongregation an der Kurie, hatte zwar nach der Auflösung der Nürnberger Ordensgemeinschaft in Kulmbach Zuflucht gesucht, jedoch waren seine Tage auch hier gezählt, denn die Mönche unseres Konventes sympathisierten offen mit den reformatorischen Bestrebungen. Schon 1528 waltete in der Augustinerkirche ein von Luther eingesetzter Prediger seines Amtes und den Augustinern wurde die Verpflichtung auferlegt, ihn zu erhalten, obgleich sie sich anfangs dagegen gesträubt hatten und das Geld lieber für die Studien ihrer jüngeren Mitbrüder auf der Universität Wittenberg anzuwenden gedacht hatten. Die Augustiner blieben unter dem Prior Johannes Steudel auch noch nach der offiziellen Annahme der lutherischen Lehre 1528 im Kloster wohnen. Noch 1541 wird ein Prior Rupertus Gorel mit 6 Konventualen genannt. Nach 1547 war das Kloster ausgestorben und Markgraf Albrecht bestellte 1549 für die Klostergüter einen weltlichen Verwalter. Bei den Kämpfen zwischen Markgraf Albrecht Alcibiades mit den

gegen ihn verbündeten Bundesgenossen wurde Kulmbach 1553 eingenommen und zerstört. Hierbei wurde auch das Kloster vernichtet. Die Kirche wurde bald darauf von den Bürgern niedergerissen.

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Lauingen

LK Dillingen, Schw., Diöz. Augsburg — Patron : St. Thomas a Villanova.

Dieses Kloster der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz wurde gegen das Jahr 1302 gegründet. Als erste Urkunde ist die Schenkung eines Gutes in Mörslingen im Jahre 1309 erhalten. Unter dem Prior Nikolaus wurde das Kloster durch einen Anbau so erweitert, dass schon 1403 das Generalkapitel hier abgehalten werden konnte. Um 1420 wurde die schon bei der Gründung erbaute Kirche vergrössert und drei weltliche Pfleger sorgten für die Vollendung des Turmes. Prior Johannes Eberhard erhielt 1425 vom Augsburger Bischof die Erlaubnis an allen Orten der Diözese Beicht zu hören und zu predigen. Johann Bosch, Prior von 1450-1462, nahm als Definitor der Provinz eine führende Stellung ein. Als das Kloster 1474 wegen einer Darlehensaufnahme in eine schwierige finanzielle Lage gekommen war, erwarb sich der neue Prior Johann Scheifelin ein dankbares Gedenken durch die Ueberwindung derselben. Als berühmtester Augustiner weilte hier Kaspar Ammann, der das Amt eines Priors von 1483-1524 verwaltete. Er stammte aus Hasselt in Belgien, hatte in Italien studiert, war ein gründlicher Kenner des Hebräischen und leitete von 1500-1503 und 1515-1518 auch die Provinz. Obwohl er mit der neuen Lehre der Reformer sympathisierte und ihre Werke studierte, blieb er der alten Lehre treu. Die schlimmen Wirkungen der Neuerung aufs klösterliche Leben musste der Prior Georg Fronmüller kosten, unter dem die Zahl der Konventualen und die Einkünfte des Klosters immer mehr sanken. Da die Stadt grösstenteils lutherisch geworden war, übergab am 22. Mai 1540 der Prior das Kloster an die Stadt unter der Bedingung, dass die drei übrigen

Augustiner zeit ihres Lebens im Kloster wohnen könnten. Die Stadt verwendete die Gebäude als Schule und Druckerei. 1618 wurde durch den Herzog Wolfgang Wilhelm der katholische Glaube in Lauingen wiederum eingeführt. Seit 1645 bemühten sich die Dominikaner, am Geburtsort ihres grossen Mitbruders, des hl. Albertus Magnus, eine Niederlassung zu gründen und nahmen dafür das verlassene Augustinerkloster in Aussicht, zögerten aber zu lange mit der Verwirklichung. Aber auch die Augustiner hatten ihr Kloster nicht vergessen und auf ihren energischen Einspruch hin gab ihnen ihm Jahre 1655 der Neuburger Herzog Philipp Wilhelm ihr altes Kloster zurück trotz des heftigen Protestes der Stadt. Der Prior P. Amelon von Würzburg setzte die herzogliche Verordnung durch und P. Simplician Agricola übernahm nach einem feierlichen Akte die Klostergebäude. Die Klosteruntertanen von Oberbechingen, Bächingen a. d. Br. und Frauenriedhausen huldigten ihren Grundherrn. Bei der Wiederherstellung stand dem Prior Agricola nur noch P. Nikolaus Benning zur Seite, der sein Nachfolger im Priorate wurde (1657-1660) und als Klosterchronist und Vollender des Kirchenbaues sich einen Namen machte. Zum Kirchenpatron wurde Thomas a Villanova erkoren, der erst 1658 heilig gesprochen war.

Tage bitterer Sorge brachen für das Kloster an, als im Jahre 1669 das Bischöfliche Ordinariat ernstlich sich mit dem Gedanken beschäftigte, das Kloster aufzuheben, da sein Prior Holzapfel und der Lektor Augustin Demeradt 1665 apostasiert hatten und entflohen waren. Unter dem Priorat des P. Onuphrius Schambach (1678-1684) erholte sich der Konvent und das hier 1670 eingerichtete theologische Studium verhalf den Augustinern zu einer bescheidenen Blüte. Prior Johannes Freysleben (1715-1728) übernahm den Umbau der Kirche. Im Herbst 1717 wurde das Gotteshaus fertig, dessen Einrichtung zum grössten Teil von Laienbrüdern hergestellt wurde. Die Klostergebäude erneuerte und vergrösserte erst Prior Placidus Weber (1728-1740). Prior Possidius Bauer (1740-1746) erwies seiner Vaterstadt Lauingen einen unschätzbaren Dienst, als er im österreichischen Erbfolgekrieg durch sein Eingreifen die Stadt vor der Zerstörung rettete. Noch einige Jahre vor der Aufhebung des Klosters vernichtete am 29. April 1790 ein Brand Kloster und Kirche. P. Amadeus Schreiner (1790-1798 und 1802-1804) baute die Gebäude mit einem Kostenaufwand von 20000 Gulden wieder auf. Am 1. September 1802 wurde die Verwaltung des Klosters kurfürstlichen Beamten übertragen, jedoch blieb das Klosterleben weiterhin unangetastet

und erst am 20. März 1804 wurde die endgültige Säkularisation durchgeführt. Die pensionierten Patres konnten bis 1811 im Kloster wohnen, die Bibliothek wurde dem Lyzeum in Dillingen übergeben. Eine Eingabe an König Ludwig I. 1837, das Kloster wieder seinem alten Zweck zuzuführen, blieb ohne Erfolg. In den Ortschaften Unterbechingen, Faimingen, Echenbrunn, Veitsriedhausen und Frauenriedhausen hatten die Augustiner seelsorgliche Funktionen ausgeübt.

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Memmingen

Schw, Diöz. Augsburg — Patron : St. Johannes Bapt., Augustinus.

Ueber die Anfänge des Augustinerklosters in der Reichsstadt Memmingen ist nichts bekannt. Wahrscheinlich ist aber das Kloster aus einer Vereinigung frommer Klausner hervorgegangen, die der Rat der Stadt um 1280 für eine Errichtung eines Ordenshauses in der Stadt gewann. Das Kloster hat auch immer den Rat der Stadt als Stifter anerkannt. Neben dem Prior oblag die Verwaltung des Klostervermögens 2 Ratsmitgliedern. Schon sehr früh übernahmen die Mönche die geistliche Leitung des Klosters St. Elisabeth in der Reichsstadt. 1348 war ihnen der Besitz der Augustinerinnenklause zu Leutkirch zugefallen, deren Nonnen der Schwarze Tod hinweggerafft hatte. Das Kloster gehörte zur bayerischen Provinz und war eines ihrer kleinsten. Das ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass bei der Schuldübernahme der österreichischen Konvente Memmingen den geringsten Anteil zu zahlen hatte. Die Mönche selbst entstammten zum Grossteil den Memminger Bürgerfamilien. 1435 wurde der Memminger Prior Johannes als Visitator für das Mindelheimer Kloster bestellt. Um 1448 liessen die Augustiner ihre Klosterkirche erneuern und im Langhaus 4 Altäre aufstellen. Aus dieser Zeit stammen wahrscheinlich auch die in der Kirche aufgefundenen Wandfresken. Da die Klosterzucht im Memminger Kloster viel zu wünschen übrig liess, ordnete der General auf die Vorstellungen des Rates hin eine Visitation an. Unter dem Prior Stirer wurde der Konvent 1473 vom General von jeder fremden Gerichtsbarkeit befreit und dem Generalvikar der süddeutschen Klöster, Georg Teyninger aus München, unterstellt. Da das Hindernis der Reform die aus Memmingen gebürtigen Mönche waren, wurden diese vom Prior entfernt. 1478 wurde Memmingen zum Generalkonvent ernannt und dadurch dem General direkt unterstellt. Die Einführung der strengen Observanz hatte aber keinen festen Bestand. Die vertriebenen Mönche drangen unter der Führung des Bruders Konrad Mauch in das Kloster ein, nahmen den Prior und die nach der Reform lebenden Mönche gefangen und wählten ihren Führer zum Prior. 1497 hören wir von einem Neubau des Klosters. Inzwischen

muss aber wieder eine Reform stattgefunden haben, denn 1500 ernannte man von Rom aus den Provinzial von Bayern, Johannes Oberdorffer, zum Generalvikar für Memmingen. Ein Jahr später musste der päpstliche Kardinallegat auf Bitten des Memminger Rates die Mönche zur Haltung der strengen Ordensstatuten ermahnen. Peraudi hatte damals dem Kloster die Einkünfte der Propstei St. Nikolaus übertragen. Auf seiner Romreise 1511 war Luther im Memminger Konvent zu Gast. Man zeigt noch heute in der nahen Abtei Ottobeuren das Messgewand, das er bei der Messe getragen haben soll. Der Memminger Augustiner Georg Spenlein stand mit dem Reformator in Verbindung, 1516 schickte ihm Luther sogar seine Rechtfertigungslehre zu. Spenlein nahm als erster die neue Lehre an und wurde später lutherischer Prediger zu Arnstadt in Thüringen. Seit 1503 amtete P. Gregor Roser als Prior im Memminger Konvent und hatte zugleich das Vikariat über das St. Elisabethkloster zu verwalten. Roser war ein Mann von grossem Intellekt, der alle akademischen Stufen bis zum Doktorat durchlaufen hatte, war aber auch ehrgeizig und herrschsüchtig. Im Orden wollte er eine dominierende Stellung erlangen. 1516 hatte Roser anlässlich einer Visitation durch den Ordensgeneral Aegidius von Viterbo die Nonnen des ihm unterstehenden Klosters wegen ihrer laxen Disziplin verklagt. Infolge seiner starren Haltung brachte er es soweit, dass sich die Nonnen schliesslich vom Orden abwandten, den Bischof von Augsburg um Hilfe baten und sich den Rat der Stadt als Schutzherrn erwählten. Roser führte aber auch im eigenen Kloster ein tyrannisches Regiment. Von den im Jahre 1517 noch im Kloster lebenden 17 Mönchen waren nach 1520 nur noch 2 übrig geblieben. Um sein Priorat lebenslänglich verwalten zu können, setzte er alles daran, seinen Konvent von der bayerischen Provinz loszulösen und ihn der schwäbischen einzugliedern. Da griff jedoch der bayerische Provinzobere ein und liess Roser einkerkern. Auf Befehl des Generals musste er aber aus der Haft entlassen werden und sollte wieder in sein Amt eingesetzt werden. Die entschiedene Ablehung der Konventualen verhinderte jedoch diesen Plan. Roser durfte nur noch unter dem neuen Prior Johannes Oster weiterhin im Kloster wohnen. Der Rat der Stadt billigte ihm eine lebenslängliche Pension zu. Die Umtriebe Rosers hatten erwirkt, dass der Rat über das Kloster Macht erhielt, da sich die Mönche immer wieder um Schutz an die Stadtväter gewandt hatten. Ausserdem wurde durch das Verhalten des Priors der Unwille der Bürgerschaft gegen die Geistlich-

keit nur noch verstärkt. Als Schappeler und Blarer die Reformation in Memmingen verkündigten, verliessen immer mehr Augustiner das Kloster. Der Rat liess 1527 die Güter der Augustiner inventarisieren und versuchte ein Jahr später, das Kloster unter seine Pflegschaft zu bringen. Der energische Protest des Priors verhinderte dieses. Wiewohl der Prior und eine kleine Anzahl von Mönchen im alten Glauben verblieben waren, wurden 1531 auf Befehl des Rates die Altäre und Bildnisse aus der Kirche entfernt. Der Prior musste die Stadt verlassen, der Rat nahm das Kloster in seine Verwaltung, die Mönche wurden gezwungen, dem zwinglischen Gottesdienst beizuwohnen. 1538 erlosch endgültig jedes mönchische Leben, als die Stadt das gesamte Besitztum beschlagnahmt hatte. Erst nach dem Siege über den schmalkaldischen Bund wurde die Stadt verpflichtet, die Klöster wieder herzustellen, da sie das sogenannte Interim annehmen musste. Wegen der inzwischen verkauften Güter kam 1551 zwischen der Stadt und dem Bischof und dem Kloster ein Restitutionsvertrag zustande. 1548 wurde das wiedererstandene Kloster in Memmingen der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz zugeteilt. 1579 nahm der apostolische Nuntius Felicianus eine Visitation vor, der i. J. 1584 die des Antonius Keerbeck folgte. Auf dem 1589 unter dem Provinzial Johannes Breson in Memmingen stattfindenden Kapitel löste Johann Georg von Greiffenstein diesen in dem Provinzialat ab. Der bereits früher dem Kloster gehörende Gaishof wurde 1653 dem Kloster wieder zurückgegeben. Der Konvent blieb in den folgenden Jahren immer klein, da die wenigen Besitzungen eine grössere Zahl von Ordensleuten nicht ernähren konnte. Trotz seiner geringen Dotation konnte er aber zum Wiederaufbau der von den Franzosen zerstörten Konvente in Hagenau und Speyer 20 Gulden beisteuern. Einer der bekanntesten Prioren des 18. Jahrhunderts war Mag. Christianus Mauer, der seit 1709 das Kloster leitete, und selbst bei den Protestanten in hohem Ansehen stand. 1715 wurde ihm die Führung der Provinz anvertraut. Die Patres halfen den Weltgeistlichen in der Seelsorge und waren vor allem als Beichtväter bei den benachbarten Adeligen beliebt. Bei der Säkularisation fiel das Memminger Kloster an den Deutschen Orden, wurde aber von diesem durch den Vertrag von 1805 an Bayern abgetreten. Die sämtlichen Klostergebäude mit Ausnahme der 1487 errichteten Priorenwohnung wurden 1850 niedergerissen. In ihr befindet sich z. Z. das katholische Pfarramt.

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Memmingen, St. Elisabeth

Der genaue Gründungszeitpunkt des Augustiner-Nonnenklosters in Memmingen ist nicht bekannt. Als erstes Zeugnis für die Existenz dieses Klosters in der alten schwäbischen Reichsstadt wird eine Schutzbulle des Papstes Alexander IV. genannt. Nach der Heiligsprechung der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen hatten sich nämlich in verschiedenen Städten fromme Frauen zusammengeschlossen, um den Armen zu helfen und Kranke zu pflegen. Eine solche Gemeinschaft hatte sich auch in Memmingen gebildet und ebenfalls die hl. Elisabeth zur Patronin erkoren. Da hier ein Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten bestand, erhielten diese die geistliche Leitung der Nonnen und erreichten es, dass diese die Regel und den Habit des Augustiner-Ordens annahmen ; die Nonnen wurden deshalb im Mittelalter als ' schwarze Schwestern ' bezeichnet. Ihr Kloster stand damals noch ausserhalb der Stadtmauer nahe dem Oberen Tore auf dem Grunde der Frauenkirche und musste deswegen dem Pfarrer dieser Kirche eine jährliche Abgabe von 4 Pfenningen entrichten. Die Mehrzahl der Schwestern entstammte Memminger Bürgerfamilien. Sie lebten von Almosen und den Erträgnissen ihrer Güter in Brunnen, die sie 1285 von Eberhard und Konrad von Landau durch Tausch erworben hatten. Auf diese Weise erlangten sie 1307 auch das Patronat der Kirche zu Landau. Schon früher hatten sie

ein Gut zu Engishausen erstanden und 1293 erwarben sie noch 2 Höfe in Rupprechts und 1 Hof vom Stift Kempten. Erst am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts scheint der Besitz merklich zugenommen zu haben. Die Nonnen lebten wahrscheinlich bis gegen die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts ohne jede strenge Klausur und ihre verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen zu den Memminger Bürgerfamilien brachten es wohl mit sich, dass in ihrem Hause keine strenge Observanz herrschte. Schon 1453 hatte der Memminger Prior Heinrich Stierer auf Bitten des Stadtrates Reformen vorgenommen und neue Statuten vorgeschrieben, aber bereits 1465 war ihr Leben den Bürgern ein solches Aergernis, dass sie den Konvent verschlossen hielten, bis sich die Schwestern bereit zeigten, sowohl in geistlichen wie weltlichen Dingen sich einer neuen Ordnung zu fügen. Man hatte mit solcher Gewalt vorgehen müssen, da die Nonnen sich gegen alle Neuerungen gesträubt und ihre Freiheit nicht hatten preisgeben wollen. Diese gewaltsam auferlegte Reform scheint gewirkt zu haben, denn in späteren Jahren heisst es, dass sie ein ehrsames und gutes klösterliches Leben führten. 1472 liess die Priorin die Kirche umbauen und 1483 den Kreuzgang ausmalen von einem Künstler, der wahrscheinlich aus der Familie der Strigel stammte. Es waren prächtige Fresken, die in den zwanziger Jahres dieses Jahrhunderts wieder freigelegt wurden. Mit den Stiften Ottobeuren und Isny ging das Kloster 1503 Gebetsverbrüderungen ein. Im gleichen Jahre ernannte der Ordensgeneral den Memminger Prior Gregor Roser zum Vikar von St. Elisabeth. Die Nonnen fügten sich aber nicht. Daraufhin ermahnte sie der General in einem Schreiben, sie sollten sich doch ihrem Prälaten, dem Prior, beugen, strenge Klausur halten, keinen Weltpriester in der Kirche Messe feiern lassen und die Konstitutionen des Ordens halten. Im Februar 1516 erschien der General Aegidius von Viterbo in eigener Person zur Visitation und nahm bei dieser Gelegenheit drei Jungfrauen in den Orden auf. Diese Visitation hatte vor allem die vollkommene Unterwerfung des Klosters unter den Prior Roser bezweckt. Die anlässlich der Visitation erlassenen Satzungen waren jedoch den Schwestern nicht gleich verdeutscht worden. Als diese nach der Abreise des Generals dem Konvent bekannt wurden, baten sie den Prior Roser, die strengen Anordnungen besonders die der Klausur zu mildern. Da dieser sich aber hierzu nicht bereit erklärte, verfassten die Nonnen eine Beschwerdeschrift gegen den Augustinerprior. Darin behaupteten sie, dass es nur die strenge Klausur mit sich bringe, dass keine Stiftungen für

die Kirche gemacht werden und dadurch der Konvent keine Mittel aufbringe, die baufällige Kirche zu erneuern. Sie wünschten, dass die Verwaltung dem Bürgermeister und dem Rat der Stadt übergeben werde und diese einen Welt- oder Ordenspriester für den Gottesdienst aufstelle. 1519 verschärfte sich der Gegensatz zwischen den Augustinern und Nonnen derart, dass es zum Bruch kam. Das Augustinerinnenkloster wurde vom Ordensgeneral aufgefordert, die Vorschriften des seinerzeitigen Generals, des inzwischen zum Kardinal erhobenen Aegidius von Viterbo, zu befolgen, falls sie nicht aus dem Orden ausgeschlossen werden wollten. Die Nonnen nahmen unter der Führung der Priorin Hildegard Scheupp den Kampf auf. Der Prior Roser weigerte sich, Gottesdienste in der Schwesternkirche abzuhalten. Ein Prozess vor dem Bischof und dem Papst entschied zu Gunsten des Frauenklosters und das Kloster wurde direkt dem Augsburger Bischof unterstellt. Daraufhin wurde 1520 eine Prädikatur bei der Kirche gestiftet, und deren Besetzung dem Rat der Stadt übertragen. Als erster Prediger wurde Christoph Gerung bestellt, der mit seinen reformatorischen Neigungen die Nonnen für die lutherische Lehre vorbereitete. Ihm folgte der Kaplan Ulin, der sich aber bald dem neuen Glauben zuwandte. Der Ausschluss des Nonnenklosters aus dem Augustinerorden wurde 1521 vom General ausgesprochen. Die ständige Unzufriedenheit der Nonnen und die lutherische Haltung der letzten beiden Prediger brachte es mit sich, dass die neue Lehre im Frauenkloster sehr bald angenommen wurde. 40 Nonnen traten im Laufe der Jahre aus, 1528 waren auch die letzten Nonnen dem alten Glauben untreu geworden. Im Februar des nächsten Jahres übergab die Priorin Susanna Besserer dem städtischen Spital das Vermögen des Klosters mit der Auflage, dass die noch vorhandenen Nonnen eine Leibrente empfangen und ein Prediger sowie ein Lehrer für die Erteilung des lateinischen Unterrichts erhalten werden sollten. Der Augsburger Bischof focht 1551 die Säkularisation durch den Rat an, gab sich aber schliesslich mit einer Ablösung von 8000 Gulden zufrieden.

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Mindelheim

Schw. Diöz. Augsburg — Patron : Maria Verkündigung.

Die ersten Anfänge des Mindelheimer Klosters gehen auf das Dörflein Bedernau zurück, wo 1250 Schwigger von Mindelberg den Wilhelmiten ein Kloster erbaute und diesen zur Dotation ihres Lebensunterhaltes die Kirche, den Zehent und die Mühle übergeben hatte. Infolge der Union der verschiedenen Eremiten-Kongregationen 1256 wurden auch die Bedernauer Wilhelmiten in den Augustinerverband aufgenommen. Diesen Mönchen gewährte Bischof Hartmann von Augsburg 1262 seinen Schutz sowie das Recht des Beichthörens und Predigens. Um seine vom Papst übertragenen seelsorglichen Pflichten besser und wirksamer erfüllen zu können, verlegte der Orden 1263 das Kloster in das nahe Mindelheim. Am 11. Mai des folgenden Jahres konsekrierte der Augsburger Oberhirte ihre Kirche, die der Verkündigung Mariens geweiht war. Die Augustiner hatten in den ersten Jahren viele Schwierigkeiten zu bestehen. Immer mehr befürchtete der Klerus eine Schmälerung seiner Einkünfte durch die Augustiner. Der Mindelheimer Dekan musste sogar auf Veranlassung des Bischofs Leo Thundorfer durch den Augsburger

Dompfarrer exkommuniziert werden. 1286 verheerte eine Feuersbrunst die mit grosser Mühe erbauten Klostergebäude. 1288 kamen die Mönche in den Besitz der Pfarrechte von Mindelau. Die Herren von Mindelberg waren reiche und freigebige Gönner des Klosters. Neben zahlreichen Beisteuern in Geld verpflichteten sie sich, für die neuerbaute Kirche einen vollkommen ausgestatteten Altar zu stiften und den Mönchen den Zehnten zu Mindelheim käuflich zu überlassen. Die Augustiner erwarben 1292 das an ihren Konvent angrenzende Nonnenkloster und zahlten den noch lebenden Nonnen ausserdem ein Leibgeding. Obgleich der Konvent auf Grund seines Besitzes kaum mit wirtschaftlichen Sorgen zu rechnen hatte, beschlossen doch 1299 die Prioren von München und Mindelheim, die Niederlassung in ein Frauenkloster umzuwandeln. Diese Umbesetzung währte jedoch nicht lange, denn nach 1315 waren die Augustiner wiederum in Mindelheim. Im 14. Jahrhundert sind vom Kloster fast nur Gütererwerbungen zu berichten. Durch Tausch erhielten sie von dem Lehensherrn, dem Fürsten Friedrich von Teck, die Lehenschaft und Vogtei der Pfarrkirche zu Westernach. Neben diesem Fürsten gehörte auch Herzog Leopold von Oesterreich und viele andere Adelige zu ihren Wohltätern. Ablassbriefe von Kardinälen und Bischöfen trugen zur finanziellen Stärkung des Konventes bei. Als anlässlich des 1403 in Lauingen tagenden Generalkapitels der Generalprior und einige Doktoren des Ordens von dem Ritter von Hohenegg gefangen genommen wurden, war es vorwiegend dem Mindelheimer Prior Georg von Teck, dem Sohne des Herzogs Friedrich, zu verdanken, dass die Freigabe der Ordensmitglieder erfolgte. Ein Professe des Klosters war Hermann Eurab von Mindelheim, Theologieprofessor und Weihbischof von Prag, der zu den ersten Opfern des Hussitismus gehörte. Dass auch hier die Klosterzucht am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts nachgelassen hatte, zeigt die auf Veranlassung des Ulrich von Frundsberg veranlasste und vom General Jacobus de Aquila 1472 durchgeführte Unterstellung des Klosters unter die unmittelbare Jurisdiktion der Ordensleitung. Der Münchner Prior Paulus Weigl wurde als Generalvikar eingesetzt. Um dem Konvent die Reformierung zu erleichtern, gab der General dem Kloster neue Privilegien und bestimmte 1475 den Magister Georg Teyninger aus München zu seinem Vertreter. Diese Exemption wurde jedoch 1486 wieder aufgehoben, da sie sich für die Reform nicht als glücklich erwiesen hatte. Der Sohn des Mindelheimer Grundherren, Bischof Ulrich von Trient, bat 1489 den

bayerischen Provinzial, den Mindelheimer Konvent zu reformieren. Der päpstliche Legat Peraudi bestimmte Andreas Proles, eine Visitation des Klosters durchzuführen und Proles sah in diesem Auftrag einen willkommenen Anlass, den Konvent in die Obedienz der Reformkongregation einzugliedern. Der Generalvikar Mag. Johannes von Staupitz hielt für die deutsche Augustinerkongregation 1504 in Mindelheim ein Kapitel ab und setzte nach einer Visitation im Jahre 1517 seinen langjährigen Reisebegleiter Nikolaus Besler als Prior hier ein. Sein Vorgänger, Johannes Mathei, hatte während seiner Amtszeit (1511-1517) vor allem die humanistischen Studien gepflegt und von Georg von Frundsberg eine Reihe wertvoller Bücher geschenkt erhalten. Nikolaus Besler (1517-1519) übertrag bald wieder seinem Vorgänger das Priorat, der jedoch kurz nach dem Wittenberger Kapitel sich den dortigen Mitbrüdern anschloss und 1523 den Orden verliess. Die Lehre Martin Luthers hatte auch auf den Mindelheimer Konvent übergegriffen. Durch den Austritt fast aller Ordensmitglieder löste sich 1526 das Kloster von selbst auf. Die Verwaltung übernahmen als Vogtherren die Herren von Frundsberg. 1585 versuchte der bayerische Provinzial Antonius Keerbeck mit Hilfe Herzog Wilhelms V. eine Restitution des Ordenshauses zu erreichen. Auch der Provinzial Mauritius Tertius bemühte sich 1591-1593 um eine Wiederbesiedlung. Im Jahre 1604 versuchte ein italienischer Augustiner, Dominikus Leoncinus, sich mittels betrügerischer Machinationen in den Besitz des Klosters zu setzen, was ihm aber durch das rechtzeitige Einschreiten des Generalvikars Milensius nicht gelang. 1618 übergaben die Fugger, die Nachfolger der Frundsberg, das Kloster dem Jesuitenorden. Bemerkenswert ist noch die Tatsache, dass der Grund, auf dem das Kloster erbaut war, Reichslehen war, was in den Urkunden des Hochstifts Augsburg im 14. Jahrhundert immer wieder hervorgehoben wird.

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München

Obb, Diöz. München-Freising — Patron : St. Johannes Baptista, Johannes Evangelista, Salvator, Brigitta.

In der Haupt- und Residenzstadt der bayerischen Herzöge haben die Augustiner verhältnismässig spät eine Niederlassung errichtet. Im Bistum Freising selbst waren die Mönche schon seit 1284 tätig. Erst nach dem Regensburger Generalkapitel und durch die Initiative des Provinzials Heinrich von Friemar waren die bayerischen Herzöge für den Orden gewonnen worden. Nachdem der Bischof Emicho von Freising am 31. März 1294 dem Orden seinen Konsens gegeben hatte, nahm nach 4 Tagen Herzog Rudolf den offiziellen weltlichen Gründungsakt vor. Der Herzog nahm den neuen Orden unter seinen Schutz und verschiedene Bischöfe stellten Ablassbriefe aus. Die Augustiner übernahmen die St. Johannes-Kapelle auf dem Haberfelde vor dem westlichen Stadttore und bauten hier ein Kloster mit einer neuen Kirche, die um 1315 fertiggestellt wurde. Rein wirtschaftlich entwickelte sich das Ordenshaus recht gut. Schon 1322 protestierte die Münchner Gemeinde gegen die Steuerfreiheit der beiden Bettelorden in der Stadt. Die Wittelsbacher blieben eifrige Förderer des Klosters. Sie betrachteten das Kloster als ihre Stiftung. In dem kirchenpolitischen Streit zwischen Papst- und Kaisertum unter Ludwig dem Bayern schlugen sich die Mönche auf die Seite ihres Landesherrn. Der Prior Konrad Tattendorfer wurde Beichtvater des Kaisers, brachte den Vertrag zwischen Ludwig und Friedrich dem Schönen auf der Trausnitz zuwege und wurde schliesslich vom Gegenpapst Alexander VI. zum Bischof von Osimo ernannt. Er blieb bis zu seinem Tode oberster Kaplan des Kaisers. Neben ihm bekleideten noch 2 andere Augustiner die Stellen von Hofkaplänen. 1385 gründete das Münchner Kloster unter dem Prior Magister Johannes Rushaimer den Konvent zu Rattenberg in Tirol, noch im gleichen Jahr wurde der Prior Regens des Ordensstudiums in Prag. 1397 tagte das gesamte Generalkapitel im Münchner Kloster. Dieses Kapitel grenzte die Sammelgebiete der Münchner und Trientiner Brüder genau ab. Die Urkunden bringen häufig Nachrichten von Schwierigkeiten der Brüder in ihren Terminierbezirken, Volk und Geistlichkeit hinderten die Mönche am Almosensammeln und an den damit verbundenen seelsorglichen Funktionen. Bischof Nikodemus von Freising stützte aber hierin die Mönche und ernannte sogar einen ihrer Konventualen, den Hofprediger Petrus Ulmer, zum Weihbischof. Dieser Freisinger Suffragan konnte 1449 den erweiterten gotischen Kirchenbau konsekrieren, der unter dem Prior Erasmus Günther erstanden war. Neben dem Prior ragte damals der Lektor Paulus Weigl hervor, der 1470 vom General zum Vikar der

exemten Klöster in Süddeutschland aufgestellt worden war. Dieses Amt wurde 1475 dem Münchner Magister Georg Teyninger übertragen. Damals hatte Proles in Franken und Sachsen unter dem Schutz der Kurie und des sächsischen Herzogs eine rege Reformtätigkeit entfaltet und die Grundlage für die Konstituierung der deutschen Augustinerkongregation geschaffen. Teyninger versuchte nun auf süddeutschem Boden etwas Aehnliches unter dem Protektorat des Ordensgenerals zu errichten. 1473 hatte der General auch den Münchner Konvent von jeder untergeordneten Jurisdiktion des Provinzials befreit, das heisst, der Münchner Konvent wurde Generalkonvent und hatte nur Rom Obedienz zu leisten. Die Exemtion scheint den Mönchen jedoch nicht zum Vorteil gewesen zu sein. Herzog Albrecht IV., der sich für die Ordenszucht seiner Klöster verantwortlich fühlte, berichtete auch über das Augustinerkloster nach Rom. Daraufhin erhielt der Freisinger Bischof von Papst Sixtus IV. die Weisung, die Reformierung des Augustinerklosters durchzuführen. Am 30. November 1481 wurden reformierte Mönche in das Münchner Kloster eingeführt und die sich widersetzenden Brüder wurden in andere Klöster abgeschoben. Proles scheint hierbei noch nicht aktiv eingegriffen zu haben, da er erst 1488 zum Generalvikar auch für die reformierten Konvente in Bayern ernannt worden war. 1481 starb der ehemalige Münchner Prior Johannes Perger, Weihbischof von Freising und Brixen, und wurde in der Klosterkirche begraben. Eine besonders bedeutende Stellung erlangte das Kloster, als der Magister Johannes von Staupitz 1500 zum Prior gewählt wurde. Staupitz war Professe des Münchner Klosters, hatte in Tübingen studiert, hier seine akademischen Grade erworben und wurde 1503 vom Kurfürsten Friedrich dem Weisen zur Gründung der Wittenberger Universität berufen. Im gleichen Jahr bestellten ihn die reformierten Klöster zum Generalvikar. In München übernahm Nikolaus Besler das Priorat. Ihn schickte Staupitz 1505 nach Italien zu Verhandlungen mit der lombardischen Kongregation. Besler erreichte eine Unierung der beiden Reformkongregationen und bekleidete bis 1508 in Rom die Stelle eines Generalprokurators der Kongregation an der Kurie. Staupitz war während seiner Tätigkeit als Vikar häufig Gast im Münchner Konvent und erlangte für das materielle Wohl der Münchner Brüder manche finanziellen Vorteile. 1515 hatte Staupitz Wenzel Linck zum Prior eingesetzt, der 2 Jahre später wegen seiner glänzenden Predigtgabe in den humanistischen Kreis des Nürnberger Konvents versetzt wurde und als

letzter Generalvikar den Untergang der deutschen Augustinerkongregation mit verursachte. Staupitz selbst löste sich nach dem Schritt Luthers und nach den Auswirkungen des Wittenberger Kapitels 1522 vom Orden los und starb nach seinem Uebertritt in den Benediktinerorden 1524 als Abt von St. Peter in Salzburg. Als die radikalen Elemente in Sachsen die Oberhand gewannen und den gesamten Ordensverband in Mitteldeutschland sprengten, verbot Herzog Wilhelm IV. jeden weiteren Kontakt mit den sächsischen Augustinern. Papst Hadrian VI. befreite das Münchner Kloster 1523 von der Obedienz gegen die Kongregation. Dem Wirken des Priors Wolfgang Kappelmaier, der selbst einst mit Luther an der Wittenberger Universität doziert hatte, war es zuzuschreiben, dass das katholische Bekenntnis in München gefestigt blieb. Der gewaltige Verlust an Ordensmitgliedern, den die Reformation verursachte, nahm dem Orden jede Schwungkraft. Die Münchner Klostergemeinschaft war von 32 auf 7 Mitglieder gesunken. 1535 liess Wilhelm IV. dem Kloster die Einkünfte des St. Nikolaus-Benefiziums in der Neuhauserstrasse zukommen. 1546 predigte Johannes Hoffmeister, der letzte Repräsentant der alten Ordenstradition in der Klosterkirche. Der Herzog hatte ihn vom Reichstag in Regensburg herbeigeholt, um durch die Kraft seiner Predigt die katholische Lehre in seiner Hauptstadt zu festigen. Die jetzt noch im Kloster lebenden 3 Mönche hielten das wirtschaftlich arg mitgenommene Kloster gerade noch am Leben. An der Kirche wirkte der Tegernseer Benediktiner Wolfgang Seidl als Hofprediger. Als die Jesuiten 1559 unter Petrus Canisius nach München kamen, drohte dem einst so mächtigen Münchner Generalkonvent des Augustinerordens die Gefahr der Auflösung. Da nur noch 3 alte Augustiner die Klostergebäude bewohnten, beschloss der Herzog das Gebäude der Gesellschaft Jesu zu übergeben und die Mönche in der Vorstadt Neudeck anzusiedeln. Nur der energische Protest des Ordens verhinderte diesen Plan. Die Jesuiten nahmen aber trotzdem im Kloster Wohnung, bis sie 1582 das neu erbaute Kolleg neben der Michaelskirche beziehen konnten. Wegen des Priestermangels zogen auch im Münchner Konvent italienische Frati ein. Die päpstliche Visitation des Nuntius Ninguarda 1574 hatte diese Massnahme veranlasst. 1575 übernahm Antonius Keerbeck aus Löwen die Leitung des Klosters ; er sorgte vorerst für die wirtschaftliche Gesundung des Klosters und erreichte 1580 die Unierung des leerstehenden Ramsauer Klosters mit dem Münchner. Er ist einer der vielen niederdeutschen Patres, die damals die bayerische

Ordensprovinz erneuerten. 1605 erschien der italienische Augustiner Felix Milensius als Generalvikar in der bayerischen Herzogsstadt und erwirkte von hier aus die Gründung des Ingolstädter Augustinerseminars, um für begabte Kleriker ein Studium an der dortigen Universität zu ermöglichen. Die Provinz hatte sich zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts anscheinend soweit erholt, dass Herzog Wilhelm V. i. J. 1611 der Ordensleitung schreiben konnte, in Zukunft keine italienischen Patres in bayerische Klöster zu schicken, da man mit diesen Frati nicht die beste Erfahrung gemacht habe. 1617 setzte sich Herzog Maximilian für die Aufrechterhaltung der Ordenszucht in München ein und erbat vom General 4 gute reformierte Patres. 1618-1620 wurde mit Unterstützung des herzoglichen Hauses die Klosterkirche neu umgebaut. Die kurbayerische Landschaft stiftete die Orgel und Frhr. von Füll auf Windach den Hochaltar mit dem berühmten Bild Tintorettos. Die Kirche galt mit ihrer barocken Innenausstattung als eine der schönsten Kirchen der Residenzstadt. Bei der Einnahme Münchens durch die Schweden wurden aus dem Augustinerkloster 4 Patres als Geiseln mitgenommen. 1688 übergab Kurfürst Maximilian II. Emanuel den Wallfahrtsort Aufkirchen über dem Starnbergersee dem Münchner Ordenshaus zur Betreuung der dortigen Pfarrei. Die Mönche errichteten in diesem Ort eine Residenz, an der meist 4 Patres die Wallfahrtsseelsorge ausübten. Zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bebaute der Prior Johann B. Inninger den gesamten Komplex hinter dem Kloster mit Mietgebäuden und verpachtete diesen sogenannten Augustinerstock an Bürger der Stadt. Dadurch floss dem Kloster eine nicht ungewöhnliche Einnahme zu. 1707 erwarb man vom Baron Königsacker den Niedergerichtssitz Neuhausen bei München, der jedoch den Augustinern vom Kurfürsten 1715 abgekauft wurde. Wegen des Verlustes dieses Herrensitzes konnten die Augustiner 1742 das erblich an sie gefallene Gut Oberumbach bei Friedberg als Landsassengut übernehmen. 1726 wurde der Münchner Prior Angelus Höggmair, bekannt wegen seiner ordensgeschichtlichen Arbeiten, Generalassistent des Ordens in Rom. Von den berühmten Augustinern des 18. Jahrhunderts muss vor allem P. Gelasius Hieber (1671-1731) hervorgehoben werden, der als Theologe, Philosoph und Prediger hohes Ansehen in der bayerischen Gelehrtenwelt genoss. Als Herausgeber der ersten wissenschaftlichen und zugleich volkstümlichen Zeitschrift in Bayern, des Parnassus Boicus, legte er die Grundlage für die Pflege der bayerischen vaterländischen Geschichte. Seit 1724 war Hieber Superior in Aufkirchen

und von hier rief ihn selbst der Bischof von Freising als Festprediger anlässlich seines 50jährigen Priesterjubiläums. Die historischen Vorarbeiten des Agnellus Kandler, des Mitherausgebers des Parnassus, verwertete nach dessen frühen Tode Felix Ossinger, der sich in der Bibliotheca Augustiniana ein Denkmal als Ordenshistoriker setzte. Bei der Gründung der Akademie der Wissenschaften 1758 gehörten zu den ordentlichen Mitgliedern der historischen Klasse die Patres Fulgenz Mayr, Adrian Huber und Agnellus Merz. Die Augustinerbibliothek galt neben der der Jesuiten als die wertvollste und reichhaltigste in München. Das Kloster war in der Barockzeit ein Zentrum des geistigen Lebens der Residenzstadt. 1769 zählte der Konvent allein 37 Priester, die ausser ihrem wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, ihrer Lehrtätigkeit am Ordensstudium vor allem in der Stadtseelsorge wirkten. Erst gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts machte sich ein leichtes Absinken der klösterlichen Zucht bemerkbar, woran das Verhalten des Priors Felix Sutor, eines hochgebildeten und beim kurfürstlichen Hofe hoch angesehenen Mannes, viel Schuld trug. 1794 übte der Geistliche Rat ausdrücklich Kritik an der mönchischen Disziplin und versuchte einzugreifen. Nach dem Ausbruch der französischen Revolution hatten Ordensbrüder aus Frankreich im Münchner Kloster Zuflucht gesucht. Einer begann taubstumme Kinder zu unterrichten und legte somit im Augustinerkloster den Grundstein für die kurfürstliche Taubstummenanstalt. Die Revolutionskriege hatten durch die Abgabe von Kontributionen die finanziellen Grundlagen des Konvents schwer erschüttert. Unter dem Prior Maximus Imhof (1798-1802), Erzieher des Kronprinzen Ludwig und Professor der Mathematik am kurfürstlichen Lyzeum, nahm die Säkularisation ihren Anfang. Im März 1802 wurde das Kloster zum Zentralkloster bestimmt, die Mönche aus Ingolstadt, Seemannshausen, Ramsau und Schönthal wurden hier zusammengezogen. Am 1. Oktober 1803 erfolgte die endgültige Aufhebung. Die Gebäude wurden dem Justizministerium als Büroräume zugeteilt, die Kirche zur Mauthalle bestimmt und der übrige Besitz versteigert. Die Patres gingen als Weltgeistliche auf Pfarreien, nur die alten und kranken Patres und Brüder mussten mit kargen Pensionen in München oder in ihren Heimatorten ihr Leben beschliessen.

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Münnerstadt

LK Kissingen, Ufr, Diöz. Würzburg — Patron : St. Michael, Augustinus.

Das in den Rhönbergen im Unterfränkischen liegende Kloster Münnerstadt ist neben Würzburg die einzige Augustinerniederlassung, die nicht von der Säkularisation im Jahre 1803 erfasst wurde. Das Kloster wurde am 1. August 1279 durch die Stadt Münnerstadt als Gegengewicht zu dem dortigen Deutschordenshaus gegründet. Die Grafen von Henneberg und der Bischof von Würzburg als Landesherren sanktionierten die Gründung, welche der als Weihbischof von Bamberg tätige Augustiner Incelerius von Budua mit Energie betrieben hatte, wie er sich auch sonst um die Ausbreitung des Ordens sehr verdient machte. Spenden flossen der jungen Gründung besonders aus den Reihen der Bürger zu. Trotz des Wohlwollens der Bürgerschaft mussten die Augustiner in den ersten Jahrzehnten viele Einschränkungen seitens des Deutschordens erdulden. 1316 erfolgte die Altarweihe der Kirche. 1320 stand hier bereits ein so geräumiges Kloster, dass das Provinzialkapitel beschloss, das nächste Generalkapitel in Münnerstadt abzuhalten. Um den Mönchen eine seelsorgliche Tätigkeit ausüben zu lassen, gewährten ihnen die Würzburger Bischöfe 1326 und 1330 das Recht der Predigt und des Beichthörens. Neben den Deutschherren waren die Augustiner in Münnerstadt besonders in der Pfarrseelsorge tätig. Die Kirche wurde im 14. Jahrhundert im gotischen Stil ausgebaut und hatte 5 Altäre, im Klosterkreuzgang befand sich ausserdem noch eine Kapelle. Im Bauernkrieg wurde das Kloster 1525 von den Münnerstädtern selbst geplündert, die Mönche hatten aber vorsichtshalber schon vorher alle Urkunden und Wertsachen in Sicherheit gebracht. Nachdem in der Reformationszeit die Stadt und die Grafen von

Henneberg lutherisch geworden waren, konnten sich die Augustiner in Münnerstadt nicht mehr halten und mussten um 1565 die Stadt verlassen, liessen aber das Klostergebäude unter der Obhut von bischöflichen Verwaltern, bis Fürstbischof Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn durch den Kauf des hennebergischen Teils der Stadt die alleinigen Rechte erhielt. Er kaufte 1622 das leerstehende Kloster und wollte hier eine Schule einrichten. 1650 erwarb aber die rheinisch-schwäbische Provinz ihr altes Besitztum zurück und liess die baufälligen Gebäude wieder herstellen. Die Augustiner waren zurückgekehrt und suchten im Geiste der Gegenreformation zu wirken. Als Prior wird damals P. Bonaventura Söllner genannt. Die Existenzgrundlage des wiedererstandenen Konvents bildete nur eine Frühmesstiftung in der Pfarrkirche und die ihm übertragene Pfarrei Burglauer. Ausserdem betreuten die Mönche die neben ihrem Kloster stehende Marienkapelle. Zuerst mussten die Patres in einem Privathaus wohnen, denn erst 1664 hatte man so viele Mittel beisammen, dass man 2 Flügel des Klostergebäudes herstellen konnte. 1667 bezogen 3 Patres und 4 Brüder das neuerbaute Kloster. Im gleichen Jahre wurde noch der Kirchenbau in Angriff genommen und zu Augustinus 1670 der erste Gottesdienst in der Kirche gefeiert, 1682 wurde sie eingeweiht. Der Fürstbischof, der in der Stadt eine Lateinschule errichtet hatte, übertrug aus Mangel an Lehrkräften 1685 den Augustinern das Gymnasium und zugleich die Stadtpfarrei Münnerstadt sowie die Landpfarrei Burglauer auf jeweils 9 Jahre. Der Bischof fand sich dazu bereit, nachdem die Augustiner auf zwei Drittel des bisherigen Einkommens aus den Pfarreien verzichtet hatten. Die Zuwendungen des Bischofs für die Unterhaltung der Schule blieben aus, trotzdem begannen aber die Augustiner 1687 mit einem Neubau, sodass schon 1690 das nun dem Orden gehörige Gymnasium bezogen werden konnte. Das Kloster wurde 1735 durch den Anbau des Westflügels erweitert und 1751 ging man daran, den Neubau der Klosterkirche im Rokokostil erstehen zu lassen. Als Baumeister der Kirche wird der Königshofer I. Schmitt genannt, die Figuren schnitzte Johann Kessler und die Deckengemälde schuf Meister Anwander aus Lauingen. Dieses prächtige Gotteshaus wurde 1754 vom Würzburger Bischof von Gebsattel geweiht. In der Zeit der Aufklärung, sonders im Jahre 1773, mussten die Augustiner die Auflösung ihres Gymnasiums befürchten, da der Bischof alle Lehranstalten auf dem Lande aufheben wollte. Aber gerade da stieg der Ruf der Schule, besonders unter der Leitung des P. Possidius

Zitter und rettete sie vor einer Aufhebung. 1803 wurden im ganzen bayerischen Staatsgebiet die Klöster aufgehoben. Auch Münnerstadt entging nicht diesem Schicksal. Das Gymnasium musste schliessen. Da die Patres auch die Stadtseelsorge ausübten und Weltgeistliche dem Staat zu teuer kamen, liess man die Patres weiterhin die Pfarrei betreuen und im Kloster wohnen. Als der Grossherzog Ferdinand von Toskana das Würzburger Territorium übernahm, wurde das Kloster restauriert, dem Bischof von Würzburg unterstellt und das Gymnasium 1806 wieder eröffnet. Doch durften die Patres nur noch Novizen aufnehmen, die die ausschliessliche Befähigung zum Lehramt besassen. Sie mussten also schon alle Hochschulprüfungen abgelegt haben. Als diese Regelung beim Uebergang des Grossherzogtums an Bayern 1814 auch von dem neuen Landesherrn übernommen wurde, bedeutete dies keinen Vorteil für beide Teile, denn die Patres mussten ja auch die Seelsorge ausüben. Zudem musste das Kloster jährlich eine bestimmte Summe für den Studienfond abliefern. 1834 erfolgte endlich eine Neuregelung zugunsten der Patres. Die nur für die Seelsorge bestimmten Augustiner standen den Professoren des Gymnasiums von nun an gleichberechtigt gegenüber. 1846 übergab König Ludwig I. den Augustinern die Leitung des Gymnasiums. 1854 musste das Studienseminar erweitert werden. Nach dem Regierungserlasse sollten hier Zöglinge ohne Rücksicht auf ihre spätere Berufswahl aufgenommen werden. Bis 1871 leitete das Gymnasium der rührige P. Alois Braun, der sich vor allem um die Wiedererstehung der deutschen Ordensprovinz verdient machte. Ihm folgte P. Hieronymus Schneeberger, der bis 1893 an der Spitze des Gymnasiums stand. 1902-1904 verwaltete P. Pius Keller, der Neugründer der deutschen Ordensprovinz, das Priorat. Der stärkere Nachwuchs benötigte mehr Raum und so beschloss man den Bau der Studienseminars St. Josef, das 1906 bezogen und ein Jahr später zum selbständigen Kloster erhoben wurde. Im alten Seminar wurde der Ordensnachwuchs untergebracht. Unter den zahlreichen hervorragenden Persönlichkeiten, die in höchsten Staatsstellen und als Priester gewirkt haben, befinden sich vor allem auch zwei Augustiner, die für die Entwicklung der deutschen Augustinerprovinz entscheidenden Anteil hatten ; es sind P. Pius Keller (1825-1904) und P. Dr. Clemens Fuhl, der zweite deutsche Ordensgeneral (1931-1935). Auch der jetzige seit September 1953 regierende Ordensgeneral P. Dr. Engelbert Eberhard ist aus dem Münnerstädter Seminar hervorgegangen. Hervorzuheben ist noch, dass die Augustiner in Münnerstadt eine Kirchenmusikschule leiten.

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Niederviehbach

LK Dingolfing, Nbb, Diöz. Regensburg — Patron : St. Maria, Augustinus.

Das Kloster der Augustinernonnen in Niederviehbach wurde von Berengar Grafen von Leonsberg 1296 für 10 Nonnen und 2 Priester gestiftet. Die Herzöge von Niederbayern schenkten ihm die Hofmarksrechte des Dorfes, so dass die Bewohner ausser in

Malefizsachen von dem eigenen Klosterrichter abgeurteilt wurden. Herzog Heinrich XIV. von Niederbayern gewährte dem Kloster 1321 die Zoll- und Mautfreiheit für Salz, Wein und Getreide, ein Privileg, das seine Nachfolger 1351, 1370 und 1404 bestätigten. Auch von kirchlicher Seite wurden den Nonnen verschiedene Gunstbeweise zu Teil. 1297 und 1313 bestätigten die Päpste Bonifaz VIII. und Clemens V. die Klostergründung ; 1296 trennte der Regensburger Bischof Konrad die Filialkirche Niederviehbach von der Pfarrei Kirchberg und inkorporierte sie dem Kloster. Wegen der dürftigen Lebensweise der Nonnen wurde der Priorin vom Regensburger Bischof der Reutzins zu Viehbach und 1402 das Patronatsrecht sowie der Zehent der Pfarrei Loitzenkirchen überlassen mit der Verpflichtung, einen Vikar dort zu unterhalten. Ausserdem erhielten die Nonnen das Patronat über die Kirchen Eschelbach, Goldern, Oberweigendorf und Reichelsdorf. Im 14. Jahrhundert kamen noch zum Klosterbesitz die Güter Eschelbach, Wocka und die Schwaige Wörth. Bezüglich des Klosterbaues wissen wir nur, dass 1355 Bischof Friedrich von Regensburg anlässlich der Weihe des Friedhofes und des Kreuzganges im oberen Chor einen Altar zu Ehren des Fronleichnams des Herrn weihte. Herzog Heinrich soll die frühgotische Kirche, die einzige, heute noch bestehende Nonnenkirche der Frühgotik, vollendet haben. 1388 wird von einer neuen Weihe berichtet, woraus man schliessen kann, dass der Klosterbau beendet war. Das Kloster konnte 1354 die Neubesiedlung des von Kaiser Karl IV. in der Prager Neustadt errichteten St. Katherinenklosters vornehmen. Die erste Priorin, Katharina von Hocholtingen, kam mit ihren Nonnen aus Niederviehbach. Die Urkunden des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts enthalten zum Grossteil nur die durch Schenkungen oder Käufe getätigten Güterübertragungen. So übergaben u. a. die Brüder Zehentner der Priorin Dorothea Closner den Zehent der Pfarrei Kirchberg und Andre Vischer verkaufte der Priorin Margareth Zenger 1408 den Zehent von Reichelkofen. 1451 beschloss das Provinzialkapitel von Regensburg den Nonnen neue Satzungen zu geben, damit eine Reform auch im Frauenorden leichter Eingang finden konnte. 1479 erliess das Kapitel neue Instruktionen für die Priorinnenwahlen. Als Reformjahr wird allgemein das Jahr 1474 angegeben. Die Einführung der strengen Observanz, besonders der Klausur, wurde 1531 erneuert. So war der Konvent innerlich derart gekräftigt, dass er den Sturm der Reformation gut überstehen konnte. Die 40 Klosterfrauen mit ihrer Priorin Helena Schütz hielten die strenge

Beobachtung der Regel und waren ein Vorbild für alle Klöster. 1570-1590 schien das Kloster in eine schlechte wirtschaftliche Lage gekommen zu sein, obgleich auch damals immer wieder das religiöse Leben der Nonnen gerühmt wird. 1592 starb im Kloster anlässlich einer Visitation der Provinzial und Generalvikar Mauritius Tertius, ein Italiener aus Parma, der in der Klosterkirche begraben wurde. 1605 beabsichtigte der Generalvikar Felix Milensius das Kloster Ramsau bei Haag den Nonnen zu übertragen, jedoch blieb der Plan wegen des Todes des Herzogs Ferdinand unausgeführt. Das Kloster hatte für 3 Pfarreien Vikare zu stellen, nämlich für die Pfarreien Kirchberg mit 4 Filialen, Loitzenkirchen und Niedervieh-bach. 1640-1642 klagten die Gemeinden der 7 Kirchen gegen die Priorin Gertraud Härtinger, dass das Kloster nur noch einen Geistlichen unterhielt und in gewissen Ortschaften keine Gottesdienste mehr abgehalten würden. Die Priorin konnte sich aber entschuldigen, indem sie nachwies, dass wegen der Kriegszeiten sich keine Geistlichen mehr für die Versorgung der Pfarreien meldeten. Auch wegen der Baupflicht der Kirchen und Pfarreien, wegen der Präsentationen und der weltlichen Possessgebung hatten die Priorinnen manchen Händel durchzufechten. Zudem waren im 30jährigen Kriege, während dessen Verlaufes die Nonnen zweimal fliehen mussten, viele rechtliche Unterlagen verschwunden, denn die Schweden hatten während ihres Einfalles in das Kloster grosse Teile des Archivs verschleppt. Mit Hilfe des Grafen Nikolaus von Königsfeld wurde unter der Priorin Basilika Gobel (1666-1693) die Kirche renoviert. Damals wurde auch das barocke Stiftergrab in der Kirche aufgestellt. In den Jahren 1731-1733 hatte die Priorin Maxima Hofberger (1727-1750) das Kloster durch den bedeutenden Rokokobaumeister Johann Michael Fischer aus München umbauen lassen. Sie erbat sich hierfür eine Anleihe vom Rentamt Landshut. 1755 wurde der heutige Hochaltar errichtet. 1785 wurde der Ostflügel des Klosters um ein Geschoss erhöht. Im österreichischen Erbfolgekrieg mussten die 17 Nonnen nach Landshut flüchten. Damals lagen im Kloster ständig 50 Mann im Quartier. Trotz der vorhergegangenen Kriege stellte man anlässlich der Neuwahl der Priorin 1758 einen sehr guten wirtschaftlichen Zustand des Klosters fest. Auch die personelle Besetzung war ausreichend. Im ganzen zählte damals der Konvent 24 Chorfrauen und 2 Novizinnen sowie 17 Laienschwestern. An Untertanen konnte das Kloster etwa 80-90 Herdstätten nachweisen. Die meisten von ihnen waren nur Söldner und wohnten in Nieder-

viehbach. 1803 wurde der letzten Priorin Maria Weller (1802-1811) und den Nonnen die Klosteraufhebung verkündigt. Die Pretiosen und das Archiv wurden genau aufgenommen. Zwei Wagen voll von Wertgegenständen und ebenso die Bücher sowie die Archivalien wurden nach München gebracht. Den Klosterbesitz kaufte der damalige Klosterrichter Alois Streber. Das Bräuhaus und viele Klosterrealitäten wurden versteigert. Nur die Klosterapotheke konnte bestehen bleiben. Unter den 31 Klosterschwestern befanden sich noch 14 Nonnen und 4 Münchner Paulanerinnen, die Niederviehbach, das als Aussterbekloster bestimmt worden war, zugeteilt waren. Die meisten Nonnen verblieben im Kloster und lebten von ihren geringen Pensionen. Das Gesuch der Priorin, ein Erziehungsinstitut für Mädchen im Klostergebäude zu errichten, wurde abgewiesen, obgleich schon 4 Nonnen die seit 1800 aufgebaute Mädchenvolksschule leiteten. 1811 wurde Benonia Schieder als Vorsteherin gewählt. 1841 lebten hier nur noch eine Chorfrau und 4 Laienschwestern. Die Klostergebäude wurden 1847 von den Dominikanerinnen übernommen, die hier ein Pensionat mit Schule für Mädchen ins Leben riefen.

Neben dem Nonnenkloster bestand in Niederviehbach noch eine Residenz des Mönchsordens. Der Stifter Berengar von Leonsberg hatte 1296 angeordnet, dass für die seelsorgliche Betreuung der Nonnen Augustiner beigezogen werden sollten. Die hierfür bestimmten Patres kamen damals aus dem Kloster in Regensburg. Das Regensburger Kloster hat auch in den spätern Jahrhunderten Niederviehbach als sein Superiorat angesehen. Das kleine Augustinerhospiz befand sich neben dem Nonnenkloster. 1693 wird berichtet, dass ihr Haus zum Unterschied von dem Holzgebäude des Frauenklosters aus Stein erbaut war. Von den Patres war immer einer Beichtvater der Nonnen, keiner sollte diese Funktion aber länger als 4 Jahre ausüben. Zugleich war dieser Pater auch immer Pfarrer von Niederviehbach. Ein Pater betreute die dem Kloster inkorporierte Pfarrei Oberkirchberg. Bei der Säkularisation war P. Leopold Hitzelsperger Superior. Zu seinem Konvente gehörten die Patres Bernhard Beyerle und Engelbert Heimerl sowie ein Laienbruder. Nach der Säkularisation blieben die Patres hier als Pfarrvikare.

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Nürnberg

Mfr, Diöz. Bamberg — Patron : St. Veit.

Die Behauptung, dass die Vorgänger der Nürnberger Augustiner-Eremiten sich schon im ersten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts vor den Toren der alten Reichsstadt Nürnberg niedergelassen haben, kann nicht nachgewiesen werden. Ein Schutz- und Ablassbrief des Bischofs Albertus Magnus für das Kloster von 1265 in seiner Eigenschaft als Kreuzzugsprediger lässt darauf hindeuten, dass erst 1265 das Kloster auf dem Geiersberg vor dem Neutor errichtet wurde. Trotz des Einspruches des Bamberger Domkapitels, das eine Schmälerung der Einkünfte der Weltgeistlichkeit befürchtete, befahl Papst Klemens IV. 1267, den Augustinern bei oder in Nürnberg keine Schwierigkeiten zu machen, und in einem weiteren Privileg des gleichen Jahres nahm er die Brüder in seinen besonderen Schutz auf. Erst nach einem Brande haben die Augustiner ihr Haus in die Stadt verlegt, was nach 1270 geschehen sein muss. Erst nachdem die Bischöfe von Regensburg und Eichstätt den Nürnberger Augustinern Schutzbriefe

gegen die Beeinträchtigung ihrer Seelsorgsarbeit ausgestellt hatten, bestätigte 1275 der zuständige Bamberger Bischof als iudex ordinarius die Niederlassung. Altarweihen 1278 und 1279 erbringen den Beweis, dass schon damals die Kirche vollendet gewesen ist. Im Jahre 1277 stellten allein 15 Bischöfe Ablässe für den Besuch der Augustinerkirche aus. Obwohl Nürnberg zu den ältesten Konventen zählte, scheint er im 14. Jahrhundert nicht zu den grössten der bayerischen Provinz gehört zu haben, denn in einer Schuldsache der österreichischen Klöster an die Stadt Regensburg, für deren Begleichung die Augustinerklöster der gesamten Provinz aufkommen mussten, zahlte der Nürnberger Konvent 1315 nur 4 $^1/_2$ Mark Silber. Aber schon um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts war er zu einer der bedeutendsten Niederlassungen des Ordens in Deutschland herangewachsen. 1366 werden neben dem Prior Heinrich 16 Mönche genannt. Die Nürnberger Augustiner widmeten sich hauptsächlich der Seelsorge und Predigt. 1402 kamen sie deshalb in Konflikt mit den Pfarrern von St. Sebastian und St. Sebald, die neidisch auf ihre Einkünfte waren. Grössere Bedeutung innerhalb des Ordens erlangte das Kloster, als die Reformbewegung in Bayern 1420 von hier seinen Ausgang nahm ; sie wurde hauptsächlich vom Generalvikar Heinrich Zolter und Oswald Reinlein, Prior des Nürnberger Konventes, durchgeführt. Da sich die Insassen öfters der strengeren Richtung widersetzten, wurden immer neue Reformen notwendig, die namentlich durch das Eingreifen des Nürnberger Stadtrates durchgesetzt wurden. Der Augustinergeneral ging soweit, den Rat zu bitten, die Observanz zu schützen. Erst 1437 konnte die Reform als dauerhaft angesehen werden ; denn der Prior Oswald Reinlein konnte es wagen, eine Walfahrt nach Jerusalem anzutreten. Aber schon in den Jahren 1449 und 1458 beschwerte sich der Stadtrat, dass die Reform im Augustinerkloster nicht aufrecht erhalten werde, und bat deshalb den Generalvikar Andreas Proles durchzugreifen. Dieser führte 1462 mit zwei Mönchen die strenge Observanz durch, nachdem schon vorher der Bamberger Bischof den Prior abgesetzt und den Konvent von der Obedienz des Provinzials befreit hatte. Obgleich der Ordensgeneral die Aufhebung dieser Reformakte auf die Beschwerde des Provinzials Johannes Ludovici verlangt hatte, wurde doch auf die Bitte des Nürnberger Rates die Observanz durch Papst Pius II. bestätigt. 1464 wurde Simon Lindner von Leiseneck Prior, der mit einigen Unterbrechungen bis 1481 dem Kloster vorstand. Er war einer der tüchtigsten Vertreter der Reform und einige Jahre

hindurch auch Vikar. Nürnberg wurde damals der Union der Konvente Magdeburg, Dresden, Waldheim und Himmelspforte angeschlossen und der Iurisdiktion des bayerischen Provinzials entzogen. 1479 wurde der Neubau der Kirche begonnen. Als Baumeister holten sich die Mönche den Nördlinger Heinrich Echser. 1486 konnte das neue Gotteshaus dem hl. Veit geweiht werden. Die Kirche war entsprechend den Vorschriften für die Bettelsordenskirchen als spätgotische Hallenkirche in einfachem Stil erbaut worden. Von den künstlerischen wertvollen Altarblättern, die zum Teil von Michael Wohlgemut gemalt wurden, sind nur noch der sogenannte Peringsdorfferaltar im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, der Hallersche Altar der hl. Kreuzkapelle und der heutige Hochaltar der St. Jakobskirche zu Straubing erhalten. Vom damaligen Klosterbau gibt noch die 1412 gestiftete Kressische Doppelkapelle im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Kunde. Der 1491 ernannte Prior Nikolaus Besler spielte einige Jahre später als Prior von München und als Ordensprokurator an der Kurie eine wichtige Rolle. Johannes Mantel, Prior von 1500-1502, wurde anlässlich der Gründung der Universität Wittenberg 1503 dorthin als Professor berufen. Gerade zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde das Klosster ein Zentrum des in Nürnberg aufblühenden Humanismus. Beheim, Regiomontanus, Hartmann Schedel, Pirkheimer, Scheuerl verkehrten im Augustinerkloster. Unter den Pflegern des Klosters werden die Patrizier Ebner und Tucher genannt. Die Verbindung mit Wittenberg wurde eifrig gepflegt. Ueberhaupt wirkten die Augustiner besonders als Prediger sehr auf das sittliche Leben der Stadtbevölkerung ein. Auch in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht war das Kloster führend. Seit 1479 betrieben die Mönche eine eigene Buchdruckerei. Vor allem bestimmten einige ausgeprägte Persönlichkeiten wie Johannes von Staupitz, Wenzel Link und Wolfgang Volprecht das geistige Leben der Reichsstadt. Staupitz hatte sich 1512 und 1517 längere Zeit als Vikar in Nürnberg aufgehalten und dort unter grossem Zulauf der Bevölkerung gepredigt. Sogar seine Tischgespräche hatte der Humanist Lazarus Spengler aufgezeichnet. Der Freundeskreis um Staupitz, Gelehrte und Kaufleute aus dem Patrizierstand, bildeten die sogenannte Sodalitas Staupitiana. Diesen Kreis hatte namentlich Wenzel Link mit den Ideen seines Freundes Martin Luther bekannt gemacht und im reformationsfreundlichen Sinne beeinflusst. Bald nach dem Anschlag der Thesen durch Luther, sympathisierten die Nürnberger Augustiner mit dem Gedankengut ihres Ordensbruders in Wittenberg. Luther war ja selbst nach seiner

Augsburger Kontroverse mit Kardinal Cajetan im Nürnberger Konvent zu Gast. Unter dem Prior Wolfgang Volprecht (1517-1525) nahm die Reformation in Nürnberg gerade im Augustinerkloster ihren Anfang. Volprecht las in der Augustinerkirche die Messe in deutscher Sprache und spendete die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalten. Der Bamberger Bischof exkommunizierte den Prior, nachdem dieser sich weigerte, vor dem Gericht des Bischofs sich zu verantworten. Am 13. Dezember 1524 boten die Augustiner dem Rat der Stadt die Uebergabe des Klosters an. Dafür sollte die Stadt ihnen zeit ihres Lebens Kost und Kleidung stellen. Am 22. März 1525 ergriff die Stadt zugunsten des gemeinsamen Kastens des grossen Almosens von den Gebäuden und sämtlichen Gütern des Klosters Besitz. Die zahlreichen Liegenschaften, die sich noch in 8 erhaltenen Salbüchern nachweisen lassen, wurden von der Stadt bis zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts verwaltet. Die Kirche stand von 1526 bis 1614 leer, viele Gegenstände der Inneneinrichtung wurden verkauft. Erst im letzteren Jahr hat man die verwahrloste Kirche wieder für den Gottesdienst eingerichtet. Wegen Baufälligkeit wurde sie 1816 vollkommen abgerissen. Von den Klostergebäuden ist nur der Trakt mit der berühmten Kressischen Doppelkapelle erhalten, der schon vor dem Abbruch des Klosters dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum eingefügt worden war.

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Pappenheim

LK Weissenburg, Mfr, Diöz. Eichstätt — Patron St. Spiritus, Augustinus.

In dem Hauptort des reichsunmittelbaren Gebietes der Grafen von Pappenheim an der Altmühl erstand 1372 ein Augustinerkloster. Bruder Conrad Tuchscherer von Breisach, der Provinzial der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz, hatte die Grafen schon 1358 für eine Neugründung gewonnen durch die Darlegung der geistlichen Vorteile, deren sie teilhaftig würden. Nachdem Papst Innozenz VI. dem Orden erlaubt hatte, in der Eichstätter Diözese 4 Klöster zu errichten, stiftete Graf Heinrich von Pappenheim mit seiner Gemahlin Elisabeth von Ellerbach ein Kloster an seinem Stammsitz für 8 Priester und ebensoviel Laienbrüder. Als Dotation bestimmten die Grafen die Pfründen der hl. Geistkapelle und der St. Georgskapelle auf der Burg. Dafür mussten sich die Mönche verpflichten, auch den Gottesdienst in der Schlosskapelle zu besorgen. Bischof Rhaban von Eichstätt teilte das Kloster der rheinisch-schwäbischen Provinz zu. Der Provinzial setzte als ersten Prior Heinrich Unmüssig ein. Die Pap-

penheimer blieben auch während der 150 Jahre des Bestehens des Klosters immer eifrige Förderer der Augustiner und übten über ihre Stiftung die Schirmvogtei aus. Sie liessen dem Kloster zahlreiche Schenkungen und Stiftungen zukommen, so zum Beispiel 1375 den Kirchensatz samt dem Zehent im Dorfe Schambach und Trommetsheim. Ausserdem verdankte das Kloster diesem Grafengeschlechte noch andere Besitzungen, so die Pfarreien in Niederpappenheim, die Inkorporation der Kirche in Emetzheim und noch zahlreiche kleinere Grundstücksübertragungen. Auch von anderen Wohltätern erhielt das Kloster Güter, Zehnten und Gülten. Zum Dank für die Förderung des Ordens nahm anlässlich des Generalkapitels in München 1397 der General Bartholomäus von Venedig den Grafen Haupt von Pappenheim mit seiner Familie in den geistlichen Ordensverband auf. Da das Gebiet um Pappenheim an der Grenzlinie der bayerischen und schwäbischen Ordensprovinz lag, entstanden schon bald nach der Gründung des Konventes Unstimmigkeiten zwischen den Klöstern Nürnberg, Regensburg und Pappenheim. Da die beiden älteren Klostergemeinden sich in ihren Terminierbezirken benachteiligt fühlten, grenzte das Kapitel in Köln 1374 die Sammelgebiete genau ab. Die Pappenheimer Augustiner bauten schon kurze Zeit nach der Gründung eine Kirche, anfangs begnügten sie sich wohl nur mit dem eigentlichen Chor, der um die Wende des 15. Jahrhunderts fertiggestellt wurde. Das Langhaus mit der flachen Decke wurde erst am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts angefügt, was aus der Jahreszahl 1493, die an einem der Fenster ersichtlich ist, hervorgeht. Das gotische Chorgestühl, das die Langwände des Chores ausfüllt, wurde von Meister Ulrich Auer 1458 aus Eichenholz geschnitzt. Die Kirche war zugleich als Grabstätte des Geschlechts der Pappenheimer bestimmt. Da bei jedem Todesfall dem Kloster allerlei Wertsachen zufielen, konnte es im Laufe der Zeit einen ziemlichen Schatz von Kleinodien und Messgewändern sammeln. Das Klostergebäude selbst war an der Nordseite mit der Stadtmauer verbunden. Der günstige wirtschaftliche Ausbau des Klosters lässt auf ein gutes innerliches Leben der Kommunität schliessen. Man hört nie Klagen über die Mönche. Dass auch im Kloster ein Studium bestand, beweisen die Ernennungen der dortigen Patres zu Lektoren. So wurde durch die Ordensleitung 1476 P. Wolfgang v. Pappenheim und 1491 P. Mauritius Finiger zu Lesemeistern ernannt. P. Finiger wurde ausserdem 1497 zum Bakkalar und 1500 zum Magister promoviert ; zugleich erhielt er 1500 den Auftrag, als Diskret zum Generalkapitel

nach Fermo zu reisen. In der Zeit der Reformation wurden auch die Pappenheimer Augustiner mit den Lehren ihres Mitbruders Martin Luthers bekannt. Einige der Mönche verliessen die Klostergemeinschaft heimlich, andere traten offen aus und bekannten sich zu Luther. Im Jahre 1539 sollen fast keine Augustiner mehr im Kloster gewesen sein, wiewohl damals die Stadt selbst noch nicht zur neuen Lehre übergetreten war. Die Pfarrei Niederpappenheim konnte jedenfalls nicht mehr vom Kloster pastoriert werden. 1541 stand dem Kloster zwar noch der Prior Johann Aigner vor, aber schon ein Jahr später nannte er sich nur noch Verwalter. 1545 starb der letzte Konventuale, Christoph Fretzer, und das Kloster fiel wieder an die Herrschaft der Marschälle von Pappenheim zurück. Die Verwaltung der Kirche ging in die Hände der Ortsgeistlichkeit über. Noch bei der Aufnahme der Inventare 1563 sah man, welche reiche Schätze das Augustinerkloster an kostbaren Messgewändern und an sonstigen Wertgegenständen besessen hatte.

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Ramsau bei Haag

LK Wasserburg, Obb, Diöz. München-Freising — Patron: St. Maria, Augustinus, Georg.

Anlässlich eines Turniers in der Reichsstadt Regensburg lernte der Besitzer der Herrschaft Haag, Jörg von Fraunberg, den Augustinerorden kennen. Um die Mönche in seiner Nähe zu haben, gründete er im Jahre 1412 für sie ein Kloster in Ramsau bei Haag und bestimmte als Dotationsgut 3 Höfe. Die ersten 5 Mönche kamen aus dem Regensburger Konvent. 1423 schenkte der Fraunberger noch das Dorf Preissendorf, die Pfarrei und Hofmark Pemmering im Gericht Erding dem Kloster. Auch andere benachbarte Adelige sicherten sich durch Schenkungen ein ehrenvolles Gedächtnis in der Chronik des Klosters. Als eines der ersten Klöster hat Ramsau die Observanz durchgeführt; schon im November 1419 bestätigte der General Augustinus Romanus ihre Einführung. Das Kloster wurde in kurzer Zeit soweit ausgebaut, dass schon 1425 der Provinzial

Berthold von Regensburg das Provinzkapitel hier abhalten konnte. 1472 versammelten sich in Ramsau noch einmal sämtliche Prioren und Abgesandten der bayerischen, österreichischen und böhmischen Konvente. Bis 1540 übte das Kloster über seine Untertanen und Güter die niedere Gerichtsbarkeit aus. In den Reformationsjahren setzte Graf Ladislaus von Fraunberg dem Kloster hart zu. Er war lutherisch geworden und verlangte deswegen auch von seinen Untergebenen den Glaubenswechsel. Als Inhaber einer reichsunmittelbaren Herrschaft glaubte der Graf ein Recht darauf zu haben. Dem Prior Lechner wurde verboten, weiterhin die Hofmarksrechte auszuüben. Schliesslich kam das Kloster durch die Feindseligkeit des Grafen derart in Not, dass es die Patres vorzogen, das Ordenshaus zu verlassen. Nach dem Tode des letzten Fraunbergers 1566 zog Herzog Albrecht V. von Bayern die Grafschaft als erledigtes Reichslehen ein und liess die Gegenreformation durchführen. Wegen Personalmangels war es den Münchner Augustinern unmöglich, Ramsau wieder zu besetzen, doch suchten sie seine Nutzungsrechte zu erhalten. Obwohl schon 1576 das Kloster mit dem Münchner Konvent uniert worden war, gelang es erst den Verhandlungen des päpstlichen Legaten Ninguarda im Jahre 1581, die Einkünfte der Güter für die Münchner Augustiner zu erhalten. Ein Teil der Einnahmen wurde für die Restauration der Gebäude verwendet. Auf das wiederholte Drängen des Herzogs wurde der Konvent 1593 von München aus wieder besetzt, wenn auch nur fürs erste 2 Patres dorthin gingen und die Seelsorge in Ramsau übernahmen. Um die Rückgabe sämtlicher ehemaliger Klostergüter wurde ein ständiger Kampf mit dem jeweiligen Besitzer der Herrschaft geführt. Die durch den Herzog Albrecht VI. den Leuchtenberger 1628 gebaute und dotierte Lorettokapelle, die den Patres zur Betreuung übergeben wurde, trug viel zum Aufblühen des Klosters bei. Die tägliche Messtiftung des Herzogs und andere fromme Stiftungen bei dieser Wallfahrtskapelle sicherten die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Klosters. 1648 wurde das Kloster beim Schwedeneinfall schwer beschädigt. In der Reihe seiner Prioren konnte das Kloster auch den wegen seiner Kanzelberedsamkeit berühmten P. Ferdinand Dorfner zählen. Nachdem die Baufälligkeit der Gebäude trotz wiederholter Reparaturen ständig zunahm, entschloss sich der Prior Vitus Sadler 1726 einen völligen Neubau des Klosters durchzuführen und die Kirche zu erneuern. Einen Ehrentag bedeutete es für das Kloster, an dessen Spitze damals P. Alfons Bauer stand, als Papst Pius VI. im Jahre

1782 auf seiner Reise nach München die Lorettokapelle besuchte und dort vom bayerischen Kurfürsten Karl Theodor begrüsst wurde. Im Dezember 1800 schlug der französische General Ney im Klostergebäude sein Hauptquartier auf. Nur durch den sprachkundigen P. Blum konnte grösserer Schaden vom Konvent abgewendet werden. Am 19. März 1802 wurde den Patres die Aufhebung des Klosters verkündet. 12 Patres mussten am darauffolgenden Tage das Kloster verlassen und sich in das Zentralkloster nach München begeben. Zurück blieben nur P. Blum als Seelsorger, der auch später als Expositus bis 1815 die Kirche betreute, ferner ein Pater für die von den Augustinern 1760 gegründete Volksschule sowie ein Pater für die Verwaltung der Oekonomie. Die Klostergebäude gingen in Privathände über. Erst 1899 wurden sie wieder geistlichen Zwecken zurückgeführt. Die Franziskanerinnen richteten damals im Klostergebäude ein Waisenhaus ein. Bemerkt sei noch, dass Augustiner von Ramsau aus die Pfarrei Kirchdorf, die Provisur zu Isen sowie einige Kapellen in der Nachbarschaft versahen. Desgleichen hatten sie die Beichtväterstellen von Isen und St. Wolfgang inne.

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Regensburg

Opf., Diöz. Regensburg — Patron : St. Salvator, St. Nicolaus Tolentinus.

Nach der Ueberlieferung ist das Regensburger Augustinerkloster aus verschiedenen kleineren Klausen in der Umgebung der Stadt entstanden. Bald nach der grossen Union von 1256 siedelten sich die Mönche in der Stadt an und übernahmen als erstes Gotteshaus die zur Sühne für eine Hostienverschüttung zu Ehren St. Salvators erbaute Kapelle. 1260 wurde die hl. Kreuzkapelle erbaut und nach 1260 ein kleines Kloster, welches 1267 der Rat der Stadt den Augustinern schenkte und Papst Clemens IV. mit einer Schutzbulle begnadete. Der Rat ist sonach der Stifter des Klosters und wurde auch immer als solcher anerkannt. Als erster Prior wird der Mönch Engelbert erwähnt, der erster deutscher Provinzial des Ordens wurde und 1276 starb. Wiewohl die Brüder 1267 dem Rat versprochen hatten, den bisherigen Umfang des Klosters nicht zu vergrössern, mussten sie 3 Jahre später doch für die nötige Erweiterung ein Haus und eine Hofstatt kaufen. Zwischen 1275 und 1290 wurde zuerst die Kirche und nach dem Zukauf von 8 Hofstätten 1278 auch das Kloster vergrössert. Das Gebäude war so geräumig, dass man 1290 das Generalkapitel des Ordens hier abhalten konnte. Diese Ordensversammlung ist in der Geschichte deshalb bekannt, weil hier die Ordenskonstitutionen festgelegt wurden. Bischof Konrad von Regensburg gab den Augustinern 1306 das Privileg in seiner Diözese zu predigen und Beicht zu hören und 1339 gab Erzbischof Heinrich von Salzburg den Brüdern die gleichen Vorrechte in seinem Sprengel. Vor 1315 hatten die Augustiner für ihre österreichischen Mitbrüder von der Reichsstadt eine hohe Anleihe erwirkt, die damals mit den

Zinsen auf 2100 Mark Silber angewachsen war. Zur Abzahlung dieser Schuld mussten sich alle Konvente der Provinz verpflichten. Unter dem Prior Rimarus musste Regensburg den höchsten Anteil von 40 $^1/_2$ Mark erlegen, was beweist, dass der Konvent der bedeutendste war. Von hier aus wurden noch im 13. Jahrhundert Tochterklöster gegründet. Regensburger Mönche besiedelten die böhmischen Klöster, sie übernahmen 1294 den Ausbau des Münchner Klosters, Ulrich Straubinger errichtete 1296 das Nonnenkloster Niederviehbach und stellte Patres dorthin ab. Im Jahre 1414 schickte der Konvent Brüder in den Konvent Ramsau. Hier hatte auch der Bruder Friedrich gelebt, der 1329 gestorben war und als Seliger verehrt wird. Von 1362 bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1371 wirkte hier der ehemalige Provinzial Nikolaus von Laun als Weihbischof. Er hatte als erster Professor an der ersten deutschen Universität in Prag doziert. 1373 hatte man die gotische Kirche vollendet und konnte den Bau mit der Aufsetzung des Turmes abschliessen. Nach der Errichtung des Pappenheimer Klosters erlangte der Regensburger Prior Albrecht 1374 auf dem Generalkapitel von Köln eine genaue Abgrenzung der Terminierbezirke zwischen seinem und dem Pappenheimer Kloster. Unter den damaligen Konventualen ragte besonders Berthold Puechhauser hervor, der 1388 in Oxford seinen Doktorgrad erworben hatte, später an der Wiener Universität lehrte und 1419 Provinzial wurde, bis er 1435 das Generalvikariat für Bayern übernahm. Die Einführung der strengen Observanz wurde vom General 1466 bestätigt und 1473 hatte der Konvent seine Exemtion von jeder niederen Jurisdiktion als Generalkonvent durchgesetzt. Damals war der Augustiner Johannes Ludovici (1480), ehemals Leiter des Wiener Generalstudiums, Weihbischof von Regenburg. Als Prioren waren hier auch tätig der seit 1507 amtende Provinzial Johannes Oberdorfer und der als Prediger, Historiker und Hagiograph bekannte Hieronymus Streitel (1515-1518). Zwischen 1521 und 1524 hatte der Rat die städtische Lateinschule, die aus der sog. Poëtenschule hervorgegangen war, in das Augustinerkloster verlegt. Die ersten Lehrer waren die Augustiner Georg Teschler (Peratinus) und Wolfgang Kalmünzer. Beide Mönche waren den reformatorischen Bestrebungen nicht abhold und hielten in ihren Predigten zu Luther. Trotz dieser Haltung bekleidete Teschler 1528-1534 das Provinzialat und nach dessen Ablauf begann er als Prior in Regensburg offen die evangelische Lehre zusammen mit seinem Mitbruder Kalmünzer zu predigen. Der General entzog beiden Mönchen das

Recht zu predigen, aber der Rat stand für sie ein. Da verlangten die beiden bayerischen Herzöge Wilhelm IV. und Ludwig X. die Ausweisung der beiden und selbst König Ferdinand von Böhmen, den der Rat um Vermittlung anrief, forderte ihre Absetzung ; diese aber gingen nach Nürnberg und wurden dort Prediger der neuen Lehre. 1537 musste auch die Lateinschule auf Befehl des Provinzials aus dem Kloster entfernt werden, da der Schulbetrieb das Klosterleben allzusehr störte. Trotz dieser Massnahmen war die Zahl der Mönche und die religiöse Disziplin sehr zurückgegangen. Johannes Hofmeister, der sich 1546 im Kloster aufhielt, führt über den Prior und die 3 Priester beim General Seripando bittere Klage und bittet diesen, die Regensburger Augustiner zur Führung eines klösterlichen Lebenswandels zu ermahnen. Die Kirche wurde von 1542-1555 von den Reformierten als ihr Gotteshaus benützt. Das Kloster selbst war soweit herabgekommen, dass der Prior 1563 einen Teil der Besitzungen verkaufen musste, weil er sonst nicht imstande gewesen wäre die notwendigsten Reparaturen vorzunehmen. Man befürchtete sogar den Einsturz der Kirche. 1576 war es soweit gekommen, dass man sich mit der Aufhebung des Klosters beschäftigte. Nur das Kommen von italienischen Augustinern rettete es für die nächsten Jahre. 1593 wurde im Regensburger Kloster dem um den Wiederaufbau der bayerischen Provinz verdienten Antonius Keerbeck aus Löwen der Prozess gemacht. Es war vor allem dem hiesigen Prior Antonius Greif zuzuschreiben, dass er abgesetzt wurde. Trotz seiner Armut musste der Konvent i. J. 1633 den Schweden 7202 Gulden zahlen. Nach dem 30-jährigen Krieg erholte sich langsam der Konvent. Der Prior Johannes Maralt führte eine gründliche Renovierung von Kirche und Kloster durch. Leider war damit der Kirche nicht gedient, da der sumpfige Boden unter dem Schiffe immer neue Senkungen verursachte. Deswegen beschloss der Prior Ambrosius Schmidt 1731 einen Neubau, zumal während der Tagungen des Reichstages in der Augustinerkirche der offizielle Gottesdienst gehalten wurde. Da der Prior eben erst aus München hierher versetzt worden war, lässt sich seine Berufung Münchner Künstler leicht verstehen. Er beauftragte den Münchner Baumeister Ignaz Gunetsrhainer mit dem Neubau der Kirche und dieser gestaltete zusammen mit den Brüdern Cosmas Damian und Egid Quirin Asam die Kirche zu einem bedeutenden Werk der bayerischen Rokoko-Architektur. 1734 konnten die neuen Altäre eingeweiht werden. — Unter dem Prior Bernard Peyrer i. J. 1753 erreichte der

Konvent seine grösste Mitgliederzahl : 17 Patres, 5 Kleriker und 6 Laienbrüder. Die Patres halfen nicht nur in den Regensburger Stadtpfarreien aus, sondern versahen auch die Dörfer Hainsacker und Lappersdorf ; ferner stellten sie für das Nonnenkloster Niederviehbach den Superior und Beichtvater. Als die Säkularisation die meisten Klöster in Bayern aufgehoben hatte, bestand der Regensburger Konvent noch weiter, da die Stadt 1803 an den Fürstprimas von Dalberg gefallen war. Erst als das Königreich Bayern sich die Stadt einverleibt hatte, wurde am 20. Juni 1810 das Augustinerkloster zur Kaserne bestimmt. Die Kirche wurde wegen Baufälligkeit 1838 abgebrochen, nur die alte Kreuzkapelle, in der das wundertätige Kruzifix von 1257 hing und die Gebeine des seligen Bruders Friedrich geborgen waren, konnte ihr Bestehen um 17 Jahre verlängern. Erst im Jahre 1910 war es den Augustinern wieder möglich in Regensburg Fuss zu fassen, wo sie seitdem die Pfarrei St. Cäcilien betreuen.

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Rötz

LK Waldmünchen, Opf, Diöz. Regensburg — Patron: St. Martin.

Kaum war das Kloster Schönthal gegründet, da wurde ihm schon die benachbarte Pfarrei Rötz anvertraut. Bereits am 4. Juli 1297 hatten die bayerischen Herzöge das Besetzungsrecht der Pfarrei Rötz an das Augustinerkloster abgetreten und Papst Bonifaz VIII. hatte 1299 diese Schekung bestätigt. Papst Sixtus IV. sprach 1474 die Inkorporierung der Pfarrei mit den Filialen Hiltersried, Biberbach und Heinrichskirchen an das Kloster aus. Seitdem hatte das Kloster die Verpflichtung übernommen, sowohl die Pfarrei mit den Filialen zu besetzen als auch die Pfarrvikare gegen Besoldung zu ernennen. Prior Georg Plank erlangte 1506 vom Papst Julius II. die endgültige Inkorporation der Pfarrei und Plank wurde als erster Regularpfarrer in Rötz investiert. Seitdem waren die Klostergeistlichen selbst mit der Pfarrseelsorge betraut. Zur Zeit der Reformation blieb Rötz vorerst dem katholischen Glauben treu, obgleich der damalige Pfarrvikar, ein Augustiner aus Schönthal, der Neuerung

beigetreten war. Doch bei der Neuverleihung der Pfarrei an einen Säkulargeistlichen machte es der Prior diesem zur strengen Pflicht, die alte Lehre zu wahren. Um die Jahrhundertmitte fiel aber die Stadt dem Protestantismus zu und verweigerte dem Kloster Schönthal die Abgaben. 1559 wurde das Kloster durch den kalvinistischen Kurfürsten Friedrich III. aufgehoben. Noch vor der Wiedererrichtung des Klosters wurden die Pfarreien Schönthal und Rötz den Augustinern von neuem anvertraut. Nach der offiziellen Wiedereinführung der Mönche in Schönthal 1669 wurde die Pfarrei Rötz wieder ständig von Schönthal aus besetzt. Dem Pfarrer wurden Hilfsgeistliche beigegeben, so dass man schon damals von einem Superiorat Rötz sprechen kann. Seit 1764 war hier ein Superior als Pfarrer mit 3 Kooperatoren. 1771 wurde ein Grossteil der Stadt durch eine Feuersbrunst vernichtet ; auch die Residenz der Augustiner ging in Flammen auf. Bei einem zweiten Stadtbrand 18 Jahre später blieben wieder nurmehr die Mauern des Superiorates stehen. Die Schäden wurden damals mit 10000 Gulden taxiert. Das Kloster Schönthal trug mit der Provinz die gesamte Last des Aufbaues und unterstützte sogar noch jeden Rötzer Brandgeschädigten mit Bauholz. Der Provinzial Felix Sutor erwirkte für die Rötzer Residenz 3 Jahre Nachlass der Dezimation. Nach der Säkularisation verblieben die 4 Augustiner als Seelsorger in Rötz, das Residenzgebäude wurde Pfarrhof. Der letzte Superior Angelinus Höcherl blieb bis zur Organisation der Pfarrei 1808 in Rötz, wurde aber dann Seelsorger der abgetrennten Pfarrei Heinrichskirchen.

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Schönthal

LK Waldmünchen, Opf, Diöz. Regensburg — Patron : St. Maria, St. Michael.

Schönthal gehört zu jenen Klöstern, die von die Wilhelmiten gegründet waren. Das in den alten Klostertraditionen angegebene Gründungsdatum 1150 kann durch keine urkundliche Quelle belegt werden. Dass vor 1250 der Orden des hl. Wilhelm hier in der Nähe vom heutigen Schönthal eine Niederlassung besass, gilt als sicher. Der Ort wurde collis lapidum — Steinbühl — genannt, ein Zeichen, dass das heutige Kloster nicht dort gestanden haben kann. Schon 1255 wurde das Kloster an den heutigen Ort verlegt und die der hl. Gottesmutter Maria geweihte Kirche erbaut. Verschiedene Bischöfe gewährten durch Ablassverleihungen fördernde Hilfe. Durch die Bulle « Licet ecclesiae catholicae » vom 9. April 1256 hatte Papst Alexander IV. mehrere Eremitenvereinigungen zusammengeschlossen. Unter ihnen befanden sich auch die Wilhelmiten mit ihrem Mutterhaus in Favali bei Pesaro, die nur widerwillig dieser Union zugestimmt hatten. Die Anstrengungen der Klöster Schönthal und Seemanshausen, sich wieder dem alten Ordensverband anzuschliessen, vereitelte der Provinzial Guido Salanus mit Hilfe des Regensburger Bischofs Leo Thundorfer. Bischof Leo bewog 1263 die beiden Klöster, sich der Union ohne Zögern zu unterwerfen. Die zahlreichen Urkunden, die uns aus dem Kloster Schönthal über-

liefert worden sind, geben heute noch Zeugnis, wie sehr das Kloster in der ersten Zeit seines Bestehens gefördert wurde. Die Herzöge Otto und Stephan von Niederbayern liessen ihnen 1297 das Patronatsrecht der Pfarrkirche in Rötz zukommen, auf das die Herren von Schwarzenburg freiwillig verzichtet hatten. Papst Bonifaz VIII. und der Regensburger Bischof bestätigten diese Patronatsübertragung. Ebenso wurde durch päpstliches Privileg auch 1303 die Inkorporation der Schönthaler Pfarrkirche durchgeführt. Im gleichen Jahr statteten die Herzöge von Niederbayern das Kloster mit dem Hofmarksrecht aus, so dass das Kloster gleich den Adeligen über die Untertanen die niedere Gerichtsbarkeit ausüben konnte. Als grosse Wohltäter von Schönthal werden in den Urkunden immer wieder die Grafen von Leonsberg genannt, welche alle Lehensgüter dem Kloster übereigneten, ausserdem die in der Nachbarschaft wohnenden Landgrafen von Leuchtenberg, die Herren von Murach, Schwarzenburg, Geigant, Paulsdorf u. a. m., die durch Schenkungen von Gütern und Zehnten, durch Seelgeräte und Grablegen die wirtschaftlige Lage des Konvents verbesserten. Dem Geschlechte Murach gehörte auch Lektor Konrad Murach an, der 25 Jahre die Geschäfte des Priors in Schönthal führte und selbst 1417 vor Kaiser Sigismund die Rechte des Klosters gegen die Bedrückung des Klosters durch Heinrich Pflug von der Schwarzenburg verteidigte. Von den Besitzungen des Klosters seien besonders erwähnt das Dorf Hiltersried und Biberbach. Im letzteren errichtete das Kloster 1395 eine Propstei mit einem Hofmeister. Neben dem Männerkloster bestand in Schönthal ein Frauenkonvent. Diesen Beguinen hatte der Provinzial Nikolaus von Laun eine Regel gegeben, deren strenge Vorschriften sein Nachfolger Hermann von Schönthal 1364 milderte. Die nahe Lage Schönthals an der Grenze Böhmens brachte dem Kloster zur Zeit der Hussitenkriege eine schwere Heimsuchung. Die fanatisierten tschechischen Ketzer zündeten die Klostergebäude an, nachdem sie vorher dieselben ausgeraubt hatten. Durch den plötzlichen Abzug der Hussiten konnte damals noch ein Teil der Gebäude gerettet werden. Ein Jahr später blieben anlässlich eines neuerlichen Einfalls der Hussiten vom Kloster nur noch die leeren Mauern stehen. 1433 erlitten tschechische Kriegshorden bei Hiltersried in der Nähe von Schönthal die erste Niederlage auf bayerischem Boden und wurden damit aus Bayern endgültig vertrieben. Der Prior Konrad Muracher legte beim Wiederaufbau des Klosters besonders auf die starke Ummauerung und die Wehrhaftigkeit seines Klosters Wert.

Der aus Schönthal stammende Provinzial Georg von Schönthal, ein Doktor der Pariser Universität, war auf dem Konzil von Basel anwesend und berichtete darüber dem bayerischen Herzog. 1474 konnten die Mönche die Inkorporierung der Pfarrei Rötz mit den Filialen Heinrichskirchen, Hiltersried und Biberbach von Papst Sixtus IV. erwirken. Julius II. vereinigte 1506 endgültig die Rötzer Pfarrei mit Schönthal. Trotz des anfänglichen Widerstandes gegen alle reformatorischen Bestrebungen durch die Prioren Johannes Wagner (1520-1540) und Erhard Prichsner (1550-1559) setzte sich nach dem Uebertritt der pfälzischen Wittelsbacher zum Protestantismus die neue Lehre auch in Schönthal durch. 1559 wurden die Mönche von den Protestanten vertrieben. Die Einkünfte flossen fortan in die fürstliche Kasse nach Amberg. Als Pfalzgraf Kasimir zum Kalvinismus übergetreten war, mussten auch die Schönthaler den Glauben wechseln. Die Klosterkirche wurde jetzt allen Schmuckes beraubt, so dass nur noch der steinerne Hochaltar in ihr emporragte. Erst nachdem Herzog Maximilian nach dem Siege auf dem Weissen Berge die Kurpfalz erhalten hatte, begann allmählich wieder der katholische Glaube Fuss zu fassen. 1630 wurde ein Augustiner zur Versehung der Pfarrei nach Schönthal geschickt. Aber erst Kurfürst Ferdinand Maria stellte 1669 die früheren klösterlichen Gemeinschaften in der Oberpfalz wieder her, indem er alle Besitzungen den Klöstern zurückerstatten liess. Neben Schönthal verwalteten die Augustiner nun wieder die Pfarrei Rötz. Die Einkünfte waren nun derart günstig, dass das Kloster gegen 20 Konventualen in seinen Mauern beherbergen konnte. 1695 ging man sogar daran, die baufälligen Gebäude zu erneuern. Prior Prosper Helgemayr führte den grossen Klosterbau durch. 1710 wagte man sich auch an den Kirchenneubau, der gemäss dem Stil der Zeit in schlichten Formen gehalten wurde. Im Gotteshaus hatten viele Adelige ihre Grabstätten und Grabkapellen gestiftet, so die Turner, Muracher, Chelbel, Geiganter, Zenger und Eyttemhartter von Fischbach. Durch den Brand von 1833 wurde die Kirche gänzlich vernichtet. Unter dem Priorat des P. Benignus Wilhelm wurde die Säkularisation in Bayern durchgeführt. Der Konvent zählte damals 21 Patres, 1 Kleriker und 4 Laienbrüder. Von den Patres waren ständig 8 in der Seelsorge in Rötz und Schönthal tätig. Nach der Verkündigung der Klosteraufhebung wurden die Konventualen im September 1802 in das Zentralkloster nach München geschickt. Nur die zur Ausübung der Seelsorge benötigten Patres wurden zurück-

gelassen. Die Güter zog der Staat ein. Allein 2240 Tagwerk Wald wurden den Staatswäldern zugeführt. Seine Gebäude, die Brauerei, die Klosterapotheke, 546 Tagwerk an Feldern und Wiesen sowie die 32 Fischteiche wurden an Meistbietende versteigert. Der Prior blieb in Schönthal und übernahm die Pfarrei. Sein Kooperator war der Konventuale Marcellinus Sturm, ein in der bayerischen Literaturgeschichte wegen seiner prächtigen, urwüchsigen Lieder bekannter Dichter.

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Seemannshausen

LK Eggenfelden, Nbb, Diöz. Regensburg — Patron : St. Maria Magdalena.

Der Regensburger Domdechant Heinrich Seemann hatte 1255 das Schloss Pöllingkofen von den Grafen von Leonsberg erworben und es zu einem Kloster umgewandelt. Er siedelte hier den Orden des hl. Wilhelm an, um für sich und seine Familie eine Art Hauskloster zu stiften. Der Gründer sorgte auch in der Folgezeit für

seine Stiftung, indem er für die Wilhelmiten geistliche und weltliche Privilegien erwirkte. Gleich dem Kloster Schönthal wollte Seemannshausen von der durch Papst Alexander IV. durchgeführten Union der Eremiten-Kongregationen nichts wissen und sträubte sich, seine Ordenstradition aufzugeben. Erst durch die Autorität des Regensburger Bischofs Leo Thundorfer konnte das Kloster 1263 dem Augustinerorden eingegliedert werden. Der Bischof von Freising gab den Seemannshausner Augustinern die Erlaubnis in seiner Diözese zu predigen. 1262 weihte der Weihbischof Thomas einen Altar der Kirche zu Ehren des hl. Magdalena. Die Freiheitsbriefe, die das Kloster von den Landesherren erhielt, sind sehr zahlreich. 1325 befreite es Herzog Heinrich von Niederbayern von der Leistung der Nachtselde und 1335 verlieh er ihm die Niedergerichtsbarkeit. Kaiser Ludwig gewährte ihm 1343 zollfreien Salztransport und bestätigte die Hofmarksgerechtigkeit. In den späteren Jahren konfirmierten die bayerischen Herzöge dem Kloster immer wieder seine Freiheiten. Auch der benachbarte Adel und viele Geistliche, Bauern und Bürger liessen dem Kloster viele Wohltaten in Form von Besitzübertragungen, Stiftungen und Zehnten zukommen. So besass Seemannshausen in zahlreichen Orten Ansprüche auf Zehnten und Gülten. Zur Arrondierung des Besitzes vertauschten die Augustiner mit den Aebten von Seeon und St. Veit Grundstücke und Güter. Im Mittelalter hatte das Kloster trotz seiner räumlichen Abgeschiedenheit von dem grösseren Städten für den Orden nicht geringe Bedeutung. Der erste Provinzial deutscher Sprache, Engelbert, wurde hier begraben. 1343 wurde im Kloster unter dem Provinzial Ulrich von Regensburg ein Kapitel abgehalten. Im 14. Jahrhundert unterhielt Seemannshausen in verschiedenen grösseren Städten wie Burghausen, Mühldorf und Braunau sogenannte Terminierhäuser. Wegen der wirtschaftlich günstigen Lage des Klosters konnten diese Häuser im 17. Jahrhundert aufgehoben werden. Während im 15. Jahrhundert in fast allen Klöstern des Ordens Reformen durchgeführt wurden, hört man von solchen Bestrebungen in unserem Kloster nichts. Auch der von Staupitz geleiteten Kongregation gehörte Seemannshausen nicht an. Es unterstand durchgängig der Jurisdiktion des bayerischen Provinzials. Während der Zeit der Glaubensspaltung blieb es der Tradition treu, ja es fällt auf, dass gerade damals zur Zeit des Priors Hieronymus (1516-1530) viele Gütererwerbungen gemeldet werden. Seemannshausen bildet jedoch keine rühmliche Ausnahme in der Zeit des allgemeinen Klosterverfalls. Nach dem Priorat des P. Martin

Eder (1555-1560) hatte es seinen Tiefstand erreicht. Zwei Jahre hört man nur von Administratoren. 1560 wurde vom Herzog Albrecht V. eine Visitation angeordnet, doch der Prior widersetzte sich den Anordnungen und berief sich auf seine exemte Stellung. Ein Jahr später besuchte der Ordensgeneral Christopher Patavinus das Kloster. Beim Verlassen Bayerns wurde sein Gepäck untersucht und dabei Geld und Wertsachen entdeckt, die nur aus bayerischen Klöstern stammen konnten. Man warf ihm vor, dass er von den Konventen Geld erpresst, besonders aber zwei Kelche aus dem Seemannshauser Kloster unberechtigterweise an sich genommen habe. Die bayerischen Herzöge mischten sich immer wieder in die Angelegenheiten des Klosters. 1574 liessen sie z. B. eine Ueberprüfung der Wirtschaftslage anstellen, da nach ihrer Anschauung nicht nur die Disziplin, sondern auch die gesamte Klosterökonomie verfallen war. Damals war in Seemannshausen der Prior Michael der einzige Priester und dazu kein vorbildlicher Religiose. Unter anderem verkaufte er die Fischrechte auf der Rott an das Deutschherrenhaus Gangkofen, weshalb das Kloster später einen jahrelangen Prozess führen musste. Dem sittlichen und wirtschaftlichen Niedergang der bayerischen Augustinerklöster wurde erst durch P. Antonius Keerbeck ein Halt geboten. Dieser bedeutende Rheinländer erntete aber wenig Dank dafür, da er die ärgsten Beschuldigungen und in Seemannshausen sogar die Kerkerstrafe über sich ergehen lassen musste. Dass er unschuldig war, beweist die Tatsache, dass er in den folgenden Jahren in seiner alten Heimatprovinz segensreich als Provinzial und Generalvikar wirkte. Erst gegen Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nahm Seemannshausen einen neuen Aufschwung, als der tüchtige Jordan Degler (1636-1642) dem Kloster vorstand. Viel Verdruss bereitete das Klosterbräuhaus, da die Brauereien der Umgegend gegen jeden anfechtbaren Bierausschank Klage führten. Da seit dem Bestehen des Klosters keine grösseren Umbauten durchgeführt worden waren, musste man zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts an einen Neubau des Klosters denken. Prior Angelus Höggmair (1711-1721), einer der rührigsten und bedeutendsten Vertreter des Ordens im 18. Jahrhundert, der später in Rom als Generalassistent wirkte, liess 1712-1715 einen dreigeschossigen Bau um einen geschlossenen Innenhof aufrichten und die Kirche in den gesamten Klosterkomplex mit einbeziehen. Die hierzu benötigten finanziellen Mittel von 30000 Gulden mussten aufgenommen werden, teils von der Regierung, teils von Spendern. Die gesamte Schuldenlast hatte

man bis 1768 unter Aufbringung von grossen Opfern abgezahlt. Ueber die Inneneinrichtung der Kirche sind wir nicht mehr unterrichtet, denn auch sie vernichtete die Säkularisation, es soll jedoch eine schön ausgestattete Kirche gewesen sein. Neben der Schule, die schon einmal 1563 erwähnt wird, besorgten die Patres noch die Klosterapotheke, die 1803 zum Aerger der dortigen Bevölkerung nach Emmering verlegt wurde. Seemannshausen traf im September 1802 der Aufhebungsbefehl. Die Patres wurden sogleich in das Zentralkloster in München eingewiesen, nur der Prior Barnabas Plank, der vorher 4 Jahre das Provinzialat verwaltet hatte, blieb als Administrator zurück ; er wurde 1805 Pfarrer in Niederviehbach. Die Kirche wurde sogleich gesperrt, exsekriert und bald darauf niedergerissen. Die Gebäude versteigerte die Klosteraufhebungskommission. Einen Flügel liess der neue Besitzer alsbald niederlegen.

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Tittmoning

LK Laufen, Obb, Diöz. München-Freising — Patron : Allerheiligen.

An der Grenze des Salzburger Stiftslandes zu Bayern liegt das Städtchen Tittmoning, einstmals Sommersitz der Fürsterzbischöfe von Salzburg. Neben der 1633 zum Kollegiatstift erhobenen St. Laurentiuskirche bildet heute noch die ehem. Klosterkirche Allerheiligen den Mittelpunkt des Stadtbildes. Kloster und Kirche hat Erzbischof Maximilian Gandolf Graf Kuenberg, ein grosser Gönner des Augustinerordens, am 30. Oktober 1682 gestiftet und erbauen lassen. Gemäss dem Stiftungsbrief sollten die Augustiner vor allem die Tittmoninger Seelsorger unterstützen. Die Klostergründung war vor allem das Werk des Salzburger Ordensoberen der Tirol-Salzburgischen Provinz Dr. Johann Bapt. Maralt, der beim Erzbischof in hohem Ansehen stand und innerhalb eines Jahres die drei Ordenshäuser in Kufstein, Tittmoning und Hall neu aufbaute. Maralt konnte somit die Eigenständigkeit der jungen Provinz unter Beweis stellen. Das Tittmoninger Kloster wurde vom Erzbischof für 12 Religiosen bestimmt und mit einem Stiftungskapital von 20000 Gulden dotiert. Dafür wurden die Mönche verpflichtet, die kanonischen Tagzeiten in der Kirche zu beten und die Prediger für die Kollegiatkirche zu stellen. Der Plan für die Kirche stammt aus dem Salzburger Hofbaumeisteramt. Das stattliche barocke Gotteshaus mit den drei Altären wurde am 24. August 1683 zu Ehren Aller Heiligen vom Erzbischof eingeweiht. Das Hauptaltarbild schuf der Salzburger Hofmaler Christopf Lederwasch 1686. Die Blätter der Seitenaltäre stellen Ordensheilige dar und sind z. T. dem Laienbruder Theoderich Wagner zuzuschreiben. Erster Prior wurde P. Ludwig Binklmann. Unter den Vorstehern dieses Klosters befand sich auch der nachmalige deutsche Generalassistent in Rom, P. Franz Joseph Thalhammer. Das Kloster war infolge der zahlreichen Stiftungen genügend dotiert, so dass es oft mehr als 12 Religiosen aufnehmen konnte. 1765 wurde die Kirche wieder einer gründlichen Renovierung unterzogen. Eine neue Kanzel stellte Benedikt Zöpf aus Salzburg auf. Das Gnadenbild Maria vom guten Rat wurde dem Altar-

aufbau des hl. Nikolaus von Tolentin eingefügt. Ein Jahr später wurde das gut gearbeitete Abschlussgitter unter der Orgelempore aufgestellt. Der Grundstein für ein neues Noviziat musste 1761 gelegt werden. Im darauffolgenden Sommer besuchte der Erzbischof Sigismund Christoph Graf von Schrattenbach mit einer grossen Gefolgschaft das Kloster. Im Oktober 1767 stieg die Klostergemeinschaft, die auf eine Höchstzahl von 20 begrenzt war, durch die Aufnahme neuer Novizen auf 30 Religiosen an, so dass eine eigene Genehmigung eingeholt werden musste. Seit 1785 bildeten nach der Teilung der Tirol-Salzburgischen Provinz die Konvente Salzburg, Tittmoning, Hall und Dürnberg eine eigene Provinz. Dadurch wurde der Tittmoninger Konvent noch enger an das Müllner-Kloster in Salzburg angeschlossen. Durch ein erzbischöfliches Konsistorialdekret wurde den Augustinern 1787 die Aufnahme von Laienbrüdern untersagt. Diese Verordnung war bereits ein Vorbote der Säkularisation. 1803 ging die Stadt an den Grossherzog von Toskana über, 1805 kam Tittmoning jedoch an Oesterreich, das 1806 das Augustinerkloster aufhob und in eine Kaserne verwandelte. Das Archiv kam in das Zentralkloster nach Salzburg. Das Müllner-Kloster selbst wurde 1831 der Benediktinerabtei Michaelbeuern einverleibt. Heute liegen die Archive beider Augustinerklöster in diesem Stiftsarchiv. Das Tittmoninger Kloster wurde später den Englischen Fräulein übertragen.

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Windsheim

LK Uffenheim, Mfr, Diöz. Bamberg — Patron : St. Augustinus.

In der an den Ausläufern des Steigerwaldes gelegenen mittelfränkischen Reichsstadt Windsheim stiftete 1291 die ritterliche Familie der Gailinge ein Augustinerkloster. Albrecht der Gailing wird in der Windsheimer Tradition als der eigentliche Stifter angegeben. Das Geschlecht sicherte sich durch diese Gründung ihr Erbbegräbnis in der Klosterkirche. Wie sehr diese adelige Familie ihre Schutzherrschaft über das Kloster ernst nahm, beweist die Tatsache, dass sie gegen die spätere Auflösung des Klosters protestierte und die Reichsstadt nur nach einem gütlichen Vergleich sich mit den Geilingen in Illesheim einigte. Von der Kirchweihe der Klosterkirche hören wir bereits 1295. Nach späteren Angaben hatte sie 3 Altäre. Der Chor dieser gotischen Kirche steht heute noch und birgt im Obergeschoss die 5000 Bände umfassende Windsheimer Stadtbibliothek. Schon bald nach der Gründung erhielt das Kloster die päpstliche Bestätigung. Es unterstand der Jurisdiktion des bayerischen Provinzials. Das Kloster war bis an die Stadtmauer heran gebaut. Der Windsheimer Konvent spielte in der Provinzgeschichte nie eine ausschlaggebende Rolle, daher ist es in der Ordensgeschichte kaum bekannt geworden. Die ständigen Zwiste mit der Stadtgeistlichkeit wurden im Jahre 1425 durch einen Vertrag zwischen dem Pfarrer von St. Kilian und dem Augustinerkloster beigelegt, indem sich beide

Parteien verpflichteten, die Messen zu genau festgelegter Zeit zu feiern. Dass auch hier die Klosterzucht im 15. Jahrhundert gehoben werden musste, zeigt die Bitte des Windsheimer Rates an den Ordensgeneral, die Reformierung des Augustinerklosters durchzuführen. Der General beauftragte 1435 hierfür den thüringischen Augustinervikar Heinrich Zolter und gab ihm die Befugnis in seinem Namen Strafen zu verhängen, Brüder zu versetzen und andere, reformierte Konventualen in das Windsheimer Kloster abzuordnen. Der General schrieb an den Rat der Stadt, die Reform zu schützen und die Gegner der strengen Observanz den Aufenthalt in der Stadt zu verbieten. Als Prior wurde damals von Rom aus Petrus Fabri (Schmidt) eingesetzt. Die von Zolter durchgeführte Reform scheint aber nicht von langer Dauer gewesen zu sein. 2 Jahre später hört man von neuerlichen Unstimmigkeiten und Aergernissen bei den Augustinern. Zu den reformierten Mönchen des Windsheimer Konventes zählte vor 1452 der nachmalige Provinzial und Weihbischof von Regensburg Johannes Ludovici, der hier als Lektor tätig war. Der bayerische Provinzial Paulus Weigl, ein Vorkämpfer der Observanz unter den süddeutschen Klöstern, wurde 1471 durch den General als Visitator nach Windsheim abgeordnet, da die Klosterzucht vollkommen verschwunden war. Paulus Weigl wird 2 Jahre später zum Vikar des Windsheimer Konvents ernannt. Diese damalige Reform scheint gefruchtet zu haben. 1500 schlichtete der Provinzial Johannes Oberdorffer einen schon lange Jahre schwebenden Streit zwischen der Stadt und dem Kloster. Vor allem durfte jetzt das Kloster an fremde Personen keinen Wein mehr ausschenken. Die Nachricht, dass Luther sich im Kloster auf dem Rückwege von seiner Romreise 1518 aufgehalten haben soll, ist zwar nicht bezeugt, aber wahrscheinlich. Beziehungen zu dem Reformator lagen gewiss vor, denn zu Beginn der religiösen Umwälzungen zeigten sich im Augustinerkloster starke Neigungen für die Lehre Luthers. Man folgte schliesslich dem Beispiel der Wittenberger Mitbrüder. Ein Teil der Mönche trat aus, die zurückgebliebenen versuchten den Klosterbesitz zu veräussern. Zuletzt war nur noch der Prior Stephan Reiser mit 2 Religiosen im Kloster. Ob dieser Stephan Reiser identisch ist mit dem Bruder Stephan von Windsheim, dem der General 1517 die Erlaubnis gab, in Italien zu predigen, kann nicht festgestellt werden. Zu Beginn des Bauernkrieges stürmte im Mai 1525 nachts der Mob der Reichsstadt das Kloster. Nur durch das Dazwischentreten des Rates konnte die Plünderung verhindert

werden. Eingeschüchtert durch diese Unruhen, übergaben die 3 Augustiner am 13. Mai 1525 das Kloster mit sämtlichen Besitzungen an den Rat der Stadt. Vor dem Notar und geladenen Zeugen erklärten die Augustiner, fernerhin mit ihrer Hände Arbeit sich zu nähren. Der Besitz sollte zur Unterstützung der Armen verwendet werden. Der Rat übernahm das Kloster und versprach die Güter für wohltätige Zwecke zu verwenden. Aus dieser sogenannten Augustinerpflege wurden später die Kultusstiftungen bestritten. Den ausgetretenen Mönchen wurden die Gelder, die sie mit ins Kloster gebracht hatten, zurückerstattet oder es wurden ihnen Entschädigungen gewährt. Stephan Reiser zog nach Nürnberg, ein anderer Mönch wurde lutherischer Prediger. Die Kirche wurde 1592 wegen Baufälligkeit abgerissen, nur der Chor blieb stehen, die Klostergebäude beseitgte die Stadt 1713. Wiewohl das Kloster klein und arm war, muss in seinen Mauern trotzdem ein reges geistiges Leben geherrscht haben. Die heute noch in der Stadtbibliothek Windsheim verwahrten 150 Handschirften und 110 Inkunabeln stammen grösstenteils von der alten Klosterbibliothek und geben noch Zeugnis von dem geistigen Leben eines mittelalterlichen Augustinerklosters.

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Würzburg

Ufr, Diöz. Würzburg — Patron : St. Augustinus, St. Georg.

Das Würzburger Kloster kann in seiner Geschichte auf eine ungestörte fortlaufende Tradition zurückblicken und ist heute neben Münnerstadt das Zentralkloster der seit 1896 wieder ins Leben gerufenen deutschen Augustinerprovinz. In der unterfränkischen alten Bischofsstadt war wahrlich kein Mangel an Geistlichen und Ordensleuten, als die Augustiner 1262 unter der Führung des ersten Provinzials Guido Salanus dorthin kamen. Er empfahl die 2 mitgebrachten Mitbrüder dem Bischof, der den Orden gelegentlich eines Aufenthaltes in Rom durch den Kardinalprotektor Richard Annibaldi kennen gelernt hatte. Die beiden Mönche kauften als Kloster einen Hof am rechten Mainufer. Bis zur Fertigstellung ihres Klösterchen waren sie Gäste des Dominikanerklosters. Bischof Iring bestätigte den Besitz und gab ihnen die Erlaubnis zur Niederlassung in der Diözese. Albertus Magnus, der nach seiner Resignation als Bischof von Regensburg im Dominikanerkloster Würzburg lebte, unterstützte die Brüder durch Verleihung eines Ablasses. Als Gotteshaus übernahmen die Augustiner die St. Georgskapelle, die beim Kirchenbau als Chor verwendet wurde. Kloster und Kirche waren 1302 bereits ausgebaut, denn in diesem Jahre wurde Dormitorium, Refektorium, Kreuzgang, Friedhof und Kirche vom Bischof Johannes

von Havelberg konsekriert. Das Kloster wurde einige Jahre später vergrössert. Der Prior Hermann von Schildiz, einer der markantesten Vertreter des Ordens, liess um die Jahrhundertmitte eine Krankenabteilung und Bibliothek anbauen. Bei der 1299 von Heinrich Friemar vorgenommenen Provinzteilung wurde Würzburg der sächsisch-thüringischen Provinz zugeteilt. Unter dem Bischof Albrecht von Hohenlohe wurde der Mönch Berthold zum Weihbischof von Würzburg ernannt. 1360 wurde er in der Augustinerkirche begraben. Ein 2. Würzburger Weihbischof aus dem Augustinerkonvent war Johannes von Karlsstadt, der bei der Errichtung der Universität Würzburg unter Bischof Johannes von Eglofstein sich verdient gemacht hatte. Der Konvent war am Ende des 14. Jahrhundert soweit ausgebaut, dass sich der Provinzial Dietrich von Spereisen entschloss, für das 1391 abzuhaltende Generalkapitel die Würzburger Klostergebäude bereitzustellen. Zugleich wurden damals alle deutschen Provinzkapitel gleichzeitig hier abgehalten. Bartholomäus von Venedig wurde in Würzburg wiederum zum General gewählt. Die wichtigste Bestimmung dieses Würzburger Generalkapitels war, dass von nun an keine Brüder mehr auf der Pariser Universität studieren durften, da diese älteste Geistesschule auf der Seite des Gegenpapstes stand. Während der Reformtätigkeit der Generalvikare in Sachsen und Bayern um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts war Würzburg unter dem Priorat des Johannes Ott 1457 auf dem Kapitel zu Osnabrück der strengen Observanz beigetreten. Heinrich Cocci, der gelehrte Augustiner aus Erfurt, zog sich im gleichen Jahr nach Würzburg zurück. Auch unter dem Vikariat des Johannes von Staupitz gehörte Würzburg der deutschen Reformkongregation an. Der Plan des bayerischen Provinzials Johannes Ludovici, eines Professen des Würzburger Klosters, den Konvent der bayerischen Provinz einzugliedern, scheiterte 1467 an der Opposition der Würzburger Mönche. 1518 hielt sich Martin Luther auf seinem Weg zum Kapitel im Würzburger Kloster auf und reiste mit dem dortigen Prior Petrus Wieglin nach Heidelberg. Das dortige Provinzialkapitel war für den Orden entscheidend. Auf ihm und unmittelbar nach ihm trennten sich die Geister. Die jüngeren Ordensmitglieder standen zu Luther, die älteren zur Tradition. Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen von der Universität Erfurt, ein Glaubensverteidiger gegen alle Neuerer, suchte seit 1526 bei den Würzburger Augustinern Ruhe. Usingen hielt den Konvent zusammen, so dass Würzburg neben Erfurt die einzige Ordensniederlassung der thüringisch-sächsischen Provinz

wurde, die sich nicht auf die Seite der radikalen Reformideen schlug und sich nicht selbst auflöste. Ein Würzburger Augustiner wurde zwar Feldprediger der aufständischen Bauern und wurde 1528 zur Strafe verbrannt, aber der Konvent hielt sich mit Hilfe des Würzburger Bischofs am Leben. Erst mit dem Regierungsantritt des Bischofs Julius Echter, des grossen Gegenreformators, erstarkte allmählich wieder das religiöse Leben des Klosters, das damals keiner Provinz angehörte. Der Generalvikar der schwäbisch-rheinischen Provinz Antonius Keerbeck hielt hier 1598 Visitation, die zur Erkenntnis führte, dass es an der Zeit sei, Würzburg wieder einer Provinz anzuschliessen. Aber erst 1607 nahm es die schwäbische Nachbarprovinz unter seine Ordenshäuser auf. Trotz der Nöte und Drangsale des 30jährigen Krieges gedieh der Konvent. Bei der Wiederbesiedlung des Münnerstädter Klosters 1650 konnte er schon seinen Beitrag leisten. Die Abhaltung mehrerer Provinzkapitel im 17. Jahrhundert im Würzburger Klostergebäude gab ebenfalls dem Konvent neuen Aufschwung. Das Kloster war schliesslich 1688 soweit finanziell gestärkt, dass es unter dem Prior Nikolaus Adami an eine barocke Umgestaltung der Kirche herantreten konnte. Der Bischof Johann Gottfried von Guttenberg erbot sich, die Hälfte für den Neubau beizusteuern. Der Chor wurde abgebrochen und nach den Plänen des Baumeisters Petrini sein Verlegung nach Westen durchgeführt. 1691 erfolgte unter dem Prior Onuphrius Schambach, der durch seine ordensgeschichtlichen Werke bekannt wurde, die Einweihung. Prior Adeodat Ullrich (1693-1702) konnte die Vergrösserung und Neugestaltung der Klostergebäude wagen. Die Zahl der Konventualen stieg ständig, im Jahre 1728 wurden 34 gezählt. Viel trug zum Aufblühen bei, dass der Provinzial sehr häufig in Würzburg residierte. Fast 40 Jahre lebte im Konvent der Historiker Prior Antonius Höhn (1743-1749), der auf Grund der uns heute kaum mehr zugänglichen Urkunden und Akten seine Chronologia verfasste. An dem Ordensstudium in Würzburg liess die Provinz ihren Ordensnachwuchs ausbilden. Einer der bedeutendsten Theologen der Aufklärungszeit wurde der Würzburger Konventuale Engelbert Klüpfel (1733-1811), der seit 1767 an der Albertina in Freiburg als Dogmatiker wirkte und sogar von der Kaiserin Maria Theresia eine hohe Auszeichnung erhielt. Ebenfalls ein Würzburger Professe war der gelehrte P. Jordan Simon (1719-1776), seit 1760 Regens des Würzburger Studiums. Er wurde 1768 Professor an der Universität Erfurt und erhielt 1773 einen Ruf an die Universität Prag als Professor

der Kontroverstheologie. Als die Säkularisation 1803 fast alle Klöster des Ordens vernichtete, verdankte das Kloster Würzburg dem Umstande sein weiteres Bestehen, dass der Grossherzog von Toskana, der neue Landesherr von Würzburg, den Klöstern wohl gesinnt war. Doch brachten die Jahre der allgemeinen Klosteraufhebung und der Zerstörung der alten gesellschaftlichen Ordnung keine Ordensberufe mehr hervor. Das Würzburger Kloster hatte um seinem Fortbestand schwer zu kämpfen. Der Nachwuchs fehlte vollends. Während der napoleonischen Kriege wurde das Kloster als Lazarett eingerichtet und 1813 mussten die wenigen Patres auch ihr altes Kloster räumen, um dem Lehrerseminar Platz schaffen. Ein Erweiterungsbau des Seminars erforderte 1824 sogar den Abbruch der Klosterkirche. Die Augustiner bezogen das leerstehende Dominikanerkloster. 1818 wurden schliesslich die beiden noch übriggebliebenen Augustinerniederlassungen Münnerstadt und Würzburg vereinigt. Nur 1 Pater verblieb in Würzburg, um die Erziehung des Ordensnachwuchses zu leiten und das Klerikat zu betreuen. 1847 wurde die Würzburger Klostergemeinschaft wieder offiziell zur Residenz erklärt und 1860 zum Priorat erhoben. Die beiden Klöster unterstanden seit 1803 nur noch dem Diözesanbischof. Als 1895 infolge der Bemühungen von P. Pius Keller die bayerisch-deutsche Provinz von Rom aus wieder errichtet wurde, bildeten die beiden Klöster Münnerstadt und Würzburg die Kraftfelder für die neuaufblühende Ordensgemeinschaft. Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg wurde in Würzburg eine eigene Klosterschule für den Ordensnachwuchs errichtet und 1921 in den Räumen des Klosters eine eigene Druckerei aufgestellt. 1925 musste das Kloster erweitert werden. Trotz des harten Schlages, der das Kloster 1945 traf — in der Schreckensnacht des 16. März wurden neben der Augustinerkirche allein 34 katholische Gotteshäuser vernichtet —, gingen die Augustiner mit ungebrochenem Mut eigenhändig an den Wiederaufbau ihres Klosters und ihrer Kirche. Heute stehen die Augustiner im Mittelpunkt des geistlichen und geistigen Lebens dieser alten mainfränkischen Bischofsstadt. Ihnen ist unter anderem die Studentenseelsorge, die Catholica Unio, und die ostkirchliche Arbeit in Deutschland anvertraut. Die Früchte ihrer geistigen Arbeit sind die theologischen Sammlungen « Cassiciacum » und « Das östliche Christentum » und die wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift « Ostkirchliche Studien ». Mit 27 Patres, 20 Klerikerprofessen und 12 Laienbrüdern ist der Würzburg Konvent heute die stärkste Gemeinschaft augustinischer Tradition innerhalb der deutschen Augustinerprovinz.

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Hohenmauthen
Fiume
Adriatisches Meer
Laibach
Augustiner-Eremiten in Österreich.

Augustinerklöster in Österreich

Einleitung

Verhältnismässig gross war bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts die Zahl der österreichischen Augustinerklöster. Sie spielten in der Kirchengeschichte des Landes zum Teil eine recht bedeutsame Rolle. Dass aber seither nicht nur der gesamte Orden im Gebiet des heutigen Oesterreich vollkommen ausstarb, sondern auch die geschichtliche Tradition der alten Klöster ganz in Vergessenheit geriet, muss wohl als eine besondere Tragik empfunden werden. Umso berechtigter mag es nun erscheinen, die Ueberlieferung dieser alten Konvente, ehe sie vollkommen ausstirbt, zu erfassen und zu sichern.

Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit fanden grundsätzlich nur jene Klöster Aufnahme, die sich auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Oesterreich befanden. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur die Klöster des gegenwärtig jugoslawischen Gebietes, weil sie ehedem mit dem österreichischen, besonders dem steirischen Klosterverband, in so enger Verbindung standen, dass sie nicht von diesem getrennt betrachtet werden können. Die seit 1790 zur österreichischen Provinz gehörigen ungarischen Klöster wurden hier nicht aufgenommen. Ihre Behandlung hätte den Umfang dieser Arbeit zu sehr erweitert. Ausserdem sind sie in Schiers « Memoria provinciae Hungaricae » (Graz 1778) in einer für ihre Zeit ausgezeichneten Weise zusammenfassend dargestellt. Ebenso musste auch das heute auf bayrischem Gebiet liegende und seinerzeit zur Salzburger Provinz gehörige Kloster Tittmoning aus diesem Rahmen ausscheiden.

Die Provinzzugehörigkeit der österreichischen Augustinerklöster war im Wandel der Jahrhunderte manchen Aenderungen unterworfen. Ursprünglich gehörten sie alle der bayrischen Ordensprovinz an. Da sich aber dieser gewaltige, mehrere Nationalitäten umfassende Provinzverband als zu gross und zu schwerfällig erwies, erlangten kleinere Landesgruppen von Klöstern zuerst als Distrikte,

dann als Provinzen immer mehr eigene Selbständigkeit. Am Schlusse dieser Entwicklung bestanden auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Oesterreich drei Provinzen: eine für die Klöster in Salzburg-Tirol, eine zweite für Steiermark-Kärnten und die eigentliche österreichische Provinz, die damals nur die Klöster in Niederösterreich und im heutigen Burgenland umfasste.

Die beiden grossen Blütezeiten der österreichischen Augustinerklöster lagen im 14. und dann im 18. Jahrhundert. Dazwischen lag die schwere Krisenzeit der Reformation, der manches Augustinerkloster in Oesterreich zum Opfer fiel. Diejenigen Konvente, welche die josephinische Klosteraufhebung überstanden, verfielen zumeist der Säkularisation des 19. Jahrhunderts. Um die Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts gab es keine Augustiner-Eremiten mehr in Oesterreich.

Archivalische Quellen zur Geschichte der österreichischen Augustinerklöster befinden sich verstreut in fast allen staatlichen und kirchlichen Archiven. Einige unter ihnen, vor allem kirchliche und Gemeindearchive, sind allerdings zum Teil derzeit infolge der Kriegs- und Nachkriegsverhältnisse (Beschlagnahmung oder überstürzte Räumung nach der nationalsozialistischen Besetzung im Jahre 1939, Verlagerungs- und Bombenschäden während des Krieges, Notunterbringung in der Nachkriegsbesatzungszeit u. dgl.) noch nicht vollkommen neu geordnet.

Der Begriff der Archivalien ist in der vorliegenden Arbeit sehr weit gefasst und schliesst auch alle ungedruckten Manuskripte ein.

Ein geschlossener Bestand irgend eines der ehemaligen Klosterarchive ist heute nirgends mehr erhalten. Die wichtigste Quelle zur Geschichte der österreichischen Augustinerklöster bildet der handschriftliche Nachlass Xystus Schiers, des bedeutenden Historikers aus dem Wiener Augustinerkonvent. Er befindet sich in der Handschriftensammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Daselbst ist auch noch ein Teil der Protokolle des ehemaligen Provinzarchivs vorhanden. Hier sind vor allem die Codices 5811, 7236, 7238, 7342, 7372, 7429 und 8236 sowie besonders 8461 und 8466 zu nennen.

« Regesten zur Geschichte der österreichischen Augustiner-Ordensprovinz » befinden sich in den von Kopallik J. herausgegebenen « Regesten zur Geschichte der Erzdiözese Wien », 1. Bd., Wien 1890, S. 204 ff.

Als wichtigste Zusammenfassung bildlicher Darstellungen sind die unter dem Titel « Monasteria ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini

per Germaniam aeri incisa.-Aug. Vindelicorum (um 1730) » veröffentlichten Kupferstiche von Joh. Math. Steidlin zu nennen, die der Provinzial Mag. Angelus Höggmair († 1739) in Auftrag gegeben hatte.

Für einige Klöster, wie etwa Falkenstein und Friesach, ist die historische Tradition recht schwach. Ob sie einer weiteren Geschichtsforschung werden standhalten können, wird die Zukunft zeigen.

Möge diese knappe Zusammenstellung von Materialien vor allem auch Anregung sein zu weiterer eingehender Erforschung der Geschichte der einzelnen Klöster.

* * *

Die folgenden Abkürzungen wurden für öfters zitierte Werke gebraucht:

AZ — *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, neue Folge.

Donin — Donin R. K., *Die Bettelordenskirchen in Oesterreich* (Baden b. Wien 1935).

Fidler — Fidler M., Austria sacra (Wien 1788 sqq).

Kopallik, *Reg.* — Kopallik J., *Regesten zur Geschichte der Erzdiözese* (Wien 1890 sqq).

Milensius — *Alphabetum Felicis Milensii de monachis et monasteriis Germaniae et Sarmatiae citerioris Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Pragae 1613).

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Schier-Rosnak — *De monasteriis provinciae Austriae et Hungariae Ordinis FF. Eremitarum Sancti Augustini succincta notitia* (Viennae 1776). M. Rosnak veröffentlichte die Dokumente aus dem Nachlass des Xystus Schier.

Steidlin — *Monasteria Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini per Germaniam aeri incisa Augustae Vindelicorum* (ca. 1730). Veröffentlicht von J. M. Steidlin.

Wolf — Wolf A., *Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Innerösterreich 1782-1790* (Wien 1871).

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Baden (b. Wien)

BL. [1]) Niederösterreich ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron : Mariä Verkündigung.

Im Jahre 1285 stiftete Leutold von Creusbach und seine Familie das Kloster mit Kirche und Grundstücken. Es ist dies die erste formelle Stiftung eines Augustinerklosters in Oesterreich. Bischof Wernhard v. Passau und Papst Honorius IV. bestätigten die Gründung. Ablassverleihungen, Stiftungs- und Besitzurkunden u. dgl. künden von einem regen religiösen und wirtschaftlichen Leben aus der Frühzeit des Klosters. Heinrich von Pottendorf und seine Gemahlin schenkten 1297 dem Konvente die 1260 erstmalig erwähnte Frauenkapelle, einen gotischen einschiffigen Kirchenbau unweit des Klosters. Im Jahre 1338 entsandte das Kloster einige seiner Konventualen zur Besiedlung des eben gestifteten Korneuburger Konventes. Um die Mitte des 14. Jahrh. wurde das Kloster umgebaut und vergrössert und der Klosterbesitz weiter vermehrt. Wilhelm v. Creusbach, ein Nachkomme des Stifters, errichtete 1393 die Kapelle zu Ehren des allerheiligsten Altarsakramentes, die als Begräbnisstätte der Stifterfamilie dienen sollte. Die um 1422, zugleich mit dem Wiener Konvent angestrebte Reform des Klosters kam nicht zur rechten Auswirkung. In den Unruhen des 15. Jahrhdt. (Habsburgischer Bruderkrieg, Ständische Fehden, Einfall des Matthias Corvinus) wurde die Stadt Baden und sein Augustinerkloster oft schwer heimgesucht. Mit dem nun folgenden Ausbau der Stadtbefestigung und der gleichzeitigen Einbeziehung des Klosters in das Stadtgebiet kam es zu dauernden Misshelligkeiten zwischen Stadt und Konvent. Die Reformation steigerte noch den Konflikt. Anlässlich der 1. Türkenbelagerung Wiens (1529) wurde Baden von den Türken ausgebrannt und dabei die Kirche und das Kloster fast vollständig zerstört. Der Stadtmagistrat bemühte sich beim Kaiser um Ueberlassung des verödeten Klosters und seiner Einkünfte zur Errichtung eines Armenspitals. Der Kaiser lehnte zuerst ab ; gab aber, als 1545 der Konvent vollständig ausstarb, dann doch seine Zustimmung. Seit 1573 wurden wieder Verhandlungen geführt wegen der Rückgabe des Klosters an den Orden. Trotz starker Widerstände seitens des Stadtmagistrates wurde 1584 der Konvent tatsächlich

[1]) BL. = Bundesland.

restituiert. Die Anfeindungen seitens der protestantisch gesinnten Stadträte setzten aber dem Konvent schwer zu. Die Ermordung des Priors soll 1590 den Konvent zu einem neuerlichen Verlassen des Klosters veranlasst haben. Aber schon einige Jahre danach kehrten die Mönche, zumeist aus dem Wiener Kloster, wieder nach Baden zurück. Seit der unter Milensius durchgeführten Gründung der neuen böhmisch-österreichischen Ordensprovinz begannen sich auch in Baden die innerklösterlichen Verhältnisse wieder merklich zu festigen. Im Jahre 1607 liess der Prior sämtliche Klosterurkunden zusammenstellen ; 1615 sucht das « arme, zerfallene Klösterl » um Begünstigung hinsichtlich seiner Steuerrückstände an. Die seelsorgliche Tätigkeit der Augustiner wurde wieder stark durch den Weltklerus eingeschränkt. Seit 1638 war Baden eine zeitlang Noviziatsort der Provinz. Mit den protestantisch gesinnten Herren von Rauhenstein wurde das Kloster in einen Streit verwickelt, der erst nach Jahren zu Gunsten des Konventes abgeschlossen wurde. Als 1683 die Türken neuerlich vor Wien erschienen und die Stadt belagerten, wurde auch Baden wieder schwer heimgesucht und Kirche und Kloster der Augustiner vollständig niedergebrannt. « Was im Augustiner-Closter abgehet und niedergemacht worden ist, ist nit zu beschreiben ». Die meisten Konventualen waren nach Wien geflüchtet ; die Zurückgebliebenen wurden erschlagen. Wenige Jahre danach wurden Kirche und Kloster in bescheidener Form wieder errichtet. Da der Stadtpfarrer von Baden ebenfalls von den Türken erschlagen worden war, übernahmen die Augustiner nun für einige Jahre auch die Seelsorge an der Pfarre. Die Instandsetzung und gleichzeitige Erweiterung der Kirche und des Klosters zog sich bis um das Jahr 1700 hin. Ein Brand des Jahres 1714 richtete wieder grossen Schaden an, änderte aber nicht die bauliche Struktur der Kirche. 1728 suchte der Konvent beim Stadtrat um die Erlaubnis an, zweimal jährlich « leitgeben » (Wein ausschenken) zu dürfen, da es bisher noch immer nicht möglich war, die durch den Brand verwüsteten Gebäude der Kirche und des Klosters wiederherzustellen. Erst 1735 konnte mit einer wirksamen Instandsetzung begonnen werden. Dabei wurde der neue Klostertrakt, nach langen Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Stadtrat, gegen die Strasse vorgeschoben. Die Folgen der Aufklärung lähmten das klösterliche Leben. Trotzdem konnte der Konvent den josephinischen Klostersturm überdauern. Jedoch dem Vorschlag des Stadtmagistrates, die Pfarrseelsorge ganz zu übernehmen, vermochte der Konvent, der im

Jahre 1763 noch 22 Priester zählte, gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts nicht mehr zu entsprechen. Die seit 1297 in der Obhut des Kloster stehende Frauenkirche wurde 1787 entweiht (und 1811 abgetragen). Angeblich aus Mangel an Existenzmitteln wurde das Kloster im Jahre 1811 aufgehoben. Im Jahr darauf vernichtete ein Brand die Klosteranlage und die Kirche. Die Ruinen und der Grundbesitz wurden vom Religionsfond übernommen, bis sie 1818 Jos. Friedr. Haan von Haanendahl käuflich erwarb, der mit Unterstützung des Kaisers die Kirche wiederherstellte. Kaiser Franz I. kaufte 1826 Kirche und Klostergebäude, liess den Gottesdienst wieder einrichten und erklärte die Kirche zur Hofkirche.

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S. A.) ; Baden : Stadtarchiv (zZ infolge der Nachkriegs- und Besatzungsverhältnisse unbenützbar) ; Rektorat d. Frauenkirche, Chronik d. Frauenkirche in Baden b. W., zusammengestellt von H. Ressl (Hs., 1940 ff) ; Rom : Angelica Hs. 1652 (*Historia diruti coenobii PP. Augustinianorum Thermae Austriacae seu aquar. Sarmon*, v. Baden in Austria).

Pläne und Ansichten :

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Bruck a/d. Leitha

BL. Niederösterreich ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: St. Maria Magdalena.

Im Jahre 1316 wurde das Kloster mit ausdrücklicher Erlaubnis des Stadtmagistrates durch den Orden — ohne einen formellen Stifter — an den Mauern der Stadt errichtet. Die materielle Fundierung bestand vor allem aus Spenden des Volkes. Im Jahre 1343 wurde dem Kloster gegen Abhaltung eines Seelenamtes ein Waldstück geschenkt. Aus dem Jahre 1379 ist ein Ablassbrief des Kardinals Bonaventura, Nuntius von Ungarn, überliefert. Stiftungen geringeren und zum Teil auch grösseren Wertes werden verschiedentlich genannt. Im allgemeinen aber blieb das Brucker Augustinerkloster immer ärmlich und bescheiden. Es lebte zum grössten Teil von den Sammlungen, die es diesseits und jenseits der Leitha abzuhalten berechtigt war. Im Jahre 1424 kaufte das Kloster eine Mühle, die immer ihr bedeutendster Wirtschaftsfaktor blieb. Nur vereinzelt wurden die klösterlichen Grunddienste durch Jahrtage und Stiftungen vermehrt. Im Jahre 1448 wurd durch den apostolischen Legaten der Klosterkirche wieder ein Ablass verliehen. Als die Türken 1529 gegen Wien vorrückten, brachten sie auch über Bruck und sein Kloster schweres Unheil. Die Klosterangehörigen waren fast vollständig zerstreut worden. Bald darauf wurde die zerstörte Klosterkirche wieder errichtet und 1535 neu geweiht. Unter der Hochflut der protestantischen Wirren suchte die Bürgerschaft um 1545 beim Kaiser um die Bewilligung an, ihr das schwer darniederliegende Kloster samt seinen Einkünften als Spital zu über-

lassen. Mit Zustimmung des Priors und des Provinzials wurde infolge Personalmangels gegen Zahlung einer Ablöse im Jahre 1546 dem Ersuchen der Bürgerschaft stattgegeben. Die finanziellen Verhältnisse des Klosters waren nämlich durch die landesfürstlichen Türkensteuern und die allgemeine Not nach der grossen Verwüstung zu schwer erschüttert worden. Der Konvent, der bisher in erster Linie aus Almosen erhalten worden war, hatte in dieser Zeit der allgemeinen Klosterfeindlichkeit mit ihrem Verbot der Sammeltätigkeit seine Existenzgrundlage verloren. Seit 1467 — bis zur Mitte des 17. Jh. — war keine einzige Stiftung mehr dem Konvent vermacht worden. So wurde nun das Kloster als Siechenhaus und die Kirche als Pfarrkirche verwendet. Für den Fall, dass sich die allgemeine wirtschaftliche Lage und auch die personellen Verhältnisse der Ordensprovinz wieder bessern sollten, war die Zusicherung gegeben worden, das Kloster wieder zu reaktivieren. Im Zuge der Gegenreformation wurde das Kloster 1642 nach fast 100 Jahren auch tatsächlich wieder neu besiedelt. Ein Teil der Güter, wie die Klostermühle, wurden allerdings dem Kloster nicht mehr zurückgegeben. Ein Vertrag zwischen dem Konvent und der Stadtgemeinde aus dem Jahre 1651 regelte die weitere Verwendung der Klosterkirche als Pfarrkirche. Einen gewaltigen Aufschwung nahm das Kloster als P. Andreas Thalhammer 1678 hier Prior wurde und durch dreissig schwere Jahre dieses Amt bekleidete. Nicht mit Unrecht wird er der Neubegründer dieses Konventes genannt. Schon im zweiten Jahre seines Priorates drohte, als 1679 die Stadt Bruck durch die Pest fast entvölkert wurde, der Konvent wieder einzugehen. Aber wie durch ein Wunder blieb die Klostergemeinschaft verschont. In der schweren Notzeit der 2. Türkenbelagerung (1683) sorgte Thalhammer nicht nur für das Kloster sondern auch für die ganze Stadt. Er wurde zum Stadthauptmann bestellt und ihm in dieser Eigenschaft, als die Türken herannahten, die Schlüssel der Stadt anvertraut. Er selbst kontrollierte, so heisst es, die Wachen und war ihnen ein Vorbild unerschrockenen Mutes. Als er sah, dass die Stadt eine Belagerung nicht auszuhalten imstande war, ging er in ungarischer Kleidung mit dem Stadtsyndikus in das türkische Lager und verhandelte zu Gunsten der Stadt. Nach dem Abzug der Türken galt wieder seine ganze Sorge dem Kloster. Er förderte das monastische Leben und die seelsorgliche Tätigkeit. Er vermehrte die Bibliothek mit neuen Büchern und stattete die Kirche mit neuen Paramenten aus. Er erweiterte die Einkünfte des Klosters und festigte

seine ganze Stellung nach innen und aussen. Sein bedeutendster Nachfolger war der gelehrte und fromme Anselm Hörmonseder. Unter ihm wurde die Klosterkirche vollendet, an deren barocker Neuanlage man viele Jahre gearbeitet hatte. Als das Kloster 1755 durch eine Feuersbrunst neuerlich schwer beschädigt wurde, verfiel es in Schulden. Dazu kam noch, dass die Sammlungen jenseits der Leitha, die einen wesentlichen Teil der Einkünfte des Konventes ausmachten, eingestellt werden mussten. Trotzdem konnte die Kirche unter schweren Opfern wieder erneuert und mit einer barocken Fassade geschmückt werden. Als Abschluss der baulichen Instandsetzung wurde sie 1775 durch den Wiener Weihbischof feierlich geweiht. Auf Grund seiner ruhigen Lage wurde das Brucker Kloster in dieser unruhigen Zeit der Aufklärung zum Noviziatsort der österreichischen Provinz bestimmt. Im Jahre 1785, zur Zeit des Höhepunktes der josephinischen Klosteraufhebungen, zählte der Konvent, dem 1763 20 Mitglieder angehörten, immer noch 11 Priester und 1 Kleriker. Trotzdem wurde das Kloster drei Jahre danach (1788) aufgehoben. Ein Teil der Priester wurde für die Seelsorge an die Pfarre Bruck verpflichtet. Das Klostervermögen ging, nachdem ein Teil davon zur Fundierung einer Kaplanstelle in Bruck verwendet wurde, an die Augustinerklöster in Wien, Baden und Korneuburg über. Die Kirche des Klosters wurde entweiht und das Klostergebäude später als Kaserne verwendet.

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Pläne und Ansichten:

STEIDLIN.

Dürnberg

BL. Salzburg ; Erzdiözese Salzburg. — Patron: St. Maria.

Die Wallfahrtskirche zu Dürnberg, auf einem Hügel südwestlich von Hallein gelegen, wurde 1596 durch Erzbischof Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau aus rotem Salzburger Marmor erbaut. Ein bescheidenes Kirchlein dürfte an dieser Stelle schon seit dem 12. Jahrhundert bestanden haben. Im Jahre 1650 übergab der Salzburger Erzbischof die Seelsorge an der Wallfahrtskirche mit allen damit verbundenen Einkünften den Augustinern von Salzburg-Mülln. Diese errichteten hier ein Missionshaus und sollten vor allem im Sinne einer Rekatholisierung der stark protestantischen Bevölkerung wirken. Dürnberg war nie ein selbständiger Konvent, sondern unterstand als sogenannte Residenz anfangs dem Kloster Salzburg-Mülln, bis es dann nach der im Jahre 1682 erfolgten Neugründung des Halleiner Klosters diesem angeschlossen wurde. Das Vikariatshaus, das gegenüber der Kirche lag und mit einem grossen Garten versehen war, erfuhr um 1730 eine Erweiterung und barocke Ausgestaltung. Die Zahl der Patres, die sich bisher auf drei belief, wurde nun auf vier erhöht. Einige von ihnen waren allerdings ständig auswärts auf Missionen in der Umgebung. Sogar nach Aufhebung des Halleiner Klosters wurde Dürnberg noch eine Zeitlang von Augustinern betreut, bis im Jahre 1814 der letzte Augustiner zu Dürnberg starb und damit die Seelsorge am Wallfahrtsort wieder Weltpriestern übergeben wurde.

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Falkenstein

BL. Niederösterreich ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: unbekannt.

Von der Existenz eines Augustinerklosters in Falkenstein war seit langem nichts mehr bekannt. Allein bei Xystus Schier, dem bedeutenden österreichischen Augustiner-Historiker des 18. Jahrhunderts, findet sich unter seinen nachgelassenen handschriftlichen Notizen « Pro historia Provinciae Austriacae Ord. Erem. S. Aug. » die Bemerkung, dass in Falkenstein bei Poysdorf ganz am Anfang (gemeint ist, bald nach der Gründung des Ordens 1256) ein Kloster entstanden sei (Falckensteinii prope Poystorf monasterium surrexit statim sub initium). Diese Annahme ist, wenn sie auch heute nicht mehr bewiesen werden kann, durchaus möglich. Falkenstein ist einer der ältesten befestigten Orte im nördlichen Niederösterreich, dessen Ursprung bis in das 11. Jahrhundert zurückgeht, da das Land nach Zurückdrängung der Ungarn und Wiedererrichtung der Ostmark unter den ersten Babenbergern neu besiedelt wurde. Bald nach 1256 dürften vermutlich auch hier altansässige und vereinzelt lebende Eremiten unter der Leitung des neuen Ordens zu einer

Klostergemeinschaft zusammengeschlossen worden sein, ohne dass damit eine formelle und urkundlich festgelegte Klosterstiftung verbunden gewesen wäre. Im Jahre 1267 verlieh der Kardinallegat Guido zufolge einer in Wien am 23. Mai ausgestellten Urkunde, gerichtet an den Prior und die Brüder « de Valestein dioecesis Pataviensis », den Besuchern der Klosterkirche an den Festtagen der Muttergottes, des Ordensvaters St. Augustin sowie am Tage der Kirchweihe einen Ablass von 40 Tagen. Im Jahr darauf (1268) nahm Papst Clemens IV. auf Grund einer in Viterbo ausgefertigten Bulle das Kloster « de Valkestaen » unter den besonderen päpstlichen Schutz. Galt die Ablassverleihung des Kardinallegaten der Förderung und Entfaltung des sicher sehr ärmlichen Klosters, so lässt die Bulle des Papstes deutlich die geschichtlichen Hintergründe der Zeit erkennen. Es waren unruhige Jahre, besonders hier in der Grenzmark. Das Interregnum (1256-1273), die kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit, war ausgebrochen. Der deutsche Schattenkönig Richard von Cornvallis hatte 1262 König Ottokar von Böhmen mit den babenbergischen Ländern belehnt. Friedrich von Oesterreich und Konradin, der letzte Hohenstaufe, wurden 1268 zu Neapel enthauptet. Diese Verhältnisse gaben den Anlass, dass der Papst das in dieser Zeit so gefährdete Kloster, ebenso wie kurz zuvor den in gleichen Gefahren stehenden und zum Teil sogar zerstörten Wiener Konvent, in seinen besonderen Schutz aufnahm. Dass in den lokalen Archiven keinerlei Erwähnung des ehemaligen Augustinerkloster getan wird, mag wohl darin begründet sein, dass in den nun folgenden kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Ottokar von Böhmen und Rudolf von Habsburg, die gerade in dieser Gegend (Schlacht bei Dürnkrut 1278) ihren Höhepunkt erfahren haben, nicht nur das Kloster vollkommen zerstört wurde, sondern auch alle urkundlichen Traditionen damit verloren gegangen sind. Nur in der Ueberlieferung der Ordensprovinz scheint das Falkensteiner Augustinerkloster fortgelebt zu haben. Aus diesem Provinzarchiv, das heute nicht mehr erhalten ist, dürfte auch Xystus Schier seine Notiz geschöpft haben, da er ihr den Provenienzvermerk « Archiv. Prov. B 1 » beifügte.

Archivalien:

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Fiume

Jugoslawien (ehemals: Küstenland) ; Diözese Zengg. — Patron: St. Hieronymus.

Das Gründungsjahr dieses Klosters ist heute nicht mehr genau feststellbar, weil im Venetianischen Krieg das gesamte Klosterarchiv zu Grunde ging. Es dürfte vor 1368 gegründet worden sein, da eine Urkunde dieses Jahres bereits von einem Vermächtnis an das Kloster berichtet. Erst aus dem 15. Jahrhundert sind zahlreichere urkundliche Ueberlieferungen, vor allem Stiftungsbriefe, bekannt. Nach der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts stand das Kloster von Fiume in enger Beziehung mit dem Wiener Konvent und sollte dort eine Festigung des Ordensgeistes und eine Stärkung des Personalstandes in die Wege leiten. Als im Jahre 1509 die Venetianer in Fiume einfielen und die Stadt zerstörten, verwüsteten sie auch das Kloster der Augustiner, so dass es etliche Jahre hindurch (bis 1514) unbewohnt blieb. In dieser Zeit gingen viele Güter des Klosters verloren und es kostete nach seiner Wiederbesiedlung viel Mühe, sie wieder zurückzuerhalten. Im Jahre 1522 fielen die Türken ein und plünderten das Kloster. Nur schwer war es dem Konvent möglich, sich von diesen Schicksalsschlägen zu erholen und mit Mut und Hoffnung von neuem zu beginnen. Aber immer kam zur rechten Zeit auch wieder Hilfe. Kaiser Karl V. bestätigte 1528 die Stiftungen des Klosters, verbot aber gleichzeitig, um die materielle Fundierung für die Zukunft zu sichern, jede weitere Veräusserung von Klostergut ohne seine Zustimmung. Die Stadt gewährte dem Konvent in dieser Zeit das Recht auf freie Einfuhr des eigenen Weines aus seinen Weingärten, was in der damaligen Zeit von grosser finanzieller Bedeutung war. Johann Primosich, der damalige Prior des Konventes, gewann Bedeutung weit über die Mauern des Klosters hinaus. Er kam oft nach Wien und wurde sogar von der Stadt Fiume zum bevollmächtigten Kommissar beim k. k. Hof in Wien erwählt. Ferdinand I. bestätigte dem Kloster neuerlich seine rechtmässig erworbenen Güter und nahm es unter den besonderen kaiserlichen Schutz. Das Aufleben der Bruderschaften ist zu dieser Zeit auch bei den Augustinern in Fiume deutlich fühlbar. Im Jahre 1617 wurde der damalige Prior des Klosters, P. Johannes Agatitsch, von Papst Paul V. zum Bischof von Zengg ernannt. Eine grosse finanzielle Hilfe bedeutet es für das Kloster, als ihm Ferdinand II. im

Jahre 1633 einen Teil des Zehents der Fiumer Gegend vermachte. Im Jahre 1704 musste der Konvent der allgemeinen Kriegsbeisteuer fast seinen ganzen Kirchenschatz zum Opfer bringen. Die erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts brachte auch im Fiumer Augustinerkloster einen deutlich fühlbaren, äusseren und inneren Aufschwung. Ein neuer Hochaltar wurde im Jahre 1744 in der Klosterkirche geweiht. Da suchte wenige Jahre darauf (1750) ein schweres Erdbeben ganz Fiume heim. Dazu kamen noch die geistigen Erschütterungen der Aufklärung, die nirgends, auch nicht vor den Klostermauern, halt machten. Die Bedrohungen von aussen und die geistigen Auseinandersetzungen im inneren wirkten zusammen und führten schliesslich zur Aufhebung des Klosters im Jahre 1790.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

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Ansichten:

Steidlin.

Friesach

BL. Kärnten; Diözese Gurk-Klagenfurt. — Patron: unbekannt.

Kunde vom Bestand eines Augustiner-Eremitenklosters in Friesach gibt ebenso wie für das Falkensteiner Kloster lediglich eine kurze Notiz im handschriftlichen Nachlass Xystus Schiers. Dieser nennt im Rahmen einer Regestensammlung aus dem ehemals zu Wien aufbewahrten, heute aber nicht mehr vorhandenen Archiv der « antiqua provincia Teutonica » ein Memoriale, « in quo petitur restitutio Conventus in Friesach in Carinthia ». Dazu fügt Schier die Notiz « Lit. Q 44 », was offenbar auf die Signatur des ihm noch zur Verfügung gestandenen Provinzarchivs schliessen lässt.

Demnach hatte also ehedem in Friesach vorübergehend ein Augustinerkloster bestanden. Dies wäre auch der allgemeinen Geschichte der Stadt zufolge nicht ausgeschlossen. Gerade im 13. Jahrhundert, der Zeit, da die meisten österreichischen Augustinerklöster des Mittelalters entstanden, erlebte die alte, von mehreren Burgen beherrschte und mit einer Mauer umgebene Kärntner Stadt Friesach eine Periode kirchlicher Blüte. Der Deutsche Ritterorden war 1203 hier eingeführt worden ; 1217 liessen sich in Friesach die Dominikaner nieder. Dass in dieser Zeit der kirchlichen Gründungen die mittelalterliche Stadt Friesach auch eine Niederlassung der Augustiner-Eremiten beherbergte, ist durchaus naheliegend. Genaueres darüber wissen wir freilich nicht. Ist auch die Tatsache dieses Klosters heute mit den Methoden der Geschichtsforschung nicht mehr strikte zu beweisen, so ist sie aber, besonders in Hinblick auf die Ueberlieferung bei Xystus Schier, noch weniger zu widerlegen.

Archivalien :

Wien : SCHIER Hss. no. 8236, fol. 36[b] (*Excerpta ex... antiqua provincia Teutonica*).

Fürstenfeld

BL. Steiermark ; Diözese Seckau-Graz. — Patron : St. Mauritius.

Im Jahre 1362, als das Generalkapitel in Wien tagte und der Orden auf der Höhe seiner Blüte stand, wandten sich der Magistrat und die Bürgerschaft der Stadt Fürstenfeld an den Provinzial in Wien mit der Bitte um Entsendung einer Mönchskolonie für ihre Stadt. Rudolf IV., der selbst am Ordenskapitel hervorgetreten war, gab seine Zustimmung und stiftete an einem wehrtechnisch wichtigen Platz an der Südwestecke der Stadtmauern eine Hofmark als Bauplatz für Kirche und Kloster. Dafür bedingte er sich einen Jahrtag mit Seelengottesdienst für sich und seine Familie aus. Die in Fürstenfeld bereits bestehende Johanniterkommende bereitete aber dem neuen Konvent von Anfang an manche Schwierigkeit, denn sie fürchtete eine Einbusse ihrer Bedeutung und eine Gefährdung ihrer Existenz. Sie verlangte dafür wenigstens eine Entschädigung für entgangene Opfergelder, die auch dann tatsächlich unter Vermittlung Albrechts III. geleistet wurde. Im Jahre 1368 konnten Kirche

und Kloster eingeweiht werden. Die folgenden Jahrzehnte brachten dem Konvent manche Stiftung, so dass er bald eine kleine Gülte sein eigen nannte. Prior Heinrich von Murau verfasste 1409 ein Verzeichnis des klösterlichen Besitzes. Unter den Ungarneinfällen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, die über ganz Niederösterreich und Steiermark viel Not und Elend brachten, hatte auch das Fürstenfelder Kloster viel zu leiden. Die Einfälle der Heerscharen des Matthias Corvinus und schliesslich die Einnahme der Stadt brachten dem Kloster, in dem nur mehr der Prior allein zurückgeblieben war, um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts fast den Untergang. Kaum hatte man sich davon erholt, als ein Brand des Jahres 1503 beinahe die ganze Stadt einschliesslich des Klosters vernichtete. Der Kaiser gewährte der Stadt das Marktrecht und der Papst verlieh einen Ablass an die Wohltäter der Kirche, um der grossen Not zu steuern. Da kam wieder eine neue Gefahr: die Türken. Ihr war das an der schwächsten Stelle der Stadtbefestigung gelegene Augustinerkloster am meisten ausgesetzt. Das dringende Ansuchen der Stadt an den Landesfürsten um Ausbau der Stadtbefestigungen musste vorerst zurückgestellt werden, bis die Befestigung von Graz fertiggestellt war. Erst 1556 wurde mit dem Umbau der Mauern und Stadttore begonnen. Ein Teil des Klosters wurde dabei abgetragen, ein anderen Teil als städtisches Magazin verwendet. Der Protest des Priors hatte in der stark protestantischen Stadt — auch der deutsche Ordenskomtur war bereits zum Protestantismus übergetreten — wenig Erfolg. Der Augustinerkonvent lag selbst schwer darnieder und litt sehr an Personalmangel. Dazu kamen grosse finanzielle Schwierigkeiten. Die Besitzungen des Klosters konnten nicht mehr ordentlich betreut werden und trugen wenig ein ; die Almosen hörten bald ganz auf. Der Stadtmagistrat suchte Macht über das Kloster zu gewinnen. Als im Jahre 1550 der Konvent ausstarb, bemühte sich der Stadtmagistrat, der eine Neubesiedlung zu verhindern wusste, das Kloster einzuziehen, musste es aber bald darauf auf Befehl des Landesherren wieder dem Orden zurückstellen. Im 17. Jahrhundert erholte sich das Kloster allmählich wieder sowohl in innerer als auch in äusserer, wirtschaftlicher Beziehung. Italienische und kroatische Ordensangehörige, zumeist aus dem Kloster in Laibach, bildeten eine Zeitlang die Mehrheit im Konvent. Unten ihnen ist Johannes Globucciarius (Prior um 1600) als Kartograph über die Grenzen des Klosters hinaus berühmt geworden. Kaum hatte der Konvent seine in der protestantischen Zeit

verlorengegangenen Güter nach langen Kämpfen zurückerhalten, da brachten die Türkeneinfälle in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts neuerlich Bedrängnis und Not über die Oststeiermark. Wieder wurden Kirche und Kloster zerstört und konnten nur mit Mühe und grossen Opfern wieder aufgebaut werden. Zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts stand aber das Fürstenfelder Kloster wieder in Blüte. Das Verhältnis zum Stadtmagistrat war wieder ein sehr gutes geworden. Kirche und Kloster wurden vollständig renoviert. « Weil die Stadt den Augustinern so viel Wohltaten erwiesen hatte », verbrüderte sich der Orden im Jahre 1739 mit dem Stadtmagistrat und jeder Ratsbürger sollte demnach « wie ein Augustiner » begraben werden. Als unter Joseph II. die Aufhebung des Klosters drohte, setzte sich die Bürgerschaft mit einer Bittschrift (v. 21. Juni 1785) für seine Erhaltung ein. Um die Jahrhundertwende wurde auch das Fürstenfelder Kloster immer mehr für militärische Einquartierungen herangezogen. Im Jahre 1806 wurde sogar ein Militärspital darin errichtet. Der Nachwuchsmangel brachte den Konvent allmählich zum Aussterben. Schiesslich wurde im Jahre 1811 das Kloster aufgehoben, die Kirche entweiht und der Grundbesitz dem Religionsfond überwiesen, von dem er später sehr bald in private Hände überging.

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Pläne und Ansichten:

STEIDLIN.

Graz

BL. Steiermark ; Diözese Seckau-Graz. — Patron : St. Paulus.

Im Jahre 1588 schenkte Erzherzog Karl den Augustinern die Kirche zu St. Paul « an der Stiege » mit einem daran gelegenen Haus, das als Konvent eingerichtet wurde. Die Schenkung galt vor allem als persönliche Anerkennung für P. Aurelius a Pergola, einem der in Oesterreich damals stark vertretenen italienischen Augustiner, der zugleich Kaplan und Hofkapellmeister am Grazer Hof war. Kaiser Ferdinand II. sowie der Salzburger Erzbischof bestätigten die Schenkung in vollem Umfang im Jahre 1601. Die materielle Fundierung des Klosters war anfangs sehr gering. Zum grössten Teil musste es von den Einkünften des Fürstenfelder Konventes erhalten werden. Kirche und Kloster waren « malerisch » aber klein und eng. Im Jahre 1603 wandte sich Erzherzog Ferdinand in einem Schreiben an den Papst « pro stabilimento archiducalis monasterii Graecensis ». Um das Kloster in seiner Bedeutung zu heben, sollte es zum Sitz des Provinzials erklärt werden. Der Erzherzog selbst vermachte dem Konvent im Jahre 1604 eine grössere Stiftung. Als den ersten Schwierigkeiten abgeholfen war, schritt man, von Wohltätern unterstützt, im Jahre 1619 an den Neubau der Kirche, der um 1630 abgeschlossen war. Einige besondere Wohltäter des Klosters, vor allem Angehörige des steirischen Adels förderten auch weiterhin die innere Ausgestaltung der Kirche. Als Kaiser Ferdinand III. im Jahre 1656 neuerlich die Einkünfte des Klosters erhöhte, konnte um 1660 an die Erweiterung des Klostergebäudes geschritten werden. Gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts scheint es den Augustinern in ihrem Bergkirchlein neuerlich zu eng geworden zu sein, denn sie suchten nun an um die Bewilligung zum Bau einer « proportionierten » Kirche in der Sporrgase, nicht weit von ihrer bisherigen Niederlassung. Die Hofkammer gab sogar ihre Zustimmung, aber es scheint dann doch aus finanziellen Gründen nicht zur Ausführung gekommen zu sein. Dafür wurde mit einer grosszügigen Renovierung und barocken Ausgestaltung der Stiegenkirche begonnen. Die in den meisten österreichischen Augustinerklöstern um 1700 auftretende Blütezeit ist in Graz besonders deutlich erkennbar. Der Konvent soll im Jahre 1708 nicht weniger als 30 Priester und 6 Laienbrüder gezählt haben. Die Verbundenheit mit dem Volk kommt in zahlreichen Mess- und Altarstiftungen dieser Zeit zum

Ausdruck. Im Jahre 1721 wurde die Kirche durch den Seckauer Bischof neu geweiht. Die Aufklärung der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte brachte aber auch dem Grazer Kloster den Untergang. Als eines der ersten wurde es im Jahre 1784 aufgehoben, obwohl es noch 24 Religiosen beherbergte, die nun an andere Klöster aufgeteilt wurden.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

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Pläne und Ansichten:

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Güssing

BL. Burgenland; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: Mariae Heimsuchung ?

Aus der Geschichte des Güssinger Augustinerklosters sind nur einige grosse Züge bekannt. Historische Einzelheiten, die in ihrer Aneinanderreihung den Verlauf der Entwicklung erkennen lassen würden, fehlen hier. Wir wissen heute nicht mehr, wann und von wem das Kloster gegründet wurde. Kaum seine genaue Lage ist uns mehr bekannt. Wahrscheinlich hat es innerhalb der Stadtmauern, aber nicht auf der Burg bestanden. Auch den Patron, unter dessen Schutz das Kloster und die Kirche gestellt waren, kennen wir nicht. Wir wissen nur, dass das Kloster in der Reformationszeit um 1580,

einging und das Klostergebäude daraufhin als evangel. Mittelschule verwendet wurde, bis es 1605 die Türken zerstörten. Erst nach dem Jahre 1640 wurde ungefähr an derselben Stelle wieder ein Kloster errichtet, das dann die Franziskaner bezogen.

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Hallein

BL. Salzburg ; Erzdiözese Salzburg. — Patron : St. Georg.

Als auf Betreiben des Salzburger Erzbischofs — hauptsächlich aus Gründen der politischen Verwaltung — im Jahre 1680 die Augustinerklöster von Salzburg und Tirol, die bisher dem bayrischen Provinzverband angehört hatten, von diesem getrennt und zu einer eigenen Tirol-Salzburger Ordensprovinz zusammengeschlossen wurden, meldete der Orden dagegen seine Bedenken an. Um diese zu zerstreuen, gründete der Erzbischof im Jahre 1682 zwei weitere Augustinerklöster in seinem Lande und zwar in Hallein und Tittmoning. Diese Gründungen geschahen unter der Vereinbarung, dass sie wieder aufgehoben würden, falls die neuen Klöster einem anderen Provinzverband angeschlossen werden sollten. Beide Konvente sollten vor allem der Stärkung der Rekatholisierungstendenzen des Erzbischofs dienen und zugleich an der Beilegung der im Zusammenhang damit ausgebrochenen Religionsunruhen mithelfen. Diese Aufgabe war besonders auch dem Halleiner Kloster gestellt, das in einer damals sehr stark protestantischen Gegend lag. Schon Erzbischof Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau beabsichtigte im Jahre 1604, in Hallein « ein Klösterl wie zu Mülln » zu gründen. Der Plan kam aber damals, aus heute unbekannten Gründen, nicht zur Ausführung. Als im Jahre 1650 das Vikariat Dürnberg den Augustinern anvertraut wurde, richteten dieselben bald darauf an den Erzbischof die Bitte, in dessen Nähe ein Kloster errichten zu dürfen. Aber erst das Jahr 1682 brachte die Erfüllung. Die Klosterkirche, auf einem Hügel südlich der Stadt gelegen — dieser Lage und des Kirchen-

patrones wegen ursprünglich als « Georgenberg » bezeichnet — wird schon 1347 urkundlich genannt. Der Klosterbau, angeschlossen an die Nordseite der Kirche, wurde 1683 begonnen und ist zum grössten Teil heute noch erhalten. Um 1700 und dann noch einmal um 1770 wurde die Kirche unter den Augustinern erweitert und in barocker Pracht ausgestaltet. In dieser Form zeigt sie eine starke Aehnlichkeit mit der Kirche der Augustiner zu Rattenberg. Dem Halleiner Kloster, das zu seiner Blütezeit in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts 24 Mitglieder zählte, unterstand seit seiner Gründung (1682) auch die vordem dem Müllner Kloster zugehörige Niederlassung im nahen Dürnberg. Im Jahre 1783 soll das Kloster eine eigene Bierbrauerei errichtet haben. Die starken aufklärerischen Tendenzen in Salzburg sowie die im Zuge der Franzosenzeit hereingebrochenen politischen Unruhen und allgemeinen Notstände bewirkten im Jahre 1806 die Aufhebung des Klosters. Das Klostergebäude wurde zuerst in eine Kaserne umgewandelt und später für behördliche Zwecke adaptiert. Die Seelsorge an der Klosterkirche wurde nach Aufhebung des Konventes Vikaren der Stadtpfarre übertragen.

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Pläne und Ansichten:

STEIDLIN ; BUBERL, *Die Denkmale* (siehe oben) 119 ff.

Hohenmauthen

Jugoslawien, ehem. Südsteiermark ; Diözese Lavant. — Patron: St. Johannes Bap.

Gründungsjahr und Stifter dieses Klosters bei Mährenberg an

der Drau in der früheren Südsteiermark sind heute nicht mehr genau bekannt. Einer nicht überprüfbaren Ueberlieferung nach soll das Kloster seinen Ursprung den Grafen v. Cilli zu verdanken haben, wie eine bis in die Barockzeit in der Sakristei der Klosterkirche erhaltene Marmortafel andeutete. Vermutlich um 1290 dürfte der Konvent von bereits vorher hier ansässigen Eremiten errichtet worden sein. Von dieser Zeit an werden den Mönchen, die bisher nur von Almosen lebten, die ersten Güter gestiftet. Trotzdem aber führte der Konvent zeit seines Bestandes ein bescheidenes, oft sogar kümmerliches Leben. Vielen Unglücksfällen war das Kloster ausgesetzt, vor allem von Seiten der Türken. So wurde es 1523 von den Türken fast vollständig ausgeplündert und zerstört. Um 1549 scheint das Kloster für kurze Zeit ganz verwaist gewesen zu sein. Bei einem Brand gingen fast alle Urkunden des Klosterarchivs zugrunde. Mit dem Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts setzt auch hier wieder eine neue Blütezeit ein. Das Chorgebet, das aus Mangel an Geistlichen lange Zeit nicht mehr abgehalten worden war, wurde seit 1715 wieder streng und gewissenhaft verrichtet. Um 1750 beginnt der Neubau und die barocke Ausgestaltung der Klosterkirche. Infolge äusserer Unglücksfälle ist der Konvent wiederholt genötigt, Güter zu verkaufen. Aermlich und vollkommen weltabgeschieden leben hier die Augustinermönche bis zur Aufhebung des Klosters im Jahre 1785. Der Konvent zählte damals neben dem Prior noch fünf Priester und drei Laienbrüder. Das Klostergebäude und das Klostervermögen wurden dem Religionsfond einverleibt, die kirchlichen Geräte an Weltpriesterpfarren übergeben. Die Klosterangehörigen wanderten aus und lebten, soweit sie nicht mehr zur Seelsorge verwendet werden konnten, von ihren Pensionen aus dem Religionsfond.

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Pläne und Ansichten:

Steidlin.

Judenburg

BL. Steiermark ; Diözese Seckau-Graz. — Patron: Allerhl. Dreifaltigkeit.

Die Niederlassung der Augustiner-Eremiten in Judenburg wurde im Jahre 1362 zugleich mit der in Fürstenfeld von Rudolf II. gegründet. Anfängliche Schwierigkeiten mit der Stadtpfarre waren durch die Verpflichtung zur Zahlung einer jährlichen Entschädigung beigelegt worden. Trotzdem scheint die erste Zeit für den Konvent sehr schwer gewesen zu sein. Nur wenige Berichte von Stiftungen, Schenkungen u. dgl. sind uns überliefert. Unter den Wirren der Reformationszeit hatte Judenburg besonders zu leiden. Es ist daher nicht überraschend, dass der Konvent, dessen Personalstand sich zu dieser Zeit so sehr verringert hatte, dass keine Hoffnung mehr bestand, das Kloster weiterhin besiedeln zu können, im Jahre 1621 mit Zustimmung des Provinzials aufgehoben wurde. Balthasar Freiherr von Thanhausen kaufte das Klostergebäude von den Augustinern und vermachte es den Jesuiten, die dort bis zu ihrer Auslösung im Jahre 1772 verblieben. Mit den aus dem Verkauf des Judenburger Klosters eingegangenen Geldmitteln wurde der Neubau des Laibacher Klosters finanziert. Infolge der frühen Aufhebung des Klosters ist das Quellenmateriel zu seiner Geschichte heute nur mehr sehr dürftig erhalten.

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Klosterneuburg

BL. Niederösterreich ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: unbekann.

Die beiden Brüder Friedrichs des Schönen, die Herzoge Albrecht und Otto von Oesterreich, die das Augustinerkloster in Korneuburg stifteten und jenes zu Wien nach dem Tode Friedrichs des Schönen so mächtig förderten, residierten oft in der Burg zu Klosterneuburg. Das mag wohl der Anlass dafür gewesen sein, dass die Augustiner, die dort ringsum das Sammelrecht besassen, sich unweit dieser Burg niederliessen. Die Anfänge dieser Niederlassung gehen auf das Jahr 1304 zurück, da der Wiener Konvent, der damals noch das Kloster vor dem Werdertor innehatte, in der Kislinggasse in Klosterneuburg in der sogenannten Oberen Stadt, ein Haus kaufte, damit seine Konventualen eine Unterkunft hätten, wenn sie, wie es heisst, zur Erledigung von Geschäften dorthin kämen. Das Haus hatte früher dem herzoglichen Küchenmeister gehört und war von den Wiener Augustinern in erster Linie zu dem Zweck erworben worden, um die durch ihr Terminieren — das ihnen als Bettelmönchen erlaubte Sammeln — zusammengebrachten Naturalien, besonders Wein und Most, bis zu ihrer Abführung in das Wiener Kloster daselbst zu hinterlegen. Leopold Stainreuter, der Verfasser der berühtem Chronik der fünfundneunzig Herrschaften, war eine Zeitlang Terminarius des Wiener Konventes in Klosterneuburg. Dieses Haus war ursprünglich nicht als grössere Niederlassung gedacht. Schon bei dessen Erwerb musste Berthold, der Prior des Wiener Klosters, dem Probst des Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg einen Revers unterzeichnen, wonach er und seine Nachfolger sich verpflichteten, weder das Gebäude zu erweitern noch dort eine öffentliche Kapelle zu errichten. Bald darauf dürften aber die Eremiten dann doch diese ihre Residenz erweitert oder ein grösseres Haus durch Herzog Albrecht erhalten haben ; denn im Jahre 1347 soll, wie berichtet wird, König Ludwig von Ungarn, als Albrecht von Oesterreich ihm zu Ehren in Klosterneuburg ein öffentliches Fest gab, im Hause der Augustiner seine Wohnung genommen haben. Ueber das weitere Schicksal dieses Ordenshauses ist wenig bekannt. Um 1481 soll es noch in Blüte gestanden sein. Ob es aber jemals als selbständiges Kloster galt oder nur dem Wiener Konvent, vielleicht auch jenem zu Korneuburg, unterstellt war, lässt sich heute nicht mehr feststellen. Auch den Patron des Hauses, beziehungsweise der Kirche oder Kapelle,

kennen wir nicht. Ebenso ist das Ende der Klosterneuburger Niederlassung der Augustiner-Eremiten unbekannt. Vielleicht ist sie im Jahre 1529, als die Türken Wien belagerten, zugrunde gegangen und nicht mehr errichtet worden. Jedenfalls werden die Augustiner Eremiten von dieser Zeit an in Klosterneuburg nicht mehr erwähnt. Als im Jahre 1804 an der gleichen Stelle ein neues Gebäude errichtet wurde, soll man bei der Aushebung der Grundfeste auf eine ehemalige Gruft der Augustiner gestossen sein.

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Kirchl.-Topogr. I, 124; ZAK 205; FISCHER M., *Merkwürdigere Schicksale des Stiftes und der Stadt Klosterneuburg* II (Wien 1815) 320 f, Urkde. 129; derselbe in: *Archiv für Kunde österr. Geschichtsquellen*, II (Wien 1849) 77 ff und 88 f; MAYER A., *Geschichte der geistigen Cultur in Niederösterreich* (Wien 1878) 46; Rosenthal Katalog 27 Nr. 3297 (zitiert von Kl. Hutter, Scriptores Germani..., in *La Ciudad de Dios* 38, 536).

Korneuburg

BL. Niederösterreich; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: zum Hl. Blut.

Im Jahre 1338 wurde in der damals blühenden Stadt Korneuburg durch Herzog Otto den Fröhlichen von Oesterreich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Schönen, ein Augustinerkloster gegründet und von Mönchen aus dem Badener Kloster besiedelt. Als Klosterkirche diente die dem allerheiligsten Blute geweihte Kapelle, die seinerzeit aus Anlass des Hostienwunders gegründet worden war, das sich der Legende nach im Jahre 1305 nach der Entweihung einer Hostie durch einen Juden ereignet haben soll. Die Kapelle, die der Herzog für das Kloster vom Stift Klosterneuburg erworben hatte, wurde von 1417 an grundlegend umgebaut und erweitert. In den Jahren 1457 und 1458 wurden der Kirche verschiedene Ablässe verliehen und im Jahr darauf (1459) weihte der Weihbischof von Passau den Hochaltar und drei Seitenaltäre. Verschiedene Grundrenten und Stiftungen, wie sie die Bürger von Korneuburg dem Kloster vermachten, bildeten die ersten Einkünfte des Konventes. Die hohen Baulasten der ersten Zeit bereiteten jedoch den Mönchen grosse finanzielle Schwierigkeiten. Kaum waren diese überwunden, richtete ein Brand im Jahre 1508 schwere Verwüstungen in Kirche und Kloster an. Der Prior sah sich daher genötigt, einige Grundstücke

zu verkaufen. Dazu kam noch 1529 der erste Einfall der Türken. Von diesen schweren Erschütterungen konnte sich das Kloster nicht mehr erholen. Die Ideen der Reformation taten noch das ihre. Die Einkünfte des Klosters schwanden immer mehr. Der Personalstand verringerte sich ständig. Der Verfall wurde immer deutlicher. Eine Visitationsbericht des Jahres 1544 stellte fest, dass das Klostergebäude baufällig ist und nur mehr von einem einzigen Mönch bewohnt wird, der aber, da er « kaum trockenes Brot zu essen hat », sich meist im Wiener Kloster aufhält. Da auch die Gründe des Klosters verödeten, wandte sich der Stadtrat von Korneuburg an den Kaiser mit der Bitte, das Kloster mit seinen Gütern der Stadt als Siechenhaus zu überlassen. Dem Ansuchen wurde stattgegeben unter der Bedingung, dass das Kloster dem Orden wieder zurückgestellt werde, falls dieser in die Lage käme, es wieder zu besiedeln. 78 Jahre (1545-1623) wurde nun das Kloster nicht mehr als solches verwendet sondern diente als städtisches Armenhaus und Spital. Erst unter dem eifrigen Provinzial Silvester Stiegler wurden Verhandlungen wegen der Rückgabe des Klosters geführt. Am 23. Mai 1623 erteilte die Regierung der Stadt den Auftrag, das Kloster zu räumen und samt den dazu gehörigen Grundstücken dem Orden zurückzustellen. Im Kloster zu St. Dorothea zu Wien erfolgte am 14. Dezember desselben Jahres die formelle Uebergabe an den Provinzial Silvester Stiegler. Nun wurde das Kloster wiederhergestellt, musste aber, da es nicht mehr alle Güter zurückbekam, hinfort einen guten Teil seines Unterhaltes aus Almosen bestreiten. Da brannte 1634 das ohnedies so gering dotierte Haus ab. Nun half der Probst von Klosterneuburg, indem er für acht Jahre den Augustinern die Stadtpfarre mit allen ihre Einkünften überliess. Da das Stift Klosterneuburg damals stark an Personalmangel litt, wurde dieses Abkommen, dann bis 1650 verlängert. Im 18. Jahrhundert stand auch das Korneuburger Augustinerkloster wieder in hoher Blüte. Kein geringerer als Maulpertsch arbeitete zu diese Zeit im Dienste des Klosters. Dann aber wurde neuerlich ein Verfall deutlich. Die Zahl der Klosterangehörigen sank von neuem, so dass das Kloster zu Ende des Jahrhunderts fast leer stand. Obwohl es von der josephinischen Klosteraufhebung formell verschont blieb, hatten die aufklärerischen Tendenzen und Verordnungen den Lebensnerv des Konventes zerstört. Im Jahre 1808 wurde daher das Kloster endgültig aufgehoben, die noch wenigen Konventualen in das Wiener Kloster auf der Landstrasse versetzt, das Klostergebäude und die Stiftungen dem Reli-

gionsfond überwiesen und die Mobilien auf die noch bestehenden österreichischen Augustinerklöster, vor allem den Wiener Konvent, aufgeteilt. Militär und Behörden zogen bald darauf in das ehemalige Klostergebäude ein.

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Regesten:

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Archivalien:

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Kufstein

BL. Tirol; Diözese: Innsbruck-Feldkirch. — Patron: St. Veit.

Schon bald nach der Abtrennung der Tiroler und Salzburger Augustinerklöster von der bayrischen Provinz (1680), im Jahre 1681, stiftete Erzbischof Max Gandolf von Salzburg für die Augustiner-Eremiten ein Hospiz in Kufstein und übertrug den Patres auch noch im gleichen Jahr die Stadtseelsoge daselbst. Daneben hatten sie auch die Seelsorge bei den Gefangenen der Festung auszuüben und die nahegelegene Kapelle zur Hl. Dreifaltigkeit zu betreuen. Nach dem Personalstandesverzeichnis des Jahres 1731 waren fünf Augustinerpriester und ein Laienbruder am Kufsteiner Vikariat tätig. In

diese Jahre fällt auch der Abschluss der Restaurierung der Kirche und der Dreifaltigkeitskapelle. Im Jahre 1811 wurde die Seelsorge, da sie von den Augustinern nicht mehr verrichtet werden konnte, an Weltpriester übergeben.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

Michaelbeuern: Stiftsarchiv, Müllnerarchiv; Salzburg: Fürsterzbischöfliches Konsistorialarchiv; Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv u. Landesregierungsarchiv, Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum; NOTHEGGER Florentin, OFM., *Notizen zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Kufstein* (Manuskript i. Besitz des Verfassers, z. Zt. Hall i. Tirol).

Ansichten:

STEIDLIN.

Laibach

Jugoslawien, ehem. Krain; Diözese Laibach. — Patron: Maria Verkündigung, St. Jakob.

Die ersten Anfänge dieses Klosters lassen sich aus Mangel an alten Archivalien heute nicht mehr genau ergründen. Die wiederholten Einfälle der Türken, das Luthertum und nicht zuletzt einige schwere Feuersbrünste haben den alten Urkundenbestand vollkommen zerstört. Eines jedenfalls ist sicher, dass die Augustiner-Eremiten in Laibach schon in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts nachweisbar sind. Ursprünglich stand ihr Kloster ausserhalb der Stadt und war dem hl. Johannes d. Täufer geweiht. Förderungen durch adelige Gönner halfen den Besitzstand des Klosters zu festigen. Hugo von Tibein, der Grundherr und Gründer des Augustinerklosters zum hl. Hieronymus in Fiume, gewährte dem Laibacher Konvent im Jahre 1358 die Sammelerlaubnis in allen ihm unterstehenden Ge-

bieten. 1380 vermehrte eine Gräfin Ortenburg die Einkünfte des Klosters duch neue Zehente. Aus dem Jahre 1409 ist der Name des Priors, Johann Seichenbach, überliefert. In den Türkenkriegen des 15. Jahrhunderts wurden Kirche und Kloster wiederholt zerstört. Als im Jahre 1494 die Türken bei einem Angriff auf Laibach das vor den Mauern der Stadt gelegene Kloster als Deckung benützten, wurde es dem Erdboden gleichgemacht. Dafür wies man dem Konvent innerhalb der Stadtmauern das kleine Kloster zum hl. Jakob zu, zu dessen Erweiterung 1513 der Grundstein gelegt wurde. Hier blieben die Augustiner bis zum Jahre 1555. Zu dieser Zeit war der Protestantismus in Laibach bereits so mächtig geworden, dass der Konvent gezwungen werden konnte, die Stadt zu verlassen und nach Fiume zu fliehen. Auch in Laibach wurde das Kloster als Spital adaptiert. Als Entschädigung gleichsam wurde dem Konvent von Fiume die Abtei St. Jakob übertragen. Erst im Jahre 1623 kehrten die Augustiner wieder nach Laibach zurück und bezogen, da ihr früheres Kloster zum hl. Jakob inzwischen den Jesuiten übergeben worden war, ein neues Kloster vor der Stadt, ungefähr an der Stelle ihrer ersten Niederlassung, wieder mit einer vorerst hölzernen Kirche zu Ehren Mariae Verkündigung. Im Jahre 1624 wurde der Grundstein zur neuen Klosterkirche gelegt, deren Konsekration im Jahre 1628 stattfand. Zu dieser Zeit leitete P. Georg Juresich den Konvent zu Laibach. Er nahm den Titel « prior perpetuus » an und entzog das Kloster für lange Zeit als Generalkonvent dem Einfluss des Provinzials, bis es im Jahre 1670 wieder in den Provinzverband zurückkehrte. Auf die Errichtung der Kirche folgte der Ausbau des Klosters. Kurz zuvor (1621) war das Judenburger Augustinerkloster aufgehoben worden. Mit dem Erlös aus dem dortigen Klostergebäude wurde nun der Klosterbau in Laibach finanziert. Kaum aber war der Neubau in Angriff genommen worden, da zerstörte im Jahre 1631 ein gewaltiger Brand das mühsam errichtete Bauwerk. Bald danach aber erstand eine neue noch schönere Klosterkirche, die mit ihren 15 Altären die schönste aller Kirchen der damaligen Augustinerpovinz gewesen sein soll. Auch sie war wieder zu Ehren Mariae Verkündigung geweiht. Die Zeit der barocken Klosterblüte ist auch in Laibach deutlich erkennbar. Nach den schweren Krisen der Aufklärungszeit wurde auch das Laibacher Augustinerkloster im Jahre 1785 aufgehoben und den Franziskanern übergeben.

Literatur:

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Pläne und Ansichten:

STEIDLIN.
VALVASOR J. W., (s. oben Literatur) Bd. III/2, 666-667.

Lockenhaus (Leka)

BL. Burgenland ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: St. Nikolaus.

Der Markt Lockenhaus, fast genau in der Mitte des heutigen Burgenlandes, an einem wichtigen Verkehrsknotenpunkt gelegen, war stets ein bedeutsamer wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Pol in der Geschichte des Landes. Neben der alten Burg aus dem 12. Jahrhundert wird der schön gelegene Markt heute noch von der am Hauptplatz befindlichen Dekanatspfarrkirche, der seinerzeitigen Klosterkirche der Augustiner-Eremiten und dem anschliessenden Klostergebäude, dem heutigen sogenannten Neuen Schloss, beherrscht. Hier in Lockenhaus residierten als reiche Burgherren die Grafen Nadasdy und verwalteten von hier aus riesige Ländereien, die sich über grosse Gebiete Ungarns und des heutigen Burgenlandes erstreckten. Einer der reichsten von ihnen, Graf Franz Nadasdy, stiftete im Jahre 1655 das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten. Damit sollte die alte Tradition eines ehemaligen Lockenhauser Klosters, das vom 14. Jahrhundert an bis in die Türkenzeit (1523) von Franziskanern besiedelt war, wieder aufgenommen werden. Die Berufung der Augustiner-Eremiten nach Lockenhaus scheint auf den Einfluss des Wiener Augustinerpriors Nikolaus Donellanus zurückzuführen sein, von dem berichtet wird, dass er den Grafen Franz Nadasdy, den späteren Stifter des Lockenhauser Augustinerklosters, vom Protestantismus zur katholischen Kirche zurückgeführt habe. Am 1. November 1655 wurde in der Burg zu Lockenhaus die Stiftungsurkunde für das neue Kloster und die Kirche der Augustiner-

Eremiten feierlich ausgefertigt. Im Juni des folgenden Jahres kam Magister Caesarius Syrott als erster Prior mit zwei Priestern und einem Laienbruder nach Lockenhaus und bezog den neuen Konvent. Unter grossen Anfangsschwierigkeiten leitete nun Caesarius Syrott den mächtigen Bau der Kirche und des Klosters. Planung und Ausführung wurden dem aus Siena berufenen italienischen Baumeister Pietro Orsolini übertragen Am 2. Juli des Jahres 1656 wurde in Gegenwart zahlreicher Magnaten, Bischöfe und Prälaten unter grossen Feierlichkeiten der Grundstein gelegt. Die bischöfliche Konsekration der Kirche erfolgte allerdings erst vierzehn Jahre danach, am 15. September 1669. Die Kirche wird als eine der schönsten des Landes bezeichnet. Zur Dotation des Klosters wurde durch den Stifter ein grösseres Kapital festgesetzt, von dessen Zinsen der Konvent erhalten werden sollte. Aber schon der erste Prior, Caesarius Syrott, hatte Klage führen müssen, um das versprochene Geld zu erhalten. Daraufhin wurden dem Kloster einige Liegenschaften überlassen. Durch gute Wirtschaft konnte der Konvent alsbald neue Grundstücke dazuerwerben und damit seinen Besitzstand erweitern. Seit der Gründung des Klosters war den Augustinern auch die Pfarrseelsorge in Lockenhaus übertragen. Später wurden auch noch eine Anzahl weiterer Pfarren des Umkreises dem Kloster inkorporiert. Im 18. Jahrhundert oblag eine Zeitlang ein Teil der Kleriker der Ordensprovinz hier in Lockenhaus ihren Studien. Daher ist es auch verständlich, dass die Bibliothek des Klosters der Ueberlieferung nach sehr reichhaltig und wertvoll war. In der Blütezeit der österreichischen Augustiner-Eremiten, in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zählte der Konvent zu Lockenhaus an die siebzehn Mitglieder. Im Jahe 1758 starb hier P. Johannes Fritsch eines heiligmässigen Todes. Bis zum Josephinismus war das Lockenhauser Kloster in gutem Zustand. Es überdauerte zwar die josephinischen Klosteraufhebungen, aber die staatskirchlichen Verfügungen dieser Zeit lähmten immer mehr das äussere und innere Leben der noch bestehenden Klöster. Verfallserscheinungen machten sich immer deutlicher bemerkbar. Der Nachwuchs blieb immer mehr aus. Bis zum Jahre 1820 konnte sich das Lockenhauser Augustinerkloster noch mit Mühe behaupten. Dann starb es aus. Es war das letzte Augustiner-Eremitenkloster im Bereich der damaligen Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Ein Teil des Klosterbesitzes wurde dem Fürsten Esterhazy übergeben, der dafür das Patronat über die neu errichtete Weltpriesterpfarre übernahm, ein anderer Teil wurde

dem Religionsfond zugewiesen. Am 8. Oktober 1820 fand die Uebergabe statt. Damit war für lange Zeit das Ende des Ordens der Augustiner-Eremiten in Oesterreich gekommen.

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Pläne und Ansichten:

STEIDLIN.

Marchegg

BL. Niederösterreich, Erzdiöze Wien. Patron: (St. Margaretha ?).

Das Augustinerkloster in Marchegg im nördlichen Niederösterreich ist eines der ältesten Klöster dieser Gegend. Es scheint, ähnlich wie das erste Wiener Kloster, ohne einen eigenen Stifter zu haben, aus bodenständigen Einsiedlern hervorgegangen zu sein. In der spannungsreichen Zeit des 13. Jahrhunderts, da hier die umstrittene Ostgrenze des Reiches verlief und gerade da die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Rudolf v. Habsburg und Ottokar von Böhmen ausgetragen wurden, hatte sich Marchegg zum Typus einer echt mittelalterlichen Stadt entwickelt, zum idealen Rahmen eines Bettelordensklosters. Das Marchegger Kloster scheint damals nicht unbedeutend gewesen zu sein. In einem 1287 in Würzburg ausgestellten Ablassbrief der Bischöfe von Cöln, Bamberg, Chur, Strassburg, Augsburg, Eichstätt und Brixen wird das Marchegger Kloster neben jenen von Wien und Baden genannt. Auch in einigen

anderen Ablassbriefen, einem sogar in Rom ausgestellten, wird des Marchegger Klosters Erwähnung getan. Im Jahre 1302 wurde der Ueberlieferung nach ein Altar in der Klosterkirche geweiht. Die urkundlichen Ueberlieferungen des 14. Jahrhunderts berichten von zahlreichen Stiftungen, die dem Kloster gemacht wurden. Im 15. Jahrhundert lassen die Berichte über das Marchegger Kloster deutlich nach. Es ist die allgemeine Krisenzeit aller österreichischen Klöster. Marchegg konnte diese Zeit nicht überdauern. Im Jahre 1537 wurde es « aus Armut und aus Mangel an Konventsmitgliedern aufgelassen », ohne, wie andere Klöster, später wieder errichtet zu werden.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

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Rattenberg

BL. Tirol; Diözese Innsbruck-Feldkirch. — Patron: St. Augustin.

Hans Kummersbrucker, Pfleger von Rattenberg, und seine Gemahlin stifteten im Jahre 1384 auf ihrem Grund und Boden ein Kloster für 12 Augustinermönche. Noch im selben Jahr gaben Papst und Ordensgeneral hierfür ihre Zustimmung. 1386 wurde das Kloster bezogen. Fünf Jahre danach (1391) weihte der Salzburger Erzbischof die Kirche. Bereits der erste Prior richtete beim Kloster ein Spital für Kranke und ein Hospiz für Wallfahrer ein. Das Kloster wurde als eines der schönsten in Tirol bezeichnet. Als um 1427 der Erzbischof von Salzburg auf einer Reise durch Rattenberg erfuhr, dass das Kloster zu wenig Einkünfte habe, schenkte er ihm den Zehent im Brixental. Im 15. Jahrhundert, als die meisten österreichischen und süddeutschen Augustinerklöster bereits von den Verfallserscheinungen der Reformationszeit ergriffen waren, stand Rattenberg noch in hoher Blüte. Dem Rattenberger Konvent gehörte auch Fr. Heinrich Harder an, der 1480 zu Fürstenfeld den Martertod erlitt. Im Jahre 1451 nahm der bayrische Landesherr das Kloster in seinen beson-

deren Schutz ; 1483 wurden sämtliche Rechte und Freiheiten bestätigt. Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde die schöne spätgotische Hofer-Kapelle mit ihrem prächtigen Portal errichtet. Aber auch von schweren Schicksalsschlägen blieb das Kloster nicht verschont. Zweimal wurde es durch Feuer zerstört. Nachdem Tirol 1490 an Maximilian I. kam, nahm dieser das Kloster im Jahre 1515 in den besonderen « österreichischen Schutz ». Das hinderte aber nicht, dass die Rattenberger Augustiner in den Jahren 1525-26, als eine grosse Notzeit über das Land hereingebrochen war, zur Ablieferung fast des gesamten Kirchensilbers herangezogen wurden. Um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts ist ein Verfall des Klostergeistes deutlich festzustellen. Der « Nationalismus » zwischen Bayern und Tirolern hatte auch innerhalb der Klostermauern Uneinigkeit und Zwietracht hervorgerufen. Durch schlechte Wirtschaft war das Kloster so herabgekommen, dass es den grössten Teil seiner Güter und Zehente versetzen musste. Erst eine Hofkammerverordnung vom Jahre 1608 konnte Abhilfe schaffen. Zeitweise war das Rattenberger Kloster Noviziatsort der bayrischen Augustinerprovinz. Nach dem Abklingen der Reformationswirren ist auch hier ein Wiedererstehen des klösterlichen und seelsorglichen Lebens festzustellen. Im Jahre 1615 wurde die Gürtelbruderschaft der hl. Monika an der Klosterkirche errichtet. Nach der Abtrennung der Tiroler Klöster von der bayrischen Ordensprovinz (1682) wurde den Rattenberger Augustinern auch die selbständige Verwaltung der Stadtpfarre übertragen, an der sie bisher nur eine Predigerstelle zu besetzen hatten. Die Trennung von der Bayrischen Provinz hatte zur Folge, dass ein Teil der Konventsmitglieder Rattenberg verliess und sich in bayrische Klöster zurückzog. Dabei nahmen, wie die Chroniken berichten, die Bayern unter anderem auch das Archiv mit. Als im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg der Kurfürst Maximilian v. Bayern im Jahre 1703 in Tirol einfiel, wurden die Kirche, das Kloster und die Klostergüter in arge Mitleidenschaft gezogen. Auf über 5000 fl. soll sich der Gesamtschaden belaufen haben. Umso umfassender war die darauf folgende Renovierung. Kanzel und Altäre wurden in barocker Pracht erneuert. Um 1711 schuf Joh. Jos. Waldmann die herrlichen Wand- und Deckengemälde, den « Augustinerhimmel » mit ungefähr 180 Heiligen und Seligen des Ordens. Dieses Gemälde sowie auch die in dieser Zeit hergestellten Stukkaturen im Refektorium und Archiv sind heute noch erhalten. Unter dem Einfluss

der Aufklärung verfiel das Kloster und wurde im Jahre 1812 aufgehoben. Das Klostergebäude wurde 1817 den Serviten überlassen.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

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Regesten:

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Ansichten und Pläne:

STEIDLIN; MILENSIUS 264.

Salzburg-Mülln

BL. Salzburg: Ezdiözese Salzburg. — Patron: St. Maria.

Der Salzburger Erzbischof Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau berief im Jahre 1605 bayrische Augustiner-Eremiten nach Salzburg und überliess ihnen die der Muttergottes geweihte gotische Kirche des Salzburger Vorortes Mülln und das dabei gelegene Gebäude des dortigen 1465 gegründeten aber an den Folgen der Bauernkriege eingegangenen Kollegiatstiftes. Die Verhandlungen seitens des Ordens führte der damalige Generalvikar P. Felix Milensius. Hier in Salzburg sollten die Augustiner neben der Pfarrseelsorge vor allem im Sinne der Rekatholisierung und der Zurückdrängung des damals so stark verbreiteten Protestantismus wirken. Der Erzbischof förderte die Augustiner sehr. Er sicherte ihre Einkünfte — da er das Betteln verbot —, inkorporierte ihnen zu diesem Zweck im Jahre 1607 die Pfarre Salzburghofen und erneuerte die Kirche und das Kloster.

Der Konvent, der ursprünglich nur für acht Mitglieder vorgesehen war, nahm einen raschen Aufschwung. Der Personalstand erhöhte sich bald weit über die vertragsmässig festgesetzte Zahl, so dass der Erzbischof ihn im Jahre 1693 auf 30 Religiosen einschränkte. Von nachhaltiger Bedeutung für die Salzburger und Tiroler Augustinerklöster war ihre Trennung von der bisherigen bayrischen Ordensprovinz und ihr Zusammenschluss zu einem selbständigen Provinzverband im Jahre 1680. Von nun an war das Kloster Salzburg-Mülln Sitz des Provinzials der neuen Provinz und eine Zeitlang Studienkloster für die Kleriker. Dem Salzburger Konvent gehörten bedeutende Mitglieder an. P. Kerbeck aus Löwen, eine um die deutschen Augustinerklöster verdienstvolle Persönlichkeit, leitete als erster das Salzburger Seminar. Einige Mitglieder des Klosters traten als Musiker hervor. Ein Malermönch aus dem Augustinerkonvent wird auch in den Stiftsrechnungen von St. Peter wiederholt genannt. Die bis in unsere Zeit erhaltene Pracht der Kirche zeugt heute noch von ehemaligem Wohlstand und vergangener Blüte des Klosters. Seit 1650 war das Vikariat Dürnberg mit allen pfarrlichen Rechten und Einkünften dem Salzburger Kloster angeschlossen, wurde aber dann bei der Gründung des neuen Klosters in Hallein im Jahre 1682 diesem inkorporiert. Eine bedeutende Einnahmsquelle für das Kloster bildete die Bierbrauerei, die einen ertragreichen Betrieb ermöglichte und schon um 1650 erweitert wurde. Sie mag ihren Ruf vielleicht auch in der Münchener Tradition des Augustiner-Konventes begründet gehabt haben. Heute noch ist das berühmte « Augustiner-Bräu » in Salzburg-Mülln erhalten. Im Jahre 1773 wurde auf Antrag des Salzburger Erzbischofs durch päpstliches Reskript die Zahl der Religiosen auf zwölf eingeschränkt und der Vermögensüberschuss des Klosters dem damals in schwieriger Lage befindlichen St. Johannesspital und den beiden Waisenhäusern zugewiesen. Damit aber kam das Kloster selbst in Verfall. Um 1780 wird bereits der Niedergang deutlich. Als im Jahre 1781 durch Joseph II. die Verbindung der in- und ausländischen Klöster untersagt wurde — Salzburg gehörte damals nicht zu Oesterreich —, kam es zu einer Trennung zwischen den Salzburger und den Tiroler Klöstern. Auch der Provinzial — z. Zt. ein Tiroler — kehrte nun nach Tirol zurück. Gleichzeitig forderte das Salzburger erzbischöfliche Konsistorium die Anmeldung der aufzunehmenden Kleriker. Ihre Zahl sollte möglichst gering sein, da in Salzburg ein Mangel an Weltpriestern fühlbar wurde. Trotzdem zählte das Kloster in Mülln im Jahre

1785 immer noch vier Novizen. Aber auf die Dauer konnte der Konvent den äusseren Schwierigkeiten nicht standhalten. Die Salzburger Klöster durften seit 1781 keinen eigenen Provinzial mehr wählen, sondern nur einen Vorsteher, der den Titel « Präses » führen sollte. Dieser war praktisch immer der Prior von Mülln. Die vielerlei kleinlichen Verordnungen und dann besonders die seit der Jahrhundertwende immer drückenderen Militäreinquartierungen unterbanden das klösterliche Leben und zwangen den Konvent, da keine Novizen mehr aufgenommen werden konnten, zum Aussterben. Die förmliche Aufhebung unterblieb zwar sowohl unter der churfürstlichen als auch während der bayrischen Regierung, doch wurde die Inanspruchnahme des Klosters zu militärischen Zwecken immer drückender. In einem Dekret der Hofkanzlei in Wien vom Jahre 1817 war schon die Aufhebung des Müllner Klosters in Aussicht genommen, dann aber die vorläufige Administration den noch lebenden Augustinern überlassen worden. Als diese Art der Verwaltung auch nicht mehr möglich war und der letzte Augustiner im Jahre 1836 im Alter von 92 Jahren starb, wurde das Kloster dem nahen Benediktinerstift Michaelbeuern zur Administration übergeben.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

Michaelbeuern: Stiftsarchiv, Müllner-Archiv (ehem. Klosterarchiv); Salzburg: Ordinariatsarchiv (reiche Bestände, jedoch infolge der überstürzten Räumungsaufträge des Jahres 1938 sowie der folgenden Kriegs- und Nachkriegsverhältnisse zur Zeit noch nicht vollständig geordnet); Landesarchiv (vereinzelte Archivalien).

Ansichten und Pläne:

Steidlin; Milensius 288; Tietze H. - Martin F., *Die kirchlichen*

Denkmale der Stadt Salzburg (siehe oben Literatur !), Fig. 228 ff ; FUHRMANN F., *Kirchen in Salzburg*, Wien 1949, Abb. 57.

Seefeld

BL. Tirol ; Diözese Innsbruck-Feldkirch. — Patron : St. Oswald.

Eine dem hl. Martyrer Oswald geweihte Kirche zu Seefeld ist schon zu Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts nachweisbar. Zu Ende eben dieses Jahrhunderts hat sich in dieser Kirche der Ueberlieferung nach ein Hostienwunder ereignet, in dessen Folge sich Seefeld zu einem viel besuchten Wallfahrtsort entfaltete und die Kirche zur Pfarre erhoben wurde. Unter Kaiser Maximilian I. (1516) wurde mit dem Bau eines Klosters begonnen, das mit Augustinerinnen aus dem Kloster im Halltal besiedelt werden sollte. Die Nonnen bezogen aber dann, ehe dieses Kloster noch fertiggestellt war, eine neue Niederlassung in Schwaz. So blieb der Klosterbau in Seefeld einstweilen unvollendet. Unter Petrus Canisius, der sich im Jahre 1574 selbst nach Seefeld begab, angeblich um die Ueberlieferung des Hostienwunders zu überprüfen, wurde die Wallfahrt dahin neu belebt. Ferdinand II. liess 1576 eine grosse Kapelle zur Aufbewahrung der wunderbaren Hostie erbauen und veranstaltete 1583 eine grosse Wallfahrt nach Seefeld, an der 2.000 Personen teilnahmen. Im Jahre 1604 wurden Kirche und Pfarre zu Seefeld den Augustiner-Eremiten unter Felix Milensius übergeben und gleichzeitig der unter Maximilian I. begonnene Klosterbau vollendet. Die Fertigstellung des Baues zog sich noch Jahre hin. So wird aus dem Jahre 1619 die Bezahlung des von Kaiser Matthias und Kaiser Ferdinand bewilligten Baubeitrages von 800 fl. durch die niederösterreichische Hofkammer berichtet. Obwohl dem Kloster bei seiner Gründung « hinreichende » Einkünfte verbrieft wurden, hatte der Konvent gleich zu Anfang grosse finanzielle Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden. Daher wurde ihm im Jahre 1630 durch Erzherzog Leopold eine jährliche Kornsammlung im Oberen Innal bewilligt. Um diese Zeit begann sich die wirtschaftliche Lage des Klosters zu bessern. Im Jahre 1656 wurde die Bruderschaft vom allerheiligsten Altarsakrament, 1686 die sogenannte Gürtelbruderschaft « Maria vom Trost » errichtet. Im Jahre 1680 ward der Seefelder Konvent zusammen mit anderen Augustinerklöstern in Salzburg und Tirol von der Bayrischen Provinz getrennt. Zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde Seefeld von

bayrischen und französischen Truppen besetzt, was eine starke Einschränkung des klösterlichen Lebens zur Folge hatte. Unter Maria Theresia, welche zwei Seitenaltäre mit den Bildern des hl. Augustinus und der hl. Monika anfertigen liess, wurden dem Kloster für dringende Instandsetzungen jährlich 170 fl. an Staatsgeldern bewilligt. Mit Hofdekret vom 8. März 1785 wurde der Konvent, der zu dieser Zeit noch 13 Priester und 5 Laienbrüder zählte, aufgelöst und die Räumung des Klosters binnen zwei Monaten befohlen. Die Pfarrseelsorge an der ehemaligen Klosterkirche wurde dem Stift Stams übertragen, das die Klostergebäude für profane Zwecke verwendet.

Literatur:

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Archivalien:

Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv und Landesregierungsarchiv Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum; Michaelbeuern: Stiftsarchiv; Müllner-Archiv; Salzburg: Fürsterzbischöfl. Konsistorialarchiv.

Ansichten:

MILENSIUS 273; STEIDLIN.

St. Veit am Pflaum (Fiume)

Patron: St. Veit (?)

Ueber das Augustinerkloster zu St. Veit am « Phlawm » ist wohl unter allen Klöstern des alten Oesterreich am wenigsten bekannt. Mit Ausnahme von zwei urkundlichen Ueberlieferungen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert und einigen beiläufigen Erwähnungen in der Literatur konnten keine Quellen zur Geschichte dieses Klosters heute mehr festgestellt werden. Wir wissen nur, dass es in enger Beziehung zum Laibacher Augustiner-Konvent stand.

Literatur:

VALVASOR J. W., *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*, Bd. III/2, Leibach 1659, 289; *Blätter aus Krain*, IX. Jg., Laibach 1865, 124.

Regesten:

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Völkermarkt

BL. Kärnten; Diözese Gurk-Klagenfurt. — Patron: St. Maria.

Das Völkermarkter Augustinerkloster ist das älteste in Oesterreich. Es hat schon vor der Gründung des Ordens (1256) als Wilhelmitenkloster bestanden und wurde dann erst dem neuen Orden angeschlossen. Der Augustinerkonvent fand grosse Förderung bei Ulrich, dem damaligen Herzog von Kärnten und Krain, der dem Kloster verschiedene Schenkungen vermachte und es weithin von den Lasten der Untertänigkeit und Grundherrschaft befreite. Im Jahre 1262 wurde die Klosterkirche, der aber zweifellos schon ein älterer Bau vorangegangen war, konsekriert. Der Grund und Boden, auf dem die Kirche stand, war ehedem Eigentum der Benediktinerabtei St. Paul im Lavanttal, wurde aber den Augustinern für diesen Zweck frei überlassen. Der stete Aufstieg des Klosters währte bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Dann aber machte sich ein deutlicher Verfall bemerkbar. Der Einbruch der neuen Lehre zerstörte auch im Völkermarkter Konvent den innerklösterlichen Geist. Anfeindung von aussen und ein vollständiger Brand des Jahres 1541 vernichteten die materielle Existenzgrundlage des Klosters. Der Personalstand schmolz immer mehr zusammen. Der protestantisch gesinnte Stadtmagistrat wollte schon lange das aussterbende Kloster mit dem Bürgerspital vereinigen. Um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts

gelang dies tatsächlich und das Kloster blieb nun über ein Jahrzehnt lang verwaist. Das Vermögen wurde in dieser Zeit dem Stadtmagistrat übergeben und die Klosterarchivalien wanderten vermutlich in das Augustinerkloster zu Fiume. Unter Mithilfe Ferdinands I. wurde um 1561, gegen das starke Widerstreben der Stadtverwaltung, die Rückgabe des Klosters ernstlich betrieben und schiesslich auch erreicht. Eine vollständige Rückgabe der Klostergüter kam allerdings nicht mehr zustande. Trotz allem erlebte auch das Völkermarkter Kloster bald wieder einen zuerst inneren und dann auch äusseren Aufschwung. Schon 1585 wurde eine neue Glocke für die Klosterkirche geweiht. 1675 wurde ein umfangreicher barocker Neubau des Klosters begonnen, dessen Vollendung sich bis in die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts hinauszog. Dabei wurde auch die Klosterkirche grundlegend renoviert. Einen äusseren Abschluss fand diese grossartige Bauperiode durch den im Jahre 1772 vollendeten Neubau des Turmes. Auch das Völkermarkter Kloster konnte die Aufklärungszeit überdauern, erlag aber dann schliesslich doch den Folgen dieser Zeit und wurde im Jahre 1808 aufgehoben.

Literatur:

SCHIER-ROSNAK 20 ff ; FIDLER V, 312 ff ; AZ n. f. VII (1897) 134 ; SCHROLL B., *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten zu Völkermarkt* in *Carinthia* 77. Jahrgang, Klagenfurt 1887, S. 1 ff ; 17 ff ; 55 ff ; ZAK 205 ; *Die Kunstdenkmäler des polit. Bezirkes Völkermarkt* (Klagenfurt 1933) 24.

Archivalien:

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Regesten:

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Ansichten und Pläne:

STEIDLIN.

Wien

BL. Wien ; Erzdiözese Wien. — Patron: St. Augustin (ab 1635: St. Sebastian und Rochus).

Die erste Niederlassung der Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien bestand vor dem Werdertor. Aus unbekannten Anfängen, vermutlich aus einheimischen, zum Teil verstreut lebenden Einsiedlern bildete sich hier ein Konvent, der dann 1256 dem neuen Orden angeschlossen wurde. Friedrich der Schöne von Oesterreich, der während seiner Gefangenschaft unter Ludwig von Bayern die Augustiner-Eremiten näher kennen gelernt hatte, berief nach seiner Rückkehr nach Oesterreich die Wiener Augustiner-Eremiten aus ihrem Werder Kloster im Jahre 1327 in das neu gestiftete Hofkloster bei der Burg. Im Jahre 1330 wurde der Grundstein zur gotischen, heute noch bestehenden Klosterkirche gelegt. Die Fertigstellung des herrlichen Kirchenbaues wurde durch mancherlei Schwierigkeiten gestört. Erst 1349 konnte die bischöfliche Konsekration stattfinden. Neben der mächtigen Kirche wirkte das mittelalterliche in die Stadtmauern eingezwängte Kloster bescheiden. Doch beherbergte es einen der bedeutendsten süddeutschen Konvente seiner Zeit. Im Jahre 1362 tagte hier das Generalkapitel des Ordens. Die beiden Ordensgeneräle Thomas von Strassburg und Gregor von Rimini starben im Wiener Kloster. Dem Konvente gehörten bedeutende Männer der Wissenschaft an. Sie standen zum Teil in enger Beziehung zur Gründung und Entfaltung der Wiener Universität. Neben seiner kulturellen Bedeutung stellte das Hofkloster einen wichtigen Faktor in der wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Entfaltung des mittelalterlichen Wien dar. Aus bescheidenen Anfängen entwickelte sich einer der mächtigsten Klosterbesitze, der sich bis weit in den Umkreis Wiens erstreckte. Aus seinen Erträgnissen wurden nicht nur das Kloster und die mächtige Kirche, sondern auch ein Siechenhaus erhalten. Ein Mitglied des Klosters war Weihbischof der Passauer Metropole. Lockerung der Klosterdisziplin, vor allem das Aufgeben des strengen Armutsideals durch den privaten Besitz einzelner Konventmitglieder führten zu einem inneren Verfall. Die äusseren Ereignisse des Zeitgeschehens wie Pest, Kriege und Reformation förderten diese Ent-

wicklung. Die Reformbestrebungen der sächsischen Kongregation, in deren Einflusskreis auch der Wiener Konvent geraten war, konnten den Verfall nicht mehr abwehren. Im 16. Jahrhundert, dem Höhepunkt des protestantischen Einflusses in Wien, lag auch der Wiener Augustinerkonvent schwer danieder. Das brachte ihn um das Vertrauen, das er bisher beim Wiener Hof genossen hatte. Im Zuge der von den Habsburgern getragenen Gegenreformation wurde daher im Jahre 1630 der noch junge Reformzweig der unbeschuhten Augustiner-Eremiten aus Prag an das Wiener Hofkloster berufen. Dem alten Konvent der beschuhten Augustiner wurde nach Jahren der Ungewissheit ein neues Kloster in der Vorstadt Landstrasse zugewiesen. Nach schweren Rückschlägen, vor allem der fast völligen Vernichtung während der zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung im Jahre 1683, konnte sich der Konvent innerlich wie äusserlich wieder erholen. Die Blütezeit des österreichischen Barock war meist auch eine Blütezeit der Klöster. Das seelsorgliche Leben entfaltete sich von neuem. Die Bruderschaften bei den Augustinern sammelten viel Volk um sich. Die Klosterwirtschaften, die in der Reformations- und Türkenzeit fast ganz verfallen waren, erblühten von neuem. Vor allem das wissenschaftliche Lebe der Konventmitglieder nahm die alte und ruhmreiche Tradition der Wiener Augustiner wieder auf. Wieder wurden Lehrkanzeln der Universität mit Augustinern besetzt. Die Klosterbibliothek wurde unter Xystus Schier geordnet und um wertvolle Stücke vermehrt, so dass sie bald eine der bedeutendsten Wiener Klosterbibliotheken darstellte. Der Geist der Aufklärung drang aber sehr bald auch in den Konvent ein und störte den klösterlichen Frieden. Die Verfügungen des neuen Staatskirchentums in Oesterreich taten das ihre von aussen. Den grossen Sturm der josephinischen Klosteraufhebungen konnten die Wiener Augustiner überstehen, sah man doch gerade in ihrer Theologie einen modernen Zug, den man den alten theologischen Lehrmethoden entgegenstellen wollte. Als aber in den Jahren 1805 und 1809 durch die Franzosen der Krieg bis vor Wien getragen und das Kloster als Lazarett für seuchenkranke Soldaten verwendet wurde, starb der Konvent immer mehr aus. Das Klostergebäude war durch die artfremde Verwendung schwer mitgenommen worden und die Klostermitglieder, die sich zum Teil bei der Pflege der kranken Soldaten den Tod geholt hatten, starben dahin. Der Nachwuchs blieb aus und so wurde das Kloster im Jahre 1812 aufgelöst. Die wenigen noch lebenden Klostermitglieder wurden säkularisiert und,

da bald kein Augustinerkloster in Oesterreich mehr bestand, starb die ehedem so grosse Tradition der Wiener Augustiner-Eremiten aus.

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Windischbücheln bei St. Leonhard

Jugoslawien (ehem. Steiermark ; Diözese Salzburg). — Patron : Allerhl. Dreifaltigkeit.

Im Jahre 1631 hatte die Pfarrgemeinde von St. Leonhard « in collibus Slavonicis » beim zuständigen Grundherren, Graf Wolfgang von Stubenberg, die Erlaubnis für einen Kirchenbau an der Stelle des späteren Klosters erwirkt. 1636 wurde der Grundstein gelegt und 1640 die Kirche zu Ehren der allerheiligsten Dreifaltigkeit geweiht. Wolfgang von Stubenberg stiftete selbst das Hochaltarbild der heiligsten Dreifaltigkeit. Es soll dies eine besonders wirkungsvolle Darstellung gewesen sein, so dass die Legende behauptete, Gott selbst habe die Hand des Malers geführt. Bald entwickelte sich die Kirche zu einen stark besuchten Wallfahrtsort. Im Jahre 1663 übergab Wolfgang von Stubenberg durch seinen Sohn Johann die Kirche und den Ort den Augustinern mit allen daran haftenden weltlichen Rechten. Der Abt von Admont, der die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit hier ausübte, trat auch diese dem neuen Augustiner-Konvent ab. Die junge Mönchskolonie — ursprünglich nur aus zwei Priestern bestehend — musste nun erst darangehen, ein Kloster zu bauen. Daneben hatten sie die ihnen gestellte besondere Aufgabe der Bekehrung der in dieser Gegend stark vertretenen Lutheraner zu erfüllen. Einige Jahre nach der Gründung zählte der Konvent bereits fünf Mitglieder. Trotzdem das Kloster in einer der fruchtbarsten Gegenden von Steiermark lag und die Kirche als Wallfahrtsort stark besucht wurde, blieb der Konvent doch stets arm und besass nie mehr als einige kleine Weingärten. Erst 1689 unter dem eifrigen

Prior Franz Göpleis, wurde der an die Kirche anstossende Klostertrakt vollendet. Im Jahre 1693, unter dem gleichen Prior, wurde eine Lorettokapelle erbaut und die Bruderschaft von der allerheiligsten Dreifaltigkeit errichtet. Die erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts war auch für das Kloster in Windischbücheln eine Periode der Blüte. Im Jahre 1710 wurden hier nicht weniger als 10.000 Firmungen durch den Seckauer Bischof gespendet. 1735 wurde mit einem Kirchenneubau begonnen. Mit dem Einsetzen der Aufklärung kam aber auch hier eine Zeit der Bedrängnis. Die Sammlungen, aus denen das Kloster früher erhalten wurde, waren nun verboten worden und die Spenden und Stiftungen am Gnadenort wurden immer spärlicher. So wandte sich der Konvent, der damals elf Geistliche zählte, an die Regierung um Abhilfe. Die Folge war die Aufhebung des Klosters im Oktober 1787. Der Prior und zwei Priester blieben bei der Kirche, die nun zur Pfarrkirche bestimmt wurde, als Seelsorger zurück, bis auch sie 1811 durch Weltpriester abgelöst wurden und damit der Ort von den Augustinern verlassen war.

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Ansichten und Pläne:

Steidlin.

Dr. Friedrich Rennhofer.

Oesterr. Nationalbibliothek
Wien.

Das Historische Archiv der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz

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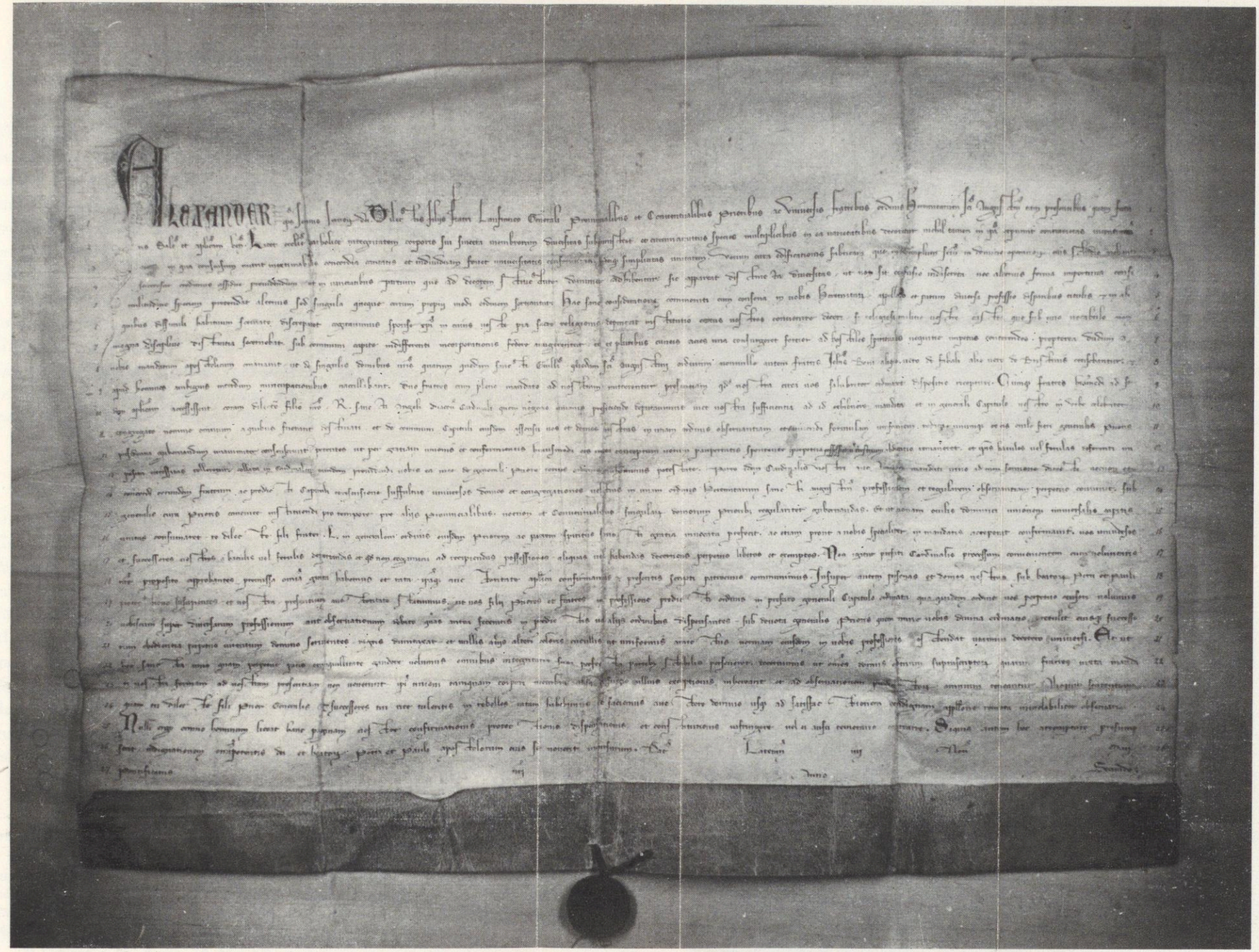
Register Nr. I : Uebersicht über die Signaturen und die Herkunft der Urkunden des Archivs der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz.

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Register Nr. III : Personenregister zum Verzeichnis der in unseren Archivalien bezeugten Augustiner vor dem Jahr 1650.

Das Historische Archiv der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz, untergebracht am Sitz des Provinzials im Augustinerkloster Würzburg, umfasst die Archivalien der deutschen Augustinerklöster vor dem Jahre 1895 (Jahr der Neuerrichtung der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz), soweit sie sich heute noch im Besitz des Ordens befinden. Den Grundstock bildet das Archiv des Augustinerklosters Würzburg. Mit ihm wurden im letzten Jahrhundert die Archivalien des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt vereinigt [1]). Dazu kommen eine Anzahl Urkunden aus dem Archiv des Augustinerklosters Speyer und gelegentliche Erwerbungen anderer Herkunft.

[1]) Diese Archivalien der Klöster Würzburg und Münnerstadt sind Eigentum dieser Konvente, werden aber zusammen mit den Archivalien des Provinzialats verwaltet.



Bulla Unionis Papst Alexanders IV. vom 4. Mai 1256

(Urkunde Nr. 3 des Historischen Archivs der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz; — Originalgrösse: 64×46,5 cm.)

I. Geschichte des Archivs.

Der Augustiner-Eremiten-Orden begeht in diesem Jahr die 700. Wiederkehr eines für seine Geschichte hochbedeutsamen Ereignisses. Durch die Bulle « Licet Ecclesiae » vom 9. April 1256 vereinigte Papst Alexander IV. eine Anzahl Einsiedlerverbände, die zum Teil schon vorher nach der Regel des hl. Augustinus lebten, zum « Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini » [2]) und schuf so einen neuen grossen Orden, der in den Dienst der Volksseelsorge treten sollte.

Damit beginnt auch die Geschichte unseres Archivs. Eine Originalausfertigung der erwähnten Bulle Papst Alexanders IV. von 1256, die im Augustinerkloster Würzburg die Jahrhunderte überdauert hat, ist das älteste vorhandene Archivstück [3]). Ueberhaupt entstammen dem Klosterarchiv der Würzburger Augustiner die meisten und wertvollsten der Archivalien.

1. *Das Archiv des Augustinerkonvents Würzburg.*

Das Augustinerkloster zu Würzburg wurde noch unter dem ersten Provinzial der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz, dem Italiener Guido Salanus, im Jahre 1262 mit Genehmigung des Würzburger Bischofs Iringus gegründet [4]). Als man 1299 die Deutsche Ordensprovinz in vier Provinzen zerteilte, kam das Kloster zur Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz. Seit 1457 gehörte es zu den deutschen Reformklöstern der Augustiner [5]), die 1498 in einer selbständigen Kongregation zusammengefasst wurden. Da diese sogenannte Sächsische Kongregation in den Wirren der Reformation ihr Ende fand, wurde das Kloster Würzburg 1607 der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz zugeteilt und verblieb bei ihr, bis auch diese Ordensprovinz in der Säkularisation unterging. 1818 wurde der Konvent Würzburg durch

[2]) Vgl. Fr. Roth, *Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, First protector of the Augustinian Order*, in *Augustiniana* 2 (1952) ff, vor allem 2 (1952) 230 ff.

[3]) Im Unterschied zu der Ausfertigung, die sich im Generalarchiv des Ordens in Rom befindet und die das oben angegebene Datum des 9. April 1256 trägt, ist unsere Ausfertigung (Urkunde Nr. 3) vom 4. Mai 1256 datiert, ein Datum, das die Bulle auch im *Bullarium Romanum* (III, Turin 1858, 636) und im Vatikanischen Register trägt. — Vgl. dazu *Analecta Augustiniana* IV (1911/12) 441.

[4]) Urkunden Nr. 8 vom 14. Mai 1263 und Nr. 9 vom 17. März 1263.

[5]) Vgl. Urkunden Nr. 127-129 und 132, I aus den Jahren 1457-60.

den Staat mit dem von Münnerstadt vereinigt [6]). Das Klostervermögen verwendete man als Studienfond für das Gymnasium Münnerstadt [7]). Die noch in Würzburg ansässigen Augustiner waren schon 1813 in das ehemalige Dominikanerkloster übergesiedelt, da der Staat das Augustinerkloster für andere Zwecke beschlagnahmt hatte. Erst im Jahre 1847 konnte das Hospitium in Würzburg vom Orden wieder zum Priorat erhoben werden [8]), eine Massnahme, die der Staat 1860 anerkannte [9]). 1945 wurde das Augustinerkloster am Dominikanerplatz samt der Kirche durch Brandbomben eingeäschert, konnte aber in den Nachkriegsjahren wieder aufgebaut werden [10]).

Vom mittelalterlichen Archiv des Klosters sind nur Urkunden auf uns gekommen, diese freilich in grosser Zahl. Die wachsame Sorge für die Erhaltung wichtiger Schriftstücke, wie sie sich uns in den ältesten Konstitutionen des Augustinerordens kundtut [11]), wurde im Augustinerkloster Würzburg offenbar von Anfang an geübt. Das Archiv des Klosters umfasst heute noch 21 Urkunden aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, 75 aus dem 14. und 59 aus dem 15. Jahrhundert.

Darunter sind nicht wenige, in denen man Reste des Provinzarchivs der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Ordensprovinz sehen möchte, falls ein solches jemals bestanden hat [12]). Vielleicht erklärt sich das Vorhandensein dieser Urkunden im Konventsarchiv des Klosters Würzburg folgendermassen: Der Provinzial musste auf Grund seiner

[6]) Akten Nr. 30/I und II v. 11. März 1818.

[7]) Akten Nr. 32/I v. 15. November 1820.

[8]) Akten Nr. 49/I v. 10. März 1847.

[9]) Akten Nr. 49/XXI v. 5. Dezember 1860.

[10]) Zum Ganzen vgl. auch A. Höhn, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini*, Würzburg 1744; J. Baier, *Geschichte des alten Augustinerklosters Würzburg*, Würzburg 1895; V. Nolte, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Deutschland nach der Säkularisation*, in: *St. Augustin 430-1930*, Würzburg 1930, 197 ff; M. Zimmermann, *Aus vergangenen Tagen*, ebenda 204-218, S. 213.

[11]) Die ältesten « Constitutiones fratrum Heremitarum S. Augustini » (in Kraft seit dem Generalkapitel von Regensburg 1290, gedruckt Venedig 1508) schreiben vor: « Eidem poenae (gravioris culpae) subiaceat qui indulgentias vel privilegia aut instrumenta publica in favorem ordinis vel alicuius domus seu fratris vel cuicumque persone concessa destruere fuerit ausus vel alienare » (cap. 42 fol. 36v).

[12]) Wir denken hier an die Urkunden Nr. 1-4, 6, 19 und 20 des 13. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 23 (I), 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 56, 66, 71, 79 und 91 des 14. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 107, 108, 115, 117, 118, 128, 129 und 141 (I) des 15. Jahrhunderts.

Amtsaufgaben sehr häufig auf Reisen sein. Die Konstitutionen machten ihm nämlich die jährliche Visitation aller untergebenen Konvente zur Pflicht [13]). Ja sie schärfen ein, dass er keinen festen Wohnsitz haben [14]) und sich nach Beendigung der Visitationen nicht beständig an einem Ort aufhalten dürfe, um dem betreffenden Konvent durch die grosse Zahl von Gästen aus anderen Klöstern nicht zur Last zu fallen [15]). Somit war der Provinzial gezwungen, wertvollere Schriftstücke, die er nicht mehr benötigte oder die er der Sicherheit halber auf seinen Reisen nicht im Original mitnehmen wollte [16]), einem der Stadtkonvente zur Aufbewahrung anzuvertrauen. Nur daraus erscheint es erklärlich, dass mehrere Originalausfertigungen wichtiger päpstlicher Schreiben, darunter die Bullen der Union und Exemption des Augustinerordens [17]), sowie die Kopien mehrerer Bullen, die sich der Provinzial der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz fr. Heinrich Henrici 1451 in Rom anfertigen liess [18]), im Würzburger Klosterarchiv vorhanden sind.

Unter den Urkunden unseres Archivs befinden sich auch nicht wenige, bei denen die Beziehung zum Augustinerkloster Würzburg nicht auf den ersten Blick ersichtlich ist. Vielfach ergibt aber die Nachprüfung, dass es sich um ältere Urkunden über ein Kaufobjekt

[13]) « Ad officium autem eius pertinet loca suae provinciae saltem semel in anno personaliter visitare, et ultra etiam quotiens sibi opus esse videbitur ». — *Constitutiones* cap. 33 fol. 30 r.

[14]) « Locum quidem proprium non habebit ». — *l. c.*

[15]) « Facta quoque visitatione omnium locorum de provincia in aliquo loco non erit assiduus, ne tedio et frequentia fratrum ad eum recurrentium efficiatur alicui conventui onerosus ». — *l. c.*

[16]) Wenn sich z. B. in den Abschriften päpstlicher Urkunden zur Begründung der Kopierung oftmals der Hinweis auf die Unsicherheit der Wege findet, so war das gewiss nicht nur eine beliebte Formel. — Vgl. Urkunde Nr. 3: « Cum igitur prenotata scripta apostolica de loco ad locum deduci non expediant propter pericula manifesta... » — Urkunde Nr. 6: « Quia bulla Domini pape non potest commode deferri propter viatorum discrimina de loco ad locum... » — Urkunde Nr. 23, I: « Cum igitur predictis fratribus sit periculosum, ubilibet locorum predictas litteras exhibere... »

[17]) Insgesamt enthält das Würzburger Klosterarchiv 8 Originalausfertigungen päpstlicher Bullen des Mittelalters; es sind die Urkunden Nr. 1, 3, 4, 19 und 20 des 13. Jahrhunderts, sowie Nr. 22, 26 und 27 des 14. Jahrhunderts. Von ihnen ist nur Nr. 22 (Schutzbrief Papst Bonifaz' VIII. vom 5. April 1302) unmittelbar an das Würzburger Kloster gerichtet.

[18]) Es handelt sich um die Transsumpte « Urkunden Nr. 117 und 118 » v. 11. Mai 1451.

handelt, das nachmals in den Besitz des Klosters überging [19]) ; denn nach den Rechtsgewohnheiten der Zeit wurden auch die Vorurkunden dem neuen Eigentümer übergeben.

Schon im ausgehenden Mittelalter hat eine ordnende Hand die Urkunden des Würzburger Klosters registriert, wie aus den Rückenvermerken der erhaltenen Urkunden ersichtlich ist. Die Signierung fand 1482 oder wenig später statt [20]). Alle Signaturen sind anscheinend von derselben Hand geschrieben. Der Unbekannte bezeichnete die Urkunden mit den 23 Buchstaben des Alphabets [21]) und zwar in der Weise, dass er an das erste Alphabet ein zweites, drittes, viertes und fünftes anschloss [22]). Die letzte verzeichnete Signatur ist die « Littera K. 5. » Es wurden von der Registrierung also wenigstens 103 Urkunden erfasst, wenn im heutigen Archiv des Klosters auch nur noch 70 Signaturen dieser Art, d. h. gut zwei Drittel der ursprünglichen Anzahl, feststellbar sind. Bei dieser Signierung wurden die Urkunden ziemlich wahllos, jedenfalls ohne Rücksicht auf die zeitliche Reihenfolge, eingeordnet. Auch wurde dabei nur ein Teil der heute noch vorhandenen 147 Urkunden des Archivs vor dem Jahr 1482 erfasst. Freilich darf man daraus nicht schliessen, dass die anderen Urkunden erst später in den Besitz des Klosters gekommen sind [23]). Die Begrenzung erklärt sich vielmehr sehr einfach dadurch, dass die Registrierung den praktischen Bedürfnissen der klösterlichen Vermögensverwaltung dienen sollte und deshalb nur Schriftstücke berücksichtigte, die sich auf den Besitzstand und die Einkünfte des Klosters bezogen.

Der Urkundenbestand des Klosterarchivs Würzburg, das in einem eigenen verschliessbaren Raum untergebracht war [24]), nahm auch

[19]) So schon bei der Urkunde Nr. 7 v. 3. August 1259.

[20]) Der letzte Eintrag findet sich auf Urkunde Nr. 147 vom Jahre 1482.

[21]) Die Buchstaben J, U und W wurden nicht berücksichtigt.

[22]) Dass die Einordnung der Urkunden tatsächlich so zu verstehen ist, zeigen folgenden Rückenvermerke. Auf Urkunde Nr. 59 findet sich die Notiz: « Sequitur tertium alphabetum: Littera A. 3. » — Auf Urkunde Nr. 142, II aber ist vermerkt: « Littera post C. quintum ».

[23]) Z. B. waren zweifellos schon im Besitz des Klosters die Gründungsurkunde Nr. 8, die Urkunden über Grundstück- und Häusererwerb Nr. 7, 9, 10 und 24 (I), die auf die Augustinerkirche sich beziehenden Ablassbriefe Nr. 12-16 und der päpstliche Schutzbrief für das Kloster Nr. 22, — lauter Archivalien, die von der Registrierung nicht erfasst wurden.

[24]) Ein freilich ziemlich spätes Verzeichnis der Schlüssel des Klosters vom

in den folgenden Jahrhunderten noch laufend zu. Aus dem 16. Jahrhundert sind 48 Urkunden auf uns gekommen, aus dem 17. Jahrhundert deren 35, aus dem 18. Jahrhundert 21 und aus dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts 6. Unter den Urkunden des 16. und des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts befinden sich einige, die ursprünglich zweifellos in Händen des Provinzials der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz waren, wie etwa der kaiserliche Schutzbrief vom Jahre 1545 [25]). Auch in diesem Fall lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, wann und wie sie in das Würzburger Konventsarchiv gekommen sind. Vielleicht hängt dies damit zusammen, dass die Residenz des Provinzials häufig wechselte [26]) und deshalb noch kein eigentliches Provinzialatsarchiv vorhanden war [27]). Auch das Augustinerkloster Würzburg war für einige Zeit, und zwar in den Wirren des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, Sitz der Provinzleitung ; der Prior des Klosters, P. Lukas Binder (1627-42), musste nämlich zeitweise das Amt eines Provinzvikars versehen [28]) und residierte anscheinend auch noch nach seiner Wahl zum Provinzial (1642-45) in Würzburg [29]). Ebenso hatte sein Nachfolger im Priorat P. Alphons Peter-

1. September 1673 im Protokoll I (Standbuch Nr. 66, S. 164) erwähnt unter Nr. 96 den Schlüssel des « Archivium ».

[25]) Urkunde Nr. 175. — Aehnlich die Urkunden Nr. 171, 187-190 und 194.

[26]) Standbuch Nr. 1 unseres Archivs, das die Akten der Provinzialkapitel der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz von 1653-1697 enthält, bezeugt als « locus residentiae » des Provinzials im Jahre 1653 Freiburg i. Br. (S. 73). 1654 wohnte der Provinzial in Mainz (S. 83), 1656 in Konstanz (S. 97), 1669 in Erfurt (S. 11), 1672 wiederum in Freiburg i. Br. (S. 180) usw. — Erst recht war es in der vorausgehenden Zeit, wo das Amt des Provinzials wegen des Personalmangels oft mit dem eines Konventspriors verbunden werden musste, nicht zu vermeiden, dass die Residenz des Provinzials oft wechselte. Z. B. ist P. Johannes Georg Greiffenstein 1605 in der Urkunde Nr. 220 unseres Archivs als Provinzial und gleichzeitiger Prior des Augustinerklosters Oberndorf bezeugt. Ganz ähnlich versah P. Hieronymus Röder 1619 das Amt des Provinzials mit dem des Priors von Hagenau und 1628-34 abermals das Amt des Provinzials mit dem des Priors von Oberndorf (vgl. P. Matthäus ZIMMERMANN, *Die Verstorbenen der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Augustinerprovinz*, Standbuch Nr. 76, S. 229).

[27]) In Standbuch 1, S. 65 findet sich ein « Extractus ex *Archivis Provinciae*, concernens terminum mendicationis ». Damit sind aber offenbar die verschiedenen Konventsarchive der Provinz gemeint, nicht etwa ein Archiv des Provinzialats.

[28]) Die Urkunde Nr. 233 vom 5. Juli 1640 bezeugt ihn als « vicarius provincialis Prior Herbipolensis ».

[29]) Urkunde Nr. 234, I bezeugt ihn am 27. Juni 1644 in Würzburg, ja bezeichnet ihn — offenbar zu Unrecht — noch als Prior des Klosters.

mann (1643-48) zeitweise gleichzeitig den Posten des Provinzvikars (1645-46) und des Provinzials (1646-48) inne [30]). Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass damals die erwähnten Provinzarchivalien dem Konventsarchiv Würzburg einverleibt wurden.

Ein wichtiges Ereignis für die Erschliessung des Archivs bedeutete die Anfertigung von zwei Kopialbüchern der Urkunden gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts [31]). Freilich waren auch hier, wie bei der Registrierung hundert Jahre früher, ausschliesslich die praktischen Bedürfnisse der klösterlichen Wirtschaftsführung massgebend. Man beschränkte sich wiederum auf jene Urkunden, die über den Besitzstand und die Gefälle des Klosters Auskunft gaben. Dabei wurden von den 70 uns erhaltenen Urkunden mit der Signatur des 15. Jahrhunderts nurmehr 38 in die Abschriften aufgenommen. Offenbar hatten die übrigen 32 im Laufe der verflossenen hundert Jahre bereits an Bedeutung für die klösterliche Vermögensverwaltung verloren, sodass man sich die Mühe des Abschreibens glaubte ersparen zu können. Die zwei Kopialbücher sind die ältesten uns erhaltenen Standbücher des Würzburger Klosterarchivs. Das eine wurde im Jahre 1598 abgeschlossen und umfasst 73 Urkunden aus den Jahren 1313 bis 1573 ; ein Teil der Abschriften wurde durch den Fiskalbeamten Urbanus Renninsfeldt beglaubigt. Das andere Kopialbuch, anscheinend aus derselben Zeit enthält 71 derselben Urkunden, sowie eine Urkunde von 1358, die im ersten Copiale fehlt. 55 Urkunden dieser beiden Kopialbücher sind heute noch im Original in unserem Archiv vorhanden, während von den übrigen 19 schon im letzten Jahrhundert 17 fehlten [32]).

Erstmals sorgfältig ausgewertet wurden die Archivalien des

[30]) Dies ist ausdrücklich bezeugt durch A. Höhn, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini*, Würzburg 1744, 260 f.

[31]) Es handelt sich um die Standbücher Nr. 6 und 7 unseres Archivs mit 110, bzw. 118 Blatt in Folioformat.

[32]) Die zwei seit dem letzten Jahrhundert verloren gegangenen Urkunden sind: Nr. 46 vom Jahre 1358, ein Archivale, das am 26. Juli 1889 durch Tausch in den Besitz des Historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg überging, und Nr. 148 vom 7. August 1483, der Stiftungsbrief der Barbara von Grumbach, der sich nach einer Notiz im Kopialbuch des P. Clemens Hutter (Standbuch Nr. 5, S. 418) im letzten Jahrhundert schon nicht mehr bei den übrigen Urkunden in Münnerstadt befand, sondern im Depositumkasten des Augustinerklosters Würzburg aufbewahrt wurde. Er ist vermutlich bei der Zerstörung des Würzburger Klosters 1945 mit zugrunde gegangen.

Würzburger Konventsarchivs durch den Historiker der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz P. Antonín Höhn, als er in den Dreissiger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts seine *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini* schrieb [33]). Zwei der wertvollsten Urkunden, die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters vom Jahre 1263 und den kaiserlichen Schutzbrief Karls V. von 1545, hat er sogar im Wortlaut in sein Werk aufgenommen [34]).

Um dieselbe Zeit wurde auch eine neue und umfassendere Registrierung der Urkunden abgeschlossen. Nach der verschiedenen Handschrift zu urteilen, war sie das Werk von zwei Leuten, deren Namen freilich nicht bekannt sind. Die Signaturen stammen zum einen Teil von einer Hand aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts [35]), zum anderen Teil von einer Hand des 18. Jahrhunderts, welche die Registrierung im Jahre 1743 abschloss [36]). Dabei hat dieser zweite Bearbeiter auch manche Signaturen der ersten Hand getilgt und geändert [37]). Die Registrierung teilte die Urkunden in die vier Buchstaben A, B, C und D, ohne dass ersichtlich wäre, nach welchem Gesichtspunkt diese Unterteilung vorgenommen wurde. Nur soviel ist festzustellen, dass die Erlasse des Hl. Stuhles und ihre Kopien, sowie die Ablassbriefe und die Schreiben der Würzburger Bischöfe unter den Buchstaben A eingereiht sind. Die zeitliche Reihenfolge liess man — auch innerhalb der Buchstaben — ganz ausser Acht. Die Zählung geht beim Buchstaben A bis Ziffer 97, bei B bis Ziffer 72, bei C bis Ziffer 74 und bei D bis Ziffer 11. Somit umfasste die Registrierung mindestens 246 Stücke [38]), von denen heute — und dies schon um 1850 — nur noch 145 feststellbar sind. Es zeigt sich hier, dass die Wirren der Säkularisation und der in dieser Zeit erfolgte doppelte Umzug des Archivs vom Augustinerkloster ins ehemalige Dominikanerkloster zu Würzburg

[33]) Gedruckt Würzburg 1744.

[34]) Das erste Dokument, Urkunde Nr. 8 unseres Archivs, ist auf S. 24 f, das zweite, die Urkunde Nr. 176, auf S. 177 ff abgedruckt.

[35]) Es handelt sich zum grössten Teil um Signaturen des Buchstabens A. — Die letzte Signatur dieser Art findet sich auf der Urkunde Nr. 233 vom 5. Juli 1640.

[36]) Die letzte Signatur von der zweiten Hand steht auf Urkunde Nr. 270 vom Mai 1743.

[37]) So bei den Urkunden Nr. 32, 63, 101, 105, 106, 119, 122 und 217.

[38]) Wir berücksichtigen dabei, dass wenigstens 8 Urkunden infolge der Tilgung mancher Signaturen der ersten Hand durch den zweiten Bearbeiter doppelt gezählt sind.

und von da nach Münnerstadt an ihm nicht spurlos vorübergegangen sind. Einige der Urkunden scheinen damals auch den Weg ins heutige Bayerische Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg gefunden zu haben. Wie Herr Staatsarchivrat Dr. Scherzer uns in liebenswürdiger Weise mitteilte, besitzt das Bayerische Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg zwei Urkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts, 4 des 14. Jahrhunderts, 8 des 15. Jahrhunderts, 4 des 16. Jahrhunderts, 4 des 17. Jahrhunderts, 1 des 18. Jahrhunderts und 1 des 19. Jahrhunderts, die sich auf das Augustinerkloster Würzburg beziehen.

Uebrigens hat auch diese Registrierung des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts bei weitem nicht alle Urkunden erfasst, die uns aus jener Zeit im Würzburger Klosterarchiv erhalten sind [39]). Ein stichhaltiger Grund dafür lässt sich nicht angeben, zumal diese Registrierung nicht bloss von wirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten aus geschah, sondern viele Dokumente von rein historischem Wert einbezog. Auch ist kaum anzunehmen, dass ein Grossteil der Urkunden erst später ins Archiv kam. Für einzelne der nichtregistrierten Urkunden bezeugt übrigens P. Antonin Höhn ausdrücklich das Vorhandensein im Würzburger Konventsarchiv schon am Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts [40]). Die Unvollständigkeit dieser Registrierung veranlasste im 19. Jahrhundert den Münnerstädter Augustiner P. Chrysostomus Hepp (gest. 1899), ihr noch die Buchstaben E mit 46 Nummern und F mit 2 Nummern hinzuzufügen [41]).

Ausser dieser Numerierung findet sich auf manchen Urkunden des Würzburger Konventsarchivs noch eine mit kleinen arabischen Ziffern in flüchtiger Schrift. Diese Signaturen lassen sich bis zum Jahr 1800 verfolgen [42]). Die höchste der Ziffern ist die Zahl 122; doch weist die Reihe grosse Lücken auf. Das Archiv enthält heute noch 52 Urkunden mit dieser Signatur. Auch hier folgt die Anordnung der Ziffern nicht der zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge der Schriftstücke.

Neben den Urkunden besitzt das Historische Archiv aus dem

[39]) Z. B. wurden aus dem 16. Jahrhundert nicht erfasst die Urkunden Nr. 134, 141 (I), 153, 156, 157, 167, 170, 171, 173, 174, 184, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 199, 201-203 u. a.

[40]) So für die Urkunden Nr. 187, 190 und 194 (vgl. A. Höhn, *Chronologia* 202 ff).

[41]) Davon fehlen heute die Signaturen E 17 und E 18.

[42]) Die letzte Urkunde mit dieser Signatur ist Nr. 294 vom 15. April 1800.

17. und 18. Jahrhundert auch wertvolle Archivalien anderer Art, die dem Konventsarchiv des Augustinerklosters Würzburg entstammen, wie die Protokollbücher der Konventskapitel, das Zinsregister und das Totenbuch des Klosters, die Matrikeln von Bruderschaften der Augustinerkirche, dazu mancherlei Einzelakten, Prokuraturbücher und Rechnungen.

Als im Jahre 1803 die Aufhebung des Klosters verfügt wurde, blieb das Archiv anscheinend zunächst ziemlich unbeachtet. Dadurch aber, dass das Herzogtum Franken 1806 an den Grossherzog von Toscana kam, war dem Konvent ein kümmerliches Weiterleben möglich. Von einer Verstaatlichung des Klostereigentums war auch 1818, als der Konvent Würzburg ins Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt umgesiedelt wurde, nicht mehr die Rede. So wanderten die Archivalien mit dem Sakristeiinventar und Teilen der Bibliothek nach Münnerstadt. Dort haben sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts verschiedene historisch interessierte Augustinerpatres um die Erschliessung der Urkunden und die Ordnung der Archivalien verdient gemacht. Vor allem ist hier P. Clemens Hutter (gest. 1892) zu nennen, der die Würzburger Urkunden neu ordnete und fortlaufend durchzählte. Auch legte er in den Jahren 1870/74 ein neues Kopialbuch der Urkunden (Standbuch Nr. 5) an, das die Urkunden Nr. 1 bis 203 enthält. Gleichzeitig wurden von P. Chrysostomus Hepp (gest. 1899) Regesten der Urkunden (Standbuch Nr. 4) angefertigt, die P. Hutter bis zu Nr. 203 weiterführte. Ein Quartband mit weiteren Regesten und Zeichnungen der Urkundensiegel von der Hand des P. Possidius Nickl aus der gleichen Zeit befindet sich heute in der Bibliothek der Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt unter der Signatur « K 174 ». Die Signierung der Urkunden in der von P. Hutter begonnenen Weise wurde nach 1886 durch P. Vinzenz Schneider (gest. 1913) fortgesetzt.

Eine letzte Bestandsveränderung erfuhr das Würzburger Klosterarchiv gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Am 26. Juli 1889 wurde durch den damaligen Generalkommissär P. Pius Keller (gest. 13.3. 1904 im Rufe der Heiligkeit) im Auftrag des Konventes Münnerstadt mit dem Historischen Verein für Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg ein Tauschvertrag abgeschlossen. Ausser Papierakten über den Deutschen Orden, die das Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt besass, gingen damals die sechs Urkunden Nr. 37, 41 (II), 46, 50a, 52 und 85 (I), alle aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, in das Besitzrecht des Historischen Vereins über. Die Augustiner erhielten

dafür die Handschrift « Ms. q. 1 » des Historischen Vereins, die ehemals Eigentum des Augustinerklosters Würzburg war. Sie enthält die « Acta Capitulorum generalium et provincialium 1607-51 », sowie die Visitationsakten des Augustinerklosters Würzburg 1621-52 [43]) ; doch ist sie seit etwa 20 Jahren verschollen.

2. *Das Archiv des Augustinerkonvents Münnerstadt.*

Das Augustinerkloster zu Münnerstadt bei Bad Kissingen wurde im Jahre 1279 gegründet [44]). Bei der Teilung der Deutschen Ordensprovinz 1299 kam es zur Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz, bei der es bis zu ihrem Untergang in den Wirren der Reformation verblieb. Im Bauernkrieg erlitt das Kloster 1525 grossen Schaden. Da Münnerstadt in den folgenden Jahren mehr und mehr der Reformation anheimfiel, verliessen die Augustiner um 1560 die Stadt [45]). Das Kloster und sein Besitz wurde in der kommenden Zeit durch die Münnerstädter Keller des Fürstbischofs von Würzburg verwaltet. Ja am 27. Juli 1622 ging das Kloster samt seinen Einkünften durch rechtskräftigen Kauf in den Besitz des Fürstbistums Würzburg über [46]). Doch wurde der Verkauf am 30. September 1650 rückgängig gemacht [47]). 1652 konnte das Kloster wieder besetzt und der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz zugeteilt werden [48]). Es ist das einzige deutsche Augustinerkloster, das die Säkularisation ohne Einbusse an Hab und Gut überdauerte und so die Wiege der neuen Deutschen Ordensprovinz werden konnte [49]).

[43]) Siehe den Eintrag im Standbuch Nr. 5 auf der Rückseite des Titelblattes und die Empfangsbestätigung des Historischen Vereins vom 14. August 1899, die sich in diesem Buch gegen Schluss eingeheftet findet. — Vgl. auch *Anal. Aug.* II 240.

[44]) Am 1. August 1279 schenkte der Rat der Stadt den Augustinern Grund und Boden für ihr Kloster (vgl. Abschrift der Urkunde im Copiale von 1477/9 im Bayer. Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg, Standbuch 245, Blatt 43 r).

[45]) In unseren Archivalien ist zuletzt 1559 ein Prior des Klosters — fr. Kilian Schuel — bezeugt (Rechnung Nr. 10 a und b). Dagegen ist die nächste erhaltene Jahresrechnung des Klosters von 1566/7 bereits von dem fürstbischöflichen Klosterverwalter Hans Koch erstellt (Rechnung Nr. 11).

[46]) Bayer. Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg Urkunden 68/206 und 110/135.

[47]) Provinzarchiv Standbuch Nr. 8, 3-5.

[48]) Vgl. Protokollbuch I des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, Standbuch Nr. 78, S. 1-2.

[49]) Vgl. auch « Die Augustiner in Münnerstadt », Jubiläumsgabe, dargeboten vom Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt, Würzburg 1935.

Ueber die Geschichte des Klosterarchivs sind wir einigermassen zuverlässig unterrichtet. Es besass ehedem eine beträchtliche Zahl von Urkunden. Insgesamt lassen sich in den erhaltenen Archivalien unseres Provinzarchivs und des Bayerischen Staatsarchivs zu Würzburg 9 Urkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts, 45 des 14. Jahrhunderts, 62 des 15. Jahrhunderts und 15 des 16. Jahrhunderts feststellen, die sich auf das Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt beziehen. Im Original ist davon freilich nur ein geringer Bruchteil erhalten: Unser Provinzarchiv besitzt über das Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt eine Urkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts, drei Urkunden des 14. Jahrhunderts und zwei des 16. Jahrhunderts. Im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg befinden sich vier Urkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts, 15 des 14. Jahrhunderts, 12 des 15. Jahrhunderts und 5 des 16. Jahrhunderts, die das Kloster Münnerstadt betreffen [50]).

In den Jahren 1477-79 liess der Prior des Münnerstädter Klosters fr. Martin Scherpf eine Abschrift von 67 Urkunden der Jahre 1279 bis 1479 machen, denen gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts noch eine Urkunde von 1497 in Abschrift beigegeben wurde. Bei der Auswahl der Urkunden mögen ihn die praktischen Bedürfnisse der klösterlichen Vermögensverwaltung geleitet haben. In der Anordnung folgte er nicht der zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge der Urkunden. Im Original sind heute nur noch vier dieser Urkunden erhalten. Sie befinden sich samt dem wertvollen Copiale selbst im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg [51]).

In den kommenden Jahrhunderten wechselten die Archivalien des Klosters mehrfach den Besitzer. In den Wirren des Bauernkrieges übergab das Kloster 1525 seine Urkunden nebst dem Sakristei-Inventar dem Rat der Stadt zur Sicherstellung in der sogenannten Schnecke, einem feuer- und diebessicheren Gelass im Südturm der Pfarrkirche. Die Aufsicht über diese Wertgegenstände übernahmen die beiden Herrschaften, die sich damals in den Besitz von Münnerstadt teilten, die Grafen von Henneberg und der Fürstbischof von Würzburg. Da sich aber die Henneberger und

[50]) Siehe unser Register Nr. II.

[51]) Es sind die Urkunden Nr. 124/99 vom 18. Nov. 1316, Nr. 110/125 vom 10. Juli 1394, Nr. 100/96 vom 7. Febr. 1456 und Nr. 110/131 vom 27. März 1476. — Das Copiale trägt die Signatur: Standbuch 245. Es umfasst 46 Blatt, die als Blatt 12-57 in ein « Lehen- und Erbzinsregister » des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt aus dem Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts eingefügt sind.

auch der grösste Teil der Münnerstädter Bevölkerung der Reformation zuwandten, mussten die Augustiner jahrzehntelang um die Rückgabe ihrer Urkunden, Kelche und Messgewänder kämpfen [52]). Endlich im Jahre 1550 hatten ihre Bemühungen Erfolg. Das Protokoll der Uebergabe ist erhalten [53]). Am 1. Februar dieses Jahres wurden im Beisein der fürstbischöflichen und hennebergischen Amtsmänner und Keller, sowie des Bürgermeisters der Stadt die sichergestellten Gegenstände dem Prior fr. Georg Vetter und dem Prokurator fr. Kilian Schuel ausgehändigt. Darunter befand sich das oben erwähnte Copiale des fr. Martin Scherpf [54]), ferner eine Lade mit alten Urkunden und Rechnungsbelegen, die nicht im einzelnen aufgeführt wurden [55]), und ausserdem 34 Urkunden, die Stück für Stück genau beschrieben sind [56]). Diese letzten trugen als Signatur die Buchstaben A bis Z und AA bis KK. In dem Verzeichnis sind sie in der Reihenfolge dieser Signaturen, aber ohne Rücksicht auf die zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge aufgeführt. Es befinden sich darunter auch 8 Urkunden über Stiftungen des Münnerstädter Spitals. Nur 11 dieser Urkunden finden sich im Copiale des fr. Scherpf. Ein Grossteil der anderen entstammt erst dem Ende des 15. und dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Im Original sind heute nur noch 7 von diesen Urkunden erhalten [57]).

Doch waren die Augustiner nicht allzu lange im Besitz ihrer Archivalien. Bereits um das Jahr 1560, als sie ihr Kloster verliessen und der Obsorge weltlicher Verwalter übergaben, blieben im Kloster ein Zinsbuch aus Pergament, begonnen 1453, und ein Saal-

[52]) Vgl. das Schreiben des Bürgermeisters und Rates der Stadt an die Gräfin Katharina von Henneberg aus dem Jahr 1549 (Abschrift im Standbuch Nr. 80 unseres Archivs S. 334 d). — Der Fürstbischof von Würzburg wollte schon 1527 die Sachen zurückgeben, doch stimmte der Graf von Henneberg nicht zu (Ms. F. 214 des Historischen Vereins für Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg, S. 49 ff).

[53]) Akten Nr. 11 a-c unseres Archivs.

[54]) Akten Nr. 11 a, S. 20.

[55]) Akten Nr. 11 a, S. 21: « Item mehr alte verlegene brief und etliche quitantzen, dem Closter zustendig, alle in einer laden beinander ligendt ».

[56]) Akten Nr. 11 a, S. 10-25. — Vgl. dazu unser Verzeichnis der Urkunden im Register Nr. II.

[57]) Es sind die Urkunden des Bayer. Staatsarchivs zu Würzburg Nr. 110/117 vom 10. Mai 1358, Nr. 110/119 vom 6. Mai 1361, Nr. 110/120 vom 9. Juni 1367, Nr. 110/123 vom 3. Dez. 1380, Nr. 110/125 vom 10. Juli 1394, Nr. 100/96 vom 7. Febr. 1456 und Nr. 110/132 vom 4. Okt. 1507.

büchlein vom Jahre 1484 zurück [58]). Beide sind heute verschollen [59]). Als dann im Jahre 1622 das Kloster mit seinen Einkünften an das Würzburger Fürstbistum verkauft wurde, gingen offenbar auch die Urkunden über den Besitzstand und die Gefälle des Klosters, vielleicht auch das Copiale des fr. Scherpf, mit in den Besitz des Käufers über. Jedenfalls befanden sie sich 1653 beim Münnerstädter Stadtrat in Verwahrung und wurden den Augustinern, trotzdem der Verkauf rückgängig gemacht war, nur vorübergehend zum Abschreiben ausgeliehen [60]).

Noch 1701 war die Rückgabe der Urkunden nicht vollzogen, sodass der damalige Prior des Klosters, P. Onuphrius Schambach, sich erneut darum bemühte [61]). Anscheinend waren seine Anstrengungen nicht umsonst [62]). Jedenfalls befindet sich 1718 das Copiale des fr. Scherpf wieder im Besitz des Klosters [63]). Dass auch die Urkunden, wenigstens zum Teil, zurückgegeben worden sind, beweist die Tatsache, dass eine Urkunde vom 12. Juni 1304, die 1653 nachweislich im Besitz des Stadtrates von Münnerstadt war [64]), heute zu unserem Provinzarchiv gehört [65]).

Aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. und dem Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts sind nicht weniger als drei Bücher mit Urkundenkopien des Klosters auf uns gekommen. Das älteste von ihnen ist das Protokollbuch Nr. I des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt (Standbuch Nr. 78). Es enthält S. 125 bis 152 Abschriften von 21 Urkunden

[58]) Bezeugt in dem Inventar des Klosters Münnerstadt, das man am 20. Mai 1586 beim Abzug des Verwalters Hans Melchior Spelt erstellte, der durch den fürstbischöflichen Keller Andreas Senft abgelöst wurde (Akten Nr. 12 unseres Archivs S. 3).

[59]) Das Zinsbuch von 1453 war am Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts noch oder wieder im Besitz des Klosters (vgl. Standbuch Nr. 9 unseres Archivs, Titelblatt und Standbuch 245 des Bayerischen Staatsarchivs Würzburg, Titelblatt).

[60]) Vgl. Protokollbuch I des Klosters S. 125 und 152 (Standbuch Nr. 78 unseres Archivs).

[61]) Vgl. Protokollbuch II des Klosters, S. 55 (Standbuch Nr. 79 unseres Archivs).

[62]) Die Angabe des P. Vinzenz Schneider, die Bemühungen des P. Onuphrius seien erfolglos gewesen (Notiz im vorderen Deckel des Standbuchs Nr. 5 unseres Archivs), entbehrt des Beweises.

[63]) Es wurde dem damals beendigten « Lehen- und Erbzinsregister » des Klosters (Standbuch 245 des Bayer. Staatsarchivs Würzburg) eingefügt.

[64]) Siehe Standbuch Nr. 78 unseres Archivs, S. 130.

[65]) Sie trägt heute die Signatur: Urkunde Nr. 23, II.

über das Kloster, deren Originalien sich damals mit einer einzigen Ausnahme [66]) im Besitz des Stadtrates von Münnerstadt befanden. Die Originalurkunden wurden dem Provinzial der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Povinz, P. Wilhelm Krabler, und dem Prior des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, P. Bonaventura Sölner, 1653 zur Abschrift ausgehändigt [67]). Man begnügte sich bei der Abschrift mit der Substanz des Urkundentextes. Auch fällt auf, dass sich unter den Kopien nur eine einzige Urkunde [68]) des Copiale von 1477/9 befindet. Es hat also den Anschein, dass die 63 heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Originalurkunden des fr. Scherpf [69]) schon damals verschollen waren. Sie sind seitdem nicht wieder zum Vorschein gekommen. Dagegen sind von den Originalurkunden dieser Abschrift des Jahres 1653 heute noch 19 Stück erhalten. 18 davon befinden sich im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg, eine in unserem Provinzarchiv [70]).

Bei der Wiederbesetzung des Münnerstädter Klosters um 1650 legte man auch ein neues « Copeybuch » an, das bis zum Jahre 1721 fortgeführt wurde [71]). Unter anderem enthält es 18 Urkunden aus der Zeit vor 1650. Bei den kopierten Stücken des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts handelt es sich stets um solche, die auch im Copiale des fr. Scherpf enthalten sind [72]), wähend von den soeben besprochenen Urkundenabschriften des Protokollbuches I nur eine einzige nochmals aufgenommen wurde [73]).

Abschriften von Urkunden enthält schliesslich auch das « Lehen- und Erbzinsregister » des Klosters Münnerstadt, das P. Onuphrius Schambach im Jahre 1718 beendete [74]). Insgesamt hat er 25 Ur-

[66]) Es handelt sich um die Urkunde vom 7. Dez. 1315, die heute verschollen ist. — Zu dem Ganzen vgl. unser Verzeichnis der Urkunden (Register Nr. II).

[67]) Vgl. Notizen S. 125 und 152.

[68]) Es ist die Urkunde vom 10. Juli 1394, die sich heute als Nr. 110/125 im Bayer. Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg befindet.

[69]) Vgl. unser Verzeichnis der Urkunden.

[70]) Vgl. unser Verzeichnis der Urkunden.

[71]) Standbuch Nr. 8 unseres Archivs.

[72]) Alles spricht dafür, dass die Abschriften dieser Urkunden auch dieses Mal nicht von den Originalien selbst erfolgten, sondern aus dem erwähnten Copiale von 1477/9. Das « Copeybuch » ist also kein Beweis dafür, dass die kopierten Stücke damals noch im Original existierten.

[73]) Urkunde Nr. 110/125 vom 10. Juli 1394. — Vgl. zu dem Ganzen unser Verzeichnis der Münnerstädter Urkunden.

[74]) Standbuch Nr. 9 unseres Archivs.

kunden der Jahre 1281 bis 1497 aufgenommen. Als Hauptquelle dafür diente ihm das Copiale des fr. Scherpf [75]). Auch ihm haben also die Originalurkunden selbst schon nicht mehr vorgelegen.

Während die Urkunden des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt nur zu einem kleinen Bruchteil erhalten geblieben sind, besitzen wir manche andere wertvolle Archivalien des Klosters aus alter Zeit. Neben den erwähnten Kopialbüchern enthält das Provinzarchiv auch das Totenbuch und die Protokollbücher des Klosters seit seiner Wiederbesetzung, ferner drei Bände mit den Kapitelsakten der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz und den Visitationsberichten über das Kloster Münnerstadt ; die erhaltenen Prokuraturbelege und Jahresrechnungen reichen sogar bis an den Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts zurück.

Die Säkularisation hat zwar den äusseren Besitzstand des Klosters nicht wesentlich beeinträchtigt. Dagegen erlitt das Archiv des Klosters damals grosse Einbusse. Bereits am 16. Februar 1803 ordnete ein Schreiben der Kurfürstlichen Regierung an, dass die Archivalien des Klosters zwecks Beschreibung des klösterlichen Vermögensstandes sofort nach Würzburg einzusenden seien [76]). Dieser Aufforderung wurde alsbald Folge geleistet. Bereits am 11. März des Jahres konnte der königliche Hofrat und Archivar Stumpf in Würzburg dem Kloster den Empfang eines Kästchens mit den Archivalien bestätigen [77]). Welche der heute im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg aufbewahrten Urkunden über das Kloster Münnerstadt damals eingesandt wurden, lässt sich freilich nicht

[75]) Vgl. die Angaben im Titelblatt seines Registers. Er erwähnt noch drei weitere Quellen, die heute alle verschollen sind, nämlich: das schon oben genannte pergamentene Zinsbuch von 1453, das Erbzinsregister des Klosterverwalters und fürstbischöflichen Kellers Christophorus Fleischmann aus den Jahren 1606/14 und das Erbzinsregister des P. Simplician Kilian von 1671.

[76]) Akten unseres Archivs Nr. 26/VIII: « Es ist unumgänglich nothwendig, dass die Stifte und Klöster auf dem Lande, statt ihre Erwerbsgeschichte selbst zu beschreiben, ihre sämtlichen Erwerbsurkunden im Originale an den Hofrath Stumpf gegen eine Quittung von demselben einschicken... Da oft der Fall sein wird, dass Originalien abgehen, so haben sämmtliche Stifte und Klöster mit den Originalien auch die Copialbücher binnen 14 Tagen unfehlbar einzuschicken ».

[77]) Akten unseres Archivs Nr. 26/IX: « Dass von dem Augustinerkloster zu Münnerstadt ein Kästchen nach dem Bericht mit den Urkunden des Klosters zum k. Archivariate abgeliefert worden seyen, bescheiniget A. Stumpf, k. Hofrath und Archivar ». Eine gleichzeitige Hand hat vermerkt: « Herr Archivar Stumpf bescheinigt die Erhaltung unserer eingeschickten Originalurkunden und Copien ».

mehr mit Sicherheit feststellen. Doch besteht die Vermutung wohl zu Recht, dass sich jene 18 Urkunden darunter befanden, die 1653 im Besitz des Stadtrates Münnerstadt waren und damals für das Protokollbuch des Klosters abgeschrieben wurden [78]). Noch heute sind sie im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg mit der einheitlichen Sammelnummer 110 signiert [79]). Mit den Urkunden wurde auch das Copiale des fr. Scherpf von 1477/9 eingesandt, offenbar, weil nur dieses Buch über viele alte Lehens- und Zinsrechte des Klosters Aufschluss geben konnte, von denen in den vorhandenen Urkunden nichts zu finden war. Heute trägt dieses Copiale im Staatsarchiv die Signatur « Standbuch 245 ». Der Hinweis mag gestattet sein, dass die erwähnten Archivalien des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt ohne Zweifel widerrechtlich vom Königlichen Archiv in Würzburg zurückbehalten wurden ; nicht nur deshalb, weil die Säkularisation des Klosters nie durchgeführt worden ist. Die Königliche Regierung hat dem Kloster durch Schreiben Nr. 19931/17468 vom 6. Mai 1838 auch ausdrücklich erklärt, dass bei ihm, wie bei manchen anderen Klöstern des Untermain-Kreises die Bestimmungen des Reichsdeputationshauptschlusses vom 25. Februar 1803 keine Anwendung fänden und sein Vermögen somit nicht als Staatseigentum anzusehen sei [80]).

3. *Sonstige Erwerbungen.*

Zu den reichen Würzburger und Münnerstädter Archivalien, die seit 1818 in Münnerstadt vereinigt waren, kamen im 19. Jahrhundert noch einige Neuerwerbungen hinzu. Wohl dem Besitz des letzten Provinzials der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz entstammen mehrere Personalkataloge der Provinz aus den Jahren 1756-94 [81]). Aus der Hinterlassenschaft des letzten Augustiner-Pfarrers von Uttenweiler bei Ulm erhielt das Archiv das Copiale des 1807 aufgehobenen Augustinerklosters Uttenweiler [82]). Der Urkundenbestand

[78]) Siehe oben.

[79]) Siehe unser Verzeichnis der Münnerstädter Urkunden.

[80]) Akten unseres Archivs Nr. 30/XXIII f. — Mit Rücksicht darauf wurden dem Kloster im Jahre 1949 mehrere hundert Bände der Gymnasialbibliothek Münnerstadt zurückgegeben, die seinerzeit bei der Uebernahme des Gymnasiums durch den Staat widerrechtlich säkularisiert worden waren, — der gewiss seltene Fall einer « Wiedergutmachung » nach fast hundertfünfzig Jahren.

[81]) Standbücher Nr. 74, 88-93.

[82]) Standbuch Nr. 10, 16 Seiten, 17. Jahrhundert.

erfuhr eine wertvolle Bereicherung durch die Erwerbung von 20 Urkunden der Jahre 1306 bis 1790 aus dem Besitz des 1798 säkularisierten Augustinerklosters Speyer. Wann und durch wen sie erworben wurden, ist freilich nicht mehr festzustellen. Er wäre denkbar, dass einer der letzten Insassen dieses Klosters sie nach Würzburg oder Münnerstadt weitergab. Möglicherweise wurden sie aber auch erst durch Vermittlung des P. Alois Braun (gest. 1887), der selbst aus Speyer stammte und lange Zeit das Amt eines Generalkommissärs der deutschen Augustiner innehatte, erworben. In unserem Jahrhundert kamen nur noch 2 Urkunden durch Kauf hinzu, nämlich eine Schuldverschreibung des Augustinerklosters Mainz vom 5. Dezember 1763 (Urkunde Nr. 280) und ein Befehlsschreiben Gustav Adolphs von Schweden mit eigenhändiger Unterschrift des Königs in Besitzangelegenheiten des Frankfurter Bürgers und Gymnasial-Präceptors Bembert vom 29. Dezember 1631 (Urkunde Nr. 229).

Das Archiv in der geschilderten Zusammensetzung wurde im Jahre 1940 — von einem Teil der Münnerstädter Archivalien abgesehen — ins Augustinerkloster Würzburg an den Sitz des Provinzialats überführt und dort in Metallschränken diebes- und feuersicher untergebracht. 1943 sorgte man wegen der einsetzenden Bombenangriffe für eine rechtzeitige Auslagerung der älteren und wertvolleren Archivalien nach dem Augustinerkloster Fährbrück bei Würzburg. Auf diese Weise hat der grössere und wichtigste Teil des Provinzarchivs die Zerstörung des Würzburger Klosters am 16. März 1945 überdauert.

Für die Geschichtsschreibung der Augustinerklöster Würzburg und Münnerstadt sind die Bestände unseres Archivs bis jetzt noch nicht erschöpfend ausgewertet worden. Zum Beispiel hat J. Baier in seiner « Geschichte des alten Augustinerklosters Würzburg » (Würzburg 1895) die Urkunden unseres Archivs so gut wie nicht berücksichtigt, sondern sich mit den Angaben des P. Antonin Höhn [83]) und der zwei Protokollbücher des Klosters [84]) begnügt. Unerschlossen blieben die Archivalien bis jetzt auch der fränkischen Heimatgeschichte und Sippenforschung. Wir planen deshalb, in den kommenden Jahren Regesten der Urkunden unseres Archivs herauszugeben und haben uns auch aus diesem Grund bemüht, die Geschichte des Archivs möglichst erschöpfend darzustellen.

[83]) *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini*, Würzburg 1744.

[84]) Standbuch Nr. 66 und 67 unseres Archivs.

II. Inhalt des Archivs.

Nach dem Wiederaufbau des Augustinerklosters Würzburg in den Nachkriegsjahren wurden nunmehr auch die geretteten Archivalien des Provinzarchivs der Benützung wieder zugänglich gemacht. Dabei erfolgte eine Neuordnung und Katalogisierung nach den Richtlinien der Bayerischen Staatsarchive [85]). Dementspechend sind die Archivalien in vier Hauptgruppen eingeteilt, nämlich: in Urkunden, Standbücher, Akten und Rechnungen. Abschriften und Photokopien von Archivalien fremder Archive aus neuerer Zeit müssen wir in unserer gedrängten Uebersicht übergehen.

Erste Abteilung: Urkunden.

Da die Absicht besteht, in den kommenden Jahren die Regesten der Urkunden zu veröffentlichen, soll hier nur eine summarische Uebersicht geboten werden. Sie beschränkt sich darauf zu zeigen, was an Materialien zur Geschichte des Augustinerordens, seiner Provinzen und Klöster in unserem Archiv vorhanden ist. Für die zahlreichen päpstlichen Schreiben des Mittelalters, die sich unter den Urkunden befinden, verzeichnen wir auch den Standort bei Potthast und im « Bullarium » des Augustinerordens von 1628 [86]).

1. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Augustinerordens im allgemeinen.*

Nr. 153 — *1244 April 26*: Quoniam ut ait apostolus, Empoli 165, fehlt bei Potthast, beglaubigte Kopie.

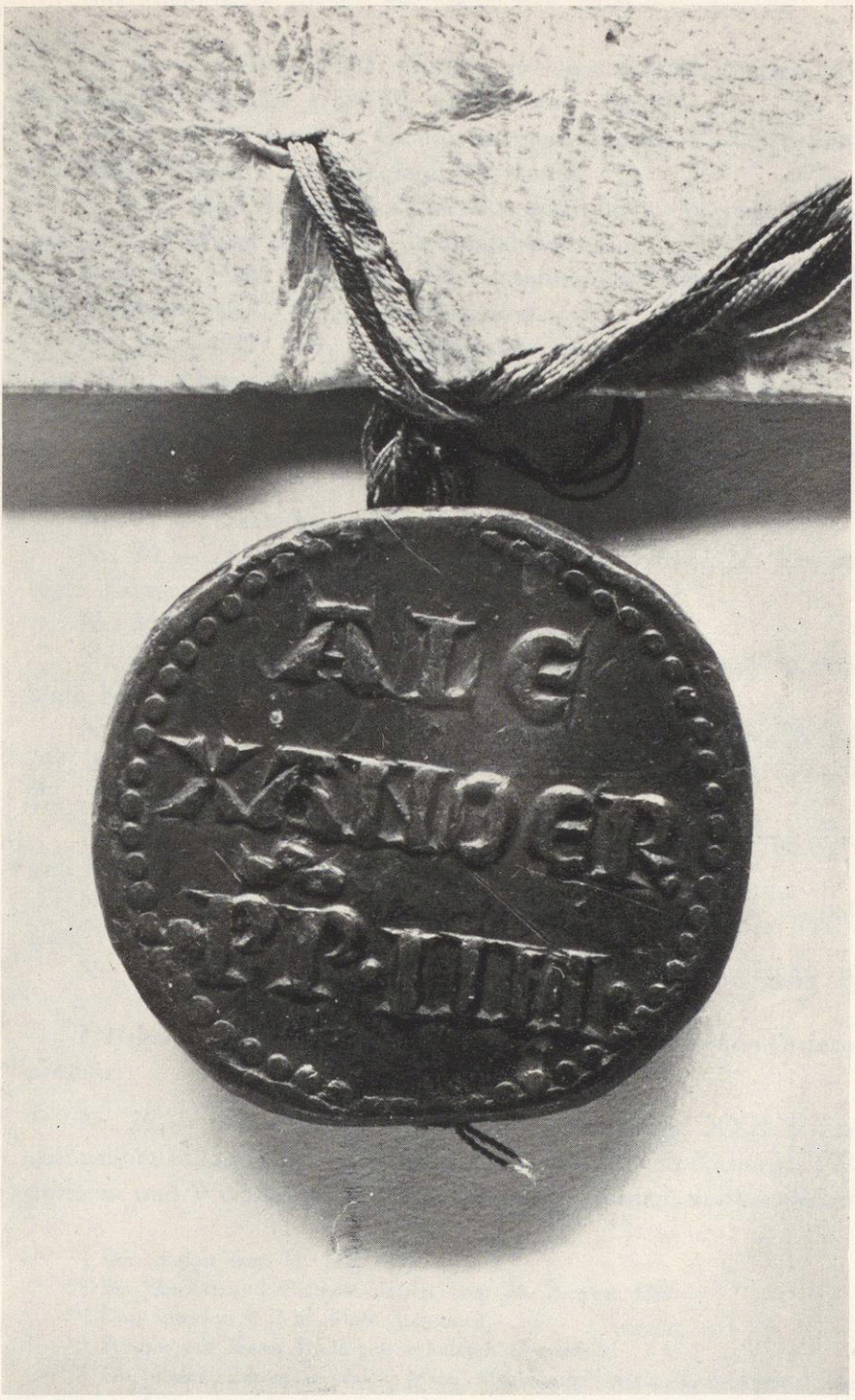
Nr. 2 — *1255 Dez. 9*: Religiosam vitam eligentibus, Empoli 2ff [87]), Potthast 16115, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 3 — *1256 Mai 4*: Licet Ecclesie, Empoli 18ff, Potthast 16335, Originalausfertigung.

[85]) Dank schulden wir Herrn Staatsarchivrat Dr. Scherzer vom Bayer. Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg für diesbezügliche Ratschläge und praktische Hinweise.

[86]) A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin 1874/5 und L. Empoli, *Bullarium Ordinis S. Augustini*, Rom 1628.

[87]) Das Schreiben ist dort unter dem 30. Juli 1255 an die « Heremitae in Tuscia » gerichtet. Unsere Bulle trägt die Anschrift: « Dilectis filiis Prioribus et fratribus Heremitis in Alimania constitutis ».



Siegel Papst Alexanders IV. an der Unionsbulle vom Jahre 1256

(Urkunde Nr. 3 des Historischen Archivs der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz; — Siegel vergrössert)

Nr. 4 — *1259 Juni 10*: Quanto preclara Ordinis Vestri, vgl. Empoli 29f, Potthast 17597 [88]), Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 6 — *1259 Juni 11*: Quanto preclara Ordinis Vestri, Empoli 29f, vgl. Potthast 17597, beglaubigte Kopie.

N. 1 — *1289 August 23*: Tenorem quarundam litterarum, Empoli 263f, Potthast 23058 [89]), Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 19 — *1295 Febr. 19*: Ad consequendam gloriam, Empoli 48f, Potthast 24028, Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 20 — *1299 Jan. 21*: Sacer ordo vester, Empoli 52f, Potthast 24767, Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 72 — Dasselbe, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 23, I — *1302 Jan. 16*: Inter sollicitudines, Empoli 50, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 71 — Dasselbe, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 34 — *1347 Juli 19*: Ad fructus uberes, Empoli 64, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 35, II — Dasselbe, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 79 — *1376 Juni 1*: Exhibita nobis, fehlt bei Empoli, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 115 — *1418 Juli 29*: Viam ambitiosae cupiditatis, Empoli 249, und *1426 Juni 8*: Ad circumspectam Romani Pontificis, Empoli 255, beglaubigte Kopien.

Nr. 117 — *1450 April 30*: Sincere devotionis affectus, vgl. Empoli 329-41 [90]), beglaubigte Kopie.

N. 118 — *1451 März 30*: Diligentia semper exacta, vgl. Empoli 268ff [91]), beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 141, I — *1474 Febr. 7*: Dum fructus uberes, Empoli 328ff [92]).

2. Urkunden zur Geschichte der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Ordensprovinz.

Nr. 26 — *1317 April 18*: Auftrag Papst Johannes' XXII. (« Etsi quibuslibet religiosis »), gerichtet an die Bischöfe von Kammin, Hildesheim und Würzburg, die Augustiner der Thüringisch-Sächsischen

[88]) Dort datiert vom 11. Juni 1259.

[89]) Bei Empoli und Potthast datiert vom 28. August 1289.

[90]) Dort inseriert § 2-38 (Mare Magnum).

[91]) Stimmt mit dieser Bulle nur inhaltlich überein.

[92]) Ob dieses Exemplar des « Mare Magnum » Originalausfertigung oder Kopie ist, lässt sich nicht feststellen, da es am Anfang und Schluss verstümmelt ist und heute nur noch § 2-56 enthält.

Provinz in ihren Privilegien zu schützen, Empoli 194f [93]), Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 66 — Dasselbe, beglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 71 und Nr. 107 — Dasselbe, gerichtet an die Erzbischöfe von Mainz, Köln und Magdeburg, beglaubigte Kopien.

Nr. 29 (1326), Nr. 30 (1338) und Nr. 66 (1365) : Erlasse der Würzburger Bischöfe im Sinne vorstehenden päpstlichen Auftrags.

Nr. 71 (1372) und Nr. 107 (1420) : Schreiben der Erzbischöfe von Mainz im Sinne vorstehenden päpstlichen Auftrags.

N. 56 (1363) und 116 (1448): Aufnahme von Wohltätern in die Gemeinschaft der guten Werke des Ordens [94]).

3. *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz.*

Nr. 171 — 1534 Juli 7: Strafmandat Kaiser Karls V. gegen die Stadt Worms wegen Bedrückung des Augustinerklosters daselbst, unbeglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 176 (1545 Mai 18) und Nr. 220 (1619 September 16): Kaiserliche Schutzbriefe für die Rheinisch-Schwäbische Ordensprovinz, Originalausfertigungen.

Nr. 187-189 (1567) : Schriftwechsel zwischen dem Magistrat der Stadt Worms und dem Provinzial P. Bartholomäus Ulrici über das abgebrannte Augustinerkloster zu Worms.

Nr. 194 — 1569 August 25 : Einspruch des Provinzialkapitels von Hagenau beim Wormser Magistrat gegen den vom Provinzial P. Bartholomäus Ulrici ausgesprochenen Verzicht auf das Vermögen des Augustinerklosters Worms.

Nr. 190 (1569 oder 1570): Bittschrift des Provinzials P. Bartholomäus Ulrici an den Kaiserlichen Commissionstag um Wiederherstellung der Württembergischen Augustinerklöster zu Tübingen, Ingelheim und Esslingen und des Augustinerinnenklosters Urach.

Nr. 297 — 1811 September 12: Definitoriumsbeschluss über Verwendung der Kasse der ehemaligen Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz.

[93]) Bei Empoli ist die Bulle an drei italienische Bischöfe zu Gunsten der Sienensischen Augustinerprovinz gerichtet.

[94]) Vgl. Urkunde 3/146 des Bayer. Staatsarchivs zu Würzburg vom 20. April 1424, durch die der Würzburger Bischof Johannes vom Generalprior des Augustinerordens fr. Augustinus de Roma in die Gemeinschaft der Gebete des Ordens aufgenommen wird.

4. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt.*

Nr. 11, II — 1282 August 15: Ablassbrief des Bischofs von Eichstätt für das Kloster.

Nr. 23, II — 1304 Juni 11: Messstiftung der Gertrud Prel.

Nr. 30 — 1338 Juli 8 : Zulassung von Beichtvätern und Predigern durch den Würzburger Bischof.

Nr. 53 (1361), 67 (1367), 92, II (1395), 110, II (1426), 141, II (1476), 252, II (1671), 255, II (1689), 263 (1718), 264 (1718) und 279 (1761): Stiftungen.

Nr. 182, II (1549), 182, III (1556/7), 215, II (1601), 248, II (1662) und 255, I (1683): Zins- und Mieteinnahmen des Klosters.

Nr. 219 — 1617 September 11: Lizenz Papst Pauls V. (« Ex iniuncto nobis ») an den Fürstbischof Julius von Würzburg zum Ankauf des alten Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, unbeglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 221 — 1622 Januar 10: Häuserkauf auf dem alten Anger zu Münnerstadt durch die Universität Würzburg, unbeglaubigte Kopie.

Nr. 248, III — 1668 September 17: Armutsattest für das Kloster, ausgestellt vom Stadtrat Münnerstadt.

Nr. 286 — 1771 Juni 26 : Ablassbrief für das Fest des hl. Sebastian.

5. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Speyer.*

Nr. 24, II — 1306 Januar 25: Legat für das Kloster.

Nr. 41, I (1355), 74, I (1374), 85, II (1381), 93, II (1388), 121, II (1453), 144 (1481), 163, II (1520), 182, IV (1557) und 260 (1712) : Zins- und Mieteinnahmen des Klosters.

Nr. 155, IV (1502) und 224 (1626): Kauf und Verkauf von Häusern.

Nr. 262 (1716) und 290 (1790) : Schuldurkunden.

Nr. 266 (1725), 269 (1740) und 271 (1746): Beanstandungen verschiedener Art durch den Magistrat der Stadt.

6. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Würzburg.*

Nr. 7 — 1259 August 3: Verkauf des Hauses des verst. Heinrich Pinzerna zu Würzburg an Johannes Rezelin.

Nr. 9 — 1263 März 17: Verkauf des Hauses des Johannes Rezelin an die Augustiner Hesso und Heinrich.

Nr. 8 — 1263 Mai 14: Bestätigung der Genehmigung des Würzburger Bischofs Iringus vom 23. Dezember 1262 zum Bau eines Augustinerklosters in der Stadt oder Diözese Würzburg durch das Würzburger Domkapitel.

Nr. 5 (1267), 11 (1275), 24, I (1305), 25, I (1313), 50b bis 52 (1360), 77 (1375), 84 (1380), 87 (1383), 88 (1383), 93, I (1383), 103 (1415), 104 (1418), 111 (1428), 125, I (1455), 126 (1456), 130 (1459), 181 (1547), 193 (1569), 202 (1588), 254 (1676), 296 (1811), 298 (1811), 300 (1813), 301 (1813) und 303 (1816): Erwerb und Veräusserung von Häusern und Grundstücken.

Nr. 10 (1272) und 17 (1288): Erwerbung der Kapelle des hl. Georg.

Nr. 12 (1284), 13 (1284), 14 (1286), 15 (1287), 16 (1287) und 21 (1298): Ablassbriefe für das Kloster.

Nr. 17 (1290) und 30 (1338): Zulassung der Augustiner zum Predigen und Beichthören in der Diözese Würzburg.

Nr. 22 — 1302 April 5: Schutzbrief Papst Bonifaz' VIII. für das Kloster: « Cum a nobis petitur », nicht bei Empoli und Potthast, Originalausfertigung.

Nr. 32 (1345), 33 (1347), 36 (1350), 43 (1357), 44 (1358), 45-47 (1358), 48-49 (1359), 55 (1362), 57-61 (1363), 63-64 (1364), 65 (1365), 67-68 (1367), 70 (1372), 73 (1374), 74, II (1374), 75-76 (1375), 78 (1376), 80 (1377), 81 (1378), 82 (1379), 89 (1383), 90 (1383), 92 (1384), 95, I (1395), 96 (1397), 119 (1451), 122 (1454), 133 (1461), 135-137 (1466), 138 (1467), 140 (1468), 142, II (1480), 143a-b (1481), 145-147 (1482), 149 (1484), 150, I (1486), 151, I (1493), 152 (1493), 156 (1512), 157 (1512), 160 (1516), 161 (1516), 162 (1516), 163, I (1518), 169 (1532), 170 (1534), 172 (1537), 173 (1540), 174 (1542), 175 (1544), 175 (1545), 178 (1545), 182, I (1549), 195 (1570), 199 (1582), 200 (1585), 203 (1588), 205 (1590), 206 (1590), 207 (1591), 208 (1592), 209 (1595), 210 (1596), 211-213 (1599), 214 (1600), 215, I (1600), 216 (1604), 217 (1607), 230 (1634), 231 (1637), 236 (1644), 238 (1647), 246 (1660), 253 (1675), 267 (1730) und 284 (1766): Zins- und Mieteinnahmen des Klosters.

Nr. 35, I — 1349 März 8: Der Provinzial Jordan [von Sachsen], der Professor der Theologie Hermann von Schildiz, der Prior und Konvent Würzburg verpflichten sich, gewisse Zinseinnahmen für eine Krankenabteilung im Kloster Würzburg zu verwenden.

Nr. 53 (1361), 62 (1364), 86 (1383), 94 (1389), 89 (1410), 101 (1412), 112 (1430), 121, I (1453), 123-124 (1454), 131 (1459), 134 (1461), 139 (1467), 154 (1496), 180 (1547), 196 (1570), 222 (1622), 237 (1646),

244 (1659), 245 (1660), 247 (1660), 249 (1669), 250 (1671), 257 (1705), 258 (1705), 261 (1713), 270 (1743), 273 (1748), 278a-b (1759), 282 (1765), 285 (1767), 289 (1786) und 299 (1811): Mess- und andere Stiftungen.

Nr. 105-106 (1419) und 109 (1425): Prozess wegen Zinseinnahmen des Klosters zu Gänheim.

Nr. 113 — 1430 Oktober 25: Richterlicher Schiedsspruch über Zinseinnahmen des Klosters zu Rundelshausen.

Nr. 120 — 1452 August 22: Bestätigung der Bruderschaft der Köche in der Augustinerkirche durch den Würzburger Bischof.

Nr. 127 — 1457 August 15: Vermächtnis des Pfarrers Eberhard Memelder zur Einführung der Observanz im Augustinerkloster Würzburg.

Nr. 128 (1457), 129 (1458) und 132, I (1460): Bestätigung vorgenannter Schenkung und Verpflichtung des Klosters auf die Observanz durch den Orden und den Bischof.

Nr. 150, I (1486) und 159 (1515) : Zinseinnahmen des Schwesternklosters (Beguinen) des Augustinerordens zu Würzburg.

Nr. 165 und 166 — 1526 März 15: Schreiben Papst Clemens' VII. (« Et si proximis diebus ») an den Fürstbischof Conrad von Würzburg : Er erteilt Absolutionsvollmachten für Abgefallene, die zurückkehren wollen (unbeglaubigte Kopie).

Nr. 167 — 1528 Januar 8: Bericht und Anordnungen der vom Würzburger Bischof ins Augustinerkloster gesandten Visitatoren.

Nr. 223 — 1626 Juli 8: Stiftungs- und Dotationsbrief der sogenannten Totenbruderschaft in der Augustinerkirche.

Nr. 228 — 1629 Juni 21: Bestätigungsbrief der sogenannten Totenbruderschaft durch den Würzburger Bischof.

Nr. 227 (1628), 233 (1640), 234, II (1644), 235 (1644), 239 (1649), 240 (1659), 241 (1654), 242 (1655), 243 (1656), 252, I (1671), 268 (1738), 276 (1754), 277 (1754), 288 (1783) und 292 (1791): Päpstliche Ablass- und Indulgenzbriefe für das Kloster.

Nr. 248, I — 1662 Sept. 6: Mahnung der römischen Congregatio Tridentina an das Concilium der Würzburger Kirche, die Augustiner daselbst nicht zu mehrtägigen Wallfahrten zu nötigen.

Nr. 259 — 1707 Dezember 22: Bestätigungsbrief der Maria-Trost-Bruderschaft in der Augustinerkirche.

Nr. 274-275 — 1748 Juli 1: Fürstbischöfliche Empfehlungen der Würzburger Dominikaner zur Sammlung für den Bau ihrer neuen Kirche (heutige Augustinerkirche).

Nr. 283 (1766) und 287 (1781): Authentiken von St. Augustinus-Reliquien der Klosterkirche.

7. *Urkunden zur Geschichte anderer Augustinerklöster.*

Alsfeld/Hessen: Nr. 164 (1521 Februar 18): Sendung von Weihekandidaten nach Würzburg.

Alzey/Pfalz: Nr. 155, III (1499 Juli 2): Vertrag mit dem Augustiner Syfrid, Lesemeister zu Speyer, wegen Uebernahme des Klösterchens Thingen bei Alzey.

Königsberg/Franken: Nr. 155, I (1498 Juni 18): Stiftungsgottesdienst für eine Schwesternschaft adeliger Frauen.

Mainz: Nr. 280 (1763 Dezember 5): Schuldurkunde.

Osnabrück: Nr. 71 (1372) und 115 (1429): Anfertigung von Kopien päpstlicher Bullen durch Augustiner dieses Klosters.

Schmalkalden: Nr. 30 (1338 Juli 8): Zulassung von Beichtvätern und Predigern durch den Würzburger Bischof.

Windsheim/Franken: Nr. 30 (1338 Juli 8): Zulassung von Beichtvätern und Predigern durch den Würzburger Bischof.

Nr. 153 (1495 Oktober 13): Ablassbrief des Würzburger Bischofs.

Zweite Abteilung: Standbücher.

1. *Standbücher zur Geschichte der Augustiner im allgemeinen.*

Nr. 4: Regesten von ungefähr 240 Urkunden des Provinzarchivs, 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 5: Kopialbuch von ungefähr 230 Urkunden des Provinzarchivs, 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 1-3: Akten der Provinzialkapitel der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz 1653-97, 1699-1762, 1764-1802.

Nr. 74, 88-93: Personenverzeichnisse der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz 1756, 1779, 1786 und 1794.

Nr. 76: Die Verstorbenen der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz, zusammengestellt von P. Matthäus Zimmermann 1940-4.

Nr. 10: Kopialbuch des Augustinerklosters Uttenweiler bei Ulm, 17. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 11: « Von den Conventualen des Augustiner Ordens im Franckhenland », 17. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 35, 36, 43-47: Berichtsentwürfe des General-Kommissärs der deutschen Augustiner P. Pius Keller 1859-85.

Nr. 52: Visitationsberichte des Generalkommissärs der deutschen Augustiner P. Pius Keller 1859-1902

Nr. 37: Berichte der Visitationen des Ordensgenerals im deutschen General-Kommissariat 1847, 1856, 1863 und 1879.

Nr. 70-71: Ordensgeschichtliche Notizen des P. Pius Keller, 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 31: P. Godehard Brune (gest. 1942), Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner im 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 56: P. Dr. Clemens Fuhl (gest. 1935), Die Augustiner in Deutschland seit der Säkularisation.

Nr. 64: P. Dr. Adalbero Kunzelmann, Geschichte der neuerrichteten Deutschen Augustinerprovinz 1895-1945.

Nr. 57-58: P. Francis Roth, Collectanea Anglicana, ein Quellenbuch zu Geschichte der Augustiner in England, abgeschlossen 1952.

2. *Standbücher zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt.*

Nr. 1-3: Visitationsakten 1654-98, 1699-1753, 1764-1813.

Nr. 8: Kopialbuch 1650-1721, mit Abschriften älterer Urkunden.

Nr. 73: Totenbuch 1699-1789.

Nr. 78-79, 69, 51: Protokollbücher 1650-1699, 1699-1810, 1848-53, 1853-95.

Nr. 38-42: Berichtsentwürfe des Priors P. Pius Keller 1853-59, 1871-89.

Nr. 72, 48-50: Kapitelsansprachen des Priors P. Pius Keller 1853-60, 1865-93, 1903-04.

Nr. 18: Matrikel der Maria-Trost-Bruderschaft 1681-1847.

Nr. 19-20: Matrikeln der Maria-Trost-Kongregation am Augustiner-Gymnasium 1735-55, 1755-1803.

Nr. 9: Lehens- und Erbzins-Register, begonnen 1718.

Nr. 23: Rechnungsbuch 1723-50.

Nr. 24-26: Zinsregister 1596-1606, 1736-53, 1754-98.

3. *Standbücher zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters Würzburg.*

Nr. 6-7: Kopialbücher, Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Nr. 66-67: Protokollbücher 1657-1729, 1730-1816.

Nr. 65: Totenbuch, 1735-1913.

Nr. 77: Professbuch, 18.-20. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 12: Conventiones der 4 Würzburger Mendikantenklöster 1668-1804.

Nr. 13-15 : Matrikeln der Armen-Seelen-Bruderschaft 1626-1775, 1859-1914.

Nr. 16: Matrikel der Paktums-Mitglieder der Maria-Trost-Bruderschaft 1726-1853.

Nr. 17: Protokoll der Maria-Trost-Bruderschaft 1730-1901.

Nr. 21: Register der Grund- und Kapitalzinsen 1693.

Nr. 22: Protokoll der Prokuratur 1731-1801.

Dritte Abteilung: Akten.

1. *Akten zur Geschichte der Augustiner im allgemeinen.*

Nr. 21: Verschiedene päpstliche Schreiben, den Orden betreffend, 17.-19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 22 und 56: Verschiedene allgemeine Erlasse der obersten Ordensleitung, 17.-19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 24: Briefe des seligen Stephanus Bellesini (gest. 1840) an den Ordensgeneral.

Nr. 43 : Akten des Provinzialkapitels der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz vom 19. September 1802 (Kopie).

Nr. 44: Verfügung über die Kasse der ehemaligen Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Ordensprovinz 1810/11.

Nr. 57-60: Briefe der Ordensgeneräle und anderer ausländischer Augustiner an den Generalkommissär der deutschen Augustiner, 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.

2. *Akten zur Geschichte der Augustinerklöster Würzburg und Münnerstadt.*

Nr. 1-10: Notizen über Zinseinnahmen, Ausgaben und Aussenstände des Klosters Münnerstadt 1499-1568.

Nr. 11: Inventar der Kirchengeräte, Messgewänder und Urkunden des Klosters Münnerstadt 1550.

Nr. 12: Klosterinventar des Klosters Münnerstadt 1586.

Nr. 13: Ausgaben für das neue Terminarhaus des Klosters Münnerstadt in Neustadt/Saale 1517-23.

Nr. 16: Prozess des Klosters Münnerstadt mit der Stadt wegen strittiger Grundstücke 1668-1706.

Nr. 17: Verschiedene Akten des Klosters Münnerstadt 1669-1798.

Nr. 18: Streitsache des Klosters Münnerstadt über Stiftungsmessen des verstorbenen Pfarrers Paulus Zimmer 1751-1801.

Nr. 19: Kopialheft des Klosters Münnerstadt 1653-1902.

Nr. 71: Akten über die Lehen des Klosters Münnerstadt im 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 42: Vorbereitung des Kapitels der Restprovinz von 1816 im Kloster Münnerstadt.

Nr. 64: Schauspiele, verfasst und dargestellt am Augustiner-Gymnasium Münnerstadt 1750-1787.

Nr. 65-66: Preisverteilungsreden am Gymnasium Münnerstadt 1786-1840.

Nr. 67-68: Verschiedene Akten über das Gymnasium Münnerstadt, 17.-19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 14-15: Verschiedene Akten des Klosters Würzburg 1575-1659, 1670-1748.

Nr. 47: Regestenartige Notizen zur Geschichte des Klosters Würzburg, 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 26: Schreiben der Kurfürstlichen Regierung zur geplanten Säkularisation der beiden Klöster 1803/4.

Nr. 27: Abschriften aus den « Local-Commissions-Acten » 1804 über das Kloster Münnerstadt.

Nr. 28: Schreiben der Königlichen Regierung, die Bibliotheken der beiden Klöster betreffend 1818-24.

Nr. 29: Schreiben der Königlichen Regierung, Einrichtung des Schullehrerseminars und Gymnasiums im Kloster Würzburg betreffend 1824/5.

Nr. 30: Schreiben der Königlichen Regierung zum Fortbestand des Klosters Münnerstadt und des Hospitiums Würzburg 1818-49.

Nr. 31: Abschriften aus den Regierungsakten 1817/8 und 1824, das Klostervermögen der beiden Klöster betreffend.

Nr. 32-4: Akten über den Klosterstudienfond zur Erhaltung des Gymnasiums Münnerstadt 1820-77.

Nr. 35-6: Schreiben der Königlichen Regierung zu Personalveränderungen und anderen Angelegenheiten der beiden Klöster 1816-73, 1833-88.

Nr. 37: Schreiben des Bischöflichen Ordinariats Würzburg zur klösterlichen Disziplin der beiden Klöster 1810-31.

Nr. 38: Schreiben des Bischöflichen Ordinariats Würzburg, Pastoralaushilfen der beiden Klöster betreffend 1807-94.

Nr. 39: Schreiben des Bischöflichen Ordinariats Würzburg zu Personalveränderungen in beiden Klöstern 1810-92.

Nr. 69: Akten der Königlichen Regierung und des Bischöflichen Ordinariats Würzburg über Aufnahme von Kandidaten, 19. Jahrhundert.

Nr. 49: Akten über die Wiedererrichtung des Priorats Würzburg 1847-60.

Vierte Abteilung: Rechnungen.

Nr. 6-49: Jahresrechnungen des Klosters Münnerstadt 1555-59, 1566-73, 1576-81, 1650-54, 1746-48, 1754, 1769-77, 1780, 1782-88.

Nr. 50-51: Rechnungsbücher des Klosters Münnerstadt 1689-1712, 1751-1775.

Nr. 54-57: Rechnungsbücher des Klosters Münnerstadt 1663-79, 1702-06.

Nr. 60-73: Jahresrechnungen des Klosters Münnerstadt 1849, 1854, 1861, 1864-86.

Nr. 52-53: Jahresrechnungen des Klosters Münnerstadt über einen Steinbruch in Haard 1854/5.

Nr 74-88: Jahresrechnungen der klösterlichen Verwaltung des Klosterstudienfonds des Gymnasiums Münnerstadt 1848-63.

Nr. 1-5: Jahresrechnungen des Klosters Würzburg 1696, 1757, 1759, 1767 und 1785.

Nr. 58-59: Rechnungsbücher des Klosters Würzburg 1764-78, 1784-97.

III. Verzeichnis aller Augustiner vor dem Jahr 1650, die im Archiv der Deutschen Augustiner-Provinz bezeugt sind.

Da aus der Zeit vor dem 30-jährigen Krieg Totenbücher und Kapitelsakten so gut wie nicht auf uns gekommen sind, glauben wir mit dem nachstehenden Verzeichnis der Erforschung der Ordensgeschichte der deutschen Augustiner einen Dienst zu leisten. Gleichzeitig mag das Verzeichnis eine kleine Hilfe für die Auswertung der ältesten Archivalien unseres Archivs bilden.

Wir benützen nachstehende Quellen :

U = Originalurkunden des Archivs.
A = Kopialbuch I des Augustinerklosters Würzburg, um 1598, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 6.
B = Kopialbuch II des Augustinerklosters Würzburg aus der gleichen Zeit, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 7.
C = « Copeybuch des Augustiner-Convents zu Münnerstadt », 1650-1721, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 8.
D = Lehens- und Erbzins-Register des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, beendet 1718, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 9.
E = Copiale des Augustinerklosters Uttenweiler, 17. Jahrhundert, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 10.
F = Prokuraturakten und Konventsrechnungen des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt aus dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts, Signatur: Akten Nr. 3, 11, 13 und Rechnungen Nr. 6-10.
G = « Von den Conventualen des H. Augustiner Ordens im Franckhenland », verfasst 1646-8, mit Nachträgen bis 1661, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 11. — Das Manuskript enthält unter anderem: die Beschreibung der Grabinschriften der 1824 abgebrochenen Würzburger Augustinerkirche (3v-6r, 9v-12r) ; ferner regestenartige Notizen (8v-9v, 12r) ; schliesslich das Verzeichnis der Prioren des Klosters Würzburg (8r-v). Dieses Verzeichnis ist nach Angabe des Verfassers aus alten Briefen und Inschriften zusammengestellt. Tatsächlich stimmen seine Angaben in den 22 von uns nachprüfbaren Fällen mit den Angaben der Originalurkunden überein. Auch die übrigen Angaben, die wir in den noch erhaltenen Urkunden nicht bezeugt finden, verdienen deshalb wohl volle Glaubwürdigkeit.
H = « Matricula Vivorum Virorum Fraternitatis mortuorum », einer Bruderschaft, die 1626 von den Würzburger Karthäusern zu den Augustinern verlegt wurde. Die Matrikel wurde um diese Zeit begonnen und zählt 173 beschriebene Seiten. Teilweise ist das Jahr der Inskription, teilweise das des Todes beigefügt. Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 13.
I = « Notizen zur Ortsgeschichte von Münnerstadt », gesammelt von P. Vinzenz Schneider um 1896. S. 115 notiert er die Namen von mehreren Prioren des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt aus den Jahren 1488-1508, die er in Rechnungsquittungen der Pfarrkirche Münnerstadt vorfand. Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 27.
K = Lehens- und Erbzinsregister des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, beendet 1718. Zwischen Blatt 1r-11v und 58r-106v sind 46 Blatt des 15. Jahrhunderts eingebunden ; sie enthalten Kopien der Originalurkunden des Konvents Münnerstadt, die der Prior fr. Martin Scherpf in den Jahren 1477/9 anfertigen liess. Das Buch steht heute im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg unter der Signatur « Standbuch 245 ».

L = Abschriften von Urkunden zur Geschichte von Münnerstadt, gefertigt von Pfarrer Adam Ziegler (gest. 1883), Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 80.
M = Protokoll I des Augustinerklosters Münnerstadt, Signatur: Standbuch Nr. 78.

Da die beiden Augustinerklöster Münnerstadt und Würzburg heute noch als Zentren der neu erstandenen Deutschen Augustinerprovinz bestehen, haben wir versucht, in unserer Liste ein möglichst vollständiges Verzeichnis aller namentlich bekannten Prioren [94a]) und Konventsmitglieder dieser beiden Klöster aus dem 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert mitzuteilen. Aus diesem Grund haben wir auch alle in bisher veröffentlichten Regestensammlungen bezeugten Würzburger und Münnerstädter Augustiner mit aufgenommen. Diese Namen haben wir in eckige Klammern gesetzt und die entsprechenden Quellen in Fussnoten angegeben.

Für den Benützer der Liste seien noch folgende Hinweise gegeben: Wir haben allen Ordensmitgliedern die im Mittelalter bis ums Jahr 1600 auch in Deutschland allgemein übliche Titulatur « frater » gegeben. Es braucht kaum betont zu werden, dass es sich in unseren Archivalien trotzdem zum allergrössten Teil um Ordenspriester handelt. Wo der Namensträger als Laienbruder klar ersichtlich ist, haben wir ihn als « fr. laicus » bezeichnet.

Die Vornamen geben wir, soweit sie noch üblich sind, in der heutigen deutschen Schreibweise wieder. Das Gleiche gilt für die Ortsnamen, soweit wir sie identifizieren konnten ; doch haben wir in Klammern die in den Archivalien gebrauchte Schreibweise der Ortsnamen beigefügt. Die von uns in eckige Klammern gesetzten Worte stehen nicht in den Archivalien, sondern sind zur näheren Erklärung beigefügt. Den theologischen Grad « magister », « sacrae paginae professor » u. ä. haben wir einheitlich mit « dr. theol. » wiedergegeben. Das Wort « Augustinerkloster » kürzen wir ab mit « AK ».

[94a]) Nachträglich stiessen wir auf die Priorenliste des Klosters Münnerstadt, die D. Duynstee im Jahre 1902 herausgab (*Der Augustinermönch Onuphrius Schambach*, in *Archiv des Hist. Vereins für Ufr. u. Aschaff.* 44 (1902) 127-184, S. 183 f). Er verzeichnet als Prioren für 1432 fr. Heinrich von Eich und für 1451 fr. Johannes Theusinus (Theusing!), leider ohne Angabe der Fundorte. Der von ihm für das Jahr 1500 genannte fr. Friedrich Schlode war unseres Erachtens nicht Prior.

1. *Augustinerkloster Würzburg* [95])

a) *Prioren* [96])

(1) 1263 fr. Hesso (U 9) [97])
(2) 1287 fr. Konrad (U 16)
(3) 1305 fr. Wigandus (U 24, I)
(4) 1313 fr. Wygandus (U 25, I)
(5) 1349 fr. Heinrich « de Eugis » (von Aub ?) (U 35, I) [98])
(6) 1364 fr. Johannes von Gueltlingen (Gueldtlingen) (G 8 r) [99])
(7) 1367 fr. Heinrich Vahsbuhel [von Vasbühl] (U 68) [100])
(8) 1372 fr. Heinrich von Bischofsheim (U 72)
(9) 1375 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe, Awe) (U 76, U 77) [101])

[95]) Für das Jahr 1391 ist die Abhaltung eines Generalkapitel des Augustinerordens im Augustinerkloster Würzburg urkundlich bezeugt. Wer in diesem Jahre den Konvent als Prior leitete, ist allerdings nicht bekannt. Als Teilnehmer an dem Kapitel ist urkundlich bezeugt: 1391 Mai 19 fr. Bartholomäus Venetus, der wiedergewählte Ordensgeneral (vgl. die Akten des Kapitels in *Anal. Aug.* V 98 ff).

[96]) Ein Priorenverzeichnis des Würzburger Augustinerklosters gab 1895 J. Baier (*Geschichte des alten Augustinerklosters Würzburg* 90 ff) heraus. Als Quelle benützte er ausser den Angaben A. Höhns (*Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae*) ein von ihm nicht näher bezeichnetes Manuskript der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg. Es handelt sich um M. ch. f. 264, eine « Collectio circa ordinem Carthusianum et Ordines Mendicantes » des 17. Jahrhunderts in Franken (Bd. 18 der Sammlung des J. W. Fabricius), die auf Bl. 278 r - 353 r reiche Notizen über die Augustinerklöster Frankens, vornehmlich das Würzburger, enthält. Ein Grossteil der Notizen stimmen nach Schrift und Wortlaut mit dem Standbuch Nr. 11 unseres Archivs überein. Bl. 346 v - 349 r findet sich die auch in unserem Manuskript auf Bl. 8 r-v enthaltene Liste der Würzburger Prioren, freilich mit einigen Aenderungen, auf die wir in unseren Anmerkungen aufmerksam machen.

[97]) fr. Hesso ist in der Urkunde nicht als Prior bezeichnet. Es handelt sich also um eine Mutmassung des Schreibers von G.

[98]) A. Höhn (*l. c.* 61) hat zuerst « de Eugis » mit « de Augea » (von Aub) gleichgesetzt. Wir halten es für fraglich, ob diese Annahme zu Recht besteht.

[99]) Durch J. Baier (*Geschichte des alten Augustinerklosters Würzburg* 90) wurde er zu Unrecht mit fr. Johannes von Gundelfingen gleichgesetzt. Der Ort Gueltingen liegt bei Nagold/Wttb.

[100]) Dass Heinrich Vahsbuhel tatsächlich von Vasbühl gebürtig ist, ist in Urkunde Nr. 62 vom Jahre 1364 ausdrücklich bezeugt.

[101]) Nach der Priorenliste des M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 346 v) handelt es sich um Heinrich von Aub « den Aelteren ». In den Urkunden 76, 77 und 84 fehlt jedoch dieser Zusatz, sodass die Frage offen bleibt, auch wenn die Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht. Auch lässt sich nach den Quellen nicht entscheiden, ob der « fr. Heinrich » in Urkunde Nr. 84 tatsächlich Heinrich von Aub ist.

(10) 1379 fr. Lukas (G 8 r)
(11) 1380 fr. Heinrich (U 84)
(12) 1383 fr. Peter von Aub (Auwe) (U 90, A 9 r, B 23)
(13) 1384 fr. Johannes von Wertheim (G 8 r) [102])
(14) 1410 fr. Nikolaus (G 8 r)
(15) 1419 fr. Johannes von Aub (Augea) (U 106)
(16) 1423 fr. Johannes Mayer, lector (U 236) [103])
(17) 1433 fr. Johannes Meger (A 107 v, B 231)
(18) 1440 Jan. 20 starb fr. Johannes Scheytler von Aub (Augea) (G 8 r)
(19) 1448 fr. Heinrich Coci, lector, [nachmals Provinzial] (G 8 r)
(20) 1455 fr. Johannes Ludovici, lector, [seit 1465 Titularbischof von Hieropolis, Weihbischof von Regensburg] (U 125, I) [104])
(21) 1457 fr. Johannes Otto (G 8 r)
(22) 1458 fr. Johannes Otto (G 9 r)
(23) 1459 fr. Peter Eberhart (U 130)
(24) 1465 fr. Johannes Anherr, lector (G 8 r)
(25) 1466 fr. Petrus (G 8 r)
(26) 1468 fr. Berthold (U 140, A 59 r, B 136)
(27) 1470 fr. Konrad von Rodheim (G 8 r. — Vgl. U 81) [105])
(28) 1473 fr. Johannes Becken, lector (G 8 r)
(29) 1481 fr. Eberhard (G 8 r)
(30) 1484 fr. Johannes von Wertheim (U 149)
(31) 1488 fr. Johannes von Hardheim (Hartheim) (G 8 r)
(32) 1494 fr. Kilian Fuchs von Ochsenfurt, cursor (G 8 r)
(33) 1495 fr. Johannes Koberlin (U 153)
(34) 1497 fr. Nikolaus Heyden, lector (G 8 r)
(35) 1503 fr. Nikolaus Musler (G 8 r)

[102]) Für das Jahr 1484 ist ein fr. Johannes von Wertheim als Prior urkundlich bezeugt (siehe Ziffer 30). Sollte dem Verfasser von G hier vielleicht ein Lesefehler unterlaufen sein ?

[103]) Dieser dürfte mit dem vorgenannten fr. Johannes von Aub und dem nachmaligen Provinzial fr. Johannes Meyer von Aub (siehe Ziffer 294) identisch sein, ist aber wohl zu unterscheiden von dem nächsten Prior fr. Johannes Meger, der 1457 als Vikar fr. Johannes Meiger erscheint. Der Exprovinzial fr. Johannes Meyer starb ja bereits 1443, während fr. Johannes Meiger noch 1457 am Leben ist.

[104]) Vgl. P. KELLER, *Index Episcoporum Ord. Erem. S. Augustini Germanorum*, Münnerstadt 1876, 32.

[105]) In U 81 ist fr. Konrad von Rodheim nicht als Prior bezeichnet.

(36) 1512 fr. Johannes Koberleyn (U 157)
(37) 1516 fr. Johannes Koberlein (U 160, U 161, A 82 r, B 180) [106])
(38) 1518 fr. Petrus Weyglein (U 163, I)
(39) 1521 fr. Petrus, lector (U 164)
(40) 1525-47 fr. Jakob Leypolt, lector (G 8 r), im einzelnen bezeugt:
(41) 1528 fr. Jakob Leupoldi (U 167)
(42) 1542 fr. Konrad [wohl Schreibfehler] Leupold (U 174)
(43) 1545 fr. Jakob Lewpolt (U 177)
(44) 1547 Jan. 18 starb fr. Jakob Leypolt (G 8 r)
(45) 1547-58 fr. Michael Forchtenberg[er], lector (G 8 v), im einzelnen bezeugt:
(46) 1547 fr. Michael Forgtenberg (U 180)
(47) 1558 Jan. 2 starb fr. Michael Forchtenberg (G 8 v)
(48) 1558 fr. Andreas Sigisfridus, baccal. (G 8 v)
(49) 1562 Jan. 23 starb fr. Andreas Sigisfridus, baccal. (G 4 v)
(50) 1562-1602 fr. Vitus Vetter, baccal. (G 8 v), im einzelnen bezeugt [107]):
(51) 1570 fr. Veit Vetter (U 196)
(52) 1588 fr. Vitus Vetter (U 202)
(53) 1591 fr. Vitus Vetter (U 207)
(54) 1595 fr. Veit (U 209)
(55) 1596 fr. Vitus Vätter (U 210)
(56) 1599 fr. Vitus Vätter (U 211, U 212, U 213)
(57) 1602 fr. Andreas Stephani (G 8 v)
(58) 1604 fr. Andreas Stephani (U 216)
(59) 1608 fr. Georg Aumelius (G 8 v)
(60) 1611 fr. Konrad Nothhelffer (G 8 v)
(61) 1613 fr. Johannes Cellarius (G 8 v) [108])
(62) 1617 fr. Kaspar Bauerschubert (G 8 v)
(63) 1618 fr. Kaspar Bauernschubert (G 9 v)
(64) 1620 fr. Michael Agricola (G 8 v)
(65) 1622 fr. Martin Hermann (U 222) [109])

[106]) Er starb nach M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 346 v) im Jahre 1528.

[107]) In M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 349 r) findet sich hier von einer etwas jüngeren Hand des 17. Jahrhunderts folgende Korrektur: 1564-1599 fr. Vitus Vetter; 1599-1601 fr. Antonius Keerbechius aus Löwen, dr. theol. Nach einer Notiz ebenda starb fr. Vitus Vetter am 4. Januar 1605.

[108]) In M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 347 r) ist er noch für das Jahr 1615 als Prior bezeugt.

[109]) In diesem Jahr fand in Würzburg das Provinzialkapitel statt, an dem

(66) 1624 fr. Fulgentius Sutterus (G 8 v)
(67) 1626 fr. Fulgentius Sutterus (G 9 v)
(68) 1627 starb fr. Fulgentius Sutterus aus Luzern (H 52) [110])
(69) 1627-42 fr. Lukas Binderius [nachmals 1642-45 Provinzial] (G 8 v) [111]), im einzelnen bezeugt:
(70) 1627 fr. Lukas Binderius (H 15)
(71) 1634 fr. Lukas Binders (U 230)
(72) 1640 fr. Lukas, prior et vicarius provincialis (U 233)
(73) 1643-48 fr. Alphons Petermann [zugleich 1646-48 Provinzial] (G 8 v)
(74) 1648 starb fr. Alphons Pettermann (H 14)

b) *Konventsmitglieder*

(75) 1263 fr. Heinrich (U 9)
(76) 1267 fr. Cristan (U 5)
(77) 1267 fr. Konrad « de Burin », Priester (U 5)
(78) 1279 fr. Inzelerius, « Episcopus Buduensis », [Weihbischof von Würzburg], z. Zt. Würzburg (M 152) [112])
(79) 1326 fr. Hermann Burggravius (U 28)
(80) 1330 Febr. 14 starb fr. Heinrich von « Radelferodde », [vordem Provinzial], dr. theol. (G 5 v)
(81) 1333 fr. Heinrich von Nordhausen (Northusen), dr. theol. (G 8 v)
(82) 1349 fr. Hermann von Schildesche (Scildis), [vordem Provinzial], dr. theol. (U 35, I) [113])

fr. Heinrich Lancilottus, dr. theol., als « comissarius generalis » und fr. Martin Hermann als « diffinitor » teilnahmen (M. ch. f. 264, Blatt 350 r und 353 r).

[110]) Nach einer Notiz in M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 347 r) war er vom Ordensgeneral als dessen Vikar für die Rheinisch-Schwäbische Provinz aufgestellt worden.

[111]) Ob fr. Lukas Binder schon 1642 das Priorat von Würzburg niederlegte, wie G 8 v behauptet, oder ob er noch 1644 im Amt war, wie U 234, I bezeugt, und ob fr. Alphons Petermann schon 1643 Prior wurde (G 8 v) oder erst 1644 (A. Höhn, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae* 260), darüber lässt sich keine volle Klarheit aus den Archivalien des Provinzarchivs gewinnen.

[112]) Vgl. P. Keller, *Index Episcoporum* 17 ff.

[113]) Derselbe ist im Jahr 1347 in Würzburg als « ecclesie Herbipolensis penitentiarius » bezeugt (vgl. *Urkundenbuch der Benediktinerabtei St. Stephan in Würzburg*, Bd. II, bearbeitet von G. Schrötter, Würzburg 1932, Regest 427). Dass Hermann in Würzburg Prior gewesen wäre, wie A. Baier (*Geschichte des alten Augustinerklosters Würzburg* 90) mutmasst, ist nicht überliefert.

(83) 1349 fr. Konrad Glanz, lector (U 35, I) [114])
(84) 1350 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Augea), Subprior (U 36)
(85) 1357 Juli 8 starb fr. Hermann von Schildesche (Schildiz), dr. theol. (G 3 v)
(86) 1358 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) (U 44)
(87) 1358 fr. Volke, lector (U 44)
(88) 1358 fr. Hans von Grünsfeld (Grunsvelt) (U 44)
(89) 1358 fr. Berthold von Schlitz (Slitz) (U 44)
(90) 1358 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) d. J. (U 47)
(91) 1358 fr. Abel Vinck (A 4r, B 9)
(92) 1359 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) (U 48)
(93) 1359 fr. Volke, lector (U 49)
(94) 1359 fr. Hans von Grünsfeld (Grunsvelt) (U 49)
(95) 1360 fr. Heinrich von Bischofsheim (Bischofzheim), Prokurator (U 51)
(96) 1360 fr. Wipert Wiszhaupt (U 51)
(97) 1360 Juni 23 starb fr. Berthold, Titularbischof von Cygana, [Weihbischof von Würzburg] (G 4 v) [115])
(98) 1364 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) d. Ae. (U 62)
(99) 1364 fr. Heinrich von Bischofsheim (Byschofheim) (U 62)
(100) 1364 fr. Heinrich von Vasbühl (Vahsbuhel) (U 62)
(101) 1364 fr. Ernfrit von Karlstadt (Karlstat) (U 62)
(102) 1365 fr. Gerhard von Fulda (U 65)
(103) 1369 Dez. 1 starb fr. Heinrich medicus (G 4 v)
(104) 1372 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) d. Ae. (U 70)
(105) 1372 fr. Johannes von Gundelfingen (Gundelvingen) (U 70)
(106) 1372 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) d. J. (U 70)
(107) 1374 fr. Johannes Vahsbuhel [von Vasbühl], lector (U 73)
(108) 1374 fr. Heinrich von Bischofsheim (Byschofeshein) (U 73)
(109) 1374 fr. Hermann von Karlstadt (Karlstat) (U 73)
(110) 1374 fr. Heinrich Vahsbuhel [von Vasbühl], Subprior (U 73)
(111) 1375 fr. Peter von Aub (Auwe) (U 77)
(112) 1375 fr. Konrad von Aub (Auwe), Prokurator (U 77)

[114]) A. Höhn (*Chronologia provinciae Rheno-Suevicae* 59) hat zuerst in der Urkunde 35 von 1349 statt Conradus Glanz: Conradus Alanus gelesen, aber offenbar zu Unrecht. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um denselben Mann, der im Münnerstädter Copiale von 1477/9 unterm Jahr 1337 ganz eindeutig als fr. Conrad Glanz von Romilte (Römhild) bezeugt ist (siehe unten Ziffer 216).

[115]) Vgl. P. Keller, *Index Episcoporum* 19.

(113) 1377 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Augea) d. Ae. (U 80)
(114) 1379 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Awe) d. Ae. (U 82)
(115) 1379 fr. Nikolaus Trutman (U 82)
(116) 1379 fr. Heinrich von Wertheim (U 82)
(117) 1380 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Auwe) d. Ae. (U 84)
(118) 1380 fr. Konrad Wolffhart (U 84)
(119) 1381 Dez 24 starb fr. Heinrich von Aub (Augea) (G 4 v) [116])
(120) 1383 fr. Johannes von Karlstadt (Karlstat), lector (U 89, U 90)
(121) 1383 fr. Konrad von Aub (Awe) (U 89)
(122) 1383 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Awe), als verstorben bezeugt (U 89)
(123) 1383 fr. Heinrich Vaspuehel [von Vasbühl], Subprior (U 90)
(123a) 1395 fr. Wilhelm Rose (U 95, I)
(124) [1407 fr. Gebhard von Aub (Awe)] [117])
(125) 1413 Dez. 7 starb fr. Johannes [von Karlstadt], Titularbischof von Tycopolis, [Weihbischof von Würzburg] (G 4 v) [118])
(126) 1419 fr. Johannes, lector (U 105)
(127) 1419 fr. Heinrich, Subprior (U 105)
(128) 1423 fr. Konrad Pellificis, Subprior (U 236)
(129) [1457 fr. Johannes Ludwici, lector] [119])
(130) [1457 fr. Johannes Rimper, Subprior]
(131) [1457 fr. Konrad Elpen, Custos]
(132) [1457 fr. Matthias Koel, Prokurator]
(133) [1457 fr. Gottfried Gumper]
(134) [1457 fr. Michael Weckschroet]
(135) [1457 fr. Matthias Kurban]
(136) [1457 fr. Kaspar Moer]
(137) [1457 fr. Heinrich Daschendorff]
(138) [1457 fr. Petrus Eberhardi]
(139) [1457 fr. Konrad Satler]
(140) [1457 fr. Michael Reger]

[116]) Es ist aus den Urkunden nicht ersichtlich, ob dieser Verstorbene der Aeltere oder Jüngere dieses Namens ist. Fr. Heinrich von Aub d. J. ist seit dem Jahre 1372 in den Würzburger Urkunden nicht mehr zu finden. Vielleicht ist er mit dem im Jahre 1391 als Prior des AK Königsberg in Franken bezeugten Heinrich von Aub (siehe unten Ziffer 327) identisch.

[117]) *Rer. Boic.* XI, 410.

[118]) Vgl. P. KELLER, *Index Episcoporum* 19 f.

[119]) Dieser und die folgenden 17 Augustiner sind bezeugt im *Urkundenbuch der Benediktinerabtei St. Stephan in Würzburg*, Bd. II, bearbeitet von G. Schrötter, Würzburg 1932, Regest 746.

(141) [1457 fr. Martin Kuchenmeister]
(142) [1457 fr. Johannes Lapicida]
(143) [1457 fr. Konrad Theodorici]
(144) [1457 fr. Johannes Beyer]
(145) [1457 fr. Konrad Ohusen]
(146) [1457 fr. Kaspar Rosenbaum]
(147) 1458 fr. Johannes Rimper, Subprior (G 9 r)
(148) 1512 fr. Nikolaus Henden (U 156)
(149) 1528 fr. Petrus Weiglein, Apostat (U 167)
(150) 1528 fr. Hieronymus Heilbling, Apostat (U 167)
(151) 1528 fr. Michael Leonardi, Apostat (U 167)
(152) 1528 fr. Johannes Fabri, Apostat (U 167)
(153) 1532 Sept. 9 starb fr. Bartholomaeus Arnoldi von Usingen, dr. theol. (G 5v-6r)
(154) 1559 starb fr. Leonhard Willing, vordem Prior AK Erfurt (G 12 r)
(155) 1581 starb fr. Kilian Schuell, vordem Prior AK Münnerstadt (G 12 r)
(156) 1605 Jan. 4 starb fr. Vitus Vetter, vordem Prior AK Würzburg (G 8 v)
(157) um 1630 fr. laicus Paulus Pilgram (H 16)
(158) vor 1631 fr. Paulinus Spiess, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 148)
(159) 1632 fr. Nikolaus Sartorius, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 150)
(160) 1632 fr. Konrad Braydt aus Trier, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 14)
(161) 1634 starb fr. Nikolaus Zoff (H 172)
(162) 1634 starb fr. Adam Dapius, vordem Subprior (H 41)
(163) 1635 starb fr. Antonius Schwemmer (H 150)
(164) 1635 fr. Wolfgang Neunhöffer aus Münnerstadt, Professohn AK Würzburg (H 119)
(165) vor 1636 fr. Ferdinand Will, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 167)
(166) vor 1637 fr. Thomas Krebs (H 35)
(167) 1637 starb fr. Bonaventura Kremer (H 35)
(168) vor 1640 fr. Fulgentius Frisch, Novize (H 57)
(169) vor 1646 fr. Matthaeus Molitor, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 112)
(170) vor 1646 fr. Fulgentius Michaelis, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 112)
(171) um 1648 fr. Bonaventura Kugeller, Novize (H 26)
(172) um 1650 fr. Augustinus Demeradt, Novize (H 41)
(173) um 1650 fr. laicus Augustinus Etlin, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 49)

2. *Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt* [120]).

a) *Prioren*

(174) 1337 fr. Konrad (K 19 v)
(175) [1345 fr. Konrad Theprer] [121])
(176) 1355 fr. Heinrich Ricker (K 40 v und M 141)
(177) 1356 fr. Berthold (M 131)
(178) 1358 fr. Berthold Wyssenburger (M 126 und M 150)
(179) 1361 fr. Johannes von Gundelfingen (U 53 und M 149)
(180) 1367 fr. Johannes von Vacha (M 140 und M 143)
(181) 1374 fr. Heinrich (M 138)
(182) 1380 fr. Heinrich (M 147)
(183) 1382 fr. Heinrich von Löhrieth (Luruthe) (M 146)
(184) 1387 fr. Johannes von Masbach (Maspach) (K 53 v)
(185) 1394 fr. Johannes Flennig (Flemiger ?) [122]) von Eschwege (Eschenwege), lector (M 138)
(186) 1396 fr. Heinrich von Hendungen (Hendingen) (M 141)
(187) 1400 fr. Simon Seber (Snider ?) (M 132)
(188) [1401 fr. Konrad von Roda (Rota)] [123])
(189) 1402 fr. Konrad Jeger (M 125)
(190) 1411 fr. Konrad Jeger (M 133)
(191) 1420 fr. Nikolaus (K 52 v)
(192) 1423 fr. Johannes von Streu (Streeuw), lector (M 134)
(193) 1427 fr. Johannes von Streu (Streuw), lector (M 129)

[120]) Für das Jahr 1323 und 1455 ist die Abhaltung von Provinzialkapiteln der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz im AK Münnerstadt urkundlich bezeugt. Wer allerdings in diesen Jahren in Münnerstadt als Prior tätig war, ist unbekannt. Als Teilnehmer an den Kapiteln finden sich in den Urkunden folgende Namen:

1323 Juli 22 fr. Heinrich [von Friemar], dr. theol., Vikar des Ordensgenerals; fr. Hermann, Provinzial der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz (*Rer. Boic.* VI, 104).

1455 Juli 20 fr. Johannes Sartoris, dr. theol., Vikar des Ordensgenerals; fr. Johannes von Streu (Strew), lector, diffinitor; fr. Johannes Meyger, lector, diffinitor; fr. Konrad Wulf[hayn], lector, diffinitor; fr. Bernhard von Osnabrück, lector, diffinitor; fr. Johannes Pren, lector, diffinitor (A. Overmann, *Urkundenbuch der Erfurter Stifter und Klöster* III, Magdeburg 1934, Regest 225 und A. Huyskens, *Die Klöster der Landschaft an der Werra*, Marburg 1916, Regest 646).

[121]) *Rer. Boic.* VIII, 44.

[122]) *Rer. Boic.* XI, 20.

[123]) Bezeugt in Urkunde 82/92 des Bayerischen Staatsarchivs zu Würzburg vom 31. Juli 1401.

(194) 1461 fr. Leonhard Schilling (K 25 r)
(195) 1464 fr. Martin Blewel (K 23 r)
(196) 1469 fr. Martin Scherpf (K 18 v)
(197) 1474 fr. Martin Scherpf (D 135)
(198) 1476 fr. Martin Scherpf (C 13, C 20, D 46, D 152)
(199) 1477 fr. Martin Scherpf (K 12 r)
(200) 1478 fr. Martin Scherpf (C 21, D 153, K 157 r)
(201) [1487 fr. Leonhard Schilling] [124])
(202) 1488 fr. Johannes Sauer (J 115)
(203) 1490-97 fr. Johannes Sauer (Sanner ?) (J 115 und L 160)
(204) 1498-99 fr. Paulus Frankenbruner (J 115)
(205) 1500-05 fr. Heinrich Goebel (J 115 und L 160)
(206) 1506-08 fr. Johannes Reuss (J 115)
(207) [um 1520 fr. Jakob Leupold] [125])
(208) [1527 fr. Andreas Hofrichter] [126])
(209) um 1540 fr. Andreas Moll (F ohne Jahr)
(210) 1549 fr. Kilian Schuell (U 182, II)
(211) 1550 fr. Georg Vetter (F 1550)
(212) 1551 fr. Kilian Schuell (C 25)
(213) 1555-59 fr. Kilian Schuell (F 1555-1559)

b) *Konventsmitglieder*

(214) 1279 fr. Inzelerius, «Episcopus Buduensis», [Weihbischof von Würzburg], z. Zt. AK Münnerstadt (?) (K 43 v)
(215) 1337 fr. Konrad, Subprior (K 19 v)
(216) 1337 fr. Konrad Glanz von Römhild (Romilte) (K 19 v, D 134)
(217) 1344 fr. Gottfried (K 18 v)
(218) 1355 fr. Konrad von Nürnberg (Nurnberg), Subprior (K 40 v)
(219) 1355 fr. Berlt von Ror, Prokurator (K 40 v)
(220) 1356 fr. Volco (?), lector (M 131)
(221) 1356 fr. Konrad, Subprior (M 131)

[124]) Nach M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 352 r).

[125]) M. ch. f. 264 (Blatt 352 r) macht folgende Angaben: ca. 1510 fr. Andreas Moll; ca. 1520 fr. Jakob Leupold; 1551-82 fr. Kilian Schuel, «ultimus prior» von Münnerstadt, gestorben 1582 im AK Würzburg, Professohn von Würzburg.

[126]) Laut Ms. F. 214 des Historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg (aufbewahrt im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg) verkauft im Jahre 1527 der Prior des AK Münnerstadt fr. Andreas Hofrichter 5 Joch Wiesen bei der Althäuser Mühle an das Deutsche Haus in Münnerstadt.

(222) 1356 fr. Heinrich, Prokurator (M 131)
(223) 1358 fr. Konrad, Subprior (M 126 und M 150)
(224) 1358 fr. Heinrich, Prokurator (M 126 und M 150)
(225) 1358 fr. Konrad (Contz) von Hollstadt (Holnstadt) (M 128)
(226) 1358 fr. Heinrich Haupt (M 128)
(227) 1358 fr. Johannes von Vacha (M 128)
(228) 1361 fr. Johannes von Masbach (Maspach) (U 53)
(229) 1361 fr. Konrad, Subprior (M 149)
(230) 1361 fr. Heinrich, Prokurator (M 149)
(231) 1367 fr. Heinrich, Subprior (M 143)
(232) 1367 fr. Konrad, Subprior (M 140)
(233) 1367 fr. Heinrich, Prokurator (M 140)
(234) 1367 fr. Konrad Theimar (?) (M 140)
(235) 1367 fr. Johannes von Masbach (M 140)
(236) 1367 fr. Konrad Schelderwald (M 140)
(237) 1374 fr. Johannes, Subprior (M 138)
(238) 1374 fr. Heinrich, Prokurator (M 138)
(239) 1380 fr. Johannes, lector (M 147)
(240) 1380 fr. Johannes, Subprior (M 147)
(241) 1382 fr. Johannes Ausser, lector (M 146)
(242) 1382 fr. Johannes von Masbach, Subprior (M 146)
(243) 1387 fr. Johannes Weltzlin, Subprior (K 53 v)
(244) 1387 fr. Johannes Eilfo, Prokurator (K 53 v)
(245) 1394 fr. Heinrich Hendtiger (von Hendungen ?), Subprior (M 138)
(246) 1394 fr. Andreas, Custos (M 138)
(247) 1394 fr. Johannes Gunthram (?), Prokurator (M 138)
(248) 1396 fr. Johannes von Fladungen, Prokurator (M 141)
(249) 1396 fr. Nikolaus, Subprior (M 141)
(250) 1400 fr. Konrad von Roda (Rotha), Subprior (M 132)
(251) 1402 fr. Bernhard, Subprior (M 125)
(252) 1411 fr. Simon Seber, Subprior (M 133)
(253) 1420 fr. Johannes von Streu (Strew), lector (K 52 v)
(254) 1420 fr. Konrad Jeger (K 52 v)
(255) 1423 fr. Konrad Jeger, Subprior (M 134)
(256) [1424 fr. Nikolaus Toldner] [127])
(257) 1427 fr. Konrad Jeger, Subprior (M 129)

[127]) *Urkundenbuch der Benediktinerabtei St. Stephan in Würzburg*, Bd. II, bearbeitet von G. Schrötter, Würzburg 1932, Regest 613.

(258) 1455 fr. Johannes Teusing, lector (K 30 v)
(259) 1455 fr. Leonhard Teusing (K 30 v)
(260) 1461 fr. Laurentius Smit, lector (K 25 r)
(261) 1461 fr. Georg Sneider, Subprior (K 25 r)
(262) 1461 fr. Martin Scherpff, Prokurator (K 25 r)
(263) 1461 fr. Christoffel Trel[n] (K 25 r)
(264) 1468 fr. Martin Scherpff, Prokurator (K 14 r)
(265) 1476 fr. Heinrich Salvelt [von Saalfeld ?], lector (C 13, D 46)[128])
(266) 1476 fr. Leonhard Teusing, Subprior (C 13, C 20, D 46, D 152)
(267) 1476 fr. Laurentius Dors, Prokurator (C 20, D 152)
(268) 1476 fr. Folckmar Beyer, Custos (C 20, D 152)
(269) 1478 fr. Leonhard Teusing, Subprior (K 57 r)
(270) 1478 fr. Folckmar Beyer, Custos (K 57 r)
(271) 1478 fr. Johannes Fus von Unsleben (Usleuben) (K 57 r)
(272) 1479 fr. Martin Scherpff, vordem Prior (K 57 r)
(273) 1493 fr. Folckmar Beyer (D 22)
(274) 1501 fr. Friedrich Schlode (J 115 und L 160)
(275) 1517 fr. Andreas Moll, Prokurator (F 1517/23)
(276) 1518 fr. Andreas Moll, Prokurator (F 1517/23)
(277) 1523 fr. Andreas Moll, Prokurator (F 1517/23)
(278) 1550 fr. Kilian Schül, Prokurator (F 1550)

3. *Mitglieder anderer Konvente.*

a) *Mitglieder der Ordensleitung*

(279) 1256 fr. Lanfranc [Septala], General, z. Zt. Rom (U 3)
(280) 1418 fr. Michael Gibandi, dr. theol., Generalprokurator diesseits der Alpen (citra montes), z. Zt. AK Avignon (U 153)
(281) 1448 fr. Julian de Salem de Sicilia, dr. theol., General, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (U 116)
(282) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Heinrich Librandi (Lipprandi) von Volkmarsen (Volkmaria), lector, Vikar des Generals auf dem Provinzialkapitel AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

[128]) fr. Heinrich von Saalfeld (Salvilt, Salveldia), ist 1493 als lector im AK Nordhausen und 1501 als Prior dieses Klosters bezeugt (vgl. Urkunden Le 36 und 40 des Städtischen Archivs zu Nordhausen).

[129]) Nach *Mon. Boic.* XXXVII, 407 f weilte Guido am 13. Mai 1263 abermals in Würzburg und schloss mit Bischof und Domkapitel eine « compositio » wegen des neuen Klosters.

b) *Provinziale der alten Deutschen Provinz*

(283) 1263 fr. Guido [Salanus], Weihnachten 1262 in Würzburg (U 8, U 9) [129]

(284) 1288 fr. Walter [Raemacker] (K 19 v)

c) *Mitglieder der Leitung der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz* [129a])

(285) 1318 fr. H[einrich von Friemar d. J.], Provinzial (U 27) [130])

(286) 1321 fr. Heinrich von Friemar (Frimaria) [d. Ae.], dr. theol., « confessor » des Grafen Berthold von Henneberg, [vordem Provinzial der Deutschen und danach der Thüringisch-Sächsischen Provinz] (K 18 v)

(287) 1326 fr. Heinrich [von Friemar d. Ae.], dr. theol., z. Zt. AK Würzburg (U 28)

(288) 1349 fr. Jordan [von Sachsen], Provinzial, z. Zt. AK Würzburg (U 35, I)

(289) 1355 fr. Bruno, Provinzial (M 142)

(290) 1363 fr. Johannes, dr. theol., Provinzial (U 56)

(291) 1367 fr. Johannes Clenkoc, dr. theol., Provinzial (M 143)

(292) 1400 fr. Andreas, Provinzial (M 132)

(293) 1411 fr. Johannes Finck, lector, Provinzial (M 133)

(294) 1443 Jan. 20 starb in Würzburg fr. Johannes Meyer von Aub (Augea) lector, vordem Provinzial (G 4 v)

(295) 1451 fr. Heinrich Henrici, Provinzial, z. Zt. in Rom (U 117, U 118)

(296) 1451 fr. Johannes Thewsen von Mittelstreu (Mittelstrew), lector, [Distrikts-]Vikar für Franken (K 26 r-v) [131])

(297) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Heinrich Coci, Provinzial, z. Zt AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)

(298) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Heinrich Librandi von Volkmarsen (Volkmaria), [Distriks-]Vikar, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (U 128, U 132, I)

[129a]) Siehe auch Ziffer 80 und 82.

[130]) Cl. Stroick, *Heinrich von Friemar*, Freiburg i. Br. 1954, 14.

[131]) Vielleicht handelt es sich hier um den für Münnerstadt im Jahre 1455 bezeugten lector fr. Johannes Theusing (siehe Ziffer 258). — Das Amt des Distriktsvikars für Franken ist ausdrücklich bezeugt in der Urkunde Nr. 129 unseres Archivs vom Jahre 1458; sie spricht von einem « vicarius [provincialis] districtus franconie ».

(299) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Johannes Meiger, [Distrikts-]Vikar, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (U 128, U 132, I)

(300) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Heinrich Lodewici, dr. theol., neuerwählter Provinzial, z. Zt. auf dem Provinzialkapitel AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(301) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Georg Winter, lector, « prior diffinitor » des Provinzialkapitels AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(302) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Heinrich Bichlingen, lector, « prior diffinitor » des Provinzialkapitels AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(303) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Matthaeus von Konitz (Conitz), lector, « prior diffinitor » des Provinzialkapitels AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(304) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Heinrich Mogede, lector, « prior diffinitor » des Provinzialkapitels AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(305) 1458 Sept. 10 fr. Andreas Proles, lector, « prior diffinitor » des Provinzialkapitels AK Königsberg/Nm. (U 129, U 132, I)

(306) 1461 fr. Heinrich Koch [Coci], Provinzial (K 25 v)

d) *Mitglieder der Leitung der Rheinisch-Schwäbischen Provinz*

(307) 1499 fr. Syfrid, lector, [Distriks-]Vikar, AK Speyer (U 155, III)

(308) 1534 fr. Konrad Tregarj, dr. theol., Provinzial (U 171)

(309) 1545 fr. Johannes Hofmaister, dr. theol., Provinzial, z. Zt. in Worms (U 176, U 220)

(310) 1567 fr. Bartholomäus Ulrici, Provinzial, z. Zt. AK Hagenau (U 187, U 188, U 189a, U 189b)

(311) 1567 fr. Johannes Wolraub (Waldtrap), [Distrikts-]Vikar und Prior AK Mainz (U 189a, U 189b)

(312) 1569 fr. Bartholomäus Ulrici, Provinzial (U 190, U 194)

(313) 1569 fr. Johannes Waldtrap, [Distrikts-]Vikar (U 194)

(314) 1569 Aug. 25 fr. Rudolph Zabele, Provinzprokurator, z. Zt. auf dem Provinzialkapitel AK Hagenau (U 194)

(315) 1569 Aug. 25 fr. Lorenz [Vorst], [Distrikts-]Vikar für das Elsass, z. Zt. auf dem Provinzialkapitel AK Hagenau (U 194)

(316) 1572 fr. Bartholomäus Udalrici (Ulrici), Provinzial (E 13 f)

(317) 1572 fr. Lorenz Vorst, [Distrikts-]Vikar und Prior AK Colmar, Zt. AK Uttenweiler (E 13 f)

(318) 1605 fr. Johannes Georg Greiffenstain, Provinzial und Prior AK Oberndorf (U 220)
(319) 1619 fr. Hieronymus Roeder, « in Schwaben, am Rheinstrom und Düringen Provincial » (U 220)
(320) 1626 fr. Hieronymus Roeder, Provinzial (U 224)
(321) 1627 starb fr. Kaspar Bauerschubert, [Distrikts-]Vikar und Prior AK Erfurt (H 8)
(322) 1635 starb fr. Hieronymus Roederer[!] « de Eysenheim », vordem Provinzial (H 127)
(323) vor 1639 fr. Wilhelm Grabler, z. Zt. AK Würzburg, nachmals [1650-53] Provinzial (H 70) [132])
(324) vor 1650 fr. Hilarius Grüber, z. Zt. AK Würzburg, [nachmals 1678-81 Provinzial] (H 70)
(325) um 1650 fr. Bonaventura Sölner, Professohn AK Konstanz, z. Zt. AK Würzburg, [nachmals 1666-68 Provinzial] (H 151)

e) *Prioren verschiedener Klöster*

(326) 1388 fr. Klaus Becker, Prior AK Speyer (U 93, II)
(327) 1391 fr. Heinrich von Aub (Awe), Prior AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(328) 1457 fr. Johannes von Lippstadt (Lippia), Prior AK Osnabrück (U 128, U 132, I)
(329) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Alardus, Prior AK Appingedam, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(330) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Goswin, Prior AK Lippstadt, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(331) 1492 fr. Johannes Rawsch, Prior AK Windsheim (U 153)
(332) 1498 fr. Johannes Huffnagel, lector, Prior AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(333) 1501 fr. Andreas Kündig, Prior AK Uttenweiler (E 4)
(334) 1521 fr. Johannes Siponis, Prior AK Alsfeld (U 164)
(335) vor 1567 fr. Wendel Herter, Prior AK Worms, Apostat (U 194)
(336) 1569 Aug. 25 fr. Georg Salvetius, Prior AK Memmingen, z. Zt. auf dem Provinzialkapitel AK Hagenau (U 194)

[132]) Unmittelbar vor ihm waren Provinziale die für Würzburg bezeugten Prioren fr. Lukas Binder und fr. Alphons Petermann (siehe oben Ziffer 69 ff).

(337) 1572 fr. Kaspar Holl, Professohn AK Mainz, neuerwählter Prior des wiederbesetzten AK Uttenweiler (E 13 f)
(338) 1626 fr. Petrus Morrath, Prior AK Speyer (U 224)
(339) 1628 starb fr. Johann Heinrich Haller, Prior AK Oberndorf (H 77)
(340) 1636 starb fr. Martin Erat, Prior AK Hagenau (H 48)
(341) 1640 starb fr. Blasius Burcknecht, Prior AK Schwäbisch-Gmünd (H 17)
(342) 1645 starb fr. Nikolaus Fuchs, Prior AK Konstanz (H 55)
(343) 1646 starb fr. Johannes Mayer, Prior AK Speyer (H 113)
(344) um 1650 fr. Jodokus Perring, Professohn AK Freiburg/Br., Prior AK Hagenau (H 24)

f) *Sonstige*

(345) 1306 fr. H. Turingus, AK Speyer (U 24, II)
(346) 1306 fr. Burkhard von Geispolsheim (Gozbolsheim), AK Speyer (U 24, II)
(347) 1306 fr. Ebhard von Bellheim (Bellenheim), AK Speyer (U 24, II)
(348) 1315 fr. Johannes [Messerer], « Episcopus Lavacensis », [Generalvikar von Mainz], z. Zt. Erfurt (M 153) [133])
(349) 1372 fr. Johannes van den Busche, AK Osnabrück (U 71)
(350) 1417 fr. Matthaeus von « Introduco », comitatus Aquilie vicarius generalis », z. Zt. AK « Maria del popolo » Rom (U 153)
(351) 1417 fr. Decleuus von Oberhausen (Oberchusen), z. Zt. AK « Maria del popolo » Rom (U 153)
(352) 1418 fr. Petrus Davidis, AK Avignon (U 153)
(353) 1429 fr. Tylemann von Brilon (Brilen), AK Osnabrück (U 115)
(354) 1437 fr. Bernhard von Oldenzaal (Oldenzele), AK Osnabrück (U 115)
(355) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Heinrich Zolter, dr. heol., z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(356) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Heinrich Lodewici, dr. theol., z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(357) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Johannes Sartoris, dr. theol., z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)

[133]) Vgl. P. KELLER, *Index Episcoporum* 23.

(358) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Bernhard von « Oldenfell », lector, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(359) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Alardus von Groningen (Gruningen), lector, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(360) 1457 Aug. 28 fr. Georg Hoppener, lector, z. Zt. AK Osnabrück (« Convocatio » der Provinzväter) (U 128, U 132, I)
(361) 1492 fr. Petrus von Königsberg (Monteregio), AK Windsheim (U 153)
(362) 1498 fr. Nikolaus Forch, lector, AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(363) 1498 fr. Erhard Faulhaber, Subprior, AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(364) 1498 fr. Konrad Becks, Custos, AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(365) 1498 fr. Eucharius Moelner, Prokurator, AK Königsberg/Fr. (U 155, I)
(366) 1521 fr. Ludwig Ditz, Subdiakon, AK Alsfeld (U 164)
(367) 1521 fr. Johannes Andernachus, Minorist, AK Alsfeld (U 164)
(368) 1557 fr. Wendel Hermann, Prokurator, AK Speyer (U 182, IV)
(369) 1632 starb fr. Augustinus Ott (Otl ?), Professohn AK Freiburg/Br. (H 123)
(370) 1632 starb fr. Johannes Walther (H 166)
(371) 1633 starb fr. Sebastian Bolster (H 16)
(372) 1634 fr. Simon Nennich, Professohn AK Mainz (H 119)
(373) 1634 starb fr. Franziskus Siensbach (H 148)
(374) 1634 starb fr. Georg Harttunesch (?) (H 80)
(375) vor 1635 fr. Augustin Laubenberger, Professohn AK Mainz (H 102)
(376) 1635 fr. Adeodatus Zaner (?), Professohn AK Freiburg/Schw. (H 172)
(377) 1638 starb fr. Cornelius Curtius (H 25)
(378) 1639 fr. Evodius Hilario, Professohn AK Freiburg/Schw., z. Zt. AK Würzburg (H 83)
(379) 1639 starb fr. Godefried Stein (H 149)
(380) vor 1640 fr. Anselm Filius, Professohn AK Mainz (H 56)
(381) vor 1640 fr. Aurelius Fleure, Professohn AK Freiburg/Schw. (H 56)
(382) vor 1640 fr. Bonifacius Filius, Professohn AK Mainz (H 56)
(383) vor 1640 fr. Georg Forst, Professohn AK Mainz (H 57)
(384) 1642 starb fr. Wolfgang Götz (H 70)

(385) 1645 starb fr. laicus Nikolaus Ohrtscheidt, Koch (H 123)
(386) 1647 starb fr. Augustin Burgknecht, AK Freiburg/Schw. (H 17)
(387) vor 1648 fr. Bonifacius Rapp, Professohn AK Schwäbisch-Gmünd (H 133)
(388) vor 1650 fr. Navigius Laba, Professohn AK Konstanz, z. Zt. Würzburg, gestorben 1662 (H 103)
(389) 1650 fr. laicus Anselm Göbel, Novize AK Würzburg, nachmals Professohn AK Mainz (H 70)
(390) 1650 starb fr. Martin Agricola, Professohn AK Oberndorf (H 4)
(391) 1650 starb fr. Wilhelm Hugenoldus, Professohn AK Freiburg/Schw. (H 83)
(392) 1650 starb fr. Evodius Hilario, Professohn AK Freiburg/Schw. (H 83)
(393) um 1650 fr. Hieronymus Behm, Professohn AK Schwäbisch-Gmünd (H 18)
(394) um 1650 fr. laicus Jakob Rieblinger, Professohn AK Speyer (H 133)
(395) um 1650 fr. laicus Aegidius Rautt, Professohn AK Konstanz (H 133)
(396) um 1650 fr. Nikolaus Schriem, Professohn AK Oberndorf (H 151)
(397) um 1650 fr. laicus Friedrich Zellenberger, Professohn AK Speyer (H 173)

Register Nr. I.

Uebersicht über die Signaturen und die Herkunft der Urkunden des Archivs der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz [134]).

Abkürzungen :

K = Urkunde wurde durch Kauf erworben.
M = Urkunde stammt aus dem Klosterarchiv Münnerstadt.
Sp = Urkunde stammt aus dem Klosterarchiv Speyer.
W = Urkunde stammt aus dem Klosterarchiv Würzburg.
U = Herkunft der Urkunde ist unbekannt.

[134]) Die heutige Numerierung folgt der zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge der Urkunden. — Die Nummern, die wir in eckige Klammern setzen, sind zwar im Kopialbuch enthalten; doch fehlen die Originalien.

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
1.	—	A 9	39	—	W
2.	—	A 7	41 (?)	—	W
3.	—	A 11	36	—	W
4.	—	A 13	—	—	W
5.	—	C 34	55	—	W
6.	—	A 47	53	—	W
7.	—	C 29	—	59 (15. Jh.)	W
8.	—	A 52	—	—	W
9.	—	C 30	56	—	W
10.	—	A 31	32	72 (15. Jh.)	W
11, I.	—	A 14	46 (?)	75 (15. Jh.)	W
11, II.	—	—	—	—	M
12.	—	A 60	—	—	W
13.	—	A 61	—	—	W
14.	—	A 26	—	—	W
15.	—	A 59	—	—	W
16.	—	A 62	—	—	W
17.	—	E 1	—	—	W
18.	—	A 35	—	4 (15. Jh.)	W
19.	—	E 44	—	—	W
20.	—	A 53	—	—	W
21.	—	A 49	—	—	W
Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts:					
22.	—	A 3	51	—	W
23, I.	—	A 19	—	—	W
23, II.	—	—	—	N. 11 (18. Jh.)	M
24, I.	—	C 34	60	—	W
24, II.	—	—	—	LS nro 173 (18. Jh.)	Sp
25, I.	—	C 31	57	—	W
25, II a, b.	—	—	—	—	M
26.	—	A 16	37	—	W
27.	—	A 57	—	—	W
28.	—	E 2	—	—	W
29.	—	A 46	—	—	W
30.	—	A 81	—	—	W
31.	Littera V. 4.	B 70	44	—	W
32.	Littera V. 2.	E 3	—	vorher: B-?	W
33.	Littera P. 4.	B 40	—	—	W
34.	—	E 4	89	—	W
35, I.	—	E 5	—	—	W
35, II.	—	—	—	v XXII (15. Jh. ?)	Sp
36.	Littera Q. 4.	B 42	—	—	W
[37.	—	E 6	—	—	W]

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
38.	—	C 25	—	—	W
39.	Littera D. 4.	C 27	—	—	W
40.	Littera D.	E 8	—	55 (15. Jh.)	W
41, I.	—	—	—	G VI (15. Jh. ?)	Sp
[41, II.	—	E 7	—	—	W]
42.	Littera E. 4.	C 26	—	—	W
43.	—	E 9	—	R 4 (16. Jh. ?)	W
44.	Littera H. 4	E 10	—	vorher: C 7	W
45.	Littera F. 4.	B 6	—	—	W
[46.	—	C 41	—	—	W]
47.	Littera D. 2.	E 11	25	vorher: ? 26	W
48.	Littera J. 4.	B 17	—	—	W
49.	Littera X. 2.	B 56	—	—	W
[50a.	—	C 32	—	—	W]
50b.	—	—	—	—	W
51.	—	E 12	—	—	W
[52.	—	C 33	—	—	W]
53.	—	A 94	30	—	W
54.	Littera Y. 2.	B 64	—	—	W
55.	Littera G. 2.	C 40	—	—	W
56.	—	E 13	14	—	W
57.	Littera C. 3.	B 62	—	—	W
58.	Littera H. 2.	C 74	—	—	W
59.	Littera A. 3.	B 52	—	—	W
60.	Littera Z. 2.	B 59	—	—	W
61.	Littera B. 3.	B 57	—	—	W
62.	Littera X. 3.	C 1 (?)	47 (45?)	—	W
63.	Littera K. 4.	B 22	—	vorher: C 5	W
64.	Littera D. 3.	B 63	—	—	W
65.	Littera F.	E 14	—	No. 11 (18. Jh. ?)	W
66.	—	A 50	—	—	W
67.	—	B 12	52	—	W
68.	Littera M. 4.	B 23	—	—	W
69.	Littera L. 3.	C 14	71	N. 24 (18. Jh.)	W
70.	Littera E. 3.	B 53	—	—	W
71.	—	A 32	—	—	W
72.	—	A 53	—	—	W
73.	Littera K. 2.	C 57	—	C 5 (16. Jh.)	W
74, I.	—	—	—	LS nro 239 (18. Jh.)	Sp
74, II.	Littera N. 3.	C 15	72	N. 19 (18. Jh.)	W
75.	—	C 62	—	—	W
76.	Littera F. 3.	B 61	—	—	W
77.	Littera L. 2.	C 17	74	N. 25 (18. Jh.)	W
78.	Littera M. 2.	B 58	16	—	W
79.	—	A 17	34	—	W

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
80.	Littera G. 4.	C 6	—	N. 3 (18. Jh.)	W
81.	Littera Y. 4.	B 72	—	—	W
82.	—	E 15	—	—	W
83.	—	C 5	—	—	W
84.	—	C 5	—	—	W
[85, I.	—	E 16	—	—	W]
85, II.	—	—	—	LS nro 226 (18. Jh.)	Sp
86.	Littera G. 3.	B 58	—	—	W
87.	Littera P. 2.	C 66	—	—	W
88.	Littera O. 2.	C 56	—	—	W
89.	Littera R. 4.	B 45	—	—	W
90.	Littera R. 3.	E 17	—	—	W
91.	—	A 12	40	—	W
92.	Littera H. 3.	B 60	—	—	W
93, I.	Littera S. 3.	E 18	—	—	W
93, II.	—	—	—	LS nro 215 (18. Jh.)	Sp
94.	Littera A. 4.	B 68	—	—	W
95, I.	Littera I. (Y.?) 3.	B 9	—	—	W
95, II.	—	—	—	—	M
96.	Littera K. 3.	B 65	—	—	W
Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts:					
97.	Littera E. (C.?) 5.	C 1	—	—	W
98.	—	E 19	—	N. 8 (18. Jh.)	W
99.	Littera Q. 2.	C 60	—	—	W
100.	Littera F. 5. (?)	E 46	—	—	W
101.	Littera G. 5.	C 4	—	vorher: B 20	W
102.	Littera Q.	E 20	—	—	W
103.	Littera R. 2.	E 21	—	N. 15 (18. Jh.)	W
104.	Littera K.	E 22	—	—	W
105.	Littera L. 4.	B 15	—	vorher: C 1	W
106.	Littera N. 4.	B 16	—	vorher: C (?) 2	W
107.	—	A 55	68	—	W
108.	—	A 51	—	—	W
109.	Littera O. 4.	B 18	—	—	W
110, I.	—	—	—	—	W
110, II.	—	—	—	No. 209 (?) (17. Jh.)	M
111.	Littera L.	E 23	—	—	W
112.	Littera H. 5.	C 23	—	—	W
113.	Littera B. 5.	C 19	—	—	W
114.	Littera O. 3	C 13	70	—	W
115.	—	A 18	34	—	W
116.	—	A 82	—	—	W
117.	—	A 4	42	—	W

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
118.	—	A 64	—	—	W
119.	Littera Z.	C 37	66	vorher: A — ?	W
120.	—	A 38	—	—	W
121, I.	Littera Q. 3.	C 22	—	—	W
121, II.	—	—	—	LS nro 228 (18. Jh.)	Sp
122.	—	B 55	—	vorher: B 10	W
123.	—	E 24	—	—	W
124.	—	E 25	—	—	W
125, I.	Littera M.	E 26	64	—	W
125, II.	—	—	—	—	M
126.	—	B 50	—	—	W
127.	—	C 53	17	—	W
128.	—	A 6	35	—	W
129.	—	A 24	—	—	W
130.	Littera N.	E 27	—	—	W
131.	—	C 36	15	—	W
132, I.	—	A 5	38	—	W
132, II.	—	—	—	—	U
133.	Littera O.	E 28	—	—	W
134.	Littera K. 5.	—	—	III. C. (18. Jh.)	W
135.	Littera X.	E 29a	—	—	W
136.	—	E 29b	—	—	W
137.	—	E 29c	—	—	W
138.	Littera R.	E 30	—	—	W
139.	Littera T. 3.	E 32	—	—	W
140.	Littera T.	E 31	—	—	W
141, I.	—	—	—	—	W
141, II.	—	—	—	No. — ? (17. Jh.)	M
142, I.	—	—	—	—	M
142, II.	Littera post C. 5.	C 2	—	—	W
143a.	Littera V. 3.	E 32	—	—	W
143b.	—	—	—	—	W
144.	—	—	—	LS nro 138 (18. Jh.)	Sp
145.	—	E 33	—	—	W
146.	—	D 6	—	—	W
147.	Littera D. 5.	B 49	—	—	W
[148.	—	B 51	—	—	W]
149.	—	C 11	—	—	W
150, I.	—	C 18	75	N. 22 (18. Jh.)	W
150, II.	—	—	—	—	M
150, III.	—	—	—	—	U
151, I.	—	C 28	—	N. 21 (18. Jh.)	W
151, II.	—	—	—	—	U
152.	—	E 39	—	Z 4 (16. Jh. ?)	W

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
153.	—	—	—	—	W
154.	—	F 1	—	—	W
155, I.	—	F 2	—	—	W
155, II.	—	—	—	—	M
155, III.	—	—	—	—	Sp
Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts:					
155, IV.	—	—	—	LS nro 232 (18. Jh.)	Sp
155, V.	—	—	—	LS nro 158 (18. Jh.)	Sp
156.	—	—	—	Ja (18. Jh.)	W
157.	—	C 45	48	—	W
158.	—	B 54	—	—	W
159.	—	C 16	70	N 23 (18 Jh.)	W
160.	—	C 54	—	—	W
161.	—	B 13	—	—	W
162.	—	C 9	—	—	W
163, I.	—	B 67	—	—	W
163, II.	—	—	—	LM nro 89 (18. Jh.)	Sp
164.	—	A 76	—	—	W
165.	—	A 70	—	—	W
166.	—	A 73	—	—	W
167.	—	—	—	—	W
168.	—	E 34	—	—	W
169.	—	E 35	—	—	W
170.	—	—	—	—	W
171.	—	—	—	—	W
172.	—	C 52	—	M 7 (16. Jh.)	W
173.	—	—	—	—	W
174.	—	—	—	—	W
175.	—	C 61	—	O 3 (16. Jh.)	W
176.	—	A 90	65	—	W
177.	—	C 59	—	N 12 (18. Jh.)	W
178.	—	E 36	—	vorher: C 7	W
179.	—	—	—	—	W
180.	—	E 37	—	—	W
181.	—	E 38	—	—	W
182, I.	—	C 3	—	—	W
182, II.	—	—	—	—	M
182, III a, b.	—	—	—	—	M
182, IV.	—	—	—	LM nro 90 (18 Jh.)	Sp
183.	—	C 55	—	—	W
184.	—	—	—	K ij (17. Jh.)	W
185.	—	—	—	—	W
186.	—	—	—	—	W

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
187.	—	—	—	—	W
188.	—	A 93	63	—	W
189a.	—	E 45	—	—	W
189b.	—	—	—	—	W
190.	—	—	—	—	W
191.	—	—	—	—	W
192.	—	—	—	—	W
193.	—	C 65	—	—	W
194.	—	—	—	—	W
195.	—	—	—	—	W
196.	—	D 4	6	—	W
197.	—	—	—	—	W
[Nummer 198. ist in der Zählung übergangen.]					
199.	—	—	—	—	W
200.	—	—	—	G no. 3 (18. Jh.)	W
201.	—	—	—	—	W
202.	—	—	—	—	W
203.	—	—	—	—	W
204.	—	B 27	49	—	W
205.	—	C 74	69	—	W
206.	—	—	—	—	W
207.	—	—	—	L:F no. 6 (18. Jh.)	W
208.	—	—	—	—	W
209.	—	C 7	—	N 17 (18. Jh.)	W
210.	—	C 8	—	N 4 (18. Jh.)	W
211.	—	C 42	—	—	W
212.	—	B 2	—	—	W
213.	—	—	—	—	W
Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts:					
214.	—	—	—	T 5 (17. Jh.)	W
215, I.	—	—	—	T (17. Jh.)	W
215, II.	—	—	—	—	M
216.	—	C 20	50	—	W
217.	—	C 60	—	—	W
218.	—	C 48	—	—	W
219.	—	—	—	—	M
220.	—	E 40	—	LS nro 136 (18. Jh.)	Sp (?)
221.	—	—	—	—	M
222.	—	—	—	D (17. Jh.)	W
223.	—	—	—	—	W
224.	—	—	—	LS nro 162 (18. Jh.)	Sp
225.	—	—	—	—	W
226.	—	—	—	—	W

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
227.	—	—	—	No 2 (17. Jh.)	W
228.	—	—	—	—	W
229.	—	—	—	—	K
230.	—	—	—	—	W
231.	—	E 41	—	—	W
232.	—	—	—	—	W
233.	—	A 79	—	—	W
234, I.	—	E 42	—	—	W
234, II.	—	—	—	No 5 (17. Jh.)	W
235.	—	—	—	No 3 (17. Jh.)	W
236.	—	B 41	—	—	W
237.	—	—	—	—	W
238.	—	—	—	—	W
239.	—	—	—	No 7 (17. Jh.)	W
240.	—	B 96	—	No ? (17. Jh.)	W
241.	—	—	—	No 4 (17. Jh.)	W
242.	—	—	—	—	W
243.	—	E 43	—	—	W
244.	—	—	—	—	W
245.	—	—	—	—	W
246.	—	—	—	—	W
247.	—	C 71	20	—	W
248, I.	—	A 97	—	—	W
248, II.	—	—	—	—	M
248, III.	—	—	—	—	M
249.	—	B 37	—	—	W
250.	—	B 38	—	—	W
251.	—	B 14	—	—	W
252, I.	—	A 95	—	—	W
252, II.	—	—	—	N. 50.1. (18. Jh.)	M
253.	—	—	—	—	W
254.	—	C 69	—	—	W
255, I.	—	—	—	—	M
255, II.	—	—	—	No. 50.2. (18. Jh.)	M
256.	—	A 85	—	—	W
Beginn des 18. Jarhhunderts:					
257.	—	—	—	—	W
258.	—	—	—	—	W
259.	—	—	—	—	W
260.	—	—	—	Lit. R. nro 120 (18. Jh.)	Sp
261.	—	C 72	—	—	W
262.	—	—	—	L. D. nro 34 (18. Jh.)	Sp
263.	—	—	—	—	M

Heutige Signatur	*Signatur von 1483*	*Signatur des 17.-19. Jht.*	*Signatur von ca. 1800*	*Sonstige Signaturen*	*Herkunft*
264.	—	—	—	—	M
265.	—	—	—	—	U
266.	—	—	—	—	Sp
267.	—	D. 11	—	—	W
268.	—	—	—	—	W
269.	—	—	—	—	Sp
270.	—	C 70	30	—	W
271.	—	—	—	—	Sp
272.	—	—	—	—	W
273.	—	—	7	—	W
274.	—	—	—	Nro 9 (19. Jh.)	W
275.	—	—	—	—	W
276.	—	—	—	—	W
277.	—	—	—	—	W
278a.	—	—	24	—	W
278b.	—	—	13	—	W
279.	—	—	—	—	M
280.	—	—	—	—	K
281.	—	—	—	—	W
282.	—	—	12	—	W
283.	—	—	—	—	W
284.	—	—	29	—	W
285.	—	—	—	—	W
286.	—	—	—	—	M
287.	—	—	—	—	W
288.	—	—	—	—	W
289.	—	—	28	—	W
290.	—	—	—	—	Sp
291.	—	—	—	—	W
292.	—	—	—	—	W
293.	—	—	—	—	W
Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts:					
294.	—	—	122	—	W
295.	—	—	—	—	W
296.	—	—	—	—	W
297. a, b.	—	—	—	—	W
298.	—	—	—	—	W
299.	—	—	—	—	W
300.	—	—	—	—	W
301.	—	—	—	—	W
302.	—	—	—	—	W
303.	—	—	—	—	W

Register Nr. II.

Verzeichnis der Urkunden und Urkundenkopien über das Augustinerkloster Münnerstadt im Archiv der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz und im Bayerischen Staatsarchiv zu Würzburg (vor dem Jahr 1650).

Abkürzungen :

UP = Urkunde des Provinzarchivs.
US = Urkunde des Staatsarchivs.
CI = Copiale des Priors fr. Martin Scherpf von 1477/9 (Standbuch 245 des Bayerischen Staatsarchivs Würzburg).
CII = Copiale von 1653 im Protokollbuch I des AK Münnerstadt (Standbuch Nr. 78 des Provinzarchivs).
IM = Inventar des AK Münnerstadt von 1550 (Akten Nr. 11a des Provinzarchivs). Hinter der Seitenzahl fügen wir in Klammern die dort verzeichnete Signatur der jeweiligen Urkunde bei. Die von uns in eckige Klammern gesetzten Urkunden dieses Inventars beziehen sich auf Stiftungen des Spitals Münnerstadt und wurden 1550 dem AK Münnerstadt zur Verwahrung übergeben.
CIII = « Copeybuch » des AK Münnerstadt 1650-1721 (Standbuch Nr. 8 des Provinzarchivs).
CIV = Urkundenkopien im « Lehen- und Erbzinsregister » des AK Münnerstadt, beendet 1718 (Standbuch Nr. 9 des Provinzarchivs).

Datum	*Urkunde*	*CI*	*CII*	*IM*	*CIII*	*CIV*
1279 VIII 1	—	34r	—	—	—	—
1279 IX 24	—	—	152	—	—	—
1279 X 21	US 82/21	—	—	—	—	—
1280 VII 1	US 82/23	—	—	—	—	—
1281	—	17r	—	20(CC)	—	29
1282	US 83/267	—	—	—	—	—
1282	US 83/267a	—	—	—	—	—
1282 VIII 15	UP 11, II	—	—	—	—	—
1288 X 31	—	19r	—	—	—	—
1304 VI 12	UP 23, II	—	130	—	—	—
1315 VII 6	—	43v	—	—	—	—
1315 VII 25	UP 25, II a/b	16v	—	—	—	—
1315 XII 7	—	—	153	—	—	—
um 1315	US 82/48	—	—	—	—	—
1316 XI 6	—	18r	—	—	—	—
1316 XI 18	US 124/99	20v	—	—	11	35
1321 V 27	—	18v	—	—	—	—

Datum	*Urkunde*	*CI*	*CII*	*IM*	*CIII*	*CIV*
1326 I 27	—	19r	—	—	—	—
1326 X 28	—	20r	—	—	—	—
1330 VII 8	UP 30	—	—	—	—	—
1332 I 27	—	17v	—	—	—	—
1337 II 22	—	19v	—	—	—	18 und 134
1344 X 31	—	18v	—	—	—	—
1352 II 27	—	31r	—	—	—	—
1355 I 17	US 110/115	—	141	—	—	—
1355 III 21	—	39v	—	16(R)	—	—
1356 XII 11	US 110/116	—	131	—	—	—
1358 II 19	—	17r	—	—	8	2
[1358 V 10	—	—	—	24(HH)	—	—]
1358 V 10	US 110/117	—	150	—	—	—
1358 VII 8	US 110/118	—	126	—	—	—
1361 II 26	UP 53	—	—	—	—	—
1361 V 6	US 110/119	—	149	—	—	—
1363 X 2	—	41r	—	—	—	33
1367 VI 9	US 110/120	—	143	—	—	—
1367 X 2	US 110/121	—	139	—	—	—
[1373 XII 2	—	—	—	25(KK)	—	—]
1374 III 12	—	29r	—	—	—	—
1374 XI 30	US 110/122	—	137	—	—	—
1380 XII 3	US 110/123	—	147	—	—	—
1381 II 14	—	22v	—	—	8	5
1381 V 20	US 51/17y	—	—	—	—	—
1382 V 16	US 110/124	—	146	—	—	—
1386 V 1	—	34v	—	—	18	151
1386 VII 14	—	21v	—	—	—	—
[1386 XII 1	—	44v	—	24(II)	—	—]
1387 II 1	—	53v	—	—	—	—
1388 IV 4	—	22r	—	—	—	—
1388 VI 11	—	36v	—	19(X)	16	51
1388 XII 5	—	41v	—	—	—	—
1390 V 28	—	27r	—	—	—	—
1394 VII 10	US 110/125	20v	138	13(I)	11	35
1396 XII 11	US 110/126a	—	141	—	—	—
1399 VIII 12	—	34v	—	19(Z)	17	67
1400 V 20	US 110/126b	—	132	—	—	—
1401 III 23 und VII 12	US 110/127	—	—	—	—	—
1401 V 13	—	43v	—	—	—	—
1401 VII 5	—	12r	—	—	—	—
1401 VII 31	US 82/92	—	—	—	—	—
1402 III 15	US 110/128	—	125	—	—	—
1405 III 5	—	47r	—	—	12	45
1409 VI 24	—	—	—	18(W)	—	—

Datum	*Urkunde*	*CI*	*CII*	*IM*	*CIII*	*CIV*
1411 V 26	US 110/128	—	133	—	—	—
1412 IV 17	—	35v	—	—	—	—
1413 VII 21	—	29v	—	—	—	—
1413 VIII 21	—	29v	—	20(BB)	—	—
1413 XI 13	—	21v	—	—	—	—
1415 VI 2	—	40v	—	—	23	188
1417 II 27	—	39v	—	—	—	206
1419 VI 24	—	27v	—	—	24	189
1420 VIII 9	—	52v	—	—	—	—
1423 VI 9	—	52v	—	—	—	—
1423 VII 12	US 110/129	—	134	—	—	—
1423 VII 16	—	28v	—	—	—	—
1424 V 19	—	31v	—	—	—	—
1427 XI 17	US 110/130	—	129	—	—	—
1430 VIII 21	US 82/108	—	—	—	—	—
1435 VI 29	US 100/95	—	—	—	—	—
1438 XI 30	—	15r	—	—	—	—
[1440 V 27	—	—	—	24(GG)	—	—]
1447 VII 27	—	30r	—	—	15	49
1450 II 10	—	49v	—	19(Y)	—	—
[1450 VIII 28	—	—	—	22(H)	—	—]
1451 III 9	—	26r	—	—	—	—
1452 II 2	—	13r	—	—	—	—
1453 VI 13	—	—	—	18(T)	—	—
1455 XI 10	—	30v	—	—	—	20
1456 II 7	US 100/96	36r	—	14(N)	19	151
1456 III 18	—	32v	—	—	—	—
1456 VI 15	—	32r	—	—	—	15
1456 IX 1	—	42r	—	—	—	—
1458 III 25	—	24r	—	11(D)	—	—
1458 III 25	—	25r	—	20(AA)	—	—
[1460 III 4	—	—	—	22(DD)	—	—]
1460 III 12	—	34r	—	—	—	—
1460 V 30	—	46v	—	—	—	—
1461 IX 1	—	25r	—	—	—	—
1464 XII 15	—	23r	—	—	—	—
1465 VII 27	—	48r	—	—	13	45
1468 I 12	US 93/183	—	—	—	—	—
1468 III 18	—	14r	—	—	—	—
1469 IX 17	—	15v	—	—	—	—
1474 IX 27	—	—	—	—	—	135
1476 III 4	—	45v	—	—	—	—
1476 III 27	US 110/131	48r	—	—	13	46
1476 XI 14	—	44r	—	—	20	152
1477 III 19	—	—	—	14(M)	—	—
1477 XII 6	—	—	—	16(Q)	—	—

Datum	*Urkunde*	*CI*	*CII*	*IM*	*CIII*	*CIV*
1478 II 22	—	55v	—	—	21	153
1479 II 27	—	57r	—	—	—	—
1484 VII 27	—	—	—	18(V)	—	—
1487 III 25	—	—	—	12(G)	—	—
[1494 VIII 12	—	—	—	23(FF)	—	—]
1496 I 22	—	—	—	12(F)	—	—
[1496 III 18	—	—	—	23(CC)	—	—]
1497 I 20	—	36v	—	—	—	154
1504 II 27	—	—	—	10(A)	—	—
1505 III 3	—	—	—	10(C)	—	—
1505	US 13/55	—	—	—	—	—
1506 IX 14	—	—	—	11(E)	—	—
1507 X 4	US 110/132	—	142	15(P)	—	—
1508 II 17	—	—	—	15(O)	—	—
1508 II 27	—	—	—	10(B)	—	—
1508 III 15	—	—	—	14(L)	—	—
1510 I 18	—	—	—	13(K)	—	—
1512 XII 29	—	—	—	17(S)	—	—
1549 IX 27	UP 182, II	—	—	—	—	—
1551 I 8	US 110/133	—	—	—	25	—
1556 II 24	US 110/134	—	—	—	—	—
1557 I 6	UP 182, III a, b	—	—	—	—	—
1560	US 13/56	—	—	—	—	—
1601 V 18	UP 215, II	—	—	—	—	—
1611 V 11	—	—	—	—	9	7
1617 IX 11	UP 219	—	—	—	—	—
1622 VII 25	US 68/206 US 110/135	—	—	—	—	—
1650 IX 30	—	—	—	—	3-5	—

Register Nr. III.

Personenregister zum Verzeichnis der in unseren Archivalien bezeugten Augustiner vor dem Jahr 1650.

Vorbemerkung :

Die einzelnen Augustiner sind hier unter ihrem Familiennamen und, wo ein solcher fehlt, unter dem Ortsnamen zu suchen. Leute, von denen nur der Vorname überliefert ist, wurden — von den Weihbischöfen und Provinzialen abgesehen — in das Register nicht aufgenommen. Die Ziffern beziehen sich auf die laufenden Nummern des obigen Verzeichnisses.

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Agricola Michael 64
Andernachus Johannes 367
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Anherr Johannes 94
Arnoldi Bartholomäus 153
Aub (Auwe, Awe, Augea), Gerhard von 124
—, Heinrich von 9, 84, 86, 92, 119, 122, 327
—, Heinrich von d. Ae. 98, 104, 113, 114, 117
—, Heinrich von d. J. 90, 106
—, Johannes von 15
—, Johannes von *siehe auch* Meyer Johannes
—, Johannes von *siehe auch* Scheytler Johannes
—, Konrad von 112, 121
—, Peter von 12, 111
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Eberhardi Petrus 138
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Eilfo Johannes 244
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Nachtrag

Wie mir in liebenswürdiger Weise P. Albericus de Meijer O. E. S. A. mitteilte, handelt es sich bei dem Exemplar der Bulle « Licet Ecclesiae », welches sich als Urkunde Nr. 3 im Historischen Archiv der Deutschen Augustinerprovinz vorfindet, offenbar um eine von der päpstlichen Kanzlei herausgegebene authentische Kopie. Sie ist nicht von dem für den Ordensgeneral ausgefertigten Original der Bulle genommen (vgl. oben S. 9-13), sondern aus dem Register Alexanders IV., weshalb sie auch das von den Registratoren irrtümlich eingetragene Datum des 4. V. 1256 trägt.

P. DDr. Adolar Zumkeller, O. E. S. A.

Würzburg.

The Augustinians wend their way Westward

Forty years elapsed after the return of Columbus before Fray Francisco de la Cruz, OSA, led the first seven Augustinian Friars into Mexico City on June 7, 1533. They had been preceded in their apostolic labors by the Franciscans and Dominicans in the great adventure destined to convert two continents and sweep across the broad Pacific to the distant Philippines, Japan and China itself. Upon their arrival they humbly and gratefully accepted during forty days the hospitality offered them by the Dominicans, until they were able to move to their own first modest home in the heart of the old Aztec Empire, located on Tacuba Street. Before long the Cabildo of Mexico City, with the approval of the Audiencia, granted them a piece of property for the erection of a monastery at Zoquipán, where an abundant spring made the surroundings a swampy marsh, a circumstance that did not discourage the pioneer missionaries in their pristine efforts.

It is not possible to trace in the few allotted pages of this volume dedicated to the history of the Sons of St. Augustine from the early days of the first institution of the Order to the present, the work they did in the Viceroyalty of New Spain that extended eventually across the Pacific to the Philippines. We will limit our sketch to the early beginnings of the Province of the Most Holy Name which they established in Mexico City and to the most outstanding contributions made to the propagation of the Faith and Christian culture. It was an Augustinian, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, who discovered the long sought and desired return route from the Philippines that made possible the permanent occupation of the islands, the establishment of Manila, the conversion of the natives and the development of this distant eastern outpost of Christianity.

Forced by circumstances, we find ourselves even more con-

strained than Fray Juan de Grijalva, the remarkable chronicler of the Augustinians in Mexico, who declared in 1592, at a time when the tempo of life judged by our standards was much slower, that he had to encompass « in a brief space the narrative of heroic achievements » not because he desired to follow those « who place all their skill in being brief, thinking that the essence of all knowledge is in knowing how to say much briefly », but because he was afraid of the heedlessness of the century and feared that men « occupied by so many diverse things may have no time left to follow a single one through ». Even at that time, he declares that he found men had become weary of long books and long stories. He justified his brevity and the omission of significant incidents with the hope that the members of the Order would find « gratification in realizing that many well known things » had been left out for the sake of being brief. We make ours the wise and discreet words of the old chronicler as the only justification for many omissions in the heroic tale of the Augustinian efforts in the propagation of the Faith and the diffusion of culture in the New World.

Not until eight years after their arrival were they able to lay the cornerstone of their first permanent monastery in New Spain, made possible by the generous local and royal aid extended to them. It was a memorable occasion. The ceremony, which took place on August 28, 1541, was attended by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, Bishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the Audiencia and Cabildo of Mexico in a body, the Prior of Santo Domingo and the Guardian of the Convent of San Francisco El Grande. For years afterwards the patient friars labored faithfully through many vicissitudes, encouraged by friends and the unfailing assistance of the King, until they finally saw the monastery and chapel completed in 1587. It was a massive structure that cost well over a quarter million pesos, whose broad and deep laid foundations proved insecure in the fathomless mire of the old crater lake of Tenochtitlán and caused the heavy, thickwalled edifice to settle uneasily in the years that followed.

Although the Augustinians did not arrive in Mexico until the summer of 1533, Augustinians friars had begun to solicit permission to go to America from Emperor Charles V as early as 1527. Not for an instant did the warnings of their friends that the Indians ate human flesh, that to undertake their conversion the friars would have to abandon their country, their relatives and their friends and

journey across the sea at the risk of their lives deter them from their firm resolve to help carry the torch of Christianity to the countless hordes beyond the sea. Resolutely, Fray Francisco de la Cruz had set out from the old monastery in Toledo for Sevilla, finally embarked in Cadiz in the spring of 1533, and proceeded to America, accompanied by seven enthusiastic companions whose names deserve to be remembered. They were frays Gerónimo de San Esteban, Juan de San Román, Agustín de La Coruña, Juan de Oseguera, Jorge de Avila and Alonso de Borja, led by Fray Francisco de la Cruz as prior. Fray Juan Bautista, in his desire to persuade his brother to join the brave little band, had left the missionaries in Seville to go to Jaén, but he had returned too late to sail with the first pioneers. After a safe but painful voyage they arrived at San Juan de Ulúa on Ascension Day, May 22, 1533, rested for four days in Veracruz, and proceeded on foot, full of hopes, to Mexico City, stopping to preach on the way. A year later Fray Oseguera, OSA, preached in their humble temporary chapel on the Feast of the Eucharist with an eloquence that attracted attention throughout the city.

That first year was a busy one. Aided by the older missionaries in the Convent of Santo Domingo and a converted Indian that lived in the monastery, they diligently set themselves to learn the Mexican tongue, the most common language spoken in Central Mexico generally known as Nahuatl. At the same time they tried daily to arouse interest in their work and secure aid for their new foundation by preaching and conducting missions for the faithful in the established parishes. Providence led them to contact Isabel de Moctezuma, wife of Pedro Cano, a daughter of the former Aztec Emperor, who became the first benefactor of the Augustinians in Mexico City. She provided all the needs of the community during her lifetime and enabled the zealous Augustinians to care for thousands of the city's poor. They very early began their missionary work by helping out in the surrounding Indian pueblos where their services were most needed. They hat tentatively been assigned work in the provinces of Chilapa and Tlapa.

The new Province founded in Mexico by the pioneer Augustinians was dependent at first on that of Castile. It held its first Provincial Council within one year after its temporary erection. All the friars came together on Corpus Christi Day, June 8, 1534, having left their newly established convents and houses in charge

of their most advanced Indian converts. Those who had been working in Chilapa, when they departed for the meeting in Ocuituco, left with difficulty because the converted Indians, who had become greatly attached to the missionaries, feared they would not return. The seven pioneers attented a Solemn Mass and spent the rest of the morning in prayer until the first session was opened at 2 P. M.

This first Council held by the Augustinians in New Spain is significant because of the resolutions adopted, which laid the foundations that were to rule the Order in the New World and guide the missionaries in their work with the Indians. It was ordered that the community read the Divine Office always in the choir, even if there was but one friar in the convent ; that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass be always celebrated in a decent and clean place ; that if Mass was said in the pueblos of infidels, the altar set for the purpose be made worthy and that guards be stationed at the entrance to keep out those who were not Christians. Friars were to observe two hours of mental prayer daily, one after the antiphony and one after vespers. Assignments were made for the next year. Fray Francisco de la Cruz and Fray Juan de Oseguera would remain in Ocuituco to learn the natives' language and continue to administer the Sacraments to them ; friars Gerónimo de San Esteban and Jorge de Avila were to go to the Convent of San Agustín in Mexico City ; friars Juan de San Román and Agustín de la Coruña to the Convent of Chilapa ; and Fray Alonso de Borja was to continue his work in the Convent of Santa Fe, the Utopian Indian settlement founded by Oidor Vasco de Quiroga two leages from the City of Mexico.

The recommendations made in regard to the Indians are particularly worthy of notice. The Council recommended that Indians who served at Mass always be properly dressed and made to wear their surplices. Natives living in a mission pueblo should be daily gathered for prayers before Mass, which was to begin promptly at the conclusion of the prayers. When the Mass was over all the children were to gather in the patio or atrium and older Indians who were versed in the *Doctrina* assigned to instruct them in small groups and teach them the Catechism prepared by Fray Pedro de Gante, which was to remain in use until Fray Agustín de la Coruña, OSA, finished writing his. With regard to the administration of Baptism, this was to be done as provided by the Chuch whenever

conditions permitted it. Children could be baptized on Sunday, but adults only four times during the year: On Easter Sunday, Christmas, Pentecost and the Feast of St. Augustine. Those receiving the Sacrament must give evidence of having been profitably instructed in the *Doctrina*. This basic Sacrament was always to be administered with due solemnity to impress upon the natives its great significance.

No wonder that within a few years the chronicler of the Order could say with justifiable pride in speaking of the work of the early missionaries that:

> They taught the Indians not only Christian doctrine, the chief goal of all their efforts, but instructed them in the ways of Christian living, teaching them not only to live well but holy. So well did they plan the pueblos they established that many of them are beautiful cities today. Although the number of houses was not large, the plan of the cities is as good as if they had been designed by master planners. They have well lined streets, public squares, entries and exits. The Indians have been taught moral customs and civil living, as well as all that is necessary for a Christian life. When the missionaries first went to their provinces the people were so uncultured that they did not even know how to eat decently, or dress, or talk to one another with courtesy and understanding... So well have all these things been taught that the natives can compete today in religion and civil living with all the peoples of Europe.

Allowing for understandable exaggeration on the part of the enthusiastic chronicler of the XVII century, the fact remains that in a few years the Augustinians had helped, together with the members of the other religious Orders who rendered such splendid yeoman service among the thousands of Indians in the ancient Empire of the Aztecs and beyond, changed the appearance of the whole countryside and the rhythm of barbaric life. The old temples to native gods that demanded daily human sacrifices, whose altars ran with human blood, had been replaced by temples erected to the true God. Spotless altars, white as snow, had been erected where the bloodless sacrifice of the Mass was performed daily. Christian Indians dressed in European garb not only knelt in the Churches but sang in the choir or played European musical instruments that had replaced the reed pipes and tom-toms of old. The Indians lived in houses, enjoyed a varied diet, dressed as civilized men, had learned to work with regularity, and plan in times of plenty for lean days, save in summer for the bitter cold of winter.

Around the tall spires that marked the countryside prosperous Indian pueblos had been founded, useless strife and human sacrifice had been replaced by the peace of Christian living.

When in 1535 the zealous Fray Francisco de la Cruz, OSA, was elected by the new Vice Province to be sent to Spain as its Procurator he carried with him a report from the Audiencia of Mexico City to the Emperor and the Council of the Indies, as well as for the Provincial of the Order in Spain, praising the fruitful work of the pioneer Augustinian missionaries and emphasizing the need for more workers in view of a new *entrada* being planned into the unexplored mountain beyond. He sailed from Veracruz on February 15, 1535, on Ash Wednesday, and after a painful voyage of over a month, arrived in Seville on Holy Saturday. An imposing figure, tall and spare of build, wearing a rough and heavy woolen habit next to the skin, barefooted, Fray Francisco de la Cruz presented himself to Santo Tomás de Villanueva, the Castilian Provincial. His grave appearence, his great composure, and his few but well chosen words made a deep impression. Encouraged by what he told them of conditions in America and the need for new workers, six friars soon volunteered and proceeded to San Lucar to embark for America, which was to them the promised land, regardless of the personal sacrifices it implied. By September 7 the six arrived safely in Ulúa, after a stormy and troublesome passage. On their way to Mexico, not yet recovered from the privations suffered, they all took sick and one, Fray Francisco Lucas de Pedrosa, died before they reached Mexico City and entered the monastery to learn the native tongue before they began their active missionary work among the natives. Fray Nicolás de Agreda, one of the surviving five, brought with him his appointment as Superior. With incredible humility, he did not bother to present it until a year later. « How insignificant », exclaims in amazement the chronicler of the Augustinians, « was personal ambition in those happy days of yore ! »

In the meantime Fray de la Cruz went on to Salamanca where, after an enthusiastic reception, he was allowed to recruit as many additional missionaries as the Council of the Indies permitted. In the months that followed he picked twelve remarkable men to accompany him back, two of whom attained undying fame. The twelve chosen were frays Juan Baptista, Gerónimo de Salazar, Francisco de Nieva, who after forty years in Mexico volunteered to go

to the Philippines where he still worked for several years more before hed died, Antonio de Aguilar, Antonio de Roa, Juan de Sevilla, Diego de San Martín, Pedro Pareja, Agustín de Salamanca, Diego de la Cruz and Juan de San Martín.

Anxious to secure a teacher of theology and arts for his projected seminary in Mexico, a person capable of instructing his religious, Fray de la Cruz contacted a young Master of Arts, already known for his outstanding brilliance as an instructor in the faculty of the University of Salamanca, Alonso Gutiérrez, a cleric. He was not only known in the University, but he had been chosen to tutor the children of the Duke del Infantado, a ranking grandee of Spain. One cannot but wonder at the persuasive powers of Fray Francisco de la Cruz in making the famous young cleric abandon his prominent post in the University and his enviable position as tutor to the children of one of the most influential man in Spain to come with him to Mexico. As he travelled across the sea in the company of the young and enthusiastic missionaries Master Alonso Gutiérrez made up his mind to join the Order and shortly after his arrival in Mexico, personally signed his profession as the first to enter the Order in the New World [1]).

Among the distinguished members of the Augustinian Order in the Province of the Most Holy Name in Mexico none surpassed Alonso Gutiérrez, better known by his religious name of Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, who served the Order in almost every capacity until the time of his death in July, 1584. He made his Bachelor studies in Alcalá de Henares, studied arts and theology in Salamanca, and received his Master degree from no less a person than the great internationalistic Francisco de Vitoria. After he joined the Order in Mexico, he served as Master of Novices in the Monastery of *San Agustín* in Mexico City, became proficient in the language of the Tarasca Indians ; governed the Bishopric of Michoacán during nine months as substitute for Quiroga, was four times Provincial, and found time during his long and busy life to teach in the Royal and Pontifical, now National, University of Mexico, write several books, and ably defend the Indians from the payment of tithes. He was a man courageous in the defense of his convictions. When Fray Luis de León was arrested in Spain

[1]) The original manuscript book of professions of the Order of St. Augustine in Mexico is in the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas.

for having translated the Song of Songs, he declared calmly « in truth they may as well burn me, if they burn him, for I feel just as he thinks ». He loved books and accumulated during his long and busy life an extensive library of select and rare books, of which he gave sixty cases to the *Colegio de San Pablo* and as many to the library of the Convent of St. Augustine, which he loved dearly. He also gave some of his books to the *Colegio de Tiripitío* in Michoacán, reputed to have been organized as a university as early as 1540, thirteen years before the Royal and Pontifical University of New Spain first opened its doors. In the patio of the old *Colegio de Mascarones,* where the summer school of the National University for foreign students is held today, there stands a statue of Fray Alonso, distinguished member of the first faculty of the University in 1553.

But let us return to our narrative. At the second Provincial Council held in 1536, upon the death of Fray Francisco de la Cruz, OSA, who did not live long after his return from Spain, it was decided to give up the convent established in connection with the Utopian settlement of Santa Fe for a more active field among the infidels because of the scarcity of workers. At the same time it was agreed to undertake the conversion of the natives of the *Sierra Alta,* the High Mountain, which had not been penetrated before. Frays Juan de Villanueva and Antonio de Roa were assigned to the new enterprise. At the same time it was agreed to work among the Otomís. Frays Alonso de Borja, Gregorio de Salazar and Juan de San Martín were sent to Atotonilco, from where they made the first *entrada* into the *Sierra de Tuxtepec*. The three friars overcame an obstacle even greater than that of the high mountain of Tuxtepec in learning the Otomí language, one of the most difficult. These Indians had been neglected in part because no one knew the language well enough to preach to them in their own tongue. Before long Fray Alonso de Borja made a vocabulary, wrote a grammar and prepared a *Confesionario* which proved invaluable to all the other missionaries in the conversion of the Otomís. These Indians, it is said, now took to the Faith rapidly and showed great zeal. It was in the land of the Otomís that the great silver mine of Pachuca was discovered. Prosperity came to the land where before only sheep and goats were raised and where the tigers and lions in the mountains were said to be disguised witch-doctors or *Nahuales*

that greedily watched to devour those who abandonned their ancient gods.

When the amazing Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga, member of the Second Audiencia of Mexico, later Bishop of Michoacán, inspired by the Utopian dream of St. Thomas Moore, bought lands two leagues from Mexico City to found the first Utopia in America, it was Fray Alonso de Borja who was assigned in 1533 to minister to the Indians gathered in the pueblo of Santa Fe, previously mentioned. He was the helper of Quiroga in the novel and noble experiment. The Christian Indians gathered in Santa Fe, the Utopian settlement of Quiroga, have been estimated by some at 30.000. The tillable fields which were held in common were worked for the benefit of all, the different tasks of communal life were likewise distributed. Some worked in the fields, others learned trades and still others helped build a convent and its chapel. Under the wise and tender direction of Fray Alonso de Borja the whole community led a semi-monastic life. Each dawn the bell rang and called the faithful to prayer, Mass was celebrated and instruction in Christian doctrine followed in the large atrium in front of the chapel. Here the program for the day was announced, the different tasks were assigned to old and young, and everybody then went home to breakfast and their work for the day. At eventide the entire community gathered once more around a large tall Cross erected in front of the monastery to sing vespers, recite the Rosary and receive instruction in the *Doctrina*. Each Friday they all fasted and attended the special religious exercises of the day with inspiring devotion.

The great Vasco de Quiroga was well pleased with the direction of Fray Alonso and his soul was gently inclined towards a religious life. « Although a layman he came to care more and more about ecclesiastical matters than those proper to his training in the law and related to his personal interests ». He built a residence in Utopian Santa Fe where, as he said, « The sky was always azure bleu, the breeze gentle and pure and the waters of the murmuring spring cold and clear as crystal ». When he later went to Michoacán as Bishop he found there many other similar settlements. To this day he is remembered by the Indians of Michoacán, the Tarascas, as *Tata Vasco*, Grandpa Vasco, and many a village in the province preserves the tradition of the basic trades learned in the days of the kindly cleric. Travelers find today in that section of Mexico

that one village produces string instruments exclusively, another lacquered trays, and still another a certain type of woven baskets. Thus each community contributes something to the life of the province without competing with the other. Behind the lasting work of the revered bishop lay the inspiration of Fray Alonso de Borja.

Quiroga founded a hospital and an orphanage in connection with his remarkable Utopian experiment near Mexico City. Next to the hospital and asylum for children and adults he established a colledege where the youth were taught to read, write and sing *canto llano*, Gregorian chant, to read and play music, and to prepare themselves for service in the churches. Fray Alonso de Borja, OSA, had been the spiritual director of both the hospital and the college, before he was sent to the land of the Otomís to repeat his civilizing task.

The growth and expansion of the Province brought with it new problems. The Father Provincial of Castile ordered in 1537 that no less than four friars reside in each monastery. In order to comply, the Augustinians in Mexico had to abandon the less important establishments and concentrate in the others. This temporarily reduced the convents in operation to five. But the work continued to grow. A year later Fray Juan de Oseguera was sent to Spain. He was successful in convincing the new Provincial, who had been cool towards the American venture because he felt that the Province of Castile was scattering its efforts and energies over too wide a field, of the need of more missionaries. Eleven new workers were sent shortly afterwards. Before returning Fray Juan de Oseguera obtained a great boon from the Emperor, one which benefited not only the Augustinians but all the religious Orders, as well as the secular clergy in New Spain and the rest of the American dominions. Henceforth the Emperor agreed to furnish as royal alms all the oil necessary for sanctuary lamps throughout his possessions and the wine required for all Masses said. This amounted to approximately 12,000 pesos in the case of the Dominicans, 25,000 to 30.000 in that of the Franciscans, and about 12,000 for the Augustinians that year. This munificence was in addition to the payment of all expenses connected with the transportation of missionaries to the New World, the essential church ornaments, and other aid granted the Orders to enable them to build new convents and churches.

The Mexican Province of the Most Holy Name continued

dependent upon that of Castile until 1543, when it was separated and the Vicar Provincial was replaced by a Provincial independent from that of Spain. Its status was contested for a number of years. Subsequent Castilian Provincials attempted to resume jurisdiction. The matter was argued for years, but it was definitely settled by a decree issued in Madrid in October 19, 1588, by Gregorio Elparensis, Prior General of the Order of St. Augustine, which declared the Mexican Province independent. This was registered in the Council of the Indies on January 25, 1589 and confirmed by Clement VIII on July 23, 1592.

In discussing the beginnings of missionary work by the Augustinians in Mexico it is necessary to go back and examine the resolutions adopted by their first Provincial Council in 1534, which served to establish the basic policies of the missionaries in dealing with the Indians, and their subsequent modifications. At the end of the first year in New Spain it was agreed that Baptism should always be administered to the natives in strict accordance with the provisions of the Church. Infants and children could be baptized on any Sunday, but adults only four times during the year : Easter Sunday, Christmas, Pentecoste and the Feast of St. Augustine, as previously noted. The administration of this important Sacrament was always to be accompanied with proper solemnity to impress upon those receiving it the significance of the act. With the exception of infants and persons in *articulo mortis*, those to whom the Sacrament was to be administered had to give evidence of having received instruction in the Christian doctrine. Children living in mission pueblos, therefore, were to be gathered daily after Mass in the patio or atrium in front of the Church and instructed by older Indians versed in the *doctrina*, so that they could be taught individually in small groups, using the Catechism of Fray Pedro de Gante for this purpose until Fray Agustín de la Coruña, OSA, finished writing his. It was likewise agreed that Baptism was to be refused to adults who, although instructed in the Faith, persisted in continuing to live in sin by keeping several wives. They had to agree to live with their first wife and put the others away before they could be baptized. The task of deciding in each individual case which of the wives was the first and convincing them to abandon or put away all the others proved most difficult.

Since Baptism was the crowning event in the conversion of the natives the day of its administration was always marked with

great solemnity and much rejoicing. On each of the four days during the year on which Baptism could be administered to adults the entire Indian pueblo and the church were ornamented with flowers and greens. All the candidates who had satisfied the requirements by giving evidence of their knowledge of the Faith took their place early in the morning in the long line of candidates, each dressed in his best clothes. At the appointed time two friars headed the procession formed in the Indian pueblo opposite to the church, with acolytes in their surplices carrying the Cross, candlesticks and Holy Water sprinklers. The procession entered the vestibule of the church and the candidates were led to the Baptistry, where the old Christians — those already baptized — were waiting with garlands of flowers to welcome the neophytes. One of the two friars that accompanied the procession assisted in the ceremony by anointing with the oil of Chrism each man and woman in the line, and the other baptized each one individually with water at the fount. Once they had received the oil of the catechumens, the salt, the waters of Baptism and the Chrism oil each one returned to his place in the line where he was greeted by the old Christians who placed a garland of flowers around his or her neck. Each one had a candle in his hand and when the ceremony had been completed all the candles were lit, the church bells rang a joyous peal, and the choir played and sang a song of praise as they all went into the church to attend Mass.

A special sermon was then preached on the significance of the Sacrament just received. The preacher took occasion to explain once more what constituted a Christian life and usually closed the sermon by enjoining them to observe always the Ten Commandments and the Precepts of the Church. The ceremony ended with the Mass. The baptized neophytes went home and returned that evening to sing the Rosary and take part in a big celebration that generally took place in the church atrium in the evening. The whole Indian pueblo usually turned out on such days and it is recorded that on occasions as many as 3,000 were baptized in a day. It is only thus that the rapid spread of Christianity among the natives can be explained.

It is but natural that in the years immediately following the conquest the zealous missionaries, in their sanguine desire to save as many souls as possible in the shortest time, shortened the prescribed ceremony of Baptism in order to meet what they con-

sidered an urgent emergency. Surrounded by thousands who clamored for the waters of Baptism, many of whom had been instructed as well as circumstances permitted to prepare them for admission to the Faith, the missionaries frequently had to limit the ceremony to the sprinkling of the candidates with Holy Water. The validity of the ceremony under the circumstances began to be questioned by serious theologians and scrupulous Christians. The matter was finally brought to the attention of the Pope himself. Paul III, wishing to allay the fears of many and legalize the actions of the earliest missionaries, issued the Bull *Apud Santum Petrum* in 1537, declaring that the missionaries who had baptized natives with water only, without observing the other requisites for Baptism as provided by the Church for its administration had not sinned and that those so baptized, if they had since led a Christian life were to be considered legitimate Christians. The Holy Father took occasion, however, to warn that after the promulgation of the new Bull, Baptism was not to be administered with water alone, and that all the requisites of the Sacrament had to be observed since the emergency had passed. Exceptions were to be allowed in such cases as the bishops declared unpostponable.

When the Bull of Paul III reached Mexico in 1538 four of the five bishops met in consultation to decide under what conditions simple Baptism with water could be administered. After considerable discussion, it was decided that persons prepared to receive the Sacrament who could not wait for the set dates for its administration with due ceremony because of illness, or the need of having to leave for distant regions, or go into battle, or to enter unexplored hostile territory, could be legitimately baptized with water only. In all other cases baptism was to be administered in full accord with the ritual prescribed by the Church. This ruling was consistently observed throughout Mexico by all missionaries after 1538.

Much more complicated was the matter of Christian marriage. The Augustinian missionaries very early adopted the custom of legalizing the marital status of the new converts to the Faith at the time of baptism. The practice was to have those who were baptized on one of the four appointed days married by the Church immediately after the baptismal ceremony, just before they attended the first Mass for the faithful. Missionary records give eloquent evidence of the infinite patience requied to convince the neophytes that they had to abandon all but one of their wives, and how

difficult it was to ascertain which of the wives was the legitimate one that should be kept by the prospective candidate as his lifelong companion, with whom he was thereafter to be bound « in sickness and in health, in poverty and in richness » until death. The matter inevitably presented most perplexing problems to which the memoirs and records of the early missionaries eloquently attest.

While discussing the matter of the administration of the Sacraments a word should be said concerning the stand taken by the Augustinians in regard to the Sacrament of Penance. All available contemporary accounts and records indicate that almost all the Indians upon receiving instruction and being baptized clamored for the Sacrament of Penance. Every *doctrina*, *confesionario*, and book of instructions prepared by the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives, althought written in various languages, all consistently have a large section devoted to the subject of how to hear confessions, what questions to ask, and how penance was to be imposed. It is likewise amazing how many begged to be allowed to receive Communion. The Augustinian chronicler cannot understand why so many objected. His opinion is that confession and penance are the specific medicine to cure the evil effects of sin, and that Communion is the food of the soul that gives it strength to recover from the results of the illness and power to resist temptation in the future through divine Grace. But there were many who held that the Indians should not be admitted to Communion, that they were like young children, incapable of understanding the divine mystery of the Consecrated Host ; that for the Indians the mere desire to receive the Blessed Sacrament was sufficient. Based on this reasoning Communion was denied to Christian Indians in Peru [2]). In New Spain such was not the case, in spite of the serious objections of some. Generally speaking, all the missionaries agreed rather early to give Communion to the natives. Particularly was this true of the Augustinians, whose learned and saintly Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz staunchly defended the right of Christian Indians that were well instructed, had been baptized, and had fulfilled the Sacrament of Penance, to be admitted to Communion.

In the Indian pueblos under the care of the Augustinians the season of Lent was the time for the Indians to receive Communion. Each Sunday in Lent large numbers of natives gathered in the pa-

[2]) The Provincial Council of Lima (Peru), 1558.

tios of the churches as early as seven in the morning, dressed in their best, some wearing wedding garments. There was no noisy rejoicing on these occasions, as on the days set aside for Baptism. While waiting to enter the church to hear Mass and receive Communion they maintained a respectful and solemn silence, meditating on the divine mystery, and spoke only in whispers. Before entering the church one of the missionaries would come out and ask them to kneel. They then repeated together out loud the prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas translated into the native tongue. Having completed the prayer, led by the missionary, they entered the church and during Mass listened to a sermon on the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. The altar was aglow, lighted with hundreds of candles. Four of the most prominent chiefs of the pueblo stood on either side of the altar with large candles of white wax in their hands. At the conclusion of the Mass they all said a prayer of thanks for the divine Grace received and remained in the church praying in silence, absorbed in meditation, for half an hour after the service. The communicants then went home quitely, still overcome by the solemnity of the Sacrament received. That day there was no fire lighted in the homes of the communicants and no food prepared. The neighbors brought the households of those who had received Communion all the food needed, and the communicants were the guests of honor at the table. In the afternoon many of them returned to the church to pray and give thanks separately, some visiting also all the churches and chapels in the city, sometimes making the Stations of the Cross.

As early as 1544, largely due to the initiative of the Augustinians, the Archbishop of Mexico and the Provincials of the various Orders met and formed the Holy Alliance or Union of all Religious — Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians — for the purpose of making the practices observed by the various missionaries in the administration of the Sacraments more uniform. A council was set up, which met regularly several times during the year in the different convents or monasteries indiscriminately to discuss mutual problems and matters of common interest. Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, OSA, became one of the chief advisors of the Union. Eventually the Bishop's residence in Mexico City became the official meeting place of the Union.

The fervent faith demonstrated by the neophytes and their almost monastic observance of religious feasts were not the result

of accident, nor of a miracle. Rather they were the result of the systematic and methodical application and diligence of the remarkable group of missionaries who came to America during the XVI century. As in the case of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, each church and chapel erected by the Augustinians for work among the natives had its school. From the beginning the children, as well as the adults, were given instruction in the Faith. With unerring good sense the friars realized the importance of teaching the young in particular. The missionary schools of the Augustinians were much more than our modern schools. The children were not only taught the fundamentals of religion but the practice of its teachings in everyday life. They learned how to read, write and count at the same time they were instructed in the *doctrina* and in the ways and customs of civilized men. The younger boys and girls were taught separately for two hours a day by elder Indians who had become well versed in the basic precepts of Christianity. The older students and adults were given manual training and the opportunity to learn different trades, being encouraged to practice them in the daily life of the community. They were taught to play music and how to make various string instruments, pipe organs and other wind instruments. Community singing was encouraged and the young and old joined every morning and evening in singing hymns and prayers. To encourage full participation Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz translated many of the hymns into the native tongue. Boys were also taught how to serve Mass and help in the various religious ceremonies in which they delighted to participate as acolytes.

To all these things was due the splendor and fervor with which Sundays and Feast Days were observed generally in all the Indian pueblos, the devout processions with Cross bearers and carriers of images and standards, the devout demonstrations of public penance and the long candlelit lines on baptismal days. The entire Indian congregation joined in singing vespers, the *Salve Regina*, the Rosary and the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Every Indian parish had its confraternities, its Purgatory Society to pray for the dead and many other charitable organizations. The Augustinians taught the neophytes to celebrate with special splendor the feasts of Christmas, Corpus Christi, the Holy Cross and S. Augustine, besides a strict observance of Holy Week.

The accomplishment of the attainments described constituted no easy task. Many were the Indians and many the tongues spoken

in the various regions where the Augustinian missionaries labored so faithfully. An idea of the language difficulty alone may be gathered from the fact that those who worked with Indians in New Spain had to learn not less than ten languages: Nahuatl, Otomí, Tarasca, Tlapaneca, Huasteca, Ocuilteca, Matlazinca, Totonaca, Misteca and Chichimec. To this list, imposing as it is, need be added eight other languages which the Augustinian missionaries who went to the Philippines were obliged to learn in order to accomplish their goal.

Barely had the Province of the Most Holy Name asserted its independence from that of Castile in 1543 and begun to make its way unsteadily, as a child that begins to walk, than there came to New Spain the *New Laws* outlining the novel policy of the Crown with regard to the treatment of the Indians throughout the Spanish possessions overseas, which were issued in Barcelona on November 20, 1542 and revised in Valladolid on June 4, 1543. They demanded that the Indians be allowed absolute freedom of action, the reduction of the term of all current encomiendas to the lifetime of the holders, and the annulment of those given to viceroys, governors, other royal officials, prelates, houses of religious, hospitals and other similar organizations. The *New Laws* were largely the result of representations made by many close to the King, who, moved by the impassioned account of the non-critical Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas, in regard to the plight of the Indians, insisted on immediate and radical remedial measures.

The consternation which the idealistic and impractical restrictions of the *New Laws* caused throughout the Spanish Empire overseas is well known. The reaction to the proposed changes was most violent. In Peru they caused the death of the viceroy and a general uprising under the Pizarros ; in Central America an outbreak was avoided by the suspension of their execution until the matter was reconsidered by the Court ; and in Mexico the Dominican brothers of Las Casas themselves argued against the violence which the new dispositions inflicted upon the old settlers. When Tello de Sandoval, royal commissioner sent by the emperor to put the Laws into effect, arrived in New Spain a Junta was called and, as in Central America, the enforcement of the *New Laws* was temporarily suspended. Among other things it was agreed that the Provincials of the three religious Orders: the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Augustinians go in person or send representatives

to discuss the matter with the emperor, who was then in Germany. The Augustinians sent their Provincial Fray Juan de San Román, accompanied by Fray Jorge de Avila, to join the others, leaving Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz as Acting Provincial in Mexico.

Upon their arrival in the German States they found them convulsed by the throes of the Lutheran revolt and in order to reach the emperor they were forced to assume civilian garb. After listening to their well reasoned request for a modification of the original Laws, Charles V granted their entreaty and a major catastrophe was avoided. The Augustinians, in full sympathy with the object of the *New Laws*, and always in favor of the welfare of the Indians, contributed their share to the solution of the most serious problem faced by Spain in its colonies to that day, one which threatened he loss of the Kingdom of the Indies, by urging prudence.

The faithful chronicler of the Augustinians, Fray Juan de Grijalva, points out in his remarkable account of the early years that the middle 1540's were stormy and trying years indeed. Early in 1543 the volcano of Tlaxcala erupted, tinging the skies for miles with the red glow of its incandescent lava flow, Popocatepetl sent up an ominous cloud of dust and smoke, and a comet with its luminous tail appeared in the heavens. These omens of evil were followed the next year by the breaking out of the greatest epidemic known in the land of the Aztecs, the *Cocoliztli*, an illness that killed, according to contemporary accounts, more than half of the Indian population in New Spain, desolating the whole country and sweeping away entire families overnight. Augustinian missionaries worked night and day to ease the sufferings of the dying and furnish them all the comforts of religion. In the midst of all these troubles the Province of the Most Holy Name was born and the Friars of St. Augustine bravely carried on.

A few years later when the country had recovered from its trials and tribulations the Augustinians took a prominent part in the most significant episode in the cultural history of the Americas, the founding of the Royal and Pontifical University of New Spain. Acceding to the urgent and repeated requests of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, Bishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga and the Ayuntamiento of Mexico City Charles V issued a decree on September 21, 1551, which read:

In order to serve God and the public welfare of our kingdoms, it is convenient that our vassals and natural subjects have univer-

sities and centers of general studies where they may be instructed in all the sciences and faculties. We, therefore, because of our great love and our desire to favor and honor those who live in our Indies, and in order to banish the darkness of ignorance forever, hereby create, establish, and order to be founded in the City of Lima, of the Kingdom of Peru, and in the City of Mexico, of New Spain, a university or center of general studies in each respectively, and it is our will to grant to all those persons that may be graduated in the said universities the enjoyment of all the privileges and exemptions in our Indies, Islands, and Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, now enjoyed by those who are graduated by the University of Salamanca [3]).

One thousand pesos of gold annually were granted for its maintenance out of the royal treasury, in addition to the revenue derived from the stock ranches donated by Viceroy Mendoza for the purpose.

Not until January 25, 1553 on the Feast of St. Paul did the inauguration of the oldest university in North America take place. The Viceroy in gala dress, the entire Audiencia in full uniform, the highest officials and magistrates of the realm, and the Provincials of the three religious Orders, accompanied by many friars, went on that day to the Church of St. Paul of the Augustinians to hear a High Mass sung to the Holy Spirit that He might enlighten them in the election of a rector and a chancellor in accord with the royal order. It is worthy of note that the faculty was selected from men of letters residing in Mexico at the time. Not one was brought from Spain to fill a single chair. The first professor of scholastic theology elected was no other than Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, OSA, of whom Cervantes de Salazar said : « He is the most eminent master of arts and theology in the land... In him virtue competes with the most exquisite and admirable doctrine ». Three of his books were adopted as the first college texts used in America, his *Physica speculatio, Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis* and *Recognitio summularum* [4]).

For the record it may be well to note the names of other Augustinians who served on the faculty of the first university during

[3]) John Tate LANNING, ed., *Reales Cédulas de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico de 1551 a 1816* (Mexico Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), 293.

[4]) Copies of the first editions, all printed first in Mexico, are in the University of Texas Library.

its first half century. Fray Martín de Perea, professor of theology ; Fray Melchor de Los Reyes, professor of Scripture and theology ; Fran José de Herrera, professor of theology, Hebrew and Greek ; Fray Juan Adriano, professor of theology ; Fray Juan de Mora, professor of theology, Hebrew and Greek ; Fray Pedro Suárez de Escobar ; Fray Francisco Martínez, theologian and linguist ; Fray Pedro de Agurto, who became Bishop of Cebú ; Fray Antonio Delgadillo, professor of Holy Scripture ; Fray Esteban de Salazar, who wrote an extensive discourse on the *Credo* and later became a Cartusian ; Fray Juan de Contreras, professor of arts ; Fray Diego de Contreras, professor of Holy Scripture, who later became Archbishop of Santo Domingo ; Fray Gonzalo de Hermosillo, who became Bishop of Guadiana ; and Fray Bartolomé Pacho, professor of theology in 1623.

Among the many achievements of the Augustinians in New Spain during that glorious XVI century of heroic attainments the greatest perhaps was their contribution to the discovery of the return route from the Philippines because of its far-reaching consequences. It made possible the permanent occupation of the islands, their conversion to Christianity, the establishment of trade and commerce with the Far East, and, in a way, realized for Spain the dream that had induced Queen Isabella to sponsor Columbus in his first voyage. Discovered by Magellan in 1521, the Philippines were visited by many others after his unfortunate death and the return of the survivors to Spain by completing the first circumnavigation of the globe, a feat which Magellan had not purposely set out to accomplish, Almost all were successful in reaching the islands by sailing west from New Spain but those who did were unable, try as they might, to return to the west coast of America. They were invariably forced to continue around the world, frequently falling into the hands of the Portugueuse as they treaded their way through the Molucca Islands to continue acoss the Indian Ocean to reach Spain ultimately by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

With the years, Philip II had become increasingly anxious to occupy permanently the islands named in his honor. This was an impossibility, however, unless a way back to Mexico across the Pacific could be found. As long as the Portuguese held the Moluccas and East Indies they constituted a dangerous and embarrassing obstacle to free navigation back to Spain. It did not seem logical that the Spaniards should have to go all the way around the world

and face such a risk in order to return to Spain. If a route could be discovered to return from the Philippines to the west coast of Mexico, the road to the distant islands on the doorstep of the riches of the East would lay secure within Spanish-controlled lands and seas.

There lived in Mexico at the time a humble Augustinian friar, Andrés de Urdaneta, an experienced soldier, sailor and missionary. He had commanded men in days past on both sea and land and had attained recognition for his knowledge of navigation and his scientific curiosity. It is said that before he entered the Order of St. Augustine in Mexico he had worked out a theory concerning tropical hurricanes, having pointed out that the wind blew not from all sides but in a general counter-clockwise direction, forming a great circle ; that once the wind began to circle it steadily gained momentum as it advanced. In the Italian wars he had attained distinction as a soldier for his courage and bravery. He had sailed across the Pacific with García de Loaysa and had been to the Philippines, but like others he had been forced to return by way of India back to Spain after suffering captivity for a while among the Portuguese in the Moluccas. He had not wasted his time while in the distant area. He had learned the most common dialects of the Malayan Archipelago, he had observed the heavens and learned a good deal about cosmography as well as astrology and made many other observations that were to stand him in good stead when under oath of obedience from his Superior he abandoned his cell in 1564 to return to the Philippines for the express purpose of finding a way back to Mexico across the Pacific by sailing east from the islands.

After serving for a while with Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala and later in Peru, he came to Mexico and helped to pacify the province of Nueva Galicia. He then turned down an offer to accompany an expedition to the Philippines oganized by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza under the command of Ruy López de Villalobos in 1542. It appears that it was at this time that he came in contact with the four zealous Augustinian missionaries: frays Gerónimo de San Esteban, Nicolás de Perea, Alonzo de Alvarado and Sebastián de Reyna that were appointed to accompany Villalobos. The seeds that were to fructify into his vocation were perhaps planted at this time. His friendship with the saintly Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Archbishop of Mexico, and his association with the Brotherhood of the

Most Holy Name of Jesus, then under the direction of the Augustinians, contributed no doubt to his changed outlook on life that cooled his martial and adventurous spirit. Be that as it may, the capable navigator, determined soldier and adventurous gentleman, Andrés de Urdaneta, finally decided to enter the Order of St. Augustine in 1552, his ardor for wealth and glory now gone. Little did he realize that his very renunciation of the world would bring him everlasting renown.

Don Luis de Velasco, the Elder, who followed Don Antonio de Mendoza as viceroy, became a personal friend of fray Urdaneta and frequently indulged in long conversations with him in regard to the Philippines and the Far East. Interested in expanding the viceroyalty and contributing to the spread of Christianity, it seems that the viceroy wrote a letter to Philip II calling attention to the possibility of making a new effort to reestablish contact with the Philippines and possibly discovering a return route through the services of the former sailor and soldier. Fray Urdaneta's vivid and enthusiastic accounts of his former visit and the splendors of the East had stimulated Viceroy Velasco.

Philip II welcomed the suggestion and before long on September 24, 1559 he wrote Viceroy Velasco: « I command you to send two vessels of the necessary size, with the crew you may deem advisable to undertake the discovery suggested », and he added, « I further order and command that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta go on this expedition and do whatever you may request in all of which he will be serving God, Our Lord, and pleasing me ». The wishes of the king were made known to the Provincial of the Augustinians, who ordered the reluctant Fray Urdaneta, under obedience, to give his assistance to the viceroy in planning the expedition, go along as consultant, and be in charge of the five other Augustinians who were to accompany him to begin the conversion and civilization of the natives in the Philippines. The other Augustinian named were: frays Martín de Rada, noted theologian who had some knowledge of astronomy and remained in the Islands as a missionary until his death ; Diego de Herrera, who likewise remained as a missionary until 1576, when he was sent to report the progress made personally to the King in Spain and died at sea on the way back from Spain to Mexico ; Andrés de Aguirre, who spent the rest of his life in the Philippines, twice circumnavigating the globe by returning to Spain and going back to the Philippines

by way of Mexico, a record for those days in sea travel ; Lorenzo Ximénez, who died at the port of La Navidad shortly before the expedition sailed ; and Pedro de Gamboa, noted missionary.

With characteristic humility Fray Urdaneta aknowledged the order of the King directly: « Your command I fortwith obey as coming from my King and Lord... My age, which is fifty two, my present broken state of health, and the many hardships I have undergone since my youth dictate that I should spend what little is left of my life in the quiet and calm of the convent, but mindful of the great zeal of Your Majesty in all that concerns the service of Our Lord and the spread of His Holy Catholic Faith, I have made ready for the journey ordered. May God, Our Lord, guard and keep Your Royal Person for the preservation and increase of His kingdoms and glory ». Thus, he resigned himself to his fate and made preparations to serve as best he could the wishes of his sovereign, convinced in his heart that they were directed to the spread of the Faith [5]).

Five years elapsed before the orders of the King were carried out. Viceroy Velasco, who had made the preparations for its success so carefully, died on July 31, 1564, four months before the expedition set out under the command of Miguel López de Legaspi. At three in the morning, on November 21, 1564, it sailed with the tide from the port of La Navidad, located a few miles from the present port of Manzanillo. The crews of the two ships and the two smaller vessels sang the *Salve Regina* led by the Augustinian missionaries. Two hundred soldiers, one hundred and fifty sailors and some fifty servants, besides the five missionaries, set out on the great adventure, fervently invoking divine guidance. The sealed orders were not opened as per instructions until four days later when they were a hundred leagues out at sea. The captain was to proceed, weather permitting, directly to the Philippines. The course was set due west quarter southwest and thus they continued across the broad Pacific until they reached the island of Guam in the southern extremity of the Ladrones, now the Marianas, on Febuary 3, 1565. Although Fray Urdaneta suggested that a temporary base for further exploration be established on the island, it

[5]) The letter dated Mexico, May 28, 1560, is cited by Mariano CUEVAS, SJ, in *Monje y Marino. La Vida y Los Tiempos de Fray Andrés de Urdaneta* (Mexico, Editorial Galatea, 1943), 186-187.

was decided to continue directly to the Philippines as ordered. Ten days later the expedition reached its goal and made its first landing on Samar Island in 13° north latitude.

The next day formal possession was taken and the exploration of the archipelago was begun. From the hostile natives, whom Legaspi and his companions treated with unusual kindness and patience in spite of their treacherous actions, they learned of the island of Mindanao where they were told there was much gold and cinnamon. After a month on Samar and Leyte the expedition followed the strait of Bohol and made its way to Cebu, having previously named the bay between Samar and Leyte San Pedro. By the end of Lent, it was decided to make a permanent settlement in Cebu. A council was held shortly afterwards in which it was decided that is was time for turning over a vessel to Fray Urdaneta that he might proceed to find a way back to New Spain as per instructions. The occupation had been effected, its permanency depended on the successful return of Father Urdaneta.

The old mariner and missionary immediately began preparations and personnally supervised the caulking of the flagship of the expedition, the *San Pedro*. A supply of rice, oats, wheat, chickpeas, oil, vinegar and wine was put aboard sufficient for the return trip, besides 200 barrels of fresh water. The conscientious friar likewise gave his attention to the spiritual interests of the enterprise by designating Fray Diego de Herrera his successor as prior of the Augustinians in the Philippines. To find a person who could substitute for him as general interpreter, a capacity in which Urdaneta's knowledge of the Malayan dialects had proved invaluable, proved more difficult. A Mexican Indian, a native of Santiago de Tlaltelolco, who had accompanied Villalobos in 1543 and spent several years in the islands before he returned with other survivors by way of Spain was named interpreter because of his knowledge of some of the dialects of the natives. When everything was ready Legaspi and his principal captains accompanied to the seashore Fray Urdaneta and captain Felipe Salcedo, grandson of Legaspi, in command of the *San Pedro*. Fray Andrés de Aguirre, the inseparable companion of Urdaneta, accompanied the aging missionary. Before sailing they were given a sealed letter for the King.

We have manifested and made known to Your Majesty, with the faith and loyalty that has always governed us, the great need in which we are of the help which Your Majesty will deign to

provide shortly, considering the need of it for further activity, so much desired by us to serve God Our Lord and Your Majesty.

The great service which the venerable Fray Andrés de Urdaneta has rendered God, Our Lord, and Your Majesty is worthy of your mercy and reward. He has illumined both spiritually and temporally everything that has come up during this voyage, there being no person in this expedition to show us the light other than himself. Because of this we plead and beg with all humility of Your Majesty as loyal vassals and officers of this outpost that you reward him as his merits deserve.

Legaspi, all his officers, and the principal men of the expedition, unbeknown to Fray Urdaneta, paid him this spontaneous and genuine tribute.

The *San Pedro* set out on the return trip under full sail from the port of Cebu on June 1, 1565 and followed steadily a northeastern course, treading its way out of the Philippines and entering the zone of the northeast tradewinds, which in July blow due north from the Philippines. They had now entered the Kuro Shiwo or Japanese current, which enabled them more easily to incline their course to the east as they proceeded. They went on north of the Marianas and continued to 36° north latitude, entering the belt of the Westerlies opposite Japan. Both wind and current combined now to push the daring Urdaneta and his crew slowly but surely eastward until on September 26, almost four months after they first set out from Cebu they came in sight of the west coast of North America in the vicinity of present San Francisco, somewhere between 36° and 38° north latitude. They now changed their course to the southeast and, following along the West Coast, they painfully made their way to the port of La Navidad. According to the Log, they had traveled 1,892 leagues from the port of Cebu to La Navidad. Urdaneta gave instructions to continue southeastward to Acapulco, where the ship arrived at last on Monday, October 8, 1565. Only eighteen men were capable of helping handle the ship as it entered the port, and Fray Urdaneta, weak from the illness that had almost decimated the crew by the time they eached the West Coast, helped to cast the anchor.

On the way back both the pilot and the captain died at sea before the West Coast was sighted, besides fourteen crewmen. Scurvy had incapacitated almost all the men. By the time the ship arrived in Acapulco, it seemed to be manned by ghosts that moved

eerily and uncertain as they let down the sails and dropped anchor. In spite of hardships and illness, Fray Urdaneta had kept a careful Log and drawn a detailed map and chart, distinctly marking the prevalent winds and currents, the point at which land was sighted, and the entire western coastline of North America. Capes and landfalls on the way down to Acapulco were all clearly indicated. Although most of the West Coast had been previously explored, the merit of the chart of Fray Urdaneta lies in the fact that it marked the course all the way from Cebu northeastward to the belt of the westerlies and east to the West Coast, following the Japanese current to the point where a part of it turns southward in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay and down to Acapulco. His chart was utilized by all mariners for over a century and many a Spanish galleon successfully made its way back to New Spain loaded with the riches of the East guided by the route so carefully and accurately laid down by the great Augustinian sailor and missionary.

It has been suggested that some day a bronze statue should be erected in the port of Acapulco, Mexico, to Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, missionary and mariner, facing the broad Pacific, with a Cross in his right hand held next to his breast, his eyes fixed imploringly upon Heaven, and his left hand resting on an anchor.

Frays Urdaneta and Aguirre set out for Mexico City immediately to report to the viceroy their successful return and were received everywhere with great rejoicing. After making his report to the viceregal officials, Fray Urdaneta rested in Mexico until December, at which time the distinguished Augustinian left for Spain. The numerous tributes and distinctions shown him while in Spain did not turn his mind. The humble Augustinian had no desire to obtain honors or distinctions. He only longed to return to Mexico, where he finally found rest in the old Convent of *San Agustín*. He was there by Lent of 1567. Too old and worn out at sixty to go back to the Philippines to renew his missionary endeavors, he chose to remain in Mexico, where for a whole year he rendered invaluable service as the confidential advisor of the new viceroy in fostering the evangelizaion and civilization of the countless natives in the distant Philippines. He could take his leisure now, comforted by the fact that in discovering through his daring and faith the route back to New Spain, he had made possible the conversion of countless natives on the front door of the fabled

East. He died in the Convent of *San Agustín* in the City of Mexico on June 3, 1568, sixteen years after he had professed in the Order.

The Augustinians, who first came to the great metropolis of the conquered Aztec Empire in 1533, had in half a century spread their missionary endeavors successfully from the Central Valley of Mexico south and west to the shores of the Pacific ; they had contributed powerfully to the cultural life of New Spain in the founding of the first attempted college of major studies in Tiripitío ; they had cooperated effectively in the first Utopian experiments of Vasco de Quiroga ; they had taken a most active part in the establishment of the Royal and Pontifical University of New Spain, the oldest in the Americas ; and they had been instrumental in realizing at long last the dream of Columbus and of the Spanish Crown, the finding of a practical route to the Far East by discovering the return route. This great achievement of Fray Andrés de Urdaneta made possible the successful conversion of the Philippines and the carrying of the Faith to the Far East, as well as bringing back to New Spain and the West the fabled wealth of China and Japan. They had laid the foundations for the uninterrupted work of the Augustinians in the New World and across the Pacific that enabled them to erect permanent monuments to the Roman Catholic Faith and to Christian culture in their exquisite and imposing temples and their ivy covered colleges and universities that mark their parth from Mexico to the Philippines.

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An Unpublished Manuscript Containing Statistics and Biographical Notes Concerning the Augustinians in Mexico c. 1595

In the Biblioteca Angelica, located in the former monastery of St. Augustine in Rome, there is a small sixteenth century manuscript book entitled : *Formularium pro iis qui sunt a secretis ordinis* [1]). At the end of the volume are inserted a number of papers, one of which gives statistics on the Augustinians in New Spain ; it consists of two small pages (nos. 106 and 107) written in Latin. There is no date, but the writer, Agustín de Carvajal, became the Spanish assistant general in 1595. The manuscript must have been written around that year as a report on the friars and foundations in Mexico. This conjecture is confirmed by its contents. Carvajal speaks of the burial place of Pedro Suárez de Escobar, Bishop-elect of Guadalajara, who had died in 1591. Furthermore, Agustín de Carvajal refers to himself as « Magister », a title awarded to him by the Augustinian general at the conclusion of the chapter of 1592. On the other hand, he mentions only one province in Mexico ; therefore, he must have written previous to 1602, the date of the foundation of the second province, that of Michoacán. This manuscript is both interesting and valuable, not only for statistics, but also for biographical notes on some of the outstanding Augustinians in New Spain in the sixteenth century. The information given by Carvajal can be considered as accurate ; he had many years of

[1]) MS 958. Cf. H. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica*, I (Rome, 1893), 404. Here the No. of the MS is R. 5. 9.

experience in the missions of Mexico, served as secretary to Pedro Suárez de Escobar when the latter was provincial, and held several high positions in his order.

Agustín de Carvajal was a controversial as well as an outstanding figure in Augustinian history in the last years of the sixteenth century. Born of a noble Mexican family in Guadalajara, he and his brother Diego were the first Augustinian novices received at the monastery in that city [2]). Agustín later went to Spain to study at Salamanca. He subsequently became very much involved in the confusion surrounding the juridical status of the new Augustinian province in Mexico [3]). As discrete to the general chapter held in Rome in 1592, Carvajal spoke for those friars in Mexico who sought to establish a separate province, free from the authority of the Spanish provincial and subject immediately to the general in Rome. Urged on by Carvajal, and against the wishes of the Spanish religious and civil authorities, the fathers of the general chapter created a separate province in Mexico. Again at the urging of Fray Agustín, the general, Andrea Fivizzani, sought to have this action of the chapter confirmed by Pope Clement VIII. A brief to that effect was given at Rome on July 24, 1592. Agustín de Carvajal promptly dispatched a copy of the brief to Mexico, thus precluding any intervention by Philip II or the Spanish provincial.

This influence exercised by Carvajal in Rome has been criticized by some [4]), but at least it is clear that his interest in Augustinian affairs in Mexico was wholehearted and sincere. His efforts in Rome, moreover, were appreciated by the general who, at the end of the chapter of 1592, awarded him the title of Master of Sacred Theology. Carvajal's influence at Rome continued, for he became the assistant general for the Spanish-speaking provinces of his order in 1595. In 1605 he was chosen for the bishopric of Panama, and in 1612 advanced to the See of Guamanga in the Kingdom of Peru. Agustín de Carvajal died around 1620.

Following is the text of Carvajal's report on Mexico :

[2]) D. BASALENQUE, *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán* (2nd. ed.; Mexico, 1886), Bk. 1, p. 413. Tomás DE HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid, 1644), I, 48.

[3]) A. ENNIS, *Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O. S. A.*, in *Augustiniana*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Louvain: August, 1955), 258-259.

[4]) *Ibid.* Cf. note 268.

In Provincia Mexicana ordinis sancti Augustini sunt septuaginta duo conventus in una provincia quae nominis Jesu nominatur.

Conventus s. Augustini in civitate Mexicana habet centum quinquaginta fratres, est conventus regius structus expensis regis catholici Filipi [5]).

In conventu civitatis angelorum s. Augustini, habitant sexaginta fratres.

In conventu civitatis Guayangareo habitant quadraginta.

In conventu S. Mariae de gratia civitatis Guadalaxarae habitant vigintiquinque.

In conventu S. Augustini de Guajaca habitant viginti.

In conventu de Cacatecas habitant viginti fratres.

In aliis duobus vel tribus conventibus provinciae, sustudia (sic) sunt fratrum tam artium et theologiae, quam grammaticae et rhetorices (sic).

In collegio D. Pauli habitant triginta fratres theologi in civitate Mexicana. Et ultra hoc studium, semper in Conventu S. Augustini Mexicano sunt studentes et lectores tam grammaticae quam artium et theologiae.

In aliis conventibus habitant quatuor vel quinque fratres. Sunt indorum quantitatem (sic) qui eis administrant Sacramenta et instruunt in fide catholica illos noviter conversos.

Omnes isti sunt conventus habentes claustra, et oficiales et ministros requisitos ad observantiam.

Pater venerabilis fr. Franciscus de Lacius. Primus Fundator illius provinciae. Sepultus est in s. Augustino de Mexico, fuit eximius in doctrina et religionis observantia [6]).

Fr. Joanes Baptista acerrima penitentia domavit carnem suam, resplenduit vivens aliquibus miraculis, ab omnibus hatur (sic) beatus,

[5]) The original monastery was destroyed by fire in 1676; it was replaced by a more grandiose structure a short time later. The monastery is today the National Library in Mexico City. The history of the early years of this principal Augustinian foundation in Mexico can be seen in the work cited above in note 3. Cf. Vol. 5, Nos. 1-2 (April, 1955), pp. 74-75; Vol. 5, No. 4 (December, 1955), pp. 371-377.

[6]) Francisco de la Cruz. All the early writers refer to him as « Pater Venerabilis »; he had been the leader of the first group of seven Augustinian missionaries who came to New Spain in 1533. A few years later, during a visit to Spain, he persuaded the noted Alonso de la Vera Cruz to come to the missions. He died July 12. 1536. Cf. biography in HERRERA, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

sepultus est in conventu S. Augustini de Guyangareo, principaliter coluit ieiunium [7]).

Fr. Antonius de Roa fuit vita inculpabili, in omnibus 6 feriis quadragessimae ad columnam ligatus in conspectu millearium indorum crudelissime flagellabatur.

Fr. sepultus est in conventu Sancti Augustini de Totolapa [8]).

Fr. Didacus de Vertavillo. Fuit vitae admirabilis et regulae Sancti Augustini observantissimus, sepultus est in sancto Augustino de Mexico. Provincialis fuit bis, et prior in Mexico conventu multoties [9]).

R.mus fr. Petrus Suares descobar ellectus episcopus Guadalaxarae. Viginti octo anis (sic) ante mortem suam abstinuit se a carnibus, piscibus et ovis, non manducabat nisi semel in die, nec bibebat vinum. Super nudam tabulam dormiebat, semper usus fuit cilicio et disciplina, etiam cum esset provincialis sine intermissione alicuius diei. Quod testis ego M. fr. Augustinus carvajal eius socius indignus fui [10]).

[7]) Juan Bautista de Moya. Born at Jaén, *ca.* 1504, he made his profession at Salamanca in 1523, Dec. 20. One of the most noted of the early missionaries, his memory is still revered for his work in Tierra Caliente, an insalubrious region which had been avoided by earlier missionaries. He spoke the Otomí language, one of the most difficult of the Indian tongues, and he must have known at least one other language since Otomí was not spoken in Tierra Caliente. Juan Bautista died Dec. 21, 1567, at Guayangareo (Morelia). Cf. R. RICARD, *Un document sur les Augustins*, in *Etudes et documents* (Louvain, 1930), pp. 135-151, No. 69. G. DE SANTIAGO VELA, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de S. Agustín*, 8 Vols. (Madrid and El Escorial, 1913-1931), V, 653-654. J. GONZÁLEZ DE LA PUENTE, *Primera parte de la crónica augustiniana de Mechoacán* (2nd ed.; Mexico, 1907), Bk. II, chaps. i-xxii. N. P. NAVARRETE, *Fray Juan Bautista Moya* (Mexico, 1938).

[8]) Antonio de Roa. A friar noted for great asceticism, he was professed at Burgos in 1529 and came to Mexico in 1536. He died Sept. 14, 1563. Cf. RICARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-151, No. 16. J. DE GRIJALVA, *Crónica de la Orden de N. S. P. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España 1533-1592* (Mexico, 1624), Bk. II, chaps. xx-xxiii.

[9]) Diego Rodríguez de Vertavillo. Born at Vertavillo (Palencia) in 1513, he was professed at Valladolid or Burgos. He came to Mexico in 1539 and was appointed master of professed in Mexico City that same year. Cf. RICARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-151, No. 32.

[10]) Pedro Suárez de Escobar, de Medellín. Born at Medellín, he came to Mexico as a very young child. At the age of 13 he entered the Augustinian Order and was professed in Mexico City June 2, 1541. He was a doctor of the University

M. Illefonsus avera cruce. Homo doctissimus in utroque iure et teologus vixit fere 80 anis (sic). Religionem nostram gubernavit quadraginta, atque eam ingressus est etatis suae anno 38, bis episcopatum oblatum sibi a rege Filipo reliquit, sepultus est in conventu S. Augustini de Mexico [11]).

R.mus fr. Johannes de Medina Rincon. Episcopus Mechuacanensis. In religione munus prioris et provincialis admirabili prudentia gessit. Vixit in episcopatu annis undecim, omnia sua singulo quoque ano (sic) pauperibus distribuebat, et propinqus (sic) morti lectum in quo iacebat cuidam pauperi donavit, ac dixit : testamentum nullum facio, quia pauper Christi non habeo unde faciam, nec possum dicere super terram aliquid esse meum. A fratribus et clericis quos secum habebat, obnixe petiit, ut mortuum ne illum tunica spoliarent, sed non obediendo, invenerunt cilicium acerrimum, quo semper utebatur. In processionibus, quae fiebant propter pestem et aquae necessitatem, nudis pedibus ambulabat. Episcopatum multoties reliquit, et nunquam rex catholicus renunciationem acceptare voluit. Sepultus in sua eclesia Mechuacanensi [12]).

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of Mexico and taught Sacred Scripture there. Fray Pedro was chosen for the see of Guadalajara in 1590, but died a year later at Tlayacapan. Cf. RICARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-151, No. 83. M. CUEVAS, *Documentos inéditos* (Mexico, 1914), p. xvii.

[11]) Alonso de la Vera Cruz. The manuscript says here that Fray Alonso was 38 when he entered the Augustinian Order, but Carvajal should have written 28. Vera Cruz was born in 1507 and entered the order in 1536 shortly after his arrival in New Spain. He had been previously a member of the secular clergy and professor at Salamanca. He was one of the most prominent figures in that period of Mexican history, providing leadership in ecclesiastical, civil and educational affairs. Vera Cruz died in 1584. A complete biography can be found in the study cited above in note 3.

[12]) Juan de Medina Rincón. Born probably in Segovia, he was professed in Mexico City May 6, 1543. Nominated for the see of Michoacán in 1573, he died in 1588. Cf. RICARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-151, No. 55. GONZÁLEZ DE LA PUENTE, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chaps. xxiii-xxxii.

Augustinian Historians of the XVIIth Century

The seventeenth century was a golden era of Augustinian historiography. The works of Empoli, Torelli, Lubin and especially Herrera are still indispensable. The accounts of missionary labors by Gaspar of St. Augustine, Manrique, Calancha and Grijalva have become classics in their field [1]). The variety of Augustinian historiography in the seventeenth century presents a fertile field for scholarship. In this article, however, we shall consider above all the methods which the outstanding historians used to obtain the material for a general history of the Order.

1. *The Bullarium (Empoli and Torelli)*

The first important publication of the century was the *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini... ab Innocentio III usque ad Urbanum VIII* (Romae 1628). The editor was

[1]) Gaspar de SAN AGUSTIN wrote *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* I (Madrid 1698), II (Valladolid 1890).

Sebastian MANRIQUE, *Itinerario de las Missiones... en varias Missiones del India Oriental* (Rome 1649). Newly edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1927. *Vide* M. COLLIS, *The land of the great image. Being experiences of Friar Manrique in Arakan* (New York 1943).

Antonio de la CALANCHA gave us the important *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru* (Barcelona 1638); re-ed. La Paz 1939. Translated into French (Toulouse 1653) and adapted into Latin by J. Brulius (Antwerpen 1652).

Juan de GRIJALVA, *Cronica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de la Nueva España 1533-1592* (Mexico 1624 and 1924).

We do not mention the rich literature concerning Alexius Menezes, archbishop of Goa and Viceroy of Portugal, and his conversion of the Malabar Christians. We also pass over the histories of the individual houses and provinces, a prerequisite for a reliable general history.

the procurator general Lawrenci Orsacchi, who is better known to most readers as Lawrence of Empoli († 1632). This work served principally practical purposes and is woefully inadequate from the historical point of view [2]). We have been able to find, for instance, 83 bulls by Innocent IV and 138 by Alexander IV, while Empoli lists 19 and 33 respectively. His goal, however, was not a complete collection of papal documents, but a compendium of the rights and privileges of the Order [3]). Only in a few instances did he include documents of purely historical interest. All of Empoli's documents were taken from originals or authentic transumpts in the archives of the prior general ; his transcription is careful, but his chronology is sometimes deficient.

Repeated efforts to publish a comprehensive Bullarium [4]) have

[2]) D. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* III (Florence 1935) 39.

[3]) Empoli's attitude dates back to the editor of the first summary of papal privileges (ca 1345) who wrote: « Quaedam alia privilegia habet Ordo spectantia ad aliqua singula loca, sicut de loco St. Triphonis de Urbe et de Cardineto et hujusmodi, quorum notitia communitati Ordinis non multum est necessarium »: *Analecta Augustiniana* IV, 421. We shall cite this work as AA.

[4]) In Lyon appeared AD 1680 *Constitutiones apostolicae ad Ordinem FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini spectantes, quae post impressionem Bullarii ejusdem Ordinis editae fuerunt.* A century later Jerome Colinas wrote *Compendio de las bulas concedidas a la Orden de N. P. S. Agustin* (Burgos 1757). The greatest effort was put forth under the generals Augustine Gioia (1745-51) and Francis Vazquez (1751-84). Their efforts are described in AA V, 281. Gioia received excellent cooperation from Germany and Spain, but little from France. Vazquez engaged Monsignor Garampi, the famous Prefect of the Papal Archives. In Fondo Agostiniani *ibidem*, Pacco 2, fasc. 3 is entitled *Indices in collectionibus Arch. Vat. circa documenta ad OESA spectantia.* They give, according to Father Benignus van Luijk, only the places where the documents can be found and then only those of Libri Coll. Camerae Ap. tom. 2-203 and in the Registra et epistolae secretae from Clement V to Paul III. Whether Garampi delivered any copies to the Order is not known. Three large volumes of copies from the Papal Archives, however, are now kept as MSS 1314, 1315, 1316 in the former main library of the Order, the Angelica in Rome. They contain bulls from Alexander IV to Benedict XIII. Another valuable collection in the same library is MS 1390 which contains copies from the originals in the archives of the Order in Italy, especially from Milan (St. Mark's), Bologna (St. James) and Lecceto, Pisa, Lucca, Munich and Prague. Father van Luijk also regards the collection by Didacus Salinas as very important. It was made in the 18th century and is preserved in the archives of the prior general in Rome, and in the State Archives of Rome: Corporazioni Religiose, Convento S. Agostino Busta 2, fascicolo 4: Decreti di papa Alessandro IV 1254-1261.

The earliest official summary (of 1345) was republished in AA IV, 417-423

failed to this hour. Louis Torelli, however, in the large eight volumes of his *Secoli Agostiniani* (Bologna 1667-1686) has done much to fill the gaps left by Empoli. Unfortunately August Potthast overlooked Torelli's superior collection when he compiled his *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum* (Berolini 1874).

Torelli gives the location of almost every document thus making it evident that he consulted most of the important archives of the Order in Italy. In volume IV he quotes 38 previously unpublished bulls [5]) taken from 15 different archives. He missed, however, many bulls in ultramontane countries because his travels outside of Italy were restricted to one short visit to Avignon. He missed many more through his inability to gain access to the papal archives in Rome [6]).

Torelli's unflagging industry, which finally cost him his sight, has seldom been equalled. He was the greatest collector of documents in Augustinian history. If he had possessed the critical eye and technical polish of the trained diplomatist, he would have no doubt become an historian of outstanding merit.

Torelli's work is not a book of annals, but a collection of documents arranged according to years with a commentary appended to almost every documents. It exhibits scarcely a hint of the basic annalistic intention, which would be to epitomize all the important events of each year. It shows rather the critical and sometimes argumentative temper of the commentator. Like all Augustinian historians of his day, Torelli wanted to prove the continuity between the monastic foundations of St. Augustine in Africa and

and that of 1481 in AA V, 277 sqq. The efforts of D. Perini at the beginning of the 20th century are described in AA V, 324 sqq. The outstanding diplomatist of the Order during the last decades has been Saturnino Lopez, who has published many of his findings in AA. His remaining MSS would fill several volumes.

Some codices little used until now are Cod. G. XI. 35 (sec. 15) in the Biblioteca communale of Siena and clm 23590 and 8491, in the State Library of Munich. Father Luijk adds: OLIVA N., OESA, *Commentaria in Bullarium OESA* (sec. 17): Siena, Bibl. Comm. G. V. 41; Privilegia OSA, MSS 33 and 93 in the Biblioteca Governativa, Cremona and Registro e trascrizione di bolle a favore degli Eremitani di S. Agostino (sec. 15): Ms. II, I, 339 in the Bibl. Nazionale Centrale of Florence.

[5]) Many more were added in the appendices of the following volumes.

[6]) « ... nel grande archivio del Vaticano; mà non havendo noi potuto mai havere l'ingresso entro di quello, tutto che con ogni nostra industria, nelle tante volte, che siamo stati in Roma, procurato l'habbiamo... » *Secoli* IV, 652.

the antient hermitages still surviving in 1256. He was sure that he had proved this connection whenever he found a house that had existed in the 12th century [7]). The remaining gap of 800 years was glossed over.

Before the *Secoli* made their appearance, Torelli published a volume on the lives of saints and saintly persons of the Augustinian Order [8]). It did not prove a great advance in Augustinian hagiography ; for Torelli was neither a writer of genetic history nor a true hagiographer. He was and remains a collector of documents, and therein lies his lasting merit.

2. *The School of John Marquez* [9])

The reform of a province is brought about by saints ; and saints attract great minds to an Order. This is evident in the Spanish provinces, where the reform under St. John of Sahagun attracted men like St. Thomas a Villanova, Blessed Alfonse of Orozco and Spain's greatest lyric poët, Luis de Leon. Two generations later we see a trio of great theologians at the university of Salamanca: Augustine Antonilez (later archbishop of Compostella), John Marquez and Louis Ponce de Leon. All three belonged to the strict observance in the province of Castile.

John Marquez was not so renowned a theologian as his two confrères, yet his influence was more far-reaching. Involved in the imbroglio with the Dominicans for the chair of theology at the university he set out to prove the superiority of his Order by showing that it existed before the Dominicans and Franciscans. His *Origen de los Frayles Ermitaños de la Orden de San Augustin y su verdadera institución antes del gran Concilio Lateranense* (Salamanca 1618) endeavored to prove this with a vast amount of historical ma-

[7]) For this the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* took him severely to task in their lives of John Bonus (Oct. 22) and William of Maleval (Febr. 10).

[8]) *Centurie ovvero Ristretto delle vite degli huomini e delle donne illustri in Santità dell'Ordine Agostiniano* (Bologna 1647). I could not yet check whether the many lives of saintly people which interrupt Torelli's *Secoli* are just a reprint of this early work or not.

[9]) Marquez was born in 1564, made profession in 1581 and spent the greater part of his life as professor of Theology. He died on January 17, 1621. *Vide* Gr. de SANTIAGO VELA, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustin* V (Madrid 1920) 174-231.

terial. The importance of this work can easily be gaged by the controversy it caused and by the new trend it started amongst Augustinian historians. Outstanding men like the Benedictine Pennotus and the Franciscan Wadding wrote against it, while the Augustinians Herrera, St.-Martin and others hastened to its defence.

Marquez was important as a historian but even more important as a teacher who imbued his students with a great love for the Order. He combined a rare brilliance of mind with great eloquence and a captitivating sweetness. These qualities were quickly recognized within the Order and students from Ireland, France and Spain came to sit at his feet. From France came Spiritus Amiel, ons of the driving forces in the reform movement of the Province of Provence as well as Simplicien de St.-Martin Villeneufve, the most prominent man of the Province of Toulouse during this period [10]). None, however, surpassed Thomas Herrera, who became the most scholarly historian of the Order in the 17th century.

3. *Thomas Herrera*

Herrera was born December 11, 1585, took the habit at Madrid in 1600 and taught Theology in Alcalà from 1611-1623. In 1635 he became prior of Salamanca, in 1639 provincial of Castile, and in 1652 assistant general of the ultramontane provinces. He resigned the office of assistant general to become confessor of the Infante Don Juan d'Austria and died February 15, 1654, aged 69 [11]). Training by a great master, extraordinary opportunities for extensive travel, an orderly mind and untiring zeal combined to make Herrera an outstanding historian.

His best known work, the *Alphabetum Augustinianum* [12]) (Madrid 1644), has remained to this hour the only comprehensive reference work of Augustinian history. It was begun in Rome during the year

[10]) « Simplicianus de S. Martino, Gallus, olim noster in Salmanticensi coenobio condiscipulus » : HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* II, 406. P. Archangelus GUIN in his *Chronologia conventuum provinciae Provinciae,* now MS 5-H-29 of the Archives Dép. Bouches-du-Rhone, fol. 92v mentions Spiritus Amiel and fol. 95v Saint-Martin as disciples of Marquez.

[11]) VELA, *Ensayo* III, 590-631.

[12]) Its title might have been suggested by the work of F. MILENSIUS, *Alphabetum... de monachis et monasteriis Germaniae et Sarmatiae citerioris OESA* (Pragae 1613).

1633 and completed at Salamanca in 1643. Under the headings: « Saints, Ministers of the church and state, Writers, Famous Men, Famous Women, Monasteries of men, Monasteries of women », he combined the alphabetical order with a chronological sequence- an arrangement which is neither strictly chronological nor alphabetical, which makes little known names rather wearisome to find.

The main merit of Herrera lies in his systematic search through the archives of the prior general in Rome. His neatly written 800 pages of excerpts now form part of MS 8435 of the National Library in Madrid. These excerpts, besides giving us insight into his systemac method of collecting data, preserve some of the material from the lost Registers Dd 9 and 10. His research in Rome was facilitated by his friendship with Cardinal Spinola, archbishop of Sevilla, whom he served as theologian ; for the Cardinal's influence opened for him at least part of the papal archives. His data on Augustinian bishops, for instance, are mainly drawn from Vatican sources [13]). He also visited archives while travelling between Spain and Italy and despite the pressure of time he never compromised his high standards of accuracy and thoroughness. The papal bulls which formerly belonged to the Augustinian houses in Avignon and Grasse, for instance, still bear in their respective Archives Départementales the numbers cited by Herrera [14]).

Herrera had the disposition of the true historian. His conclusions were always supported by facts. In this he was unlike Torelli, who was guided by preconceived ideas rather than the facts on hand. Herrera, fully conscious of his scientific method, expressed the need for the return to the sources in more than one passage. He writes for example: « Into such imaginings and others not less absurd did Crusenius, Rocca and others of our historians lapse, because they drew from turbid waters rather than pure fountains » [15]).

[13]) e. gr. I, 425/6 where he carefully quotes volume and page of the Vatican Registers.

[14]) Answer to my inquiry by the heads of these archives.

[15]) « In haec figmenta et alia non minus absurda Crusenius, Rocca et alii ex nostris historicis lapsi sunt, quia ex turbidis rivulis, non ex puris fontibus aquas hausere » : *Alph.* II, 262. His careful judgment is apparent from *Alph.* I, 289, where he opposes Crusenius concerning the martyrdom of William of Lyon in 1567: « Nihil affirmemus et nos. Prudentius enim informatio exactior expectatur, quam praepropera assertio in re tam gravi periculo erroris exponitur ».

Two men, both fine historians, played an important part in forming this scientific outlook. One was his teacher John Marquez ; the other the Franciscan Luke Wadding. For his teacher he must have entertained a deep affection, since he defended him so vigorously in his *Responsio pacicifa ad apologeticum de praetenso monachatu Augustiniano S. Francisci* (Bologna 1635). The *Apologeticus* of Wadding had at first aroused in him bitter opposition, then an ever increasing admiration for his opponent's learning. This admiration turned into real friendship when the two met in Rome [16]) ; in more than one passage of his *Alphabetum* he calls Wadding « amicus meus », « suavissimus amicus meus » [17]). Indeed, in his *Clypeus responsionis pacificae* (Madrid 1645) he omitted all remarks which might have given offense to his friend. While preparing an equally friendly reply Wadding received news of Herrera's death, whereupon he refused to complete this work. Wadding's influence upon Herrera would be easier to evaluate, if the latter had succeeded in completing his Annals of the Augustinian Order, for which he had made extensive researches [18]). They were no doubt inspired by the famous *Annales Minorum* (Lugduni 1625-54) of his friend. Thirteen years after Herrera's demise, appeared the voluminous *Secoli* of Torelli which were to fill this gap. Torelli did not make use of the preliminary studies of the Spaniard ; apparently he did not know this work which now constitutes MS 1118 of the Angelica. Had he known it, he would have made full use of it ; for he trusted the accuracy of the *Alphabetum* so completely that he neglected all personal research in the registers of the prior general.

4. *Simplicien de St. Martin Villeneufve*

Among Herrera's fellow students at Salamanca was P. Simplicien de Saint-Martin, whose family name Villeneufve is almost unknown. He was born between 1580-1590 because in his *Tractatus varii morales de casibus conscientiae* (1664) he called himself octo-

[16]) Another Augustinian friend of Wadding was his fellow countryman Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1629-1652): *Good Counsel College Annual, New Ross, 1927* pp. 6-17.

[17]) *Alph. Aug.* I, 223, 259.

[18]) Described by Esteban in AA IV, 188-190.

genarian, active in the government of the Order since 1609. He died in 1670 [19]).

Like most authors of his time he was intensely interested in the monachism of St. Augustine and its unbroken continuation. He wrote against Pennotus his *Defense de l'estat monachal du glorieux père Saint-Augustin* (Toulouse 1653), a work very hard to find. Equally rare is his history of the monastery in Toulouse (1641). His most important work is the large folio volume entitled: *Histoire de la vie du glorieux père Saint-Augustin ... et des plusieurs saints, bienheureux et autres hommes illustres de son Ordre des Hermites* (Toulouse 1641). There is little original research in the main body of this work except for the account of the great men of his province and the martyrs of his Order during the wars of religion (pp. 680-796).

Rightly to understand these passages in St. Martin we must set aside the generally accepted but one-sided reports on the « Night of St. Bartholomew ». The more one reads of the wanton destruction by the armies of the Huguenots, the befouling of churches and monasteries, their thousandfold murder of innocent people, the more one can understand the view of Père Simplicien who condemns in the strongest terms these foul deeds. This attitude could easily mislead us into judging his book as partisan and therefore unreliable, but he had the official reports of eyewitnesses at his disposal [20]). As royally appointed syndic of the destroyed Augustinian houses [21]) he had surveyed with his own eyes the ruins left by the Huguenots, and his duty to reclaim stolen property had

[19]) There is a notice on him in *Revue Gascogne* 25 (1884) 116/7 which leaves much to be desired. He must not be confused with Josef Saint-Martin who was discrete at the General Chapter of 1679: AA XI, 384. P. Simplicien was prior of Toulouse in 1652 and 1654. A document of 1654 calls him « syndic des couvents ruinés de l'Ordre, régent de l'Université de Toulouse »: Arch. Dép. Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban H 75, 76. He is called P. Simplicien Villeneufve, exprovincial in 1670: Arch. Dép. de la Garonne H 331-ter.

[20]) « ... vingt et deux tesmoings dignes de foy, qui en ont rendu les tesmoignage devant Maistre Arnauld Mauvaisse, Juge Royal en la ville... en L'enqueste qu'il fit le 5 May 1614 a l'instance du Syndic dudit monastere... don't l'original se lit auiourd'huy dans les archifs de Tolose »: *Histoire* p. 695.

[21]) Some of the destroyed houses were Nîmes, Montpellier, Montflanquin, Geaune, Arthez, Figeac, St. Savinien in Saintonges, La Rochelle, Béziers, Montagnac, Lisle d'Albi, Mans-Saintes-Puelles, Montauban, Pamiers, Perigueux, Poitiers, Mezin, Marvejols.

obliged him to search out the scattered documents of these ruined houses [22]). His intimate and exact knowledge of this period is, therefore, beyond doubt. And this knowledge was evaluated by the same brilliant mind that made Simplicien a highly honored professor and rector of the University of Toulouse.

5. *Augustine Lubin*

Villeneufve was soon forgotten. The opposite is true of his Parisian contemporary, Augustine Lubin, whose reputation has not dwindled with the passage of years. This able scholar was born on January 29, 1624 in Paris, and took his vows in the same city in 1640. After serving his Order as assistant general he died on March 7, 1695 [23]).

Lubin belonged to the reform province of St. William, better known as the Community of Bourges [24]), which had separated itself from the mother province of Francia. Their Parisian house stood in the immediate neighborhood of the magnificent old monastery of St. Augustine, called « le grand couvent ». The quick-witted Parisians immediately dubbed the new monastery of St. Nicholas « le petit couvent » [25]) and its members « Les Petits Augustins ». Spiritually and intellectually these men were the opposite of little ; the great men and writers after the Reformation did not come from the great convent but the little one, and Lubin is a case in point.

He was a born historian, and, as Ossinger so aptly put it, he looked for a field uncultivated by the historians of his day. Such a field he found in the study of geography. His *Geographie ordinaire du Roy* (Paris 1678) saw several editions and gained him the title

[22]) This search was necessary, because stolen property could be reclaimed only when former ownership could be proved. By order of the King chartularies had to be re-arranged in each house and therefore we find so many new chartulaires during the middle of the 17th century. — A similar need for detailed proof was required in Germany, when the Peace of Westphalia set a definite date for the possession of a monastery.

[23]) F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt 1776) 514-519.

[24]) Its history was written by Francaeus Christ. and entitled *Felix Augustiniensium communitatis Bituricensis exordium et progressus in provincia Franciae ab anno 1574-1620* (Paris 1620). MS 2425 of the Bibl. Mazarin, Paris has additional material until 1627. See also Appendix *infra* no 75. b.

[25]) The history of the convent St. Nicholas by Ed. Fremy may be found in *Bulletin du Comité d'histoire et d'archéologie du diocèse de Paris* I (1883) 138-197.

« Official Geographer to the King ». He provided the Roman Martyrology with rich historical notes and many excellent maps drawn by his own hand. His *Abbatiarum Italiae brevis notitia* (Romae 1693) is still highly valued for its exactness and completeness. He did the same service for his own Order when he published *Orbis Augustinianus* (Paris 1659), which contained maps for each province ; this work hase never since been equalled and is still indispensable. The engravings of monasteries wich are added, picture — with one exception — only houses of his own province.

Equally if not more important is the companion *La clef du grand pouillé des bénéfices contenant la liste de tous les monastères de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin...* (Paris 1672)[26]. Tiny in size, it contains a wealth of material with special emphasis on the geographical location of each house. This is the work so often quoted by Augustinian historians, but neophytes often confuse it with the *Orbis Augustinianus* of 1659, a mistake of which even Ossinger and the newest *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* is guilty.

This little book was the result of an enterprise which until now has not been fully appreciated. When Lubin projected a comprehensive history of his Order, he found that Herrera [27]) and Torelli had left but one wide field of research relativel unexplored: the study of individual houses. Since he could not visit each monastery personally, he sent out questionnaires [28]) asking for the topographical and physical description of each house, the main historical data, a description of important manuscripts and artistic treasures, biographies of saintly and important men etc. Philip Visconti, the prior general, and King Louis XIV supported the undertaking [29]). But the requests demanded too much at one time

[26]) The complete title is: *La clef du grand pouillé des benefices contenant la liste de tous les monasteres de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin dans toutes les regions de la terre. Avec le temps de leur fondation, le noms de leur fondateurs, leurs dépendances, le Diocèse et leur situation. Le tout tiré des titres originaux, cartulaires, registres, relations et autres manuscrits.* It is volume three of *La clef du grand Pouillé de France*, edited by Jean DOUJAT and Augustin LUBIN (Paris 1671).

[27]) Herrera himself wrote the excellent *Historia del convento de S. Augustin de Salamanca* (Madrid 1652), in which he incorporated a good deal of Spanish Augustinian history.

[28]) *infra* Appendix nos 48 and 50.

[29]) *infra* Appendix nos 1 and 7.

and made Ossinger remark: « Whether the answers measured up to the zeal and expectation of this good father, I do not know » [30]). Thanks to our modern manuscript catalogues we now do know ; the answers are contained in two folio volumes, one of which is preserved in the National Archives of Paris, the other in the State Library of Bruxelles. That in Bruxelles, now MS 2590, became known through its description in vol. VI of Gheyn's catalogue ; the other failed to interest anyone, because the cataloguer had listed it under the misleading title *Orbis Augustinianus*. This was an excusable mistake, for Lubin or someone else had inserted between the handwritten pages the title page and many maps of his printed work of the same name.

The Parisian collection, of which we give a detailed description in the Appendix, no doubt constitutes volume one, as is evident from the letters of commendation by the Prior General, King etc. Recent inquiries from France prove that some very valuable material in this work can no longer be found elsewhere. To read some of the answers is rather difficult. Each country and each man has his own way of writing, one perhaps beautiful and the next almost undecipherable in the microfilm reader. Some of the correspondents did not know paleography ; many did not answer each point of the questionnaire but suited their own whims ; some old men became quite gabby and filled reams of paper with little or no information on them. Italy and Spain were strangely uncooperative — with very few exceptions — either because their own men were preparing similar works or because of human inertia.

The main criticism which can be levelled against Lubin (at least in retrospect) is that it was unrealistic to expect even the smallest house, to harbor a trained historian — a man who would have all the required data at his finger tips, the good will to answer at considerable length the queries of a stranger and a high degree of freedom from pressure of other work. Answers to wearisome queries are only supplied by men who have knowledge easily available together with plenty of time.

Both Lubin and Herrera are critical and painstaking historians, but Herrera used a better method of research. He himself checked the sources and did not rely on the good will of untrained corres-

[30]) « ... Num curae et expectationi optimi patris satisfactum fuerit, quod asseverem, non habeo » : *Bibliotheca Aug.* p. 514.

pondents. Lubin apparently saw the uselessness of continuing his original project ; instead, he culled from the information given and from his own researches whatever vital facts he could. As far as we can see, he made serious errors only in regard to Ireland and to a lesser degree England [31]).

6. *Lower Germany*

Though it is beyond the scope of this paper, attention must be drawn to the work done in the old province of Cologne. Its outstanding historical works are: the *Monasticon Augustinianum* by Nicholas Crusenius (Kreusen), printed in Munich 1623, the only complete annals of the Order written in this century [32]) ; Elssius' *Encomiasticon* (Bruxelles 1654), the first extensive bibliography ; the *Martyrographia* by Maigret [33]) and the first iconography by Curtius, *Virorum illustrium... B. Augustini elogia* (Antwerp 1623, 1636).

Crusenius cannot be classed with Herrera, Lubin and Torelli in the search for sources ; but his presentation is so concise and clear that it makes pleasant reading even to-day. Whenever Crusenius tries his hand at genetic historiography, he is tempted to make assertions, which are inadequately supported. Herrera repeatedly calls attention to his inaccuracies. It is to be observed, however, that Kreusen must have had some sources which are now lost. His narrative of the first vicars general (Pt. 3. c. 2), refers to some names which are known only to him. Maigretius' history of Augustinian martyrs delights the reader by its poetic descriptions and vivid narratives. His reports on more recent martyrs (unlike those written by Saint-Martin) seem to be based on hearsay, not on direct investigation. Elssius' extensive work faded into obli-

[31]) See F. X. Martin's article on the Irish Augustinian houses in this issue.

[32]) A new edition of part 3 appeared in Valladolid 1890, edited by Josef Lanteri.

Peter de CAMPO's, *Historia general de los Ermitaños de nuestro Padre San Augustin* (Barcelona 1640) is according to VELA, *Ensayo* I, 560 not a work of annals, but principally a refutation of Pennotus.

[33]) G. Maigret's first attempt was called *Rejettons sacrés pullulants de la palme triumphante des primiers martyrs de l'Ordre dit des Freres Eremites de S. Augustin* (Liège 1612). It is precious for its pictures. In 1625 followed his *Martyrographia Augustiniana*, which was translated into German by Theoderic Degen (München 1628).

vion when Ossinger's more reliable and more complete *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt 1776) appeared. The work of Curtius will always remain interesting because of the engraved portraits ; they were obtained — as he tells us in his foreword — mostly from the Angelica in Rome. These and other such Belgian books excel more in refinement of style and beauty of physical make-up than in the quality of their research.

Herrera, Lubin and Torelli are the principal Augustinian historians of the 17th century. Each one wanted to write a complete history of his Order, and each one failed because of his methods.

Torelli and Herrera relied on their own research and sought little [34]) if any outside help ; at that time, however, it was practically impossible for any one man to gather the necessary sources through his own efforts alone. Lubin called upon the entire Order for help, but it was unrealistic of him to expect a mere questionnaire to provide him with all the material he needed.

Torelli had to limit himself to the archives of Italy, and even in Italy the great treasures of the Vatican Archives were denied him. His so-called history is but a commentary on a chronologically arranged collection of documents. Herrera's orderly method and iron discipline together with his wide travels and lofty contacts might have assured his success if he had been able to live and work a few years longer.

Though they failed in writing a general history of the Order, each one published one or several works of lasting merit. Torelli gave us the most comprehensive *Bullarium*, Herrera an excellent Dictionary and Lubin two precious volumes on the geography of the Order. For any modern historian, who wants to write on the Augustinian Order, these works are indispensable.

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[34]) Herrera received some important material through the procurator general Aegidius Consoni. *Vide* my article on Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, *Augustiniana* III (1953) 284 and AA XXIII (1954) 134.

APPENDIX

The MS LL 1.472 in the Archives Nationales, Paris. A collection of materials by P. Augustine Lubin, OSA for the history of the Augustinian Order.

The description of this manuscript was given in the text *supra*. My confrère Eelco Ypma kindly compared the transcript with the original, since the peculiar difficulties of microfilm reading made certain passages hard to decipher. The numbers are those of the original. The collection contains both handwritten notes by Lubin himself and the answers sent in response to his questionnaire. Note that Lubin or the binder arranged the convents in alphabetical Order.

CONTENTS

Letters to Père Augustin Lubin

1. Letter of Philip Visconti, prior general of the Order to Lubin (original) AD 1651.

« De proposito tuo colligendi conscribendique ea quae in singulis nostri Ordinis in REGNO conventibus memoratu digna contigerunt, certiores facti, non modo tibi ad eiusce prosecutionem facultatem, benedictionemque nostram impartimur ; verum etiam hortamur, ut quam diligentissime, promptissimeque quantum rei pondus momentumque patient(ur), illud executioni mandare studeas. Nos quidem, si quid ex ordinis archivo erui poterit, quod usui tibi esse queat, illud libenter transmittemus, monebimusque Provinciales, ut et idem ipsi respective faciant, et a subditis sibi prioribus fieri curent.

Deus labores Tuos secundet. Romae, 23 decembris 1651.

fr. Phil. Vicecomes, Glis. Ord. ».

2. Ph. Visconti makes Lubin the official chorographer of the Order (original) AD 1656.

« Magister fr. Philipus Vicecomes Mediolanensis totius Ord. Er. S. Augustini, prior generalis licet indignus, Venerabili P. Augustino Lubin ejusdem nostri ordinis ac voti Provinciae Sancti Guilelmi.

Religiosos instituti nostri viros, qui suo labore solertiaque aliqua industria communi religionis utilitati, commoditati, ac splendori servire student, quibus possumus gratiis ac favoribus libenter prosequimur. Cum igitur pro parte tua nobis expositum fuerit te TABULAS CHOROGRAPHICAS aliquot Provinciarum ordinis nostri magna cura delineasse, aliasque parare, quibus conventuum fundationes, resque memoria dignas ad posteritatis usum subnectere intendis : Nos collaudato studio tuo tenore praesentium nostrique muneris auctoritate totius ordinis nostri CHORO-

GRAPHUM te creamus, facimus et declaramus, ut hoc titulo decoratus, maiore animi alacritate inceptum opus peragas ad Dei gloriam, sacraeque nostrae Augustinianae religionis decorem.

fr. Philippus Vicecomes, Gl. Ind.

Datum Romae 17. Februari 1656 ».

In margine : *v.* Paulus Luchinus, Generalis ind.

3. Letter of Fr. Bartholomeus a Carignano, prior general of the Lombardic Congregation of the Observance, in which he promises his cooperation. June 29, 1656 (original).
4. Letter of Father Franciscus de Terra Nova, Nov. 16, 1656.
5. Some kind of eulogy of Father Lubin (readable only in part).
6. Letter of the prior general Paul Luchinus of Pesaro, written during his visitation of the convent of St. Nicholas in Paris. June 21, 1659 (original).

   It is beautifully written, rather lengthy and regrets the fact, that the printing of Lubin's Augustinian atlas has been delayed on account of the war and pestilence raging in France.
7. Letter of King Louis XIV of France in favor of P. Lubin. Nov. 5, 1660 (original) :

   « De Par le Roy.

   « Sa Majesté desirant favoriser le pere Augustin Lubin, superieur du convan (couvent) des Augustins de Lagny, l'un des Geographes ordinaires de Sa Majesté et Chorographe generale de l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin dans le voyage qu'il vase (?) en Italy suivant la permission qu'il y a de son General pour visiter les bibliotheques et y extraire les memoires qu'il jugera pouvoir servir a l'histoire a laquelle il travaille, et voulant aussy luy faciliter les moyens de s'acquerir en ce voyage suivant le dessein qu'il y a de nouvelles connoissance dans la geographie et dans l'art ou il s'est desja rendu fort expert de dresser et gravir luy mesmes les Cartes geographiques par la visite et la frequentation des bibliotheques curieuses et l'entretien des gens doctes qui sont audict pays affin d'y tirer de nouvelles lumieres pour la perfection des ouvrages qu'il desire de mettre soubz la presse. Et qui savoir tres utiles au public Sa Majeste ordonne a tous ses Ambassadeurs ministres residens agens et autres ses Off. Gen... (?) et sujets qu'il apparaitre (?) qui sont a Rome et dans les cours des autres princes d'Italie de procurer audict pere Lubin l'entree dans toutes les bibliotheques qu'il desirera de voir Et la liberte d'en tirer et extraire ce qu'il estimera pouvoir contribuer a son Instruction et a la fin qu'il s'est proposé et generalement de luy donner pource toutte ayde, faveur et assistance dont il aura besoin. Faict a Paris le cinquieme de novembre 1660. — Louis ».
8. Vetus Africa Augustiniana — Italia (two maps).
9. Copy from D'Achery, *Spicilegium* VI, 9 : Monasteries in Africa at the time of the Council of Carthage AD 535.

10.-27. Description of the convent St. Augustine, Rome ; mostly written in the hand of Lubin.
28.-29. Convent and church of St. Maria Novella in Bracciano, Dioc. Sutri, AD 1445 (founded in 1436 : Herrera, *Alph. Aug.* I, 125).
30. Excerpts from a letter of P. Lawrence (Belgian) to the secretary of the Order, written about May 25, 1652. This date is mentioned in text.
31. Plan of a convent.

The houses in Paris

32. Giles of Rome, prior general, appeals from the sentence of Simon, bishop of Paris, to the Holy See, regarding the donation of the convent of the Sackfriars to the Augustinians, Oct. 6, 1293 (copy), rewritten with better ink under no. 36.
33. Letter of Simon, archbishop of Paris, approving the transfer of the Sack Friars convent to the Augustinians (copy) AD 1293.
Printed in N. MATTIOLI, *OSA, Studio critico sopra Egidio Romano* (Roma 1896) pp. 81-3 and in TORELLI, *Sec. Agost. V*, 148.
34. Giles of Rome gives his manor St. Martin of Campiano (Dioc. Soana) to the house in Paris ' de cujus uberibus a pueritia ' nutritus fuit. March, 29, 1315.
Original in Archives Nationales no. S. 3634. *Vide* DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* II (Paris 1891) 172 no. 715.
35. Answer of the bishop of Paris to Giles of Rome AD 1293 (not published).
36. Same as no. 32.
37. Declaration of Giles of Rome, while archbishop of Bourges, conc. the Bachelors of the Austins.
Published in E. YPMA, *La formation des professeurs chez les Ermites de de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris 1956) 91 n.
38. Testament of Giles of Rome, in which he leaves all his books to Paris. Dec. 23, 1316.
Printed in L. DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* II (Paris 1874) 247. Original now No. S. 3634(3) of the Arch. Nat.
39. « Memoire des articles » sent to the prior general in 1632 by the commissaries Taillade, Carcat and Boulanger and approved in Rome July, 13, 1632 concerning spiritual progress.
40. Pro regimine conventus Parisiensis.
41. In the same matter a memorial sent to the prior general by the same commissaries. AD 1632.
42. *Litterae Reverendissimi P. Generalis totius ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini missae ad maiorem conventum Parisium Augustiniensium* (May 5, 1642), printed, 4 pp.
Hippolytus Mantius Finalensis was the general.
43. *Instructions concernant les affaires des Augustins Reformez establis par auctorité du Roy au grand couvent.* 15 July 1636. Printed, 8 pp.

44. *Recit veritable de ce que s'est fait et passé dans le grand couvent des PP. Augustins de Paris depuis le 5. du mois d'Aoust 1642.* Printed, 4 pp.
45. Plan of the convent St. Augustine of Toulouse. « I. Seguenti fecit. — 1652 ».
46. Maps 1) Italia Augustiniana 2) Gallia Augustiniana.
47. Maps 1) Hispania Augustiniana 2) Germania Augustiniana.
48. *Interrogatorium pro Provincia*
    Quandonam erecta in Provinciam ? et quomodo ?
    Origo et progressus Reformationum si quae acciderint ?
    Series Capitulorum et ubi habita ?
    Cathalogus priorum provincialium, quidque notabile egerint ? Puta novorum.
    Fundationes conventuum, aut veterum reparationes, an scripserint ?
    Quandonam mortui et ubi iaceant ?
    An extat bulla pontificia aut diploma regium ad ipsam spectans ?
    Quem ordinem servent conventus inter se ?
    An semper eosdem, vel alios habuerint.
    Supplicat P. Augustinus Lubin Ordinis Chorographus Reverendo admodum patri Provinciali ut per se vel per aliquem patrem peritum respondeatur latine et ample supra positis Interrogantiunculis cum responsionibus ad dictum Patrum Lubin Parisios in conventu suburbii Sancti Germani ut ad decus Ordinis in lucem edantur omnia notabilia vestri conventus de mandato, et jussu Reverendissimi P. Generalis.
49. Provinciae et congregationes OESA (printed, 1 page).
50. *Interrogatorium* (for individual house).
    Quando ceperit conventus ? An aliquando incendio, vel quovis casu destructus ?
    Quis praecipuus fundator ? Quinam notabiliter in illum fuere Benefici ?
    In qua dioecesi ? Quandonam constructus ? Qui auspicales lapides posuere ?
    De situ : An inter urbem ? an prope aliquem fluvium ?
    An viri sanctitatis vel doctrinae fama clari in eo floruerint ?
    An extet aliqua bulla ad ipsum spectans ? an aliquod diploma regium ?
    An regia aliqua fundatio, vel donatio, vel ab aliqua persona illustri ?
    An immunitates aut privilegia aliqua habeat ?
    An bibliotheca luculenta ? an in ea codices manuscripti praelo digni ?
    An in eo habita aliquando fuerint comitia Magnatum, Episcoporum etc. ?
    An aliqua capitula generalia aut provincialia ?
    Quando et a quo ecclesia constructa ? quando et a quo Episcopo consecrata ?

Cui sancto dedicata ? Idem quaeritur de ejusdem capellis.
An notabiles alicuius sancti Reliquiae ?
An aliqua imago miraculosa ? Quae miracula certo contigerint ?
An populi sit concursus aut aliqua peregrinatio ?
An statuae, picturae ab aliquo eximio artifice ?
An rara ecclesiae vel conventus vel alterius loci fabrica ?
An sepulturae, tumuli, epitaphia aliquorum virorum illustrium ?
An aliud quidpiam publica luce vel fama dignum ?

Conclusion same as in No. 48, but directed to the prior of the convent.

Houses in Italy (vide nos. 10-29 and 142)

51. Map of the province of St. Augustine alias of Lombardy.
Response to the above questionnaire by the convent of the Holy Cross of Varese (Genua) in the province of Lombardy, founded 1563 (HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* II, 553).
52. Map of the province St. Monica, alias of Rome.
53. Donation of Marsia seu Tomasia « ex illustri Anniballensium procerum Romanorum stirpe oriunda » of the church St. Stephen in the territory of Cave AD 1385. A Father Angelo of Tuscanella is to establish there a monastery and the prior general Bartholomew of Venice consents to the care of souls in the old parish church, which is turned over to the Order (Lubin's hand).
54. Map of the province St. Nicholas of Tolentine alias of the March of Ancona.
55. Convent of St. Augustine in Cartoceto (' de Terra Carticensi ') Dioc. Fano (written in May 1656).
56. Report on the house of St. Augustine in Fano, established AD 1263 by Fr. Bene of St. Blase, Brettino and Romanus, prior of St. Stephen in Fano. Written on May 11, 1656 by Nicolaus Orlandus.
57. Report of St. Augustine in Fossombrone (Forosemproniensis) by Fr. Gregory of Genoa, prior and ' S. Theol. professor in universitate Publicus Metaphysicus '.
58. Biography of P. Innocent Angelucci of Ancona who died in the odor of sanctity AD 1653.

Houses of the Community of Bourges

59. Original map of the Province Francia.
60. Printed map of same.
61. A letter by the Augustinian Anthony Mathy, written at Angers Febr. 13, 1651, who discusses the possibility of a list of the provincials of Francia. Known are those of 1383, 1393, 1519, 1559.

62. List of provincial chapters since 1540.
63. Same, but illegible.
64. Same. List begins with 1540 and adds the sequence of the houses, their antiquity, patrons *etc.* (Lubin's hand).
65. Chapter of Amiens in 1586. Lengthy definitions.
66. Memorial on convent of Orleans, 6 pp.
67. Memorial on the convent in Barfleur, founded 1292 (or 1286). 20 pp., written in 1657.
68. Memorial on Bayeux and Barfleur.
69.-70. Memorial on Chinon, by its prior.
71. Girouette : Epitaph of Charles de Belle Forière.
72. Original map of the Province of St. William alias the Community of Bourges.
73. Same map printed.
74. A short account of the history of this province and its chapters since 1592. Details on the chapters in Tours AD 1616 and Vitré in 1622.
75. Various privileges granted to this province by the priors general.
    a. A letter of the prior general Alexander (Mancini) of Siena to the members of the house in Poitiers, by which he confirms their transfer to the Community of Bourges.
    b. Some details overlooked by Christian Francaeus in his work *Felix Augustiniensium Communitatis Bituricensis exordium et progressus in provincia Franciae ab anno 1594 ad 1620* (Paris 1620). 11 pp.
    c. Privileges granted to said Community since the appearance of this book, esp. that of prior general Fulgence (Galucci of Mount Giorgio), Oct. 15, 1622.
    d. Letter of the same general to the provincial of Francia, November 29, 1622.
76. The house of Amiens is granted freedom from taxation by King Louis XIV on December 1, 1643. Print begins : *Louis par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre...* 3 pp. Confirms letter of Louis XIII.
77. Miracles in the church of Notre Dame de Foy in Amiens since the printing of the book.
    For prints of devotional booklets for this church in 1648, 1650 see H. MACQUERON, Bibliographie du Dép. de la Somme I (Amiens 1904) in *Mémoires de la Soc. Archéol. de la Somme* I.
78. *Extraict des Registres de Parlement.* 15. Jan. 1652. 3 pp. Decision which settles the differences between the province Francia and the Community of Bourges.
79. Memoir on the house in Angers. Received Sackfriars Convent (founded in 1263) in 1310. 5 pp.
80. Echo. A poem on the house in Angers.
81. Pierre Rabache, founder of the Community in Bourges who died in the year 1648. Description of his tombstone and a letter of 1651.

82. Copy of the Act of foundation of the convent Bar-le-Duc, Diocese of Toul, 31. March 1372. Memoir. 16 pp.
83. Plan of the house in Bar-le-Duc.
84. Memoir on the house in Bourges. Writer claims that it came from Sackfriars (!) 4 pp.
85. 1. Letter of P. Augustin Chesneau from Bourges, Dec. 26, 1650. 2. Letter by same on Febr. 24, 1651.
86. Plan of the convent de la Bussière by André Gendron, 1657.
87. Hand-drawn sketch of this house.
88. A letter by André Gendron, written on April 25, 1657 contains some notes on La Bussière.
89. Plan of this house.
90. Sketches of this house.
91. Memoir on Champlitte by Augustine Berger, written August 16, 1651.
92. Copy of a letter by prior general Peter de Vena AD 1412 regarding the erection of a confraternity in honor of Our Lady, St. Augustine and S. Eloy.
93. Plan of Champlitte's convent.
94. Memoir on Candé. A prior is recorded for the first time in 1390.
95. Memoir on Chatillon (in Latin) founded in 1624.
96. Memoir on Cosne.
97. Rough sketch of its buildings.
98. Various pieces on Lamballe, written by J. Camus, May 29, 1651, among them the bull of John XXII for this house in 1317, now published in *Annales de Bretagne* 25 (1910) 676/8 by G. Mollat.
99. Memoir on Lagny written on December 2, 1650 by J. Marini OSA including document of the year 1328.
100. Chapel of Loretto, founded in 1527 by Frater Robert, DD and prior of Bourges. 7 pp.
101. Memoir on Moulins in Latin.
102. Letter of P. Davoust, OSA sent from Montreuil, April 8, 1624 (only part of it is microfilmed. On Montreuil ?).
103. Montaigu (Ermitage near Nancy) 1629.
104. Memoir on Paulmy by Louis Durnau, written February 2, 1652.
105. « Les antiquites et singularites du monastere des RR. PP. Augustins Reformez du Faubourg St. Germain Lez Paris ». 4 pp.
106. Decision on the legacy of the Queen Mother (in favor of St. Nicholas in St. Germain) Sept. 1651 followed by *Extraict des registres de la Cour des Aydes*. Confirmation of all privileges. March 23, 1652. Both printed as one. 7 pp.
107. « Memoire pour St. Pierre Les Moustiers », written November 24, 1650 by Fulgences Desbois (?).

108. *Copie de l'establissement des Religieux Augustins fait en la ville de St. Pierre le Moustier, le 16. Fevrier 1622.* 2 pp. followed by
Extraict des Registres de Parlement, 24. Juli 1648. 4 pp.
Decision of Parlement in the dispute between the bishop of Nevers and the Austins of St. Pierre le Moutier.
109. Letter from Poitiers. Inventory of documents made in 1602 by Steven Rabache, prior.
110. Memoir on Poitiers (continued from no. 109).
111. A manuscript from the year 1507 in which F. Estienne, prior of Poitiers, introduces in dialogue two heralds, one of France and one of England. Only title is given.
Copies of this Ms are preserved in Ms 1770 of the Public Library in Carpentras and Ms 2019 of Sainte-Geneviève, Paris (*Catalogue Carpentras* II p. 183; *Catalogue... Sainte Geneviève* II p. 241).
112. *Messire Herbert Berland Chevalier* Family tree of the Berlands ; printed, 1 p.
113. *Factum pour Messire Philippes Berland Chevalier, sieur de la Guittonniere, intime.* April 1637. It is directed against a decision of the court depriving him of his right as founder of the Augustinian house in Poitiers. 6 pp. Printed.
114. Vidimus of a document of the foundation of Pontarlier in 1284.
The original is published in M. DROZ, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la ville de Pontarlier* (ibid. 1840) 245.
115. « Memoires des choses remarquables du couvent de Pontarlier » followed by the same title for the house in Champlitte.
116. Picture of house in Pontarlier with picture of St. Eloy, its patron-saint.
117. Report on La Rochelle, January 27, 1651 by fr. Louys Durkau (Durnau ? *vide* no. 104).
118. *Arrest du Conseil Prive pour le restablissement des Augustins reformez en leur couvent de S. Yon, en la ville de la Rochelle. A Poictiers par la vefeu* (!) *d'Anthoine Mesnier, Imprimeur du Roy et de l'Université.* August 1630, 8 pp. Printed.
119. « Antiquité du couvent des FF. Augustins de Vittré ». 3 pp.
120. Same title, but different narrative. Document of Johanna, queen of Sicily, duchess of Anjou and Bar, countess of Forcalquier and Piemont, who gave to the Austins of Vitré a relic of St. Andrew, apostle. April 1, 1487.
121. Confraternity of Our Lady of Grace established on June 2, 1482 in Vitré by the prior general Ambrosius Coriolanus.

Houses in Spain

122. Map of Augustinian provinces in Spain.
123. Map of the province of Castilia.

124. A letter from Madrid to P. Lubin by his brother (?) Louis Lubin OSA, 28. August 1648 contains « Chorographica descriptio conventuum Hispaniae ».
125. Picture of the Christ of Burgos.
126. Long, waterstained letter from Spain. 11 pp. in Spanish.
127. « Notitia conventus Sarriani in provincia Castellae ». In Spanish. December 4. 1658 by Josef de Villanova.
128. « Notitia conventus Vadayani in provincia Castellae » by Oliverus Mores.
129. Map of « Provincia Bethicae seu Andalusiae ».
130. St. Augustine, Granada. In Spanish. 3 pp.

Report on a visit to the grave of St. Thomas a Villanova, probably by Louis Lubin, August 2 (1648) 5 pp.

132. Map of « Provincia Regnorum Coronae Aragoniae ».
133. Criticism of his map : location of Perpignan and Courbiac.
134. Enumeration of Augustinian houses in the prov. of Catalonia.
135. Same for Aragon.
136. Same for houses « in principatu Cathaloniae comitatus Rosilionis et Ceritaniae ».
137. Map of Portugal.
138. Original map of Portugal (very inept).
139. Houses of Vicariate in East India.
140. A list of the dioceses of India, in which the houses of this vicariate are located.
141. Extract from a book entitled ' Relation d'un voyage de Moscovia Tartarie et Perse ' by the Duke of Goldstein 1633-1639, translated from the German by Olearius (Paris 1656).

P. 262 (7. Febr. 1637) : « We were visited by a Roman Catholic Monk, called Ambrosio dos Amos, natif of Lisbon in Portugal. He told us, that he came from Tiflis in Georgia, a journey of ten days from Sesamacsie (!), where he is prior of a convent of the Order of St. Augustine. He knew other languages beside his mother tongue. He used Latin in his conversation with the ambassador, and knew also Georgian, Turkish and Persian ».

142. Map of the province of the March of Treviso alias of Venice and the Congregation of Monto Ortho.

The Province of Toulouse and Aquitaine (vide no. 45)

143. Map of the Province of Toulouse and Aquitaine.
144. The convents of this province (names only).
145. Description of the province of Toulouse and Guyenne, its convents and some interesting items on each.

Written in haste at Lyon by Fr. Fromiger in May 1650.

146. List of provincials (part missing ?) begins with Bernardus Pinalis, 1397.

147. List of Provincial Chapters of the Province Toulouse and Aquitaine and the provincials elected at the same, 1579-1655.
148. Topographical description of its houses. 7 pp.
149. Distances between the houses of Prov. Toul. & Aquit. in letter of August 9, 1650 by Fr. Anthony Martin (same as in no. 61 ?).
150. Distances in the province (continued).
151. Letter of Simplicien (de St. Martin Villeneufve) of 26. Aug. 1650. Sends list of provincials (no. 146 ?).
152. R. de Formiger (vide no. 145) describes the distances between houses.
153. « Le couvent Agen ».
154. Rough and poor sketch of this house.
155. 1. « Memoires qui se trouvent au couvent des PP. Augustins de Bourdeaux ». Enumeration of papal bulls and other documents also reports on individual houses. Fr. de Villeneufve, April 1 (year ?).
    2. Letter of Villeneufve complains about the destruction of archives.
156. « Authores ordinis nondum praelo missi ».

The following list gives only a fraction of the manuscripts preserved in this ancient monastery, where a *studium generale* was established. The *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements vol. 23: Bordeaux* (Paris 1894) pp. XV-XXV enumerates 165 MSS which emanated from the Augustinian library of this city. The list is also misleading, because it includes several works of non-Augustinian authors (nos. 8, 14, 17, 18 , 21).

1. Quaestiones theologicae Gregorii de Arimino ; ejusdem Quodlibeta

The *Catalogue... Bordeaux* p. 64 says that the present Ms 119 contains the Quodlibeta of Giles of Rome and none of the works of Gregory, though they are assigned to him in Ms 119.

2. Quaestiones de praedicamentis divinis Jacobi de Viterbio (now Ms. 167 ff. 1-91v).
   Ejusdem Quodlibeta (*ibidem* ff. 117-217).
3. Quodlibetum unum Fratris Jacobi de Appamiis (*ibidem* 93v-116v).
4. Jacobi Magni olim conventus Parisiensis, baccalaurei
   Expositio moralis super Genesim (now Ms 18).
   Ejusdem Sophologium (now Ms 294 ff. 83-142v)
   et Introductorium sermocinandi (now Ms 306).
5. Distinctiones seu concordantiae historiales veteris et novi testamenti fratris Bidenis de Senis (now Ms 135 ff. 1-62, which however contains only the concordance of the New Testament).
6. Sermones arboris statuum [ad status] f. Nanii, Albiensis (now Ms 135 ff. 107-135. The name Nanius of Albi is not given in the *Catalogue*, p. 76).
7. Frater Augustinus de Urbino, De pugna spirituali (now Ms 135, ff. 63-107).

8. Philippus de Pergamo [OSB], Speculum regiminis (now Ms 425).
9. Symonis de Cremona, Quadragesimale.
10. Arnaldi de Sancto Quintino conventus Montis-Domae Sermones. Ejusdem Summa collectionum.
    Hic Parisiis studens plura magna volumina authorum, quorum nomina non sunt nobis nota, conscribi fecit.
    The *Catalogue* calls him correctly not de Sancto, but de Fonte Quintino and assigns to him Mss 73, 127, 135, 331.
11. Jordani de Saxonia, Evangeliorum expositio.
12. Augustinus de Ancona, In epistolas Pauli (now Mss 57, 58).
13. Augustinus (Summa) de causis, completa Baiocis. In Math. (now Ms 140 ; the work belongs to Giles of Rome).
14. Arnaldus de Villanova, De cognitione anticristi.
15. Ugolinus Constantinopolitanus patriarcha, quondam Parisiis primatum tenens, In quattuor libros Sententiarum (now Ms 164).
16. Uberdus, Super quattuor Sententiarum Aegidii Romani.
17. Morneus, In libros Sententiarum.
18. Jacobus Lausanna, Super genesim (now Ms 148).
19. Historia et cosmographia Moysis usque ad Ascensionem.
20. Albertus de Padua, Super evangelia quadragesimae et festa per annum (now Mss 44, 307).
21. Liber authoris incogniti fratris Arnaldi de Villanova.
22. Augustini et Aristotelis, Magna Moralia (now Ms 1000 ?).
23. Augustinus, De conflictu vitiorum.
24. Sermones Sancti Patris Augustini ad heremos, inventi temporibus Pipini Francorum regis in abbatia Sancti Dionysii qui quidem in sola libraria Summi Pontificis in Abinione (!) reservandi, scripti autem opera fratris cujusdam theologi nuncupati, primo Carcassonae, demum Burdigalae (now Ms 294, ff. 143r-160r).
25. Thomae Argentinatis, Scripta super quattuor Sententiarum, multo ampliora iis quae typis mandata sunt (now Mss 126, 127, 128).
26. Biblia sacra immensi voluminis ab anno millesimo centesimo undecimo conscripta.

157. Enumeration of papal bulls in the archives of Bordeaux.
158. Royal patent letters in the same archives. Oldest is dated 1382.
159. Memoir on the house in Fleurance by William Trozes (Thozet ?), DD & prior.
160. Plan of house in Limoges (original).
161/2. Plan and view of the house in Montauban (original).
163. Bull of foundation for Mortemart. 17 pp.
164. History of Perigueux. By same author as in no. 155.
165. Report on Geaune.
166. St. Savinien du Port and a few notes on Limoges and La Rochelle.

Nicolaus de Tombeur, O. E. S. A.

(1657-1736)

en zijn « Provincia Belgica »

Inleiding

De ordeshistoricus P. Nicolaus de Tombeur (Tienen 21-8-1657-Leuven 23-5-1736) is vooral bekend als auteur van een groot werk over de geschiedenis van de oude Nederlandse, Keulse of Neder-duitse Augustijnenprovincie en van haar talrijke kloosters, uitgegeven in 1727 te Leuven onder de titel *Provincia Belgica Ord. FF. Eremitarum S. P. N. Augustini, olim dicta Coloniensis et Inferioris Germaniae*. Dezelfde auteur heeft echter ook over hetzelfde onderwerp een meer uitvoerig onuitgegeven werk nagelaten, dat getiteld is: *Provinciae Belgicae, Coloniensis seu Inferioris Alemanniae Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini Descriptio*. De uitgegeven *Provincia Belgica*, een foliant van 264 blz., is slechts een compendium van dit onuitgegeven handschrift, dat zes lijvige delen in-4° omvat, die nu berusten in het provinciaal archief van de Augustijnen te Gent samen met enige andere onuitgegeven werken van dezelfde auteur o. m. zijn *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis*, een uitgebreide geschiedenis van het Leuvense Augustijnenklooster in vier delen [1]).

De zesdelige onuitgegeven *Provincia Belgica* van N. de Tom-

[1]) Genoemde werken van N. de Tombeur worden verder geciteerd onder de volgende afkortingen:

PB = *Provincia Belgica...* Lovanii, Typis M. van Overbeke, z. j. [1727].

PBD = *Provinciae Belgicae... Descriptio*. Ms. in-4°, 6 dln., bewaard in ABA (= Archief van de Belgische Augustijnenprovincie), fonds provincialia n. X.

ACL = *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis*. Ms. in-4°, 4 dln., bewaard in ABA, fonds Leuven n. I.

beur is een waardevolle bron van inlichtingen voor de historiografie van de Augustijnenorde in de Nederlanden en in het Rijnland. De auteur beschikte over een rijk bronnenmateriaal, dat nu grotendeels verloren is. Hij heeft hieruit belangrijke stukken gekopieerd en ook bij de zes banden van zijn handschrift meerdere oorspronkelijke dokumenten, geschriften van andere geschiedschrijvers en zeldzame drukwerkjes doen samenbinden, zodat die bewaard zijn gebleven.

Een gedetailleerde beschrijving van dit weinig bekend handschrift van N. de Tombeur is met een onderzoek naar de door hem gebruikte historische bronnen de voornaamste opzet van deze bijdrage. Vooraf delen wij de bijzonderste gegevens mede over zijn leven en over zijn werk.

I. Zijn leven

In 1716 heeft N. de Tombeur in een korte autobiografie de bijzonderste feiten uit zijn leven opgetekend [2]). Aan de hand van deze autobiografie, aangevuld met nieuwe gegevens uit andere bronnen o. m. uit de gedrukte doodsbrief van 1736, waarin heel zijn leven in Latijnse verzen verhaald wordt [3]), schetsen wij hier zijn curriculum vitae [4]).

Nicolaus de Tombeur werd op 21 augustus 1657 te Tienen geboren uit een adellijke familie. Zijn ouders waren Joannes de Tombeur en Barbara Mertens. Op dezelfde dag werd hij gedoopt in de parochiekerk van Sint-Germanus en ontving de doopnaam Nicolaus ter ere van de Italiaanse volksheilige St. Nicolaus van Tolen-

[2]) ACL, II, 960-961.

[3]) Lovanii, typis Joannis Jacobs, in platea Praepositi. Enkel folioblad, bewaard tussen de achterste schutbladen van ACL, I.

[4]) De voornaamste uitgaven, waarin over N. de Tombeur gehandeld wordt, zijn: J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, IV, Louvain 1764, 220-222; J. F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, Ingolstadii 1768, 893-894; E. Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, V, Louvain 1889-91, 309-310 (= *Couvent ou collège des Augustins à Louvain*, in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 22 (1890-91), 283-284; J. Wils, *Obituaire des Augustins de Louvain*, in *Analectes*, 30 (1904), 391-392; Th. Lopez Bardon, *Monastici Augustiniani R. P. Fr. Nicolai Crusenii continuatio*, III, Valladolid 1916, 455-456; J. Wils in *Biographie nationale*, 25 (1930-32), 422-424.

tino, die toen ook in de Augustijnenkerk van Tienen vereerd werd [5]). In 1673 op 16-jarige leeftijd trad hij te Leuven in het Augustijnenklooster, nadat hij de humaniora gevolgd had in het Augustijnenkollege van zijn geboortestad evenals zijn oudere broer Hubertus [6]). Op 21 september 1673 werd hij te Leuven ingekleed en een jaar later op 25 september legde hij de plechtige kloostergeloften af. Na zijn professie studeerde hij filosofie te Brussel en teologie te Leuven en werd op 20 september 1681 priester gewijd. Als student in de teologie aan de Schola Augustiniana te Leuven, welke met de Alma Mater verbonden was, verdedigde hij op 18 juli 1678 en 23 november 1679 een openbare teologische tesis onder leiding van zijn professor P. Henricus Bellemans [7]). Op 6 oktober 1686 behaalde hij aan de universiteit van Leuven de graad van licentiaat in de teologie.

N. de Tombeur was achtereenvolgens leraar aan het Augustijnenkollege te Leuven van 1679 tot Pasen 1683 [8]), professor in de filosofie te Gent van mei 1683 tot augustus 1686, magister van de novicen in het algemeen noviciaatshuis van de Vlaamse provincie te Mechelen van augustus 1686 tot februari 1690, professor in de teologie in de priorij van de Reguliere Kanunniken van St. Augustinus te Groenendaal bij Brussel van februari 1690 tot oktober 1706, professor in de teologie aan de Schola Augustiniana te Leuven van oktober 1706 tot april 1709 [9]), toen hij in het provinciaal kapittel te Gent wegens ziekte ontslag nam als professor en benoemd werd tot provisitator en nadien in juli 1710 tot definitor als opvolger van P. Fulgentius Stevens, overleden te Amsterdam

[5]) Zie N. TEEUWEN-G. DEKESEL, *Sint Nicolaas van Tolentino. Een volksheilige in Vlaanderen*, Gent 1946, 135-136.

[6]) Ridder Hubertus de Tombeur, heer van Hampteau en Opheilissem, geboren te Tienen 27 maart 1649, overleed te Brussel 15 maart 1730 als lid van de Privé Raad van de landvoogdes Maria Elisabeth van Oostenrijk en oud-lid van de Grote Raad te Mechelen. Zie over hem L. GOFFIN in *Biographie nationale*, 25 (1930-32), 421-422.

[7]) *Doctrina orthodoxa magni Ecclesiae Doctoris Augustini de Christo Verbi Dei Incarnato, ejusque Sacramentis in genere et in specie*. Lovanii, M. Hullegaerde, 1678. In-4°, 8 ongen. blz.; *Theologiae veritatis fabrica innixa inconcussis Ecclesiae columnis Augustino et Ambrosio*. Ibid. 1679. In-4°, 16 ongen. blz.

[8]) ACL, IV, 142: « ... in quo docui A° 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682 et usque ad Pascha 1683, quo abii Gandavum ». Paquot, Wils en andere biografen schrijven foutief, dat hij reeds vanaf 1674 te Leuven onderwijs gaf.

[9]) In 1706 bedankte hij voor een benoeming tot regens studiorum te Leuven, gedaan in het provinciaal kapittel te Mechelen. Zie ACL, II, 960.

op 8 juli 1710. Deze funkties nam hij waar tot het volgende kapittel, gehouden in april 1712 te Brussel. Vanaf 1714 wijdde hij zich voornamelijk aan de vele historische opzoekingen, waarvan het resultaat bewaard is in enige uitgaven en vooral in zijn omvangrijke schriftelijke nalatenschap. Hij volbracht deze taak uit liefde voor zijn orde, provincie en klooster met een taai geduld ondanks de vele hevige pijnen, die hij jarenlang leed door het podagra. Tot in zijn laatste levensjaren, toen hij bovendien nog gekweld werd door een breuk en een ongeneeslijke kankerziekte, heeft hij de annalen van zijn provincie en van zijn klooster met een bevende hand bijgewerkt. Hij maakte zich ook verdienstelijk als predikant. In 1716 schreef hij in zijn autobiografie: « Podagrae doloribus amplius quam senio coactus, optat ut in annuntiando Dei verbo (quod in variis ecclesiis Antverpiae, Gandavi et Lovanii per Adventus et Quadragesimas praestitit) prodesse queat et suae proximorumque saluti invigilans in nidulo suo moriatur » [10]). Op 22 september 1722 vierde hij te Leuven zijn gouden kloosterjubileum [11]). Bij die gelegenheid publiceerde zijn medebroeder en vriend P. Franciscus Pauwens een lang Latijns opdrachtsgedicht [12]). Zijn gouden priesterfeest vierde hij op 20 september 1731. In het provinciaal kapittel te Mechelen in april 1733 werd hij ondanks zijn hoge ouderdom en zwakke gezondheid nog tot definitor van zijn provincie gekozen, maar het volgende kapittel, gehouden in april 1736 te Leuven, kon hij wegens zware ziekte niet meer bijwonen. Hij overleed op 23 mei 1736 te Leuven in de ouderdom van 79 jaren en werd in de kloosterkerk onder een zerk begraven [13]). Tot aan zijn dood was hij trouw gebleven aan hetgeen hij in 1716 neerschreef: « ... et interim per-

[10]) ACL, II, 961.

[11]) Bij die gelegenheid vernieuwde hij zijn kloostergeloften. Akte in *Liber professionum conventus hujus Lovaniensis* (1699-1795), f. 11r., bewaard in ABA, fonds provincialia n. 21.

[12]) *Epinicium admodum Reverendo ac Eruditissimo Patri, P. Nicolao de Tombeur, in Alma Universitate Lovaniensi S. Theologiae Licentiato et Professori emerito, quinquaginta annorum in Ordine Eremitarum S. P. Augustini integerrime exactorum Jubilaeum celebranti Lovanii in Templo PP. Augustinianorum die XXII. Septembris M.DCC.XXII.* Lovanii, Typis Joannis Baptistae Schellekens, è regione Academiae. Enkel folioblad, bewaard tussen de voorste schutbladen van ACL, I.

[13]) Het grafschrift en fragmenten uit de doodsbrief publiceerde E. Reusens, *Documents*, V, 310.

suasum mihi foret certissime, hanc esse vitae nostrae conditionem, ut non, nii cum vitae termino, requiescere debeat a laboribus suis » [14]).

II. Zijn werk

Uitgaven

Nicolaus de Tombeur heeft weinig uitgegeven. Als professor in de teologie te Leuven was hij voorzitter van enige tesissen, die door zijn leerlingen verdedigd werden en ook in druk bewaard zijn gebleven [15]). In 1710 publiceerde hij een handboek voor het toedienen van de Sakramenten van de Biecht en van de H. Eucharistie en voor het opdragen van het Misoffer [16]), waarvoor de ordesgeneraal Adeodatus Summanticus een bijzondere aanbeveling schreef in een brief van 3 september 1711 [17]). In 1719 mengde hij zich in de pennestrijd tussen jansenisten en anti-jansenisten met een boekje ter verdediging van de bul Unigenitus van paus Clemens XI [18]). Deze anonieme uitgave wordt soms toegeschreven aan zijn medebroeder P. Philippus van Wavre, maar volgens eigen getuigenis is N. de Tombeur zeker de auteur van dit polemisch werkje [19]). In

[14]) ACL, I, 9r.

[15]) Zie J. Wils in *Analectes*, 30 (1904), 391.

[16]) *Praxis ritè administrandi Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae cum instructione de ritibus et caeremoniis in Sacrificio Missae servandis et cavendis abusibus...* Leodii, J. F. Broncart, 1710. In-8°, [6]+221+[4] blz. Zie X. de Theux, *Bibliographie liégeoise*, Bruges 1885, 440. Een vermeerderde uitgave (Editio secunda ab authore recognita et plurimum adaucta) verscheen in 1712 te Antwerpen bij Joannes Paulus Robijns. In-8°, 16+272+10 blz. Zie ook L. Willaert, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica*, II, Bruxelles 1950, n. 7815 en 8028; *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica Impressa*, Hagae Comitis 1954, n. 16901 en 17086. De onder n. 16877 vermelde Luikse editie van 1710 op naam van J. Opstraet is identisch aan het werk van N. de Tombeur, vermeld onder n. 16901. In de uitgave *Ritus servandi a sacerdotibus aliisque ministris in Missa privata et solemni*, gedrukt te Mechelen door Laurentius Van der Elst in 1739, werd ook als appendix het traktaat van N. de Tombeur *De Ritibus et Caeremoniis* opgenomen in de laatste 32 blz.

[17]) Zie PB, 106-107 en de editie van 1712 van genoemd werk.

[18]) *Causa dispar inter oppositionem S. Cypriani, Carthaginensis Episcopi, contra rescriptum S. Stephani Papae, & inter oppositionem quorumdam contra novissimam SS. DD. Clementis XI. Bullam Unigenitus, corde pacifico elucidata...* Lovanii, G. Stryckwant, 1719. In-8°, 68 blz. Zie Paquot, o. c., IV, 221.

[19]) Zie PB, 107. L. Willaert, o. c., II, n. 8830, 8852 en 8990 vermeldt dezelfde

1722 wijdde hij zijn eerste historische uitgave aan het leven van zijn dooppatroon St. Nicolaus van Tolentino. Het is een met aantekeningen verrijkte tekstuitgave van het *Vita S. Nicolai de Tolentino* van de middeleeuwse schrijver Jordanus van Saksen [20]), ontleend aan zijn *Liber Vitasfratrum* [21]). Dit werkje, dat ook wegens de aantekeningen van belang is voor de geschiedenis van de eredienst van deze Heilige in de Zuidnederlandse provinciën, werd door de Gentse Augustijn P. Petrus Hoydonck in het Nederlands vertaald en uitgegeven te Gent in 1723 [22]). Tenslotte publiceerde N. de Tombeur in 1727 zijn *Provincia Belgica*, waarover verder meer uitvoerig gehandeld wordt.

Handschriften

Meer omvangrijk is de handschriftelijke nalatenschap van N. de Tombeur. Behalve de zesdelige *Provincia Belgica*, waarvan de beschrijving volgt in het derde hoofdstuk, bezit het archief van de Belgische Augustijnenprovincie vier lijvige delen in-4° over de geschiedenis van het Augustijnenklooster te Leuven, getiteld: *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis Ord. FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini. Compilati per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. Licent. et ejusdem Conventus filium A° 1716, aetatis suae 60, Religionis 44 et Sacerdotii 36.*

Volgens het oorspronkelijk plan van de auteur was dit werk volledig in twee delen, die hij in 1716 samenstelde, maar in 1720 heeft hij zijn werk aangevuld met een derde deel en in 1721 met een vierde deel. De twee eerste delen zijn doorlopend gepagineerd van 1 tot 1092, maar de oorspronkelijke paginering is zeer onregel-

uitgave driemaal, nl. onder de anoniemen, op naam van N. de Tombeur en op naam van Ph. van Wavre.

[20]) *Vita S. Nicolai de Tolentino Ecclesiae Latinae Thaumaturgi, per B. Jordanum de Saxonia Ord. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini cum insertis F. Petri à Monte Rubiano S. Nicolao coaevi sodalis, a P. Nicolao de Tombeur S. Th. Licentiato & in eodem Ordine Jubilario notis illustrata.* Lovanii, Typis Guilielmi Stryckwant, 1722. In-8°, 77+[3] blz.

[21]) Kritische tekstuitgave door R. Arbesmann en W. Hümpfner, *Jordani de Saxonia O. E. S. A. Liber Vitasfratrum*, New York 1943 (Cassiciacum. American Series, vol. I). Jordanus van Saksen ontleende vooral aan het *Vita* van Petrus van Monte Rubiano, geschreven in 1326 en uitgegeven in de *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. III, 644-664.

[22]) Zie beschrijving van deze uitgave in N. TEEUWEN-G. DEKESEL, *Sint Nicolaas van Tolentino*, Gent 1946, 68.

matig, vooral omdat de auteur bij de twee banden van zijn handschrift meerdere dokumenten, geschriften van andere auteurs en drukwerkjes heeft gevoegd, die niet altijd in de paginering zijn opgenomen, zodat beide delen in feite 1450 blz. tellen. De auteur volgt niet de kronologische geschiedschrijving van zijn klooster vanaf de stichting in 1236 tot in zijn tijd, maar heeft zijn werk verdeeld in 67 hoofdstukken volgens de verschillende onderwerpen, die hij systematisch behandelt en steeds verantwoordt met verwijzing naar de geraadpleegde bronnen. In het eerste deel beschrijft hij de stichting van het klooster, de plaats en ligging, de ekonomische toestand, de bouw van de kerk, het meubilair, het H. Sakrament van Mirakel, de broederschappen, de relieken, de termijnhuizen of staties enz. In het tweede deel geeft hij voornamelijk in kronologische orde de namen van de prioren, subprioren, sakristas's, deputati, prokuratoren, regenten en professoren van de teologische school, prefekten van de Latijnse school en van de overleden medebroeders. Deze lijsten zijn meestal door anderen bijgehouden tot aan de opheffing van het klooster in 1796.

Het derde deel telt 340 bladen, genummerd van 1-509, en bevat uitvoerige aantekeningen over de talrijke misfundaties vanaf 1292 tot 1720, datum van de samenstelling van dit aanvullend deel, dat getiteld is: *Fundationes Anniversariorum, Missarum etc. earumque natura, onera, proventus, status, mutatio, immunitio et reductio in conventu Lovaniensi Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini collectae et descriptae per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur eiusdem conventus filium A. 1720* [23]).

Het vierde en laatste deel, geschreven in 1721 zonder titel, bevat allerlei aanvullende gegevens in verband met de geschiedenis van het klooster. Voorin is een waardevol oorspronkelijk handschrift gebonden van de Leuvense Augustijn P. Joannes Rivius († 1663) over de geschiedenis van het klooster vanaf de stichting in 1236 tot 1379 [24]) en achterin zijn drie drukwerkjes bijgevoegd [25]).

[23]) Een kopie van dit derde deel, geschreven door P. Bernardus Acquet († Tienen 1726), is bewaard in ABA, fonds Leuven n. 22. In folio, 482 blz.

[24]) Zie verder blz.

[25]) *Discursus de perpetuitate approbationum religiosorum ad excipiendum Confessiones & Praedicandum verbum Dei.* Gandavi, Judocus Dooms, 1636 (In-4°, 2+102 blz.); *Motivum juris D. Nicolai du Bois, sacrarum litterarum Lovanii Regii & Primarii Professoris Appellantis à decreto M. Rectoris ad ipsam Universitatem, seu judicem alias competentem, in causa frequentationis Parochiarum, & prohibi-*

Dit deel telt 401 genummerde blz., maar de paginering is onregelmatig.

Behalve deze handschriften bezit het provinciaal archief te Gent nog een ander werk van N. de Tombeur, dat getiteld is: *Libri tres Sacristiae Lovaniensis, quorum primus incipit A. 1652. Cum notis aliquibus adiunctis per f. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. L. Conv. Lovaniens. filium A. 1721, aetatis suae 64, Religionis 48.*

Hierin zijn drie oorspronkelijke sakristieboeken van 1652, 1672 en 1682 opgenomen. Dit handschrift bevat 558 blz. in-4° en bevat o. m. een kataloog van de sakrista's en ook van de leken, die in 1674-1744 in de kloosterkerk begraven werden.

In het stadsarchief te Leuven berust een obituarium van het Leuvense Augustijnenklooster, samengesteld in 1714 door N. de Tombeur en door anderen aangevuld tot 1813 [26]). De titel luidt: *Elenchus PP. et FF. defunctorum ordinis Eremitarum S. P. Augustini conventus Lovaniensis filiorum aut qui hic obierunt ab anno fundationis 1236. Collectus per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur conventus filium anno 1714 ac per alios continuatus.*

Dit werk is geschreven op twee lange rollen van aan elkaar genaaide stukken perkament. De namen zijn op de rectozijde gerangschikt volgens maand en dag van overlijden en op de versozijde volgens de kronologische orde. Dit handschrift werd nauwkeurig uitgegeven door J. Wils [27]).

In een lijst van zijn onuitgegeven handschriften vermeldt N. de Tombeur ook een obituarium van de volledige Provincia Belgica [28]). Dit werk hebben wij niet teruggevonden, tenzij dit moet vereenzelvigd worden met de *Elenchus defunctorum Provinciae Belgicae*

tionis certi libelli per ipsum compositi super 45. propositionibus nuper à S. D. N. damnatis, & in praxi perniciosis. S. l. n. a. [1666]. (In-4°, 56 ongen. blz.); *Advertissement omme de P. P. Predick-Heeren, Carmeliten, ende Augustynen, Primitive Biddende Ordens der Stadt van Ghendt, Rescribenten ter eender zyde. Jeghens Kerck-Meesters, ende andere Regierders vande Cathedrale ende Parochiale Kercke van S.te Baefs, ende andere Parochiale Kercken der voornoemde Stadt, Heesschers by Requeste aende Majesteyt ghepresenteert den 23. November 1697. ende hier t'Hove ghesonden...* S. l. n. a. [1698 ?]. (In-4°, 48 blz.).

[26]) Zie J. CUVELIER, *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Louvain*, II, Louvain 1930, 63, n. 4195.

[27]) *Obituaire des Augustins de Louvain*, in *Analectes*, 30 (1904), 348-442.

[28]) PBD, I, 427: « Conscripsit Catalogum Defunctorum Conventus Lovaniensis, dein totius Provinciae Belgicae ».

Ordinis Erem. S. Aug., geschreven door een andere hand op vijf rollen van aaneengeplakte stroken papier, die nu berusten in het archief van de Belgische Augustijnenprovincie te Gent. Deze vijf rollen, waarvan de eerste rol onvolledig is, bevatten de namen van 1146 leden van de Provincia Belgica, die in de periode van 12 maart 1671 tot 7 augustus 1719 overleden.

III. Zijn onuitgegeven « Provincia Belgica »

De in 1727 te Leuven uitgegeven *Provincia Belgica* van N. de Tombeur is een compendium van dit onuitgegeven werk, zoals de auteur zelf op blz. 107 van genoemde uitgave aantekende in een lijst van zijn werken: « Descripsit etiam Provinciam Belgicam, & singula ejusdem Monasteria Tom. 8 Ms. quorum hoc opus praesens succinctum est compendium ». Van deze acht delen berusten nu de zes eerste delen in het provinciaal archief van de Augustijnen te Gent. Deze zes delen vormen volgens de oorspronkelijke opzet van de auteur een volledig werk. Dit blijkt uit de « Index generalium omnium, quae his tomis 6 Provinciae Belgicae continentur » in het voorwerk van het eerste deel. Hierin is er nog geen sprake van acht delen. De auteur vermeldt voor het eerst acht delen in 1720 in een lijstje van zijn handschriften: « Conscripsit Catalogum Defunctorum Conventus Lovaniensis, item totius Provinciae Belgicae. Descripsit Conventus Lovaniensis Annales Tom. 3. Item Provinciam Belgicam eiusque originem, progressum, Monasteria singula eorumque fundationes, Capitula Provincialia etc. Tom 8 in 4to » [29]). Hieruit blijkt dus, dat N. de Tombeur, die in 1716-1717 zijn *Provincia Belgica* in zes delen samenstelde, dit werk vóór 1720 aangevuld heeft met een zevende en een achtste deel. Nadien schreef hij nog een derde aanvullend deel, zodat het volledige werk eigenlijk negen delen omvatte. Hij vermeldt die negen delen in een nieuw lijstje van zijn handschriften: « ... Provinciae Belgicae descriptionem compilavit Tom. novem comprehensam » [30]). Deze drie aanvullende delen zijn in de vorige eeuw zoek geraakt. Na de opheffing van het Augustijnenklooster te Leuven in 1796, bleef het handschrift van N. de Tombeur in bewaring bij P. Petrus

[29]) PBD, I, 427.
[30]) ACL, II, 961.

Wirix, pastoor te Blanden bij Leuven, de laatste overlevende Leuvense Augustijn, die de zes eerste delen vermaakte aan het in 1834 herstelde Augustijnenklooster te Gent. De andere delen had hij rond 1844 aan medebroeders in de Hollandse Missie gezonden, vermoedelijk naar de statie « de Star » in de Spinhuissteeg te Amsterdam, maar reeds in 1864 bleken die delen bij navraag door de Gentse ordeshistoricus P. Ambrosius Keelhoff onvindbaar [31]).

Het eerste deel van de bewaard gebleven zesdelige *Provincia Belgica* handelt over de algemene geschiedenis van de Augustijnenorde met uitzondering van de laatste 108 blz., die een bio-bibliografisch repertorium van 138 schrijvers uit de Provincia Belgica bevatten, alsmede een lijst van de professoren van dezelfde provincie, die in de 17e en 18e eeuw teologie doceerden in kloosters van andere orden.

Het tweede deel geeft de algemene geschiedenis van de Provincia Belgica in 23 hoofdstukken. De Provincia Belgica of Provincia Flandriae was in de 17e eeuw de officiele naam van de oude Provincia Coloniae of Inferioris Germaniae. Deze provincie werd in 1299 opgericht door splitsing van de Duitse provincie in vier provincies en omvatte het Rijnland, de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik. In 1679 werden de kloosters in het Duitse gebied van de Provincia Belgica afgescheiden en verenigd in een zelfstandige provincie onder de oude naam van Keulse provincie. In 1682 werd de Provincia Belgica opnieuw gesplitst in een Provincia Flandro-Belgica en een Provincia Gallo-Belgica [32]). N. de Tombeur, die tot de Flandro-Belgica behoorde, beschrijft in dit tweede deel de algemene geschiedenis van de Provincia Belgica vóór en na de drievoudige verdeling. In de drie volgende delen bespreekt hij de geschiedenis van elk klooster afzonderlijk.

Het derde deel geeft de geschiedenis van de kloosters te Keulen, Leuven, Trier, Gent, Brugge en Luik.

Het vierde deel bevat de geschiedenis van de kloosters te

[31]) A. KEELHOFF, *Geschiedenis van het klooster der eerw. Paters Eremyten Augustynen te Gent*, Gent 1864, 317.

[32]) Zie de provincieverdelingen met de lijsten der kloosters van elke provincie bij W. Hümpfner in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, I, Freiburg i. Br. 1930, 819-820 i. v. Augustiner-Eremiten. Minder bruikbaar is het overzicht van de provinciegeschiedenis door M. Th. Disdier in *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géogr. Ecclés.*, V, Paris 1931, 520-522, waarin vele fouten voorkomen o. m. « La province de Belgique, dite Flandro-Belge, naquit au XVe siècle » (sic!).

Mechelen, Dordrecht, Brussel, Doornik, Antwerpen, Aken, Hasselt, Middelburg, Ieper, Edingen, Maastricht, Haarlem, Enkhuizen, Appingedam bij Groningen, Marienthal bij Wesel, Bedburg en Wallerfangen.

Het vijfde deel handelt over de geschiedenis van de kloosters te Wesel, Bouillon, Hoei, Frauweiler, Rijsel, Bouvignes bij Dinant, Thionville, Diest, Herentals, Tienen, Douai, Dendermonde, La Bassée, Roeselare, Hillesheim, Bree, Valenciennes, Mühlheim, Rode, Lippstadt, Merten a. d. Sieg (Augustinessenklooster), Rösrath, Saarlouis en over een reeks mislukte stichtingen.

Het zesde en laatste deel is volledig gewijd aan de provinciale kapittels en aan de provinciaals van de Provincia Belgica.

Elk deel is verdeeld in hoofdstukken. Na elk hoofdstuk volgen enige onbeschreven blz. voor latere aanvullingen, die wij in de beschrijving van het handschrift niet opgenomen hebben evenmin als de titels van de talrijke paragrafen, waarin de hoofdstukken van de twee eerste delen onderverdeeld zijn.

Elk deel is afzonderlijk gepagineerd. De zes delen samen tellen 3460 blz., maar de oorspronkelijke paginering is onregelmatig vooral omdat de auteur bij de zes banden van zijn handschrift meerdere dokumenten, geschriften van andere auteurs en drukwerkjes gevoegd heeft, die niet altijd in de paginering zijn opgenomen. In de beschrijving hebben wij dan ook naast de oorspronkelijke paginering een nieuwe foliering gevoegd. Volgens deze foliering telt het eerste deel 319, het tweede 293, het derde 284, het vierde 309, het vijfde 293 en het zesde 357 folios, samen 1855 folios of 3710 blz.

De zes delen zijn gebonden in hun oude banden van bruin leder. Het formaat is 210 op 65 mm. Het geschrift van de auteur is goed leesbaar behalve sommige aanvullingen, die hij op het einde van zijn leven met een bevende hand geschreven heeft. Hier volgt de beschrijving van elk deel van dit handschrift.

Vol. I. — F. 1r, titel: Provinciae Belgicae, Coloniensis, seu Inferioris Alemanniae Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini Descriptio. Per Fr. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. Th. Licent. et eiusdem Ordinis Religiosum. Praefixo compendio praeliminari Ordinem universum concernente per Titulos et Paragraphos distincta. Tomus Ius. — F. 1r-1v: <Praefatio>. F. 2r-8r: Index generalium omnium, quae his Tom. 6. Provinciae Belgicae continentur. — F. 8v: <nota>.

1. (p. 1-17 = f. 9r-16r). Dissertatio praeliminaris de Monachismo S. P. Augustini.

2. (p. 21-54 = f. 18r-35v). Praeliminaria Ord. Erem. S. Augustini universum concernentia.

Bevat o. m. een lange lijst van auteurs, die « de rebus Ordinis » schreven en een verhandeling over de Saksische Observantenkongregatie, vooral in verband met de vraag « an Lutherus umquam fuerit Ordinis nostri membrum ? », welke de auteur ontkennend beantwoordt [33]).

3. (p. 59-138 = f. 36r-65v). De Regula S. Augustini.

Op p. 91-117 is door een andere hand een anoniem traktaat *De obligatione Regulae et Statutorum* gekopieerd. Het is ontleend aan een werkje van P. Petrus Dierkens O. P., uitgegeven te Gent in 1667 onder de titel *Tractatus brevis de obligationibus regulae et constitutionum in sacris religionibus* [34]). Op p. 135 volgt een onvolledig eksemplaar van een drukwerkje, getiteld: *Censurae, quibus S. Augustini auctoritas & doctrina, de Gratia potissimum & libero Arbitrio ac Praedestinatione, à Scriptoribus Societatis Nominis Iesu, perstringitur ac sugillatur. / Elogia, quibus S. Augustini auctoritas & doctrina, de Gratia potissimum ac Praedestinatione, à Romanis Pontificibus, Ecclesiasticis Synodis, orthodoxis Patribus, & illustribus Scriptoribus, extollitur ac comprobatur, oppositaeque in eam Censurae apertissime revincuntur* [35]).

4. (p. 139-278 = f. 71r-140v). De fructibus quos Ordo Augustinianus protulit Ecclesiae.

Tussen p. 264-265 is een eksemplaar van een drukwerkje gebonden, getiteld: *Dissertatio historica de Privilegiis Regularium ad praedicandum Verbum Dei* etc. [36]), ontleend aan de *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* van Pietro Sforza Pallavicino S. J.

5. (p. 281-286 = f. 142r-144v). Inter Augustinianos viri illustres.
6. (p. 289-353 = 146r-190v). De Prioribus Generalibus etc.

Bevat o. m. een lijst van de prioren generaals, door de auteur bijgehouden tot 1733 en door andere aangevuld tot 1866, verder lijsten van de pauselijke sakrista's, van de prokuratoren generaals, en van de assistenten. Tussen p. 353-354 is een drukwerkje van de Spaanse ordes-

[33]) Dezelfde onhoudbare stelling verdedigt ook A. KEELHOFF, *Martin Luther et les Augustins ou les Ermites de Saint-Augustin et la Congrégation de Saxe*. Louvain 1870.

[34]) Zie St. AXTERS, *Bijdragen tot een bibliographie van de Nederlandsche Dominikaansche Vroomheid*, in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 8 (1934), 50.

[35]) Vgl. L. WILLAERT, o. c., I, Bruxelles 1949, n. 2622.

[36]) S. l. n. a., 12 ongen. blz. in-4°.

historicus Thomas de Herrera gevoegd: *Breve Compendio de los Prelados Eclesiasticos y ministros de Sumos Pontifices y Principes. De quienes haze mencion en su Alfabeto Agustiniano el M. F. Tomas de Herrera...* En Madrid, Por Francisco Mareto, Ano M.DC.XLIII. In-4°, 12+ 40 blz. [37]).

7. (p. 354-356 = f. 192r-252v). Additiones ad Anastasim Augustinianam P. Gratiani de Scriptoribus Ordinis nostri.

Bevat een oorspronkelijk handschrift van de Keulse Augustijn P. Petrus Loy († Keulen, 23 april 1658), getiteld: *Additiones ad Anastasim Augustinianam, elaboratae per me Fr. Petrum Loy Augustinianum Germano-Coloniensem, dum Hispaniarum, Franciae et Italiae provincias an. 1627, 28, 29 et 30 peragrarem.* In-4°, 61 fol. Dit handschrift is een belangrijke aanvulling van de eerste nog zeer onvolledige Augustijnse bibliografie, uitgegeven door de provinciaal Thomas Gratianus te Antwerpen in 1613 onder de titel *Anastasis Augustiniana, in qua scriptores Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, qui abhinc saeculis aliquot vixerunt, unà cum neotericis, in seriem digesti sunt* [38]).

8. (p. 357-443 = f. 253r-307r). De Scriptoribus Ordinis Provinciae Belgicae.

Bio-bibliografie van 138 schrijvers, alfabetisch volgens de voornamen gerangschikt. Tussen p. 442-443 een eksemplaar van de gedrukte doodsbrief van P. Bernardus Desirant, overleden te Rome op 2 maart 1725 [39]).

9. (p. 445-453 = f. 308r-312v). De Professoribus Provinciae qui in exteris Religionibus Theologiam docuerunt.
(p. 454-461 = f. 313r-317r). Index Scriptorum Provinciae.
(p. 463-464 = f. 319r-319v). Index Coenobiorum exterorum, ubi docuimus.

Vol. II. — F. 1r-3v: Index tomi secundi... Collecta per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. L. Ordinis eiusdem, Conv. Lovaniensis 1716.

1. (p. 1-9 = f. 4r-8r). De statu Monasteriorum ante erectionem Provinciae.
2. (p. 13-17 = f. 10r-12r). De origine Provinciae Belgicae seu Coloniensis.

[37]) Vgl. G. DE SANTIAGO VELA, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, III, Madrid 1917, 593-594.

[38]) In-8°, [16]+178+[30] blz.

[39]) Herdrukt in A. KEELHOFF, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Ermites de Saint-Augustin à Bruges*, Bruges 1869, 256.

3. (p. 17-23 = f. 12r-15r). De Provinciae augmento.
4. (p. 25-70 = f. 16r-38v). Quibus usa sit Constitutionibus ?

Op p. 67-70 is door een andere hand geschreven: Quaedam maturè reflectenda supra Decreta Capituli Generalis Romae celebrati A. 1685, quorum urgetur per Provinciam Belgicam promulgatio.

5. (p. 71-110 = f. 39r-58v). De PP. Generalibus.

Bevat o. m. De visitatione PP. Generalium in hac Provincia; De Visitatoribus Generalibus; De Vicariis seu Commissariis R^mi P. Generalis. Door een andere hand is op p. 87-102 geschreven: Illustrationes quorumdam punctorum ex Constitutionibus Ord. FF. Eremit. S. Augustini pro Provincia Coloniensi in Capitulo privato Mechliniensi 11 Novembris 1627 celebrato, factae, et in Comitiis provincialibus Antverpiae habitis sub finem mensis Maij 1628 ab utroque Definitorio approbatae et confirmatae.

6. (p. 110-130 = 58v-68v). Provinciae Belgicae jura et privilegia.
7. (p. 139-150 = f. 73r-78v). Status Provinciae ante tumultus Belgicos.
8. (p. 151-174 = f. 79r-90v). Qualis Patrum nostrorum zelus in praedicando verbo Dei. De stationibus et terminis.

Bevat o. m. gegevens over het werk van de predikanten, over de termijnhuizen en de staties in de Hollandse Missie.

9. (p. 175-226 = 91r-116v). Status Provinciae calamitoso Belgicorum tumultuum tempore.

Bevat o. m. afschriften van brieven in april 1582 geschreven door de provinciaal Joannes Crabbe, door de rector van de universiteit te Leuven en door de magistraat van Leuven, bestemd voor het generaal kapittel te Rome in 1582, waarin de toestand van de provincie en van het Leuvense klooster in het bijzonder wordt uitgelegd; afschrift van een brief van de vikaris-generaal Laurentius de Villavicentio aan het generaal bestuur te Rome dd. 1 Maart 1566; afschrift van de benoemingsbrief van Cornelius de Bije tot vikaris-generaal van de provincies van Keulen, Ierland, Engeland en Schotland door de generaal Alexander van Siena dd. 5 juni 1599.

10. (p. 227-229 = f. 117r-118r). Status Provinciae post sedatos tumultus.
11. (p. 235-259 = f. 121r-133r). Respirantis Provinciae incrementum.

Op p. 251-259 een kopie van het verslag van de provinciaal Georgius Maigret in 1625 [40]).

[40]) Zie N. TEEUWEN, *De provinciaal Georges Maigret en zijn verslag over de*

12. (p. 263-278 = f. 135r-142v). Quibus mediis servata et stabilita fuerit regularis observantia.
13. (p. 279-281 = f. 143r-144r). Provinciae Belgicae propagatio quoad fratres.
14. (p. 282-297 = 144v-150r). Propagatio et multiplicatio Provinciae quoad monasteria.
15. (p. 299-306 = f. 153r-156v). De conventuum Provinciae Flandro-Belgicae benefactoribus.
16. (p. 315-330 = f. 161r-168v). Propagatio et incrementum Provinciae quoad studia altiora.
17. (p. 331-358 = f. 169r-182v). Concernentia Officiales Provinciae.
18. (p. 359-388 = f. 183r-198v). De Patribus graduatis in Provincia.
19. (p. 393-418 = f. 201r-212v). De Officialibus Conventuum.
20. (p. 419-430 = f. 213r-218v). Initium et progressus Gymnasiorum quoad studia literarum humaniorum.
21. (p. 431-439 = f. 219r-223v). De partitione Provinciae in tres distinctas.
22. (p. 441-554 = f. 224r-266v). De triplici schismate Provinciae.

Over de ernstige onenigheden in de provincie in 1649, 1667 en 1695. In verband met de onenigheid van 1667, veroorzaakt door P. Michael van Hecke zijn tussen p. 479-480 twee kleine uitgaven zonder drukkersadres gevoegd: *Species facti inter Adm. RR. Patres Diffinitorii Ord. S. Augustini Mechliniae congregatos, et Eximium P. M. Michaelem van Hecke, eiusdem Ord. S. T. Doctorem Duacensem et Professorem Lovaniensem. Super concione habita ibidem in templo nostro die 10 Octob. An. 1667* (In-4°, 4 ongen. blz.); *Synopsis concionis ab Exim. P. Magistro Van Hecke, Ord. Erem. S. Aug. S. Th. Doctore ac Professore in Comitijs Prov. Mechliniae, die 10 Octob. 1667* (In-4°, 2 ongen. blz.) [41]). In verband met de onenigheid van 1695 tussen de rektor-provinciaal G. Wijnants en het definitorium bevatten p. 503-540 drie uitgaven zonder drukkersadres: *F. Guilielmus Wijnants S. T. L. Ordinis Historiographus, Provinciae Flandro-Belgicae Ord. FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini Rector Provincialis, omnibus Patribus et Fratribus dictae Provinciae spiritum obedientiae et intellectus* (In-4°, 16 ongen. blz.); *Responsio ad Epistolam Adm. R. P. Wijnants et causae inter Provinciam et dictum Patrem agitatae elucidatio* (In-4°, 16 ongen. blz.); *Dissertatio canoninica de Excommunicationis moderamine ejusque post interpositam appellationem nullitate. M.DC.XCV.* Ondertekend: *E Definitorio Patres.* In-8°, 16 blz.

Vlaamse of Nederduitse Augustijnenprovincie in 1625, in *Augustiniana*, 1 (1951), 140-149.

[41]) Zie L. CEYSSENS, *P. Michael Van Hecke op weg naar Rome*, in *Augustiniana*, 3 (1953), 65.

23. (p. 555-600 = f. 267r-289v). Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum Provinciae a. 1589, 1598, 1605, 1609, 1618. — p. 601-608 = f. 290r-293v blank.

Vol. III. — F. 1r: Contenta hoc tomo tertio... facta per F. N. De Tombeur S. T. L. Ord. Erem. S. Augustini Conv. Lovaniensis A. 1717. — F. 1v-7r blank. — F. 7v: nota.

1. (p. 1-79 = f. 8r-49r). Conventus Coloniensis.
2. (p. 89-213 = f. 54r-116r). Conventus Lovaniensis.

   De tekst op p. 89-199 = f. 54r-110r is geschreven door een andere hand: *Chronicon Conventus Lovaniensis excerptum ex Annalibus Conv. eiusdem et compilatum per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. L. Conventus filium 1715.* Op p. 108-213 bijvoegingen voor de jaren 1759-1791.

3. (p. 217-228 = f. 118r-123v). Conventus Treverensis.
4. (p. 230-354 = f. 124-187v). Conventus Gandensis.
5. (p. 355-494 = f. 188r-258v). Conventus Brugensis.
6. (p. 497-543 = f. 260r-283r). Conventus Leodiensis. — p. 544-546 = f. 283v-284v blank.

Vol. IV. — F. 1r-2r: Contenta hoc tomo quarto. Descriptio... facta per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. L. Ord. Erem. S. Augustini Conv. Lovaniensis A. 1717. — F. 2v-3v blank.

1. (p. 1-55 = f. 4r-32r). Conventus Mechliniensis.
2. (p. 61-76 = f. 35r-42v). Conventus Dordracensis.
3. (p. 81-136 = f. 45r-72v). Conventus Bruxellensis.
4. (p. 141-198 = f. 75r-104v). Conventus Tornacensis.
5. (p. 199-267 = f. 105r-139r). Conventus Antverpiensis.
6. (p. 275-296 = f. 143r-153v). Conventus Aquisgranensis.
7. (p. 303-366 = f. 157r-188v). Conventus Hasselensis.
8. (p. 371-376 = f. 191r-193v). Conventus Middelburgensis.
9. (p. 379-412 = f. 195r-213v). Conventus Iprensis.
10. (p. 415-455 = f. 215r-230r). Conventus Angiensis.
11. (p. 457-537 = f. 231r-276). Conventus Mosae-Traiectensis.
12. (p. 541-543 = f. 278r-279r). Conventus Harlemensis.
13. (p. 549-551 = f. 282r-283r). Conventus Enchusanus.
14. (p. 552 = f. 283v). Conventus in Damme in Frisia.
15. (p. 554-563 = f. 284v-290r). Conventus Mariae-Vallensis.
16. (p. 567-586 = f. 291r-300v). Conventus Bethburgensis.

17. (p. 591-603 = f. 303r-309r). Conventus Walderfangensis. — p. 604 = f. 309v blank.

Vol. V. — F. 1r-3r: Contenta hoc tomo quinto. Descriptio... per F. N. De Tombeur Conv. Lovan. — F. 3v blank

1. (p. 1-22 = f. 4r-14v). Conventus Wesaliensis.
2. p. 25-42 = f. 16r-24v). Conventus Bulloniensis.
3. (p. 57-74 = f. 32r-40v). Conventus Huensis.
4. (p. 79-92 = f. 43r-49v). Conventus Frauwilleranus. — p. 95-110 ontbreken.
5. (p. 111-126 = f. 51r-58v). Conventus Insulensis.
6. (p. 135-162 = f. 63r-71v). Conventus Boviniensis.
7. (p. 165-180 = f. 73r-80v). Conventus Theonis-Villanus.
8. (p. 181-199 = f. 81r-90r). Conventus Diesthensis.
9. (p. 201-218 = f. 91r-99v). Conventus Herentalensis.
10. (p. 221-239 = f. 101r-110r). Conventus Thenensis.
11. (p. 241-257 = f. 111r-119v). Conventus Duacensis.
12. (p. 261-313 = f. 121v-147v). Conventus Teneramundanus.
13. (p. 317-330 = f. 149v-156r). Conventus Basseanus.
14. (p. 333-368 = f. 157v-175r). Conventus Haesbroukanus.

    Op p. 349-362 = f. 165v-175r: *Chronicon Conventus nostri Augustino-Haesebroucani a primis ejus exordiis usque ad presentem diem*, geschreven in 1719 door een andere hand.

15. (p. 371-396 = f. 176v-189r). Conventus Roelariensis.
16. (p. 403-418 = 192v-200r). Conventus Hildesemensis.
17. (p. 421-451 = f. 201v-216v). Conventus Breanus.
18. (p. 453-455 = f. 217v-218v). Conventus Valencenensis.
19. (p. 461-470 = f. 221v-226r). Conventus Confluentinus seu Vallis Molariae.
20. (p. 471-472 = f. 226v-227r). Conventus Rodensis.

    Tussen p. 472-473 is een handschriftje van 2 ff. (= f. 227v-229r) gevoegd, geschreven door een andere hand, met aantekeningen over: De monasterio Augustiniano Lipstadii; De Conventu Bethburgensi; De Reliquiis S. Sebastiani Coloniae asservatis.

21. (p. 474-477 = f. 230r-231v). Conventus Lipstadiensis. — p. 476-477 zijn tweemaal genummerd.
22. (p 476-484 = f. 232r-236r). Conventus Merthensis.
23. (p. 487-491 = f. 237v-239v). Conventus Roesradanus.

24. (p. 493-497 = f. 240v-242v). Conventus Saar-Ludovicensis.
25. (p. 501-592 = f. 244v-290r). Loca nobis oblata aut de quibus obtinendis olim spes fuit. — p. 593-598 = f. 290v-293v blank.

Aantekeningen over onderhandelingen of aanbiedingen, gedaan in de 17e eeuw, voor de stichting van een klooster of kollege in de volgende plaatsen: Namen, Bergen, Limburg (prov. Luik), Jametz, Quesnoy, Venraai, Le Petit Verneuil, Leuze, Hesdin, Peer, Oostende, Zinnik, Luik (Augustinessenklooster), Waremme, Thuin, Ronse, Herve, Loupoigne, Sittard, Ivoy, Grevenmacher, Marville, Hulchratz, Turnhout, Aarschot, Limal, Alsemberg, Sint-Niklaas, 's-Gravenbrakel, Breda, Amsterdam, 's-Hertogenbosch, Sint-Truiden, Diksmuide, Heverlee [42]) en Kassel [43]).

Vol. VI. — F. 1r-3r blank. — F. 3v: Index tomi sexti. — F. 4r = p. 1, titel: Tabula chronologica Comitiorum seu Capitulorum, PP. Praesidentium, Provincialium et Rectorum Provinciae Coloniensis seu Belgicae, collecta ex vetustis Conv. Coloniensis, Lovaniensis, Brugensis, Mechliniensis, Aquisgranensis, Hasselensis, Wesaliensis, Gandensis, Traiectensis etc. Annalibus. Item ex Registris PP. Generalium per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S.T. L. Conv. Lovaniensis A. 1716.

1. (p. 2-24 = f. 4v-15v). Quaedam praenotanda de tempore Capituli Provincialis celebrandi.
2. (p. 25-390 = f. 16r-213v). Catalogus Priorum et Capitulorum Provincialium post erectam Provinciam.

Deze kataloog is door de auteur bijgehouden tot en met het provinciaal kapittel van de Provincia Flandro-Belgica te Mechelen in 1733. Op p. 403-408 = f. 220r-223v een anoniem drukwerkje, getiteld: *Epicedium admodum reverendi in Christo Patris Cornelii Curtii, Ord. Eremit. S. Augustini S. Th. Licentiati, Conventuum Ingolstadiensis, Pragensis S. Catharinae, Viennensis ex Priore: Provinciae Belgicae ex Magistro Provinciali: Bavaricae ex Visitatore Generali: Sac. Caesar. Maiest. Consiliarii et Historiographi etc. S. C. Qui obijt VII. Id. Octob. M.DC.XXXVIII. Aetat. XLII.* Lovanii, Typis Justi Coppenii, 1638. In-8°, 8 ongen. blz. [44]).

[42]) Zie p. 577-598: « Compendium conceptae incorporationis Monasterii Heverlensis Caelestinorum et translationis in Ordinem fratrum Erem. S. Augustini instanter petitae a Religiosis Caelestinis in Heverle professis A. 1624 ».

[43]) Zie p. 568-572: « Congregatio Montis Vulturis Eremitarum S. Antonii ». De Eremieten van St. Antonius op de Kassel Berg (Frans Vlaanderen) sloten in 1615 aan bij de Provincia Belgica, maar gingen in 1619 over naar de Minderbroeders Recollecten.

[44]) De auteur van dit dichtwerkje is P. Joannes Rivius. Zie PB, 105.

3. (p. 409-434 = f. 224r-238v). Acta Capitulorum quorundam vetustorum.

Oorspronkelijke acta van het provinciaal kapittel te Aken in 1552 (p. 409-412 = f. 224r-225v); afschrift van genoemde acta (p. 413-417 = f. 226r-228r). afschriften van de acta van de provinciale kapittels te Middelburg in 1571, te Mechelen in 1574 en te Brugge in 1577 (p. 418-434 = f. 228v-238v) [45].

4. (p. 437-604 = f. 240r-327v). Excerpta ex Registris Generalium.

Op p. 437-488 = f. 240r-269v een oorspronkelijk handschrift van de Leuvense Augustijn P. Augustinus de Backere († Antwerpen, 15 okt. 1654) met excerpta betreffende de provincie uit de registers van de ordesgeneraals uit de jaren 1387-1556, nu bewaard in het generaal ordesarchief te Rome onder reeks Dd 3-27, gekopieerd tijdens zijn verblijf te Rome van 20 okt. 1638 tot 4 okt. 1640. Op p. 489-570 = f. 270r-310v een kopie van dit handschrift door N. de Tombeur. Op p. 573-604 = f. 312r-327v volgt een ander oorspronkelijk handschrift met excerpta uit de registers van de generaals uit de jaren 1387-1438, geschreven door de Brugse Augustijn P. Gerardus d'Herbe († Brugge, 28 febr. 1722) tijdens zijn verblijf te Rome als sekretaris van P. Bernardus Desirant, die dit handschrift in 1716 uit Rome aan P. de Tombeur zond.

5. (p. 605-612 = f. 328r-331v). Comitia Provincialia Provinciae Coloniensis seu Belgicae, in quibus Conventibus et quoties et quando celebrata, et qui Provinciales ?

Overzicht van p. 25-390.

6. (p. 613-632 = f. 332r-341v). Catalogus PP. Provincialium et Capitulorum Provinciae Belgicae seu Coloniensis.

Lijst van 1252-1595, ontleend aan p. 25-390. Op p. 641 = f. 346r-357v volgt een bijgebonden drukwerkje: *Breve SS*^{mi} *D. N. Clementis Papae X Confirmationis et novae Concessionis Indulgentiarum etc. pro Archiconfraternitate Cincturatorum nuncupata S. Augustini et Sanctae Monicae sub Invocatione Beatae Mariae de Consolatione Bononiae erecta in Ecclesia S. Jacobi.* Romae, Ex Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae Anno Jubilei M.DC.LXXV. In-°, 24 ongen. blz.

[45]) De oorspronkelijke acta van deze drie kapittels zijn bewaard in ACL, II, 1021-1037. De oudste bekende kapittelakten van de provincie, nl. die van het kapittel te Mechelen in mei 1541, zijn bewaard in het generaal ordesarchief te Rome, Ff. 22, f. 934-945.

IV. Zijn uitgegeven « Provincia Belgica »

In 1727 publiceerde N. de Tombeur te Leuven bij Martinus van Overbeke zijn *Provincia Belgica*, waarvan hier een volledige bibliografische beschrijving volgt:

Provincia Belgica/Ord. FF. Eremitarum/S. P. N. Augustini/olim dicta/Coloniensis, et Inferioris Germaniae/Ejusdem origo, progressus,/regimen, fundamentum,/praerogativae, privilegia et incrementum,/cum/dissertatione praeliminari,/et compendiosa/monasteriorum singulorum/descriptione/chronologica/per/F. Nicolaum de Tombeur /Ejusdem Ordinis, & Provinciae S. T. L. & Jubilarium./

Laudemus viros gloriosos, & parentes nostros. Eccli. 44./

Ut imitari non pigeat, quod celebrare delectat. Apud S. Aug. ser. 27. de SS./

Lovanii,/Typis Martini van Overbeke, apud Academiam./Cum approbatione./

> In-folio (365×225mm.), [4]+255+[5] blz. Voorwerk: titel met blanke versozijde; [3]-[4]: *Praefatio*; 1-2: *Allegantur monumenta et authoritates ex quibus desumpta sunt quae hic narrantur.* Tekst van 3-255, verdeeld in vier partes, nl. *Pars I. Dissertatio praeliminaris de S. Augustino, monasteriorum institutore, et cultore eiusque regula* (3-24); *Pars II. Provinciae Belgicae origo, progressus, regimen, fundamentum, praerogativae et augmentum* (25-94); *Pars III. Synopsis chronologica monasteriorum singulorum ordine temporis, cum descriptione compendiosa, annexis Scriptoribus, Benefactoribus & Sepulturis notabilioribus* (95-240); *Pars IV. Catalogus PP. Provincialium et Capitulorum Provinciae Belgicae, ex variis Conventuum Annalibus & RR. PP. Generalium Registris* (241-255). Nawerk: 1: *Approbatio Censorum*; 2-5: *Index libri.* De goedkeuringen zijn gegeven door de Leuvense professoren Antonius Rolliers en Balduinus De Housta O. E. S. A. (Leuven, 4 aug. 1723), door de provinciaal Jacobus van Bossuyt (Edingen, 25 april 1727) en door de boekencensor Hermannus Damen, deken van Sint-Pieters te Leuven (28 april 1727).

Op het titelblad ontbreekt de datum van uitgave. Uit een aantekening van de auteur in zijn *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis* staat het vast, dat dit werk in 1727 verscheen [46]). Dit komt ook overeen met de datum van de twee laatste goedkeuringen, die van april 1727 dateren, hoewel het werk reeds eerder persklaar was, zoals

[46]) ACL, II, 961: « Anno 1727 praelo dedit librum, cui titulus Provincia Belgica ».

blijkt uit de eerste goedkeuring van 4 augustus 1723. In sommige eksemplaren van deze uitgave is een appendix van twee blz. gevoegd, waarin gehandeld wordt over het kollege van Binche, dat de provincia Flandro-Belgica in 1727 overnam. Hierin wordt het jaar 1734 als uiterste datum vermeld, zodat deze appendix zeker na het verschijnen van het werk is bijgevoegd [47]).

N. de Tombeur volgt in zijn uitgegeven *Provincia Belgica* dezelfde indeling als in zijn handschriftelijk werk. Na in de inleiding gewezen te hebben op de onvolledigheid van deze uitgave bij gemis aan voldoende bronnen en ook wegens de al te grote omvang van het onderwerp, geeft de auteur een lijst van de geraadpleegde onuitgegeven geschriften en archiefbronnen, en handelt in het eerste gedeelte over het monachisme van Sint Augustinus en over zijn Regel. Dit eerste gedeelte is eigenlijk een algemene inleiding op het voornaamste onderwerp, nl. de geschiedenis van de Provincia Belgica en van haar kloosters. Deze geschiedenis behandelt de auteur in de drie volgende gedeelten, waarin deze uitgave verdeeld wordt, nl. in het tweede gedeelte de algemene geschiedenis van de Provincia Belgica, in het derde gedeelte de geschiedenis van elk klooster afzonderlijk en in het vierde en laatste gedeelte de geschiedenis van de provinciale kapittels. Het meest omvangrijke gedeelte is het derde, waarin de auteur de geschiedenis beschrijft van 48 kloosters, verdeeld in vier hoofdstukken zoals volgt [48]):

I. *Monasteria Provinciae Belgicae*

1. (95 - 100) Hasselt (vóór 1236)
2. (101-112) Leuven (1236)
3. (113-120) Mechelen (1242)
4. (121-126) Brugge (1250)
5. (127-130) Ieper (vóór 1262)
6. (131-134) Edingen (1254)
7. (135-138) Maastricht (vóór 1271)
8. (139-158) Gent (1295)
9. (159-162) Doornik (1319) [49])
10. (163-166) Luik (1499)
11. (167-172) Brussel (1589)
12. (173-174) Bouillon (1589)
13. (175-178) Antwerpen (1607)
14. (179-180) Herentals (1613)
15. (181-184) Diest (1614)
16. (185-186) Rijsel (1614)
17. (187-188) Bouvignes (1614)

[47]) Zie N. TEEUWEN, *Notes sur le collège de Binche*, in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie*, 7 (1940), 64-68.

[48]) Hierbij voegen wij de stichtingsdatum van elk klooster volgens de gegevens van N. de Tombeur met het nodige voorbehoud aangaande de oudste kloosters, waarvan de juiste stichtingsdatum niet met zekerheid vaststaat.

[49]) Het klooster van Doornik behoorde vanaf de stichting in 1319 tot 1590 bij de Franse provincie.

18. (189-190) Hoei (1614)
19. (191-192) Tienen (1615)
20. (193-194) Douai (1621)
21. (195-196) Dendermonde (1627)
22. (197-198) La Bassée (1627)
23. (199-200) Hazebroek (1630)
24. (201-202) Roeselare (1635)
25. (203-204) Bree (1651)
26. (205-206) Valenciennes (1656)

II. *Monasteria Provinciae Belgicae deperdita*

1. (207) Rode (1042 ?) [50]
2. (207-208) Middelburg (vóór 1292)
3. (208-209) Dordrecht (1311)
4. (209) Damme (1394) [51]
5. (209-210) Haarlem (1489)
6. (210) Enkhuizen (1490)
7. (210) Horn (1679) [52]

III. *Monasteria Provinciae Coloniensis* (1679)

1. (211-212) Marienthal (759 ?) [53]
2. (213-218) Keulen (1162 ?)
3. (219-220) Trier (vóór 1306)
4. (221-222) Aken (1200 ?)
5. (223-224) Bedburg (vóór 1289)
6. (225-226) Wallerfangen (1306)
7. (227-228) Hillesheim (vóór 1389)
8. (229-230) Frauweiler (vóór 1480)
9. (231-232) Rösrath (1672)
10. (233-234) Saarlouis (1683)
11. (235-236) Merten (vóór 1217) [54]

IV. *Monasteria Provinciae Coloniensis deperdita*

1. (237-238) Lippstadt (1280)
2. (238) Thionville (1308)
3. (238-239) Wesel (1332)
4. (240) Mühlheim (vóór 1492) [55]

[50]) Rode bij Brussel is een zeer twijfelachtige stichting, waarover niets met zekerheid bekend is en enkel vermeld wordt door J. Placentinus en J. B. Grammaye. De auteur merkt dan ook op: « Sed fides sit penes Authores: quia nihil inveni authenticè probatum in Annalibus Provinciae » (PB, 207).

[51]) Het klooster van Appingedam bij Groningen behoorde bij de Saksische provincie en ging met de kloosters van Middelburg, Dordrecht, Haarlem en Enkhuizen na de invoering der Hervorming voor de Orde verloren. Zie over deze kloosters M. SCHOENGEN, *Monasticum Batavum*, II, Amsterdam 1941, 22, 60, 64, 81, 131 en vermelde literatuur.

[52]) Horn bij Roermond is een mislukte stichting, die enkel vermeld wordt bij de provincieverdeling van 1679.

[53]) Het klooster van Marienthal bij Wesel kwam pas in 1256 tot stand. Zie J. RAMACKERS, *Marienthal, des ersten deutschen Augustinerklosters Geschichte und Kunst*, Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1954.

[54]) Het Augustinessenklooster van Merten a/d Sieg is het enige vrouwenklooster, waarvan de auteur de geschiedenis beschrijft.

[55]) Het klooster van Mühlheim (Ehrenbreitstein bij Koblenz) werd in 1487

Het vierde en laatste gedeelte van deze uitgave bevat de lijst van de provinciale kapittels en van de provinciaals vanaf de oprichting van de provincie in 1299 tot aan de drievoudige provincieverdeling van 1679 en 1682. Nadien zijn de lijsten van elke provincie afzonderlijk, nl. van de Flandro-Belgica, van de Gallo-Belgica en van de Keulse provincie, voortgezet tot en met het jaar 1724 [56]).

De uitgegeven Provincia Belgica van N. de Tombeur is een syntese van zijn handschriftelijk werk. Aan de geschiedenis van de meeste kloosters wijdt de auteur niet meer dan twee blz. Hierdoor is deze uitgave minder bruikbaar dan het breder opgezet handschriftelijk werk. In de inleiding verklaart de auteur dan ook aan zijn lezers, dat deze geschiedenis slechts een vluchtige schets is « rudi quasi penicillo delineata ». Hij schrijft dit tekort toe aan onvoldoende bronnen en hoopt dat na hem een andere beter ingelichte historicus een meer akkurate en meer volledige geschiedenis van de Provincia Belgica zal schrijven, waarvoor dan zijn werk als uitgangspunt zou kunnen dienen: « Tum demum occasionem daturus forsitan, ut alius quispiam plenius instructus, magis accuratam, & completam scribat Provinciae historiam hactenus desideratam » [57]). De auteur heeft evenwel zijn zeer uitvoerig handschrift, dat een rijk bronnenmateriaal bevat, al te beknopt uitgegeven. Intussen is de uitgegeven Provincia Belgica van N. de Tombeur nog steeds het enige werk, dat een goed overzicht geeft van de uitgebreide geschiedenis van de oude Nederlandse Augustijnenprovincie en van haar talrijke kloosters. Als zodanig behoudt het nog steeds zijn historische waarde, al is sindsdien deze uitgave door meer recente detailstudies, kloostermonografieën en tekstuitgaven van oude geschriften en dokumenten in vele punten verouderd [58]).

gesticht door de Saksische Kongregatie. Zie over de kloosters in het Duitse gebied o. m. W. HÜMPFNER, *Aeussere Geschichte der Augustiner-Eremiten in Deutschland*, in *St. Augustin (430-1930)*, Würzburg, 1930, 147-196 en R. ARBESMANN, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Deutschland*, Würzburg 1934.

[56]) De lijst van de Flandro-Belgica is na 1724 tot en met het laatste kapittel, gehouden in 1793 te Gent, voortgezet in een handschrift, gebonden bij een eksemplaar van PB, bewaard in de biblioteek van het Augustijnenklooster te Gent. De volledige lijst werd uitgegeven door A. KEELHOFF, *Geschiedenis*, 279-286.

[57]) PB, [4].

[58]) De voornaamste literatuur betreffende de Vlaamse kloosters, verschenen sedert 1800, is opgenomen door L. DE WACHTER, *Repertorium van de Vlaamse Gouwen en Gemeenten*, Antwerpen 1942-1953, 5 dln. Zie ook *Augustiniana*, 1 (1951), 48 v. v., 140 v. v.; 4 (1954), 9-10.

V. De bronnen van zijn « Provincia Belgica »

N. de Tombeur beschikte voor de samenstelling van zijn *Provincia Belgica*, zowel van het handschriftelijk werk als van de beknopte uitgave, over belangrijke bronnen, die nu grotendeels verloren zijn. Vooral voor de zeventiende eeuw, toen deze provincie een hoogtepunt van bloei kende en de geschiedenis in talrijke uitvoerige kloosterkronieken werd vastgelegd [59]), is hij zeer goed gedokumenteerd. Hij verzamelde zijn bronnenmateriaal door persoonlijk onderzoek in het provinciaal archief te Brussel en in sommige kloosterarchieven o. m. te Gent en te Brugge, waar hij in mei 1716 vertoefde. Het is evenwel niet juist, zoals Keelhoff beweert, dat hij van klooster tot klooster reisde om ter plaatse de archieven te onderzoeken [60]). De meeste onuitgegeven geschriften en archiefstukken ontving hij in zijn klooster te Leuven vanuit verschillende kloosters door bemiddeling van medebroeders, die belang in zijn werk stelden, o. m. van P. Nicolaus van den Reydt, prior te Maastricht, P. Bernardus Desirant, professor te Rome, P. Nicolaus Girken, provinciaal van de Keulse provincie, P. Fulgentius Heuschen, prior te Aken. Bovendien beschikte hij in het Leuvense klooster, dat in de 16e eeuw tijdens de Nederlandse Beroerten gespaard bleef, over een goed voorziene bibliotheek [61]) en een rijk archief, hoewel hij in zijn *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis* fel klaagt over de nalatigheid van sommige voorgangers, die waardevolle geschriften en dokumenten lieten verloren gaan [62]).

Een der verdiensten van N. de Tombeur als historicus is, dat hij steeds nauwkeurig zijn gegevens verantwoordt door voortdurende verwijzing naar de geraadpleegde bronnen. Hij doet dit in de vorm van afkortingen, die hij in zijn *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis*, waar hij een lange lijst van de gebruikte bronnen geeft, verant-

[59]) In het provinciaal kapittel te Leuven in 1631 werd bepaald: « Sit in omnibus Conventibus aliquis, qui res memorabiles praeteriti temporis vel praesentis, à Fratribus gestas, libris consignet; sicut & memorias Patrum, & Fratrum defunctorum ». Zie PB, 4.

[60]) *Geschiedenis*, 317.

[61]) Zie *Catalogus Bibliothecae renovatus 1771*. Hs. in-folio, 588 bz., bewaard in ABA, fonds Leuven n. 35.

[62]) ACL, I, 4-7: « Unde interierint pleraque vetustatis Monumenta ? ».

woordt [63]). De *Provincia Belgica* is voornamelijk een kompilatiewerk, waarin de auteur de historische gebeurtenissen zonder kritiek of kommentaar mededeelt, zoals hij die in zijn bronnen vond. In sommige gevallen wijkt hij van deze werkmetode af en verwerkt zijn gegevens in een meer persoonlijke studie, maar dan is hij niet altijd vrij te pleiten van een zeker chauvinisme, waarbij de Jezuieten het soms moeten ontgelden. Deze houding is te verklaren uit de rivaliteit tussen de Augustijnen en de Jezuieten op onderwijsgebied in de 17e en begin 18e eeuw.

In de *Provincia Belgica* publiceert N. de Tombeur de lijst van de voornaamste bronnen, die hij raadpleegde [64]). Wij laten die lijst hier volgen en voegen er enige uitleg bij over de handschriften, die wij konden terugvinden, alsmede enige aanvullingen uit de meer uitvoerige, maar minder goed geordende lijst, die de auteur in zijn *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis* geeft.

1. Excerpta è Registris PP. Generalium ab ann. 1387 ad supplenda Registra Provinciae Belgicae per P. Augustinum Backerium Conventus Lovaniensis Filium, ut ex charactere patet: dum moraretur Romae à 20. Octobris 1638 usque ad 4. Octobris 1640. Quae Originalia vidi, & revolvi in Conventu Lovaniensi.

> Het origineel hs. (in-4o, 50 blz.) van P. Augustinus de Backere († Antwerpen, 13 okt. 1654) met excerpta uit de registers van 1387-1556 is gebonden bij PBD, VI, 437-488 samen met een kopie door N. de Tombeur (PBD, VI, 489-570) en met een ander origineel hs (in-4o, 32 blz.) van P. Gerardus d'Herbe († Brugge, 28 febr. 1722) met excerpta uit de registers van 1387- 1438 (PBD, VI, 573-604), dat P. Bernardus Desirant in 1716 uit Rome aan P. de Tombeur zond. De oorspronkelijke registers van de generaals, die nu berusten in het ordesarchief te Rome onder reeks Dd, heeft P. de Tombeur niet ingezien, maar van deze excerpta betreffende zijn provincie heeft hij een ruim gebruik gemaakt.

2. Registra Originalia PP. Provincialium hujus Provinciae per me attentè relecta.

> Deze registers, waaraan de auteur vele gegevens ontleende, waren bewaard in het provinciaal archief te Brussel, maar zijn nu zoek

[63]) ACL, I, 9-28: « Index Monumentorum vetustorum », zowel van ACL als van PBD.

[64]) PB, 1-2. Herdrukt in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 3 (1929), 395-397 in een artikel van Pr. JANSEN, *Onuitgegeven werken van Augustijner-Eremieten uit de Belgisch-Nederlandsche Provincie.*

geraakt. In ACL, I, 26-28 vermeldt hij zestien registers uit de jaren 1589-1673. Het oudste register, begonnen op 10 juni 1589 en voortgezet tot 13 april 1616, was getiteld: *Primum Registrum Provinciae Coloniensis Ord. FF. Erem. S. Patris Augustini, a tempore dispersionis Fratrum ratione grassantium haereseon.*

3. Liber in folio conscriptus à P. Judoco Reyngout, Conventus Brugensis olim Priore & Provinciale, qui in Ordine professus est an. 1520, quem an. 1716 Brugis existens totum perlegi.

Deze Vlaamse kroniek van het Brugse kloosters, samengesteld door P. Judocus Reyngout († Brugge, 19 mei 1576), hebben wij niet teruggevonden. Hierover schrijft N. de Tombeur in ACL, I, 25: « Extat Brugis Liber in folio conscriptus manu propria P. Judoci Reyngout, cuius initialia verba sunt fol. 2. Geordineert naert Jaer 1557... In fine libri fol. 240v ita subscribit quod ita contigerunt testimonio affirmo fr. Judocus Reyngout Prior » [65]).

4. Libellus in 4to cui titulus de Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini collectus per P. Thomam Gratianum Leodii & Bruxellis iterato Priorem & Provincialem, qui Leodii professus est 3. Septembris 1572. Eundem libellum, sicuti alia multa vetustatis instrumenta, pro suo erga Annales zelo, suppeditavit P. Nicolaus Vanden Reydt Conventus Hasselensis, Trajecti quartum Prior, & nunc Provinciae Definitor.

Dit hs. (in-4°, 168 ff.) is bewaard in de Kon. Bibl. te Brussel onder n. 5022 en werd beschreven door J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, VI, Bruxelles 1906, 53, n. 3643. Dit hs. werd voortgezet door P. Joannes Rivius en bevat o. m.: *Chronicon capitulorum Provincialium atque etiam aliquorum priorum Provincialium et localium provinciae Coloniensis ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini* (ff. 75-158). P. Nicolaus van den Reydt († Hasselt, 12 mei 1747) bezorgde ook aan P. de Tombeur de dokumenten, die bewaard zijn in ACL, II, 1001-1037 en in ACL, I, 20 vermeld worden als volgt:
Subministravit quaterniones quinque colligatos, in quibus continentur Acta Originalia Visitationum per P. M. Christophorum Santotisium Vicarium Generalem A. 1569, 1570 et 1574. Zie ACL, II, 1001-1010 en 1015-1020. Item Leges Studentium praescriptas A. 1570 propria ipsius manu signatas et apposito sigillo. Zie ACL, II, 1011-1015.
Item continentur Acta Capituli Midelburgensis de A. 1571 et Mechliniensis A. 1574. Insuper Acta Capituli seu Congregationis Septemvirae Brugis habitae A. 1577. Zie ACL, II, 1021-1037 [66]).

[65]) Zie over hem in A. Keelhoff, *Histoire*, 210-212.
[66]) N. van den Reydt bezorgde ook aan P. de Tombeur handschriftelijke

5. Annales Conventus Lovaniensis per P. M. Joannem Rivium Sacrae Theologiae Doctorem, aliosque.

Het origineel hs. (in-4°, 132 ff.) van P. Joannes Rivius († Regensburg, 1 nov. 1663) is gebonden bij ACL, IV. De titel luidt: *Rerum Coenobii Lovaniensis Ordinis Eremitarum S. P. Augustini, aliarumque intercurrentium, Saeculum primum, Liber primus.* Het tweede deel (saeculum secundum, liber secundus) begint op f. 86v en eindigt op f. 132v met het jaar 1379, zodat de auteur dit werk niet voltooid heeft. Dit waardevol hs. bevat de uitvoerige geschiedenis van het Leuvense klooster vanaf de stichting in 1236 tot 1379 alsmede talrijke afschriften van dokumenten uit de 13e en 14e eeuw o. m. van de pauselijke bul *Quoniam ut ait Apostolus* van paus Innocentius IV dd. 26 april 1244 naar een authentiek eksemplaar uit het archief van het Leuvense klooster [67]).

In PBD, III, 89-213 is een compendium bewaard van de *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis*, samengesteld door N. de Tombeur. De titel van dit compendium, dat geschreven is door een andere hand, luidt: *Chronicon Conventus Lovaniensis excerptum ex Annalibus Conv. eiusdem et compilatum per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S. T. L. Conventus filium 1715.* De bronnen, die de auteur voor de samenstelling van dit werk gebruikte, vermeldt hij in ACL, I, 9-15. Deze zijn ontleend aan het archief van het Leuvense klooster. Een groot gedeelte van dit archief, nl. ongeveer 250 oorkonden van 1261-1701 en 23 registers en bundels, ging in mei 1940 verloren in de brand van de universiteitsbiblioteek te Leuven [68]). De rest is bewaard in het stadsarchief te Leuven [69]), in het rijksarchief te Brussel [70]), in het archief van de Sint-Jacobskerk te Leuven [71]) en in ABA, waar nog 68 oorkonden uit de 16e-18e eeuw en 37 registers bewaard zijn o. m. de volgende geschriften, die N. de Tombeur vermeldt in zijn bronnenlijst:

n. 30. *Liber resolutionum.* In-folio, 1631-1662, 218 blz. De rest van dit

aantekeningen van P. Joannes Rivius: « Misit pariter paginas quasdam et scedas manu P. M. Rivii conscriptas in quibus continebatur excerpta varia ex Regestis Conventuum Brugensis, Hasselensis, Gandensis, Leodiensis, Iprensis », vermeld in ACL, I, 20-21.

[67]) Een kopie van dit hs. van P. Joannes Rivius was tot 1914 bewaard in de universiteitsbiblioteek van Leuven. Zie J. Wils in *Analectes*, 30 (1904), 354.

[68]) Zie L. Le Clercq, *Inventaire sommaire des archives de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre et des Augustins à Louvain*, Malines 1940, blz. X. (Overdruk uit *Annuaire du clergé de l'archidiocèse pour 1940*).

[69]) Zie J. Cuvelier, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Louvain*, II, Louvain 1930, 63-64, n. 4195-4201.

[70]) Zie A. d'Hoop, *Inventaire des archives ecclésiastiques du Brabant*, IV, Bruxelles 1929, 275, n. 14907-14915.

[71]) Zie J. Wils, *Le Sacrement de Miracle de Louvain*, Louvain 1905, 7.

register heeft N. de Tombeur zelf benut, nl. blz. 220-285: *Chronicon conventus Lovaniensis*; blz. 322-331: *Catalogus PP. Provincialium Provinciae Belgicae seu Coloniensis*; blz. 332-338: *Catalogus PP. Priorum* Conventus Lovaniensis.

n. 31. *Liber resolutionum.* In-folio, 1664-1796, 277 blz. Achterin zijn resoluties uit de jaren 1649-1659 ingeschreven (14 blz.).

n. 32. *Liber convocationum seu congregationum quatuor Ordinum Mendicantium civitatis Lovaniensis anno 1666.* In-folio, 1666-1731. Achterin: Consuetudines in conventu nostro Lovaniensi hactenus per annum observatae (1720).

n. 33. *Registrum redituum fundatorum ab Eximio Patre Joanne vanden Brande Augustiniano in commodum quatuor conventuum Ordinis S. Augustini per provinciam Coloniensem, scilicet Mechliniensis et Diesthensis, Brugensis et Traiectensis, factum in maio anni 1642 per F. Arnoldum Danckaerts.* In-folio, 1642-1794 [72]).

n. 34. *Liber Fratrum Depositariorum Conventus Lovaniensis Ord. FF. Eremitarum S. Augustini. Liber expositorum.* In-folio, 1650-1794, 292 blz.

Idem. *Liber receptorum.* In-folio, 1650-1796, 276 blz.

n. 36. *Inventarium rerum ecclesiasticarum conventus nostri Lovaniensis anno 1630.* In-4°, 1630. Met latere aanvullingen.

n. 37. *Recepta et exposita bursarum P. Mag. Joannis Brantii et R. D. Joannis Caesmans.* In-folio, 1709-1796.

n. 42. *Liber Professionum Conventus hujus Lovaniensis inchoatus anno 1699, 1ª Xbris.* In-4°, 1699-1795.

n. 42bis. *Register ende manuale des Godshuys vande Augustijnen der stad van Loven van al die goederen, renten, cynsen etc. als 't clooster van de Augustijnen is hebbende binnen ende buyten Loven. Vernieut ende geschreven door fr. Joannes Conckelberghe Procurator anno 1610.* In-8°, 234 blz.

n. 43. *Manuale geschreven vuyt Registerboeck van de Augustinen binnen Loven vande renten, chysen, landen, bempden ende bossche ende huysen als die voors. Augustinen syn hebbende ende treckende binnen ende buyten Loven, gheschreven door fr. Joannes Conckelberge int jaer sesthienhondert ende vierentwintich.* In-8°, 1624 [73]).

n. 44. *Chysen ende renten als 't Godthuys vanden Augustijnen binnen der stadt van Loven iaerelycx hebbende is binnen ende buyten Loven geleghen, geschreven bij mij Broeder Peeter Dries Procurator des selffs Godthuys vanden Augustijnen voorscreven int jaer ons heeren Jesu Christi 1608 den achsten dach van October.* In-8, 1608.

[72]) P. Joannes van de Brande († Mechelen, 17 sept. 1652) stichtte namens zijn familie een studiebeurs voor een student uit genoemde kloosters te Leuven.

[73]) De onroerende goederen van het klooster van Leuven werden in 1781-1792 door R. Wirix, landmeter te Leuven, in kaart gebracht in een mooi land- of kaartboek, bewaard in ABA, fonds Leuven n. 21. In-folio, 624 bz. Het kloosterdomein was in 196 percelen verdeeld, samen ongeveer 166 bunders groot.

n. 45. *Chysen ende renten als 't Godshuys vande Augustynen binnen der stadt van Loven jaerl. heffede es binnen ende buyten Loven gelegen.* In-4°, 1572, 86 ff.

n. 46. *Renten ende chysen als ons convent vande Augustinen binnen Loven jaerlicx is treckende op diversche panden ende personen binnen deser stadt Loven, geschreven door fr. Joannes Conckelberge Rentier des voors. convents int jaer 1626.* In-4°, 1626, 154 blz.

n. 47. *Manuale pro reditibus et censibus forensibus.* In-8°, 1714, 58 blz.

n. 50. *Liber Capitulorum, Congregationum et Visitationum Provinciae Coloniensis Erem. S. Augustini.* In-4°, 1589-1647, 363 blz. (= fonds provincialia n. 1). Dergelijke registers, waarin de acta van de provinciale kapittels, de brieven van de generaals en provinciaals, de dekreten van de visitatoren enz. zijn opgenomen, en waaraan N. de Tombeur vele gegevens ontleende, werden in elk klooster bijgehouden en zijn nog in verschillende archieven bewaard. In ABA, fonds provincialia n. 1-9, berust een volledige kollektie van 1589-1794, afkomstig uit de kloosters van Leuven (n. 1: 1589-1647 en n. 6: 1729-1785), van Mechelen (n. 2-5: 1647-1793, 4 vol.), van Diest (n. 7: 1726-1794) en van Dendermonde (n. 8: 1630-1670 en n. 9: 1730-1793). In de Kon. Bibl. te Brussel berusten onder n. II. 1243 twee registers uit het klooster van Bree met de kapittelakten enz. van 1680-1739. Zie VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue*, VI, 53-55, n. 3644. Een ander register uit het klooster van Bree en een register uit het klooster van Hasselt zijn bewaard in het Rijksarchief te Hasselt, terwijl het Rijksarchief te Gent een register bezit, afkomstig uit het klooster van Gent, met de acta van 1658-1687 (fonds Augustijnen, n. 4).

6. Registrum Conventus Brugensis, collectore P. M. Joachimo Brulio S. T. Doctore Conventus Disthensis Filio. Item liber Sacristiae cui titulus: Quaedam annotatae, ex quo admissi sumus ad Civitatem Brugensem, conscriptum à P. Francisco Carion olim ibidem Priore. Et P. Adriani Pelsmaeker. Item liber convocationis PP. Mendicantium Brugis, qui incipit à convocatione prima habita an. 1377. 5 Novembris, aliaque Monumenta vetusta ejusdem Conventus mihi exhibita à P. Gerardo D'Herbe S. T. L.

Geen enkel van de vermelde handschriften hebben wij kunnen terugvinden, hoewel het archief van het Brugse klooster grotendeels bewaard is in ABA. De inventaris, uitgegeven door A. KEELHOFF, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Ermites de S. Augustin à Bruges*, Bruges 1868, 317-340 omvat 474 nummers, waaronder een groot aantal middeleeuwse oorkonden vanaf 1286.

P. Gerardus d'Herbe bezorgde ook aan P. de Tombeur « copiam quandam propria sua manu conscriptam, cui titulus: Extractum ex Elencho Conventus nostri Brugensis compilato A. 1697 ab Eruditiss. P. Jacobo Willemaert Exprovinciali, continente omnia Capitula Pro-

vincialia Provinciae nostrae Belgicae etc. quantum ex Annotatis antiquorum Patrum praesertim Reijngout, Carlier et Brulii colligere potuit » [74]).

Uit Diest ontving P. de Tombeur een origineel hs., getiteld: *Catalogus Priorum et Capitulorum Provincialium ex vetustis Scriptis Conventuum Hasselensis et maxime Brugensis, collectus Authore P. M. Joachimo Brulio.* De tekst van dit hs. is bewaard in de biblioteek van het Augustijnenklooster te Gent, geschreven door de auteur in 1646 op 10 blz. papier, die gebonden zijn bij een eksemplaar van het *Monasticon Augustinianum* van Nicolaus Crusenius. Deze lijsten zijn door anderen bijgehouden tot het jaar 1718.

7. Liber vetustus in folio, cui titulus: Liber memoriarum Conventus Gandensis vulgo dictus de Slaepere. Item collecta quaedam & notitiae in Crusenium per P. Cornelium Dielman Jubilarium & c. Quae mihi Gandavi existenti subministravit P. Petrus Hiydonck S. T. L.

Het middeleeuws memorieboek van het Gentse klooster, genoemd *de Slaepere*, waaruit P. de Tombeur vele excerpta nam, is niet meer bewaard gebleven. De « collecta quaedam » van P. Cornelius Dielman († Gent, 25 febr. 1656) [75]) vermeldt N. de Tombeur in ACL, I, 17 onder de titel: *Nomina Religiosorum quos ante Geusiorum tempora, libris et literis Conventus lectis et relectis, deprehendi.* Deze tekst is opgenomen in een verzamelhandschrift van P. Joannes van der Elst († Gent, 6 febr. 1670) e. a., bewaard in het stadsarchief van Gent, fonds Augustijnen n. 4. Zie V. VANDER HAEGHEN, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Gand. Etablissements religieux*, I, Gand 1887, 19. Dit hs. werd in 1738 door P. Joannes Baptista d'Obercourt gekopieerd en door hem e. a. aangevuld: *Liber obligationum, concionum, missarum, anniversariorum, conventionis cum pastoribus circa funera, reductionis fundationum, legum et cursuum philosophorum, nominum antiquorum Patrum, fundationis monasterii, cum annotatis, Capitulorum, Provincialium, Priorum etc. Professionis fratrum conventualium, viventium et mortuorum.* In folio, 1738, 326 blz., bewaard in ABA, fonds Gent n. 1. Onder n. 2 berust een kopie van 1739, gemaakt door dezelfde kopiist.

Het archief van het Gentse klooster is deels bewaard in het stadsarchief van Gent [76]), deels in het Rijksarchief te Gent en deels in ABA. In het Rijksarchief berusten 118 oorkonden op perkament van 1330-1699 en 38 bundels en registers, waaronder een renteboek en

[74]) ACL, I, 16.

[75]) P. Cornelius Dielman was de laatste prior van het klooster te Wesel, dat in 1629 werd opgeheven. Hij bracht uit dit klooster een belangrijke reeks oude hss. mede, die vermeld worden door A. SANDERUS, *Bibiotheca Belgica manuscripta*, I, Insulis 1641, 295-296.

een cartularium van ca. 1550 (in-folio, 254 ff.), een groot cartularium uit de 17e eeuw, waarin 220 oorkonden van 1374-1663 overgeschreven zijn (in-folio, 263 ff.)en meerdere renteboeken en registers van inkomsten en uitgaven uit de 17e en 18e eeuw. In ABA, fonds Gent (oud archief) berusten een dertigtal registers en ongeveer 130 dokumenten, waaronder ook enige geschriften betreffende de Gilde van het H. Bloed, vermeld door N. de Tombeur, nl. een register van perkament (in-folio, 132 beschreven blz.), begonnen in 1645 en voortgezet tot 1784, alsmede een ander register, getiteld: *Handtbouck van het Broederschap van den Heileghen Sacramenten, ter eeren van het pretieuse Bloet Christi vernieut bij Deken ende proviseerders, anghecommen den xij Junij 1594, onderhouden int Cloostere vande Augustinen der stede van Ghendt*, geschreven in 1604 door Robertus Cazier en voortgezet tot 1623. Andere stukken van het Gentse kloosterarchief zijn bewaard in de biblioteek van de universiteit te Gent o. m. onder G. 4392 een professieboek (in-4o, 178 ff.), begonnen in 1622 en voortgezet tot 1685 [77]), alsook in het archief van het bisdom Gent, nl. 56 oorkonden van 1296 (kopie)-1847.

8. Chronicon Conventus Mechliniensis Authore P. Lamberto à S. Joanne S. T. L. ibid. Priore, & Conventus Lovaniensis Filio. Item liber Memorialis ejusdem Conventus per P. Joannem Naevium olim Provincialem.

Beide hss. zijn bewaard in ABA, fonds Mechelen n. 9 en 13.

Het hs. van P. Lambertus a S. Joanne († Leuven, 23 dec. 1662), samengesteld in 1658, is nu in een zeer slechte staat. De titel luidt: *Chronicon Conventus Mechliniensis Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini. Authore Adm. R. P. Lamberto à S. Joanne S. T. L. Ab Ao Domini 1252 ad 1658*. In-folio.

Het hs. van P. Joannes Neeffs († Mechelen, 28 juni 1656) is getiteld: *Liber memorialis Conventus FF. Eremitarum S. Augustini Mechliniensis. Collectae enim et notatae sunt in eo res quaedam notabiliores, quae Conventui acciderunt, maximè ab anno Domini 1585, quo Civitas Mechliniensis ad obedientiam Regis Catholici redacta fuit per Principem Parmensem*. In-folio, 1652, 31 blz. De rest van dit register is benut als resolutieboek van het Mechelse klooster van 15 juli 1692 tot 4 mei 1796.

Stukken van het Mechels kloosterarchief zijn bewaard in het Rijksarchief te Antwerpen, nl. ongeveer 100 oorkonden vanaf 1401 en een cartularium van 1594, in het stadsarchief van Mechelen, nl. een professieboek vanaf 1691, in het archief van het aartsbisdom Mechelen o. m. de oudste oorkonde van 8 jan. 1255, en in ABA, waar o. a.

[76]) Zie V. Vander Haeghen, o. c., I, 1-18.

[77]) Een tweede professieboek, begonnen in 1689 en voortgezet tot 1872, is bewaard in ABA, fonds provincialia n. 14.

drie grote charterboeken uit de 17e eeuw, een naamregister van de broederschappen vanaf 1612 en een boekenkataloog uit de 18e eeuw (in-folio, 362 blz.) berusten.

9. Chronica Monasterii Bruxellensis Authore P. M. Henrico Lancilotto hujus Conventus tertium Priore.

Niet teruggevonden. Enige stukken uit het kloosterarchief zijn nu bewaard in het Rijksarchief te Brussel [78]).

10. Chronicon Conventus Antverpiensis cui titulus: Diaeta.

Deze kloosterkroniek, begonnen in 1607 door de eerste prior P. Henricus Lancilottus, is niet meer bewaard, maar vele gegevens zijn verwerkt in een nieuwere kroniek, samengesteld in 1760 door P. Franciscus Bellot: *Diarium Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini in Urbe Antverpiensi ab Anno 1607. Collectore F. Franc. Bellot jubil. Anno 1760.* In-folio, 502 blz. Dit hs. berust met andere stukken uit het Antwerps kloosterarchief o. m. een obituarium van de provincia Belgica [79]) en een obituarium van het klooster [80]), in het archief van het aartsbisdom Mechelen [81]). Een rijke kollektie van ongeveer 1000 oorkonden berust in ABA, fonds Antwerpen, alsook het professieboek [82]). Enige andere stukken zijn bewaard in het archief van Sint-Augustinus te Antwerpen.

11. Chronicon Conventus Tornacensis conscriptum à P. Jacobo à Porta ibidem Priore.

Het origineel hs. (in-4°, 338 gen. blz.) ging op 17 mei 1940 verloren in de brand van de stadsbiblioteek te Doornik. Zie de beschrijving door A. WILBAUX, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de la ville de Tournai*, I, Tournai 1860, 83-84, n. CLXXV, hernomen door P. FAIDER, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Tournai* (Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique, vol. VI), Gembloux 1950, n. 175.

[78]) Zie A. D'HOOP, o. c., IV, 26-27, n. 11518-11531. Een register van de broederschap der Slaven van Maria te Brussel berust in de Kon. Bibl. te Brussel n. 11716. Zie VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue*, VI, 600-602, n. 4319.

[79]) *Liber Vitae sive Elenchus Patrum ac Fratrum, qui a primis hic coactus Comitiis in Provincia Belgica Ord. Erem. S. August. ex mortali ad vitam immortalem demigrarunt.* In-folio, 1628-1793, 370 blz.

[80]) Dit hs. (in-folio, 94 blz.), samengesteld door P. Ignatius Coenen († Antwerpen, 31 okt. 1771), werd uitgegeven in *Verzameling van Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen*, IV, Antwerpen 1859, 272-280.

[81]) Zie *Annuaire du cergé de l'archevêché de Malines*, 18 (1914), 11.

[82]) *Professionale Fratrum Eremitarum D. Augustini in oppido Antverpiensi ab anno 1609, 15 Augusti.* In-folio, 1609-1795, 230 ff.

Een nauwkeurige kopie, gemaakt in 1911 door P. Augustin Feutry, is evenwel bewaard in ABA, fonds Doornik n. 1: *Chronique du couvent de Tournay de l'ordre de nostre glorieux père Sainct Augustin. Par P. Jacques de la Porte, iadis Prieur dudict Couvent... M.DC.XLII.* In-4°, 322 blz. De rest van dit hs. is door P. Feutry benut voor afschriften van verschillende stukken betreffende het klooster van Doornik, die tot mei 1940 bewaard werden in het Rijksarchief te Mons o. a. een *Catalogus Religiosorum defunctorum hujus Conventus Tornacensis Professorum ab anno 1319, quo primum admissi sumus in hac civitate Tornacensi* (blz. 343-379). Dit obituarium loopt tot en met 9 nov. 1794.

12. Registrum Conventus Hasselensis, cui titulus Res memorabiles Conventus Erem. S. Augustini in Oppido Hasselensi per P. Adolphum Bisenum Priorem pro tempore.

Deze kroniek hebben wij niet teruggevonden. Volgens een aantekening in ACL, I, 23 ontving N. de Tombeur dit hs. uit Hasselt. P. Adolphus van der Biest († Brussel, 2 jan. 1649) schreef deze kroniek tijdens zijn prioraat te Hasselt (1634-1637). P. Joannes Mantelius zette dit werk voort van 1637 tot 1675.
Een gedeelte van het kloosterarchief is bewaard in het Rijksarchief te Hasselt, in het stadsarchief en provinciaal Museum te Hasselt. In ABA, fonds provincialia n. 22 berust het professieboek, begonnen in 1584 en voortgezet tot 1791.

13. Historia Conventus Coloniensis mihi transmissa per P. M. Nicolaum Girken S. T. D. Coloniensem, & Provincialem.

Niet teruggevonden. P. Girken zond aan P. de Tombeur een regestenlijst van de oorkonden van 1244 tot 1449, die in het Keuls kloosterarchief bewaard werden en andere aantekeningen, die vermoedelijk ontleend zijn aan de kloosterkroniek, samengesteld in 1676 door P. Arnoldus Neelsbach: *Monasterii Coloniensis ff. eremitarum s. p. Augustini Historiae quinque saecularis libri sex*, bewaard in de universiteitsbibl. te Bonn onder n. S 350 [83]).

14. Excerpta ex Chronico Conventus Aquisgranensis transmissa per F. Fulgentium Heuschen, ibidem Priorem.

Deze kroniek werd samengesteld door P. Lambertus a S. Joanne tijdens zijn prioraat te Aken in 1652-1655. Zie PB, 222. Niet weergevonden.

15. Chronica & Annales Conventuum aliorum, ex eorumdam

[83]) Een meer uitvoerige beschrijving geeft H. Neu, *Dramatische Aufführungen im Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Köln*, in *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 26 (1951), 129.

Archivis, ut Conventus Traiectensis, Iprensis, Leodiensis, Bullonensis, Diesthensis & c.

In ABA, fonds Ieper n. 94 berust de kroniek van het Iepers klooster, samengesteld door P. Jacobus Spyliaert († Ieper, 7 jan. 1685): *Historia Monasteriorum Iprensium Sacri Ordinis Eremitarum S. P. Augustini ab Anno 1263.* In-folio, 842 bz. Met aanvullingen tot en met 1790. Het archief van het klooster te Ieper is gedeeltelijk bewaard in ABA, nl. 106 nummers, waaronder het professieboek, begonnen in 1594 en voortgezet tot 1792. In de stadsbibl. te Brugge berust onder n. 599 een boekenkataloog van 1678.

Voor de geschiedenis van het klooster te Diest raadpleegde N. de Tombeur een handschrift van P. Rumoldus Croon († Diest, 1632). *Tumultuaria descriptio fundationis familiae hujus Diesthensis*, bewaard in ABA, fonds Diest, samen met een gedeelte van het oude kloosterarchief. Een ander gedeelte is bewaard in het Rijksarchief te Brussel [84]). Een kroniek van het klooster te Hazebroek, geschreven in 1719, is gebonden bij PBD, V, 333-368.

De onder n. 15 vermelde kronieken van de kloosters te Maastricht, Luik en Bouillon alsook vele andere bronnen, die N. de Tombeur kende o. m. de kronieken van de kloosters te Rijsel, Douai, en La Bassée, samengesteld in de 17e eeuw door P. Jacques de la Porte [85]), hebben wij niet teruggevonden. Daarentegen zijn meerdere belangrijke bronnen, die nu nog in het provinciaal archief te Gent en elders bewaard zijn en waarvan wij hier geen volledige inventaris kunnen geven, aan hem onbekend gebleven [86].

16. Citantur nonnulla ex Alphabeto P. Thomae De Herrera [87]), ex Monastico Augustiniano Crusenii [88]), & aliis Authoribus probatis.

N. de Tombeur bouwde zijn *Provincia Belgica* voornamelijk op met gegevens uit onuitgegeven geschriften en archiefbronnen, maar hij

[84]) Zie A. D'HOOP, o. c., IV, 175-188, n. 13538-13596.

[85]) PB, 161. De inhoudstafel van de kroniek van het klooster te La Bassée is gekopieerd in het belangrijk verzamelhandschrift van A. Lubin, bewaard in de Kon. Bibl. te Brussel n. II, 2590, f. 25-27v. Zie de beschrijving van dit hs. door J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue*, VI, 49-53, n. 3642.

[86]) Hij vermeldt o. m. niet het hs. van P. Joannes uuten Eechout († Amsterdam, 28 mei 1682): *Annales Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum S. P. Augustini Amstelodami.* In-folio, 1664-1711, 2 dln., 154 en 278 blz. Culemborg, archief van de Nederl. Augustijnenprovincie. Evenmin een hs. van P. Mathias Agolla († Diest, 9 febr. 1701), missionaris te Nijmegen van 1672-1697: *Manuale Missionis Augustinianae Neomagensis.* In-folio, 48+258 blz. 's Hertogenbosch, Bisschoppelijk Archief. In dit hs. op blz. 98-215: *Rudis Augustinianae Missionis in urbe Neomagensi deductio.*

[87]) *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, Matriti 1646.

[88]) *Monasticon Augustinianum*, Monachii 1623.

kende ook vele gedrukte werken, waarvan hij een lange lijst geeft in PBD, I, 25-31. Vooral voor de algemene geschiedenis van de Orde in het eerste deel van PBD heeft hij de bekende werken van de voornaamste ordeshistorici zoals Henricus van Friemar, Jordanus van Saksen, Alphonsus van Orosco, O. Panvinius, J. Pamphilus, H. Roman, L. Empoli, F. Milensius, Th. de Herrera enz. geraadpleegd. Hij kende ook goed de talrijke werken, die zijn eigen landgenoten in de 17e eeuw uitgaven in verband met de Ordesgeschiedenis o. a. Th. Gratianus, C. Curtius, C. Lancilottus, J. Naevius, G. Maigretius, N. Crusenius, Pr. Stellartius, J. Rivius, N. Baxius, J. Brulius, Chr. Lupus, Ph. Elssius, J. Mantelius en N. Plenevaux. Hij geeft in zijn werk de bibliografie van de schrijvers van zijn provincie, waarvoor hij ook meerdere werken van niet-Augustijnen raadpleegde o. a. Fr. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, Antverpiae 1628, A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, Coloniae 1641 en Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Lovanii 1643. Deze bibliografie werd door de latere ordesbibliografen o. a. door Ossinger in zijn *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadii 1768) overgenomen.

Norbertus TEEUWEN, O. E. S. A.

Leuven.

Briefe des seligen P. Stefanus Bellesini, O. E. S. A.

I. Teil : Einleitung.

Die anschliessend veröffentlichten Briefe des seligen Augustiners P. Stefanus Bellesini haben eine eigenartige Geschichte. Sie sind alle in der Liste der im Seligsprechungsprozess vorgelegten Schriften enthalten und zwar in der ersten Gruppe, die im eigentlichen Schriftenprozess der Ritenkongregation unterbreitet wurde.

Aber neben diesen 41 Briefen verzeichnet diese Gruppe — neben anderen Schriften — noch 24 weitere Briefe, die zum Teil an dieselben Adressaten gerichtet sind wie die hier veröffentlichten. Einer davon wurde uns noch zur Verfügung gestellt und wird im Anhang beigegeben werden. Aber die anderen 23 scheinen verloren gegangen zu sein, vielleicht als das Ordensarchiv infolge der Kloster-aufhebung (ab 1870) aus dem bisherigen Hauptkloster S. Agostino in Rom weggebracht werden musste.

Jedenfalls wurden die jetzt im Archiv der Deutschen Augustiner-provinz in Würzburg befindlichen Briefe von P. Aurelius Palmieri O. E. S. A. bei einem Trödler gefunden und käuflich erstanden. Er brachte sie mit nach Polen, als er in den ersten Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts dorthin kam, um literarische und dogmatische Studien zu betreiben, vor allem für sein Hauptwerk, die « Prolegomena orthodoxa ».

Da der spätere Provinzkommissär der polnischen Augustiner, der von der deutschen Provinz dorthin entsandte P. Gregor Uth, gestorben am 11. Sept. 1941 in Krakau, sich sehr für Ordens-geschichte interessierte, überliess ihm P. Palmieri diese Briefe bei seinem Scheiden aus Polen. P. Gregor Uth erfuhr später, dass ein Pater der deutschen Augustinerprovinz, P. Rudolf Arbesmann, sich besonders mit dem seligen P. Stefanus Bellesini beschäftige ; darum brachte er diese Briefe einmal mit nach Würzburg und stellte sie

diesem Pater zur Verfügung. So kamen sie in das historische Archiv der deutschen Augustinerprovinz nach Würzburg, wo sie Akten Nr. 24 bilden.

Zum Vergleich sei hier aus dem genannten Schriftenverzeichnis für den Seligsprechungsprozess (zur Zeit im Archiv des Ordens in Rom) der Teil angeführt, der für unsere Briefe in Betracht kommt. In Klammern sind die Nummern der hier zu veröffentlichenden Briefe beigefügt, wie sie sich aus der chronologischen Reihenfolge ergeben:

XXIII 108. Exemplar authenticum epistolae V. S. D., cujus directio « Pregiatissimo Signore D. Simone » in qua inchoatur a verbis « La Marietta intese malamente » etc. et absolvitur « ho il bene di raffermarmi costantemente Di Lei Umilissimo e Devotissimo Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini Agostiniano. Genazzano il di 6 Ottobre 1836 ».

XXIX 109. Alia epistola diei 18 Aprilis 1837, missa « Al Molto Illustre e Reverendo Signore Padrone Colendissimo Il Signore D. Simone Fevini, Verona per Trento » : initium habet « La triplicata compera » et finit « piene die venerazione mi raffermo » et sequitur eadem subscriptio ut supra.

XXV 110. Epistola diei 12 Aprilis 1835 ad eundem data incipit : « Ecco che con sollecitudine » etc. et desinit « ed ho il pregio di essere costantemente di Vostra Signoria » etc.

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XXVII 112. Deinde habetur alia epistola, cujus directio « Al Molto Reverendo Padre Signore Padrone Colendissimo Il Reverendo Padre Antonio Frucker ex Agostiniano — Trento per Borgo di Valongano » : initium habet « Pregiatissimo Amico. Roma S. Agostino gli 11 Marzo 1820 — Passò agli eterni riposi » etc. et finem ponit verbis « abbracciandovi in fretta mi ripeto Vostro Affezionatissimo Amico » etc.

XXVIII 113. Alia epistola missa « Al Nobile Signore Padrone Colendissimo. Il Signore Angelo Bellesini » fratri V. S. D. sub die « Roma S. Agostino il 20 Marzo 1822 » : exordium sumit ex verbis « Carissimo Fratello. Rendo vive e somme grazie » etc. et finit « caramente vi abbraccio e mi ripeto — Vostro Affezionatissimo Fratello » etc.

XXIX 114. Sequitur alia epistola, cujus directio « Al Signore Conte Podestà di Trento. Il Direttore delle Scuole Elementari » cum scripto « Riservata a Lei solo » : exorditur « La più calda » etc. et terminat « di rinnovarle il profondo mio ossequio. P. Stefano Bellesini » : habet datum « Trento il 14 Marzo 1817 (?) ».

XXX 115. Pariter epistola quae sequitur missa est ad eundem die « 19 Marzo 1817 » incipit « Il cambiamento delle maestre » etc. et desinit « ho l'onore di raffermarmele ».

116. Folio autem quod continet suprascriptam epistolam adnectitur alia diei 17 Martii 1817 quae initium habet « Dietro maturo esame » etc. et concludit verbis « qui addietro si sono sottoscritti. P. Stefano Bellesini Direttore ».

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XXXV 121. Sequitur exemplar epistolae ad suam neptem missae « Alla nipote Massenza » sine dato incipit « Dopo la lettera » et desinit « di fare la sua volontà ».

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XXXVII 123. (Nr. 41) Sequitur folium manuscriptum quod incipit ex una parte « Il sacro sinodo Diocesano » et terminat « all' ecclesiastica autorità » et ex alia « Il medesimo sacro sinodo » et finit « presentate dai fedeli Cristiani ».

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XL 126. (Nr. 38) In alia autem parva parte folii invenitur testificatio V. S. D. de accepta pecunia : incipit « Io sottoscritto confesso » etc. et desinit « In fede ecc » ; habet datum « da questo Ven. Santuario di Genazzano il di 17 Dicembre 1839 ».

XLI 127. (Nr. 21) Deinde sequitur supplex libellus cuidam Eminentissimo Principi S. R. E. datus initium habet « Eminentissimo e Rev^{mo} Principe » et deinde « Il Curato di S. Maria del Buon Consiglio » et finit « qualche benigno sovvenimento. Che della grazia ecc ».

XLII 128. (Nr. 17) Pariter alius supplex libellus « A Sua Santità Gregorio XVI » exordium habet « B^{mo} Padre » et linea sequenti « Il Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio » et terminat « del necessario ricovero ».

XLIII 129. Sequitur epistola sine directione cuidam Religioso missa incipit « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo » et deinde « Godo in sentire » etc. et desinit « e credetemi sempre » etc. habet datum « Genazzano il di 17 settembre 1831 » et consuetam subscriptionem.

XLIV. Sequuntur duae epistolae, quarum directio « Al Molto Reverendo Padre Padrone Colendissimo Jl Padre Niccola Massabò Agostiniano ».

130. (Nr. 11) Prima diei 30 Decembris 1831 principium habet « Pregiatissimo Padre Niccola » et deinde « La moltiplicita dell' incombenze » et finit « di raffermarmi costantemente ».

131. Secunda diei 3 Junii 1830 initium sumit a verbis « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo » et linea sequenti « E invenzione dell'amore » et finem habet « ansioso delle vostre notizie ».

XLV 132. (Siehe Beigabe im Anhang) Deinde habetur exemplar authenticum alterius epistolae missae « Al Molto Reverendo P. Difendente Tommaso Ricca Agostiniano-Perugia Ss. Filippo e Giacomo » incipit « Carissimo fratello in Cristo. La sincerità della di lei confessione » etc. et desinit « ho il piacere di raffermarmi sempre » etc. : habet datum « Genazzano S. Maria del B. Consiglio 28 Ottobre 1837 » (sic ! vgl. dazu unten S. 744 f).

XLVI 133. (Nr. 6) Sequitur epistola, cujus directio « Al R^mo P. Signore Padrone Veneratissimo — Il Padre Maestro Tomaso Antolini Commissario e Procuratore Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino » exorditur « Rev^mo Padre. Cadendo ai 12 » etc. et absolvitur verbis « raffermarmi costantemente » etc. : missa est die 6 Novembris 1828.

XLVII 134. (Nr. 27) Quae sequuntur duae epistolae missae sunt « All'Onoratissimo Religioso Fr. Sante Sabuni Agostiniano Roma » Prima diei 4 Augusti 1839 initium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo. — Sapendo che il nostro Padre Rev^mo Generale » et finit « dichiarandomi sempre » etc.

135. (Nr. 30) Secunda diei 23 Augusti 1839 exordium sumit a verbis « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Fate il piacere » etc. et concludit « raccomandandomi alle vostre orazioni ».

XLVIII. Sequuntur septem epistolae sine directione, quarum

136. (Nr. 40) Prima diei 29 Decembris 1839 incipit « Eccellenza Reverendissima — Il defunto Signore Governatore » et desinit « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

137. (Nr. 33) Secunda diei 4 Octobris 1839 initium habet « Eccellenza Rev^ma — Il beneficio » etc. et terminat « ho l'onore di raffermarmi inviolabilmente » etc.

138. (Nr. 18) Tertia diei 4 Novembris 1838 principium sumit a verbis « Eccellenza Rev^ma — La degnazione che ebbe etc » et finit « ho l'onore di protestarmi costantemente » etc.

139. (Nr. 19) Quarta diei 16. Novembris 1828 exorditur a verbis « Eccellenza Rev^ma — La pervenutami certa notizia » etc. et terminat « di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

140. (Nr. 37) Quinta diei 11 Decembris 1839 initium sumit a verbis « Eccellenza Rev^ma — Prima d'ora » etc. et finit « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

141. (Nr. 35) Sexta diei 5 Novembris 1839 incipit « Eccellenza Rev^ma — Il tenero e pietoso cuore » etc. et desinit « ho l'onore di raffermarmi inviolabilmente » etc.

142. (Nr. 34) Septima diei 17 Octobris 1839 exordium sumit a verbis « Eccellenza Rev^ma — Con trasporto di piacere » etc. et terminat « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

XLIX. 143. (Nr. 20) Epistola quae sequitur habet datum « A Sua Eccellenza Rev^ma Monsignor Carlo Acton Uditore Generale della R. Camera Apostolica e sua Congregazione Criminale » et quia in ea aliquid refertur ad superiores epistolas sine directione ideo deducitur etiam ipsas datas esse ad eundem. Initium habet « Eccellenza Rev^ma. — Mi lusingo che Vostra Eccellenza » etc. et finit « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente etc. Genazzano (S. Maria del Buon Consiglio) il di 12 Dicembre 1838 ».

L. Sequuntur tresdecim epistolae, quarum directio « Al Rev^mo Padre Signore Padrone Veneratissimo. Il Padre Maestro Giuseppe Mistretta, Prior Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino — Roma, S. Agostino ».

144. Prima diei 10 Octobris 1826 exorditur a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Jl Novizio Vincenzo Balzaretti » etc. et terminat « ed ho la gioja di prostestarmi costantemente Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma — Umillissimo Devotissimo ed Obbedientissimo Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini Agostiniano ».

145. (Nr. 2) Secunda diei 29 Octobris 1826 initium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — L'uffizio di Sagrestano » etc. et concluditur verbis « mi glorio d'essere costantemente » etc.

146. Tertia diei 1 Decembris 1826 principium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Il Novizio Fr. Gio. Maher » etc. et finit « ho l'onore di raffermari costantemente » ecc. Sequenti pagina habetur additamentum seu P. S. quod incipit « Al momento » etc. et desinit « e certe informazioni di esso avute ».

147. Quarta diei 28 Novembris 1826 exordium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Questo Padre Priore » etc. et terminat « e mi pregio d'essere costantemente ».

148. (Nr. 3) Quinta diei 18 Februarii 1827 incipit « Rev^mo Padre — In obbedienza dell'ordine » etc. et desinit « ho l'onore d'essere sempre » etc.

149. Sexta diei 13 Decembris 1827 initium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Nell'Epoca della Gle soppressione » etc. et finit « ed ho l'onore d'essere » etc.

150. (Nr. 4) Septima diei 19. Januarii 1828 exordium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Ai due del prossimo entrante mese » etc. et terminat « e mi pregio d'essere sempre » etc.

151. (Nr. 5) Octava diei 11 Maji 1828 exorditur « Rev^mo Padre — Il Novizio Fr. Camillo » etc. et finit « ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente ».

152. (Nr. 7) Nona diei 20 Decembris 1828 principium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Il Professo Fr. Niccola Canziani » etc. et terminat « ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

153. Decima diei 27 Marti 1829 initium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Il Padre Bacceliere Domenico Aquilanti » etc. et finit « ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

154. Undecima diei 29 Aprilis 1829 incpit « Rev^mo Padre — Con vivo rammarico » etc. et desinit « di umilmente ripetermi » etc.

155. Duodecima diei 24 Junii 1827 initium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Ben ricordevole » etc. et terminat « e mi glorio d'essere costantemente » etc.

156. (Nr. 8) Decima tertia diei 6 Maji 1829 exordium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Il Novizio Svizzero Fr. Domenico Barras » etc. et finit « mi glorio d'essere sempre » etc.

LI. Sequuntur aliae decem epistolae missae « Al Rev^mo Padre Signore Padrone Veneratissimo — Il Padre Maestro Lorenzo Tardi ».

157. (Nr. 1) Prima diei 31 Maji 1826 exorditur a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Dalla precisa risposta » etc. et terminat « mi glorio d'essere costantemente » etc.

158. Secunda diei 29 Augusti 1826 principium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Già da qualche giorno » etc. et finit « Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione mele ripeto » etc.

159. (Nr. 9) Tertia die 2 Septembris 1831 initium sumit « Rev^mo Padre — La Paternità Sua Rev^ma sarà » etc. et terminat « ho il pregio di protestarmi costantemente » etc.

160. (Nr. 10) Quarta diei 12 Octobris 1831 incipit « Rev^mo Padre — Lunedi p. p. ebbi finalmente » etc. et desinit « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc.

161. (Nr. 12) Quinta diei 7 Junii 1832 initium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Desiderosi quattro benefattori » etc. et finit « mi raffermo » etc.

162. (Nr. 13) Sexta diei 16 Juni 1832 exordium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Fr. Tommaso Cenci » etc. et terminat « ho il pregio di ripetermi » etc.

163. Septima die 18 Decembris 1832 exorditur a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Il benigno compatimento » etc. et desinit « imploro la di lei benedizione ».

164. (Nr. 14) Octava diei 20 Augusti 1833 principium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Uno di questi miei confratelli » etc. et terminat « ed ho l'onore di essere sempre » etc.

165. (Nr. 15) Nona diei 27 Augusti 1833 initium sumit a verbis « Rev^mo Padre — Ringrazio sommamente » etc. et finit « ed ho il pregio di raffermarmi inviolabilmente » etc.

166. (Nr. 16) Decima diei 22 Maji 1835 incipit « Rev^mo Padre — L'inaspettata venuta » etc. et desinit « e di raffermarmi inviolabilmente » etc.

LII. Deinde habentur duae epistolae « Al Rev^mo Padre Signore Padrone Veneratissimo — Il Padre Maestro Filippo Angelucci Priore Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino — Roma S. Agostino ».

167. (Nr. 28) Prima diei 6 Augusti 1839 exordium habet « Rev^mo Padre — Domenica p. p. ricevetti » etc. et concluditur verbis « protestandomi costantemente » etc.

168. (Nr. 29) Secunda diei 17 Augusti 1839 exorditur « Rev^mo Padre — Ringrazio vivamente » etc. et absolvitur verbis « ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente » etc. : habet postscriptum « L'incluso viglietto » etc. « di leggerlo segretamente ».

LIII. Sequuntur aliae tresdecim epistolae, quarum directio « Al Molto Reverendo Padre Padrone Colendissimo — Il Padre Bacceliere Agostino Proja Agostiniano — Vice Parroco Pontificio — Roma ».

169. Prima diei 19 Januarii 1840 initium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Vi spedisco in fretta » etc. et finit « vi abbraccio e mi ripeto » ecc. — habet etiam postscriptum « Fate presto la consegna... ricevuto ».

170. Secunda diei 4 Januarii 1840 exordium sumit a verbis

« Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Iddio che prevede » etc. et terminat « mentre mi dico » etc.

171. (Nr. 39) Tertia diei 28 Decembris 1839 principium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Il mio Fratello » etc. et terminat « vi abbraccio e mi raffermo » etc.

172. Quarta diei 3 Decembris 1839 incipit « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Se anche viene il Principino Colonna » etc. et desinit « Invicem oremus. Addio ».

173. Quinta diei 16 Octobris 1839 initium sumit a verbis « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Avrete già inteso » etc. et concluditur verbis « Invicem oremus. Addio ».

174. (Nr. 36) Sexta diei 9. Novembris 1839 exordium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — L'immatura e funesta morte » etc. et finit « vi abbraccio e mi ripeto » : sequitur postscriptum « La povera Antonia... ritornerebbe con loro ».

175. (Nr. 32) Septima diei 27 Septembris 1839 exorditur « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Qui il morbo petecchiale » et absolvitur verbis « questo paese desolato. Addio ».

176. (Nr. 31) Octava diei 8 Septembris 1839 exordium sumit a verbis « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — L'amore che avete » etc. et finem ponit ad verba « abbracciandovi mi ripeto » etc.

177. (Nr. 24) Nona diei 7 Maji 1839 principium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Questo Padre Priore » etc. et terminat « caramente vi abbraccio e mi ripeto » ecc. : sequitur postscriptum « Avvisatemi... nella mia antecedente ».

178. (Nr. 26) Decima diei 18 Junii 1839 incipit « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Il Signore Medico Filippo Clementi » etc. et desinit « vi abbraccio e mi ripeto » etc.

179. (Nr. 25) Undecima diei 17 Maji 1839 exordium habet « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Vi compiego qui in seno » et finit « all'Orazione mentale. Addio ».

180. (Nr. 22) Duodecima diei 7 Februarii 1839 initium sumit a verbis « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Il Sig. Tommaso Lovatelli (sic !) » et concluditur verbis « Invicem oremus. Addio » etc.

181. (Nr. 23) Decimatertia diei 1 Maji 1839 exorditur « Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo — Vi prego di consegnare voi » etc. et absolvitur verbis « vado al letto. Addio ».

Mit dieser Nummer schliesst der erste Abschnitt des Prozesses, der eigentliche Schriftenprozess. Es folgen noch weitere Nummern von Schriften bis einschliesslich 255 ; aber sie wurden in anderen Teilen des Prozesses (den bischöflichen Informativprozessen oder dem über die Heiligkeit und die Wunder) vorgelegt, darunter auch noch weitere Briefe. Aber diese haben andere Adressaten und auch andere Stoffkreise, sodass sie wohl bei der Betrachtung der uns vorliegenden Briefe ausser Betracht blieben können.

* * *

Zum Verständnis der hier vorgelegten Briefe, die allerdings alle erst aus den letzten 14 Lebensjahren des Seligen stammen, dürfte es sich empfehlen, die wichtigsten Daten aus seinem Leben anzuführen. Er wurde am 25. November 1774 in Trient in Südtirol geboren, der Stadt, die durch das grosse Reformkonzil bekannt geworden war. Schon in der Jugend kam er oft in das dortige Augustinerkloster, da sein Onkel, P. Fulgenz Meinchembek, dort lebte und lange Jahre dessen Prior war. So wuchs bald in ihm der Wunsch, auch dieser Ordensgemeinschaft anzugehören. 1790 erhielt er in diesem Kloster S. Marco aus den Händen seines Oheims das Ordenskleid und ging dann nach Bologna um sein Noviziat zu machen. Nach dessen Ende legte er dort die feierlichen Gelübde ab. Der P. General rief ihn zum Studium der Philosophie nach Rom, die Theologie studierte er dann wieder in Bologna. Dort ernannte man ihn wegen seiner Sorgfalt und seiner Fortschritte zum Difendente, ein Grad, den man solchen Theologiestudenten verlieh, die zum Lehramt geeignet erschienen. — Kurz vor seiner Priesterweihe musste er Bologna verlassen: das französische Revolutionsheer war unter Bonaparte dort eingebrochen und zwang alle Ordensangehörigen, die nicht aus dem Kirchenstaat stammten, in ihre Heimat zurückzukehren. So kam Bellesini wieder in den Konvent von Trient. Dort erkrankte er, sodass seine Weihe verschoben wurde. Am 29. Oktober 1797 wurde er zum Diakon, am 5. November zum Priester geweiht (So BILLERI p. 41).

Bald hoben die Franzosen auch in Tirol die Klöster auf. P. Bellesini konnte allerdings noch einige Zeit im Konvent wohnen, siedelte aber dann in sein Vaterhaus über. Er betätigte sich zunächst als Prediger, bald aber richtete er in seinem Hause aus Liebe zu den Armen eine Schule für deren Kinder ein. Sie erhielt bald einen solchen Zulauf, dass er sich neue Räume suchen musste. Es wird die Zahl von 400-500 Kindern genannt, die diese Schule besuchten. Jedenfalls war diese seine Tätigkeit so segensreich und machte ihn so bekannt, dass die österreichischen Regierung, als sie die Verwaltung Tirols wieder übernommen hatte, ihn zum Direktor sämtlicher Elementarschulen des Schulbezirkes von Trient machte.

Aber trotz aller Erfoge, trotz aller Ehrungen (man bot ihm sogar ein Kanonikat an der Domkirche an), blieb er Ordensmann. Sobald er hörte, dass im Kirchenstaat die Klöster wieder geöffnet

seien, da hielt es ihn nicht mehr in Trient. Im Herbst 1817 floh er während der Schulferien heimlich von dort und kehrte in die Stille des Klosters von Bologna zurück. Von dort rief ihn der Ordensgeneral P. Settimio Rotelli (1800-1822) als Novizenmeister nach Rom. Nach vier Jahren wurde das Noviziat nach Città della Pieve verlegt, wo es von 1821 bis 1826 blieb (vgl. Brief Nr. 1).

Im Jahre 1826 stellte der General P. Giuseppe Mistretta (1822-1831) mit Billigung des Papstes Leo XII. in Genazzano die *vita communis perfecta* wieder her. So kam auch P. Stefan Bellesini mit dem Noviziat dorthin. Im September 1831 (vgl. Nr. 10) übernahm er dort das Amt des Pfarrers, das er mit heiligem Seeleneifer versah, nicht nur besorgt für das seelische, sondern auch für das leibliche Wohl seiner Pfarrkinder. Für sie gab er am 2. Februar 1840 buchstäblich sein Leben, als eine Fleckfieberepidemie den Ort ergriff. Die Briefe aus jener Zeit zeugen ja ausschliesslich von seinen Sorgen als Pfarrer von Genazzano. Am 27. Dezember 1904 wurde Bellesini selig gesprochen, 1946 wurde sein Heiligsprechungsprozess begonnen.

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Lanteri, *E. S. Aug.* — Lanteri Joseph, OESA, *Eremi Sacrae Augustinianae* (Romae 1874) 2 Bde.

Lanteri, *I. V. Aug.* — Lanteri Joseph, OESA, *Postrema saecula sex Religionis Augustinianae in quibus breviter recensentur illustriores viri Augustinenses* (Tolentini 1858) 3 Bde.

Positio super introductione causae Romana seu Praenestina et Tridentina Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei P. Fr. Stephani Bellesini (Romae 1851).

Arbesmann Rudolph, OESA, *Des seligen Stefanus Bellesini Berufstreue* in *Maria vom Guten Rat,* Monatsschrift der deutschen Augustiner 21 (1925) 35 ff.

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II. Teil: Texte.

Die Briefe sind zumeist geschrieben auf Doppelblätter vom Format 19,5 zu 26,7 cm. Selbst wenn sie nur wenige Zeilen enthalten, ist dieses Format beibehalten, ein Zeichen, dass der Seligen grossen Wert auf äussere Form legte. Das zeigt sich auch in der Häufung der Anreden und Titulaturen in der Adresse ; das soll allerdings besonders bei den Einwohnern des Gebietes von Trient beliebt sein. Die Blätter wurden in beiden Richtungen doppelt gefaltet und mit einer Art von Klebstreifen verschlossen. Auf die Rückseite des Briefblattes selbst schrieb der Selige dann — ohne einen Umschlag zu benützen — die Adresse, wenn der Brief mit der Post versandt wurde. Die Schrift ist bis in die letzten Jahre seines Lebens klar und verhältnismässig leicht leserlich. Nur in den 2-3 letzten Lebensjahren wird die Schrift zitterig und verschwommen.

Die Briefe zeigen alle das gleiche Schema: In der oberen linken Ecke steht das Gebetchen « Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria ». Kardinal Karl Acton, an den der Selige eine Reihe von Bittbriefen richtete (vgl. oben p. 697 N. XLVIII und XLIX), als er noch Uditore der Camera Apostolica in Rom war, wies als Zeuge im Seligsprechungsprozess ausdrücklich darauf hin als ein Zeichen seiner kindlichen Frömmigkeit (vgl. die Akten des Seligsprechungsprozesses, Zeugenaussagen Summ. num. 8 — de heroica S. D. Fide § 191 p. 145). Am oberen Rand in der Mitte folgt die Anrede ; nach einem Zwischenraum von etwa 7-8 cm beginnt der Text ; die letzte Zeile davon enthält Ort und Datum, in der rechten unteren Ecke steht die Unterschrift.

Nr. 1 (vgl. oben LI 157)

Auf der Rückseite des 2. Blattes steht die Adresse:

Al Rev^mo^ Padre Signore, Signore Padrone Veneratissimo
Il Padre Maestro Lorenzo Tardì
Assistente d'Italia dell'ordine Eremitano
di S. Agostino
Roma
S. Agostino

P. Tardi ist als erster Zeuge in der Liste des von 1844 bis 1845 geführten römischen Prozesses als achtzigjährig verzeichnet und wird genannt Examinator Apostolicus Episcoporum, et SS. Congregationum Inquisitionis et Censurae Con-

sultor. — (Vgl. Akten des Prozesses, Summarium num. 2 p. 4). Er leitete von 1831 bis 1835 als Vicarius generalis den Gesamtorden (gewählt auf dem Generalkapitel von 1831) und starb 1848 in Rom im 85. Lebensjahr. Vgl. LANTERI, *I. V. Aug.* III (Roma 1860) p. 299.

Auf derselben Seite findet sich noch der Poststempel «Perugia» und «... della Pieve». Geschrieben ist der Brief noch in Città della Pieve, wo der Selige von 1821-1826 Novizenmeister war. Eine spätere Hand fügte die zum Teil unrichtige Bemerkung hinzu: P. Bellesini 3. Giugno 1826 *a quel Priore*. Eine andere Schrift hat noch die Zahl N LI vermerkt.

Der Brief handelt von der Versetzung eines Laienbruders, die m. E. mit der Ubersiedelung des ganzen Noviziates nach Genazzano im Zusammenhange stehen könnte, wo im gleichen Jahr, wie schon oben bemerkt, die *vita communis perfecta* eingeführt wurde. Daraus liesse sich auch erklären, warum sich der Selige so sehr für diese Angelegenheit einsetzt.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Dalla precisa risposta favoritami dalla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ deducendo per certo, che in pari tempo fosse stata inviata lettera a questo Padre Maestro Priore sull'oggetto in proposito, ho esortato stamane Fr. Giuseppe Baldovini a richiedere dal prelodato il bramato permesso, da cui però sentì intuonarsi un'aperta negativa, finchè dal Molto Reverendo Padre Provinciale non gli verrà mandato un altro Converso / già s'intende per fare da cuciniere /. Avverta, che qui sono al presente quattro Conversi, compreso l'Oblato, che fa da Refetoriere, e serve il Padre Priore. Siffatta risposta dimostra, mi pare, ch'egli nulla abbia ricevuto da cotesta Secretaria Generalizia. Se mai la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ degnasi di far graziare d'un'Obedienza assoluta il Supplicante, pregola di farla dirigere a lui medesimo, per così rimuovere qualunque indizio da mia parte, mentre rinuovandole la profonda mia venerazione mi glorio d'essere costantemente Della Paternità Sua Molto Reverenda.

Città della Pieve S. Agostino il dì 31. Maggio 1826.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 2 (vgl. oben L 145)

Für die nächsten Briefe benützt der Selige ein Format, das die gleiche Breite wie bei Nr. 1, aber eine etwas grössere Höhe hat: 27,2 cm. Auf der 4. Seite findet sich wieder die Adresse, dazu ein Poststempel: 30 Ottobre. — Von derselben Hand wie bei Nr. 1 ist beigefügt: Bellisini (!) 29 ottobre 1826.

Die Adresse lautet:

Al Rev^mo Padre Signore, Signore Padrone Veneratissimo
Il Padre Maestro Giuseppe Mistretta,
Priore Generale di tutto l'Ordine
Eremitano di S. Agostino
Roma
S. Agostino

P. Josef Mistretta, ein Sizilianer, war in seiner Heimatprovinz Professor für Philosophie und Mathematik und auch Provinzial gewesen. Er wurde dann Generalassistent und Generalprokurator. — Auf dem ersten Generalkapitel nach den napoleonischen Wirren 1822 wurde er zum General gewählt; vom Papst Leo XII. 1828 in diesem Amt bestätigt, legte er es nach dessen Tod 1829 nieder. — Er starb in seiner Heimat 1831, 74 Jahre alt (Vgl. LANTERI *I. V. Aug.* III p. 368 und idem, *E. S. Aug.* I p. 340). In diesem Brief bittet der Selige, der am 1. Sept. 1826 noch das Amt des Sakristans in Genazzano hatte übernehmen müssen, den General, doch den Vorgänger in diesem Amt zu veranlassen, einige unklare Fragen zu klären. Wir sehen aus diesem Brief, mit welcher Genauigkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit P. Bellesini sein Amt führte. — Gleichzeitig bittet er den General, doch bald Hilfe zu schicken, da er die beiden Aemter, Sakristan und Novizenmeister, zusammen nicht gut verwalten könne. Er nennt gleich einen jungen Mitbruder, der bereit wäre zur *vita communis perfecta*. — Die weiteren Anliegen des Briefes sind leicht verständlich.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo Padre

L'Uffizio di Sagrestano, che fin dal primo del passato Settembre mi fu annesso pro tempore, mi sollecita alla soddisfazione di tanti obblighi di Messe arretrate, che ho ritrovato nelle Vacchette, come di fatto mi veggo omai giunto al fine di molti, ma non di quelli però, che come più vecchi, hanno più forte diritto di essere esauriti, pel motivo, che il mio antecessore Padre Maestro Niccola Sinnibaldi li marcò con certi segni, che lasciano il dubbio, se siano stati commessi ad altri, e così mi tengono sospeso nel soddisfarli. Io per venirne al chiaro scrissi già da qualche tempo al medesimo, perchè mi dilucidasse le oscurità incontrate, senza però ottenerne risposta, onde sono costretto di rivolgermi alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma, perchè lo impegni a rispondere ai seguenti punti:

1° Se le Messe ottant'una del Mese di Maggio *1825.* che si trovano da soddisfarsi nella Vacchetta delle Avventizie, abbiano qualche riserva per quella linea, che divide le prime venti delle medesime.

2° Se le Messe segnate con una croce nelle partite dei Mesi di Luglio, e di Agosto *1825.* sulla predetta Vacchetta abbiano da soddisfarsi, ed in caso negativo, a chi furono commesse?

3° Se le cinque del detto Agosto segnate col solo *A dì* siano nello stesso dubbio?

4° Se le Messe settanta del Mese di Aprile *1826.*, segnate sull' altra piccola Vacchetta delle Avventizie, siano da soddisfarsi, non essendo in altro distinte, se non che dal N° progressivo ?

5° Finalmente, se siano state registrate / non avendole io ritrovate in nessuna Vacchetta / le trenta Messe, cioè *20.* pel fu Domenico Benemeglio, e *10.* per un Obbligo di questa nostra Sagrestia, che attesta il Sacerdote Niccola Colapaoli d'avere in quest'anno celebrato, e d'averne altresì ricevuto la limosina con Scuti (sic !) quattro : baj : cinquanta ?

In pari tempo supplico di avere in considerazione la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^, ch'io con tal impiego addossatomi non posso disimpegnare i doveri del Noviziato, essendo questa una Sagrestia di tanti affari, che ricerca onninamente l'intera cura di una persona, e così essendo io distratto da due importantissimi Uffizj, malamente soddisfo all'uno, e all'altro, e così la mia coscienza resta agitata, o per meglio dire, aggravata. La di lei carità imploro pertanto a sollevarmi con prestezza col mandare qualche altro soggetto, che gli venga affidato ciò, che parrà più opportuno alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^. Il Padre Carlo Domenico Agostino Berardi di Oneglia dell' età circa d'anni *32.*, che fu mio Novizio, e però da me ben conosciuto per un giovane fornito di ottime qualità, fu di già in Viterbo ordinato Sacerdote. Egli si mostra amantissimo dell'Osservanza religiosa, e però sarebbe molto a proposito per questo Santuario. E vero, che trovasi al presente applicato allo Studio della Morale, ma a ciò si esibisce di supplire questo zelantissimo Padre Maestro Priore.

Ai *14.* dello spirante volle spogliarsi il Novizio Vincenzo Balzaretti, e ritornare nel primiero suo istituto, essendo stato preventivamente riaccettato.

A seconda delle nostre Sacre Costituzioni leggesi qui alla Mensa la Sacra Scrittura, ma in testo latino, e così da non pochi niente intesa. Quindi avendola io tutta tradotta dal Canieres in volgare unita al testo latino, chieggo umilmente dalla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ il permesso di poterla far leggere almeno alternativamente, come si usa colla nostra Santa Regola, in volgare, perchè possa essere così da tutti intesa, ben inteso sempre di far omettere la detta volgare lettura in que' passi, che non sono spedienti alla cognizione di ciascuno. Colla più profonda venerazione intanto le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, e mi glorio d'essere costantemente Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^.

Genazzano il dì 29. Ottobre *1826.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 3 (Vgl. oben L 148)

Format und Adresse wie bei Nr. 2. — Beigefügte Bemerkung: P. Bellesini R. (= risposta ? vgl. unten p. 20 zu Nr. 6) 20 Febbraio 1827 (der Brief selbst ist vom 18. Febr. datiert). Ein Poststempel fehlt.

Im Brief handelt es sich um die Tagesordnung des Noviziates, vor allem um die Zeit der Matutin. Der Brief ist etwas unklar, er lässt sich wohl so erklären: Die Zeit 9.30 bezieht sich auf den Abend (= 21.30), das antecedere bezieht sich nur auf die Messe. Dann würde tatsächlich die Nachtruhe in den Sommermonaten recht kurz. Das « recitare il Mat. la *sera* » müsste man dann vom frühen Abend, etwa um 18 Uhr, verstehen.

Tatsächlich ist in den Noviziatsordnungen, die auf den Seligen zurückgehen, nie davon die Rede, dass die Matutin erst am Morgen gebetet worden wäre; früh beginnt das Officium immer mit der Prim (Vgl. BALZOFIORE, *Vita del Venerabile Servo di Dio Stefano Bellesini*, Roma, 1868 p. 56 f. — Ausserdem liegt mir eine Photokopie vor der Noviziatsordnung von Carpineto, die auch vom Seligen verfasst ist).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

In Obbedienza dell'ordine abbassatomi dalla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ nella sua lettera inviata a questo Padre Maestro Priore, compiego in seno della presente il giornale che si praticava costì nel Noviziato, come il più atto, cred'io, all'uopo, ch'ella desidera.

Il notabile avanzamento, che ora fa il giorno, ci costringe a celebrare la prima Messa all'Aurora, per così dar campo a questo Popolo di portarsi ai lavori della campagna, e perciò il Matuttino dovrebbesi cominciare alle ore nove e mezzo, ed in appresso antecedere sempre più a seconda dell'alzata dell'Aurora, il che ci abbreviarebbe di troppo il notturno riposo. A tale sconcerto rimediarebbe la recita del Matuttino dopo la prima Messa, ma allora verrebbe troppo tarda l'orazione mentale, ed impedito l'attendere Confessioni, che ogni mattina conviene udirsi da più d'uno. Quindi a togliere qualunque dissonanza questo Padre Maestro Priore, premessi i suoi più umili ossequi, supplica la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ in questa mia, per non attediarla con altra lettera, del permesso di poter recitare al presente il Matuttino la sera, finchè ritornerà la lunghezza delle notti.

Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, e chiedendole la sua Paterna benedizione m'onore d'essere sempre

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 18. Febbraio *1827*.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 4 (Vgl. oben L 150)

Die folgenden Briefe haben wieder ein etwas kleineres Format: 19,2 zu 24,6 cm. Nr. 4, 5 und 6 sind kurze Bitten an den Generaloberen, Neuprofessen, die ihr Noviziatsjahr vollendet hatten, Weisung zu geben, wohin sie sich zu begeben hätten.

Nr. 4 und 5 sind, wie Nr. 2 und 3, an P. General Mistretta gerichtet.

Bei Nr. 4 findet sich der Poststempel: Palestrina 21 Gennaio (datiert am 19. 1. !) und die Bemerkung: P. Bellesini R. 24 Gennaio 1828.

Bei Nr. 5 lautet der Poststempel: Palestrina 12 Maggio (Datum 11. Mai !) und die Bemerkung: P. Bellesini R. 13. Maggio 1828; unten rechts steht, wohl von derselben Hand, die sachliche Bemerkung: obbedienza fr. Criscoli.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Ai due del prossimo entrante Mese cade la Professione del Cherico Fr. Michele Page Irlandese, il quale compie allora l'anno di sua provazione in questo Noviziato ; onde supplico la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ dell'Obbedienza, perchè possa diriggerlo, dove sarà da lei destinato di Stanza, mentre implorando col più vivo fervore la di lei Paterna Benedizione, colla più profonda venerazione le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, e mi pregio d'essere sempre

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *19.* Gennaio *1828.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 5 (Vgl. oben L 151)

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Il Novizio Fr. Camillo Criscoli di Benevento compie al dì vent' uno del corrente il suo Noviziato, onde Supplico umilmente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^, perchè si degni prevvederlo dell'Obbedienza, mentre colla più profonda venerazione le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *11.* Maggio *1828.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 6 (Vgl. oben XLVI 133)

Inhalt und Format wie bei den beiden vorausgehen Briefen.

Die Adresse lautet hier:

Al Rev^mo^ Padre Signore, Signore Padrone Veneratissimo

Il Padre Maestro Tomaso Antolini Commissario, e Procuratore Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino
Roma
S. Agostino

Der Poststempel lautet: Palestrina 8 Novembre (Datum 6 Nov. !). Die hinzugefügte Bemerkung: Bellisini (!) risp. 13 Novembre 1828; dazu kommt von späterer Hand die Nummer für den Prozess: N XLVI

P. Antolini, ein sehr gelehrter Mann, war vorher Ordenssekretär, Provinzial in Umbrien und Generalprokurator. Er wurde am 6. Juni 1829 von Papst Pius VIII. zum Vicarius Generalis ernannt. — Er starb am 28. August 1830 in Genua, 67 Jahre alt (Vgl. LANTERI, *I. V. Aug.* III p. 368 und *E. S. Aug.* I p. 343).

Aus den Regesten im Ordensarchiv Dd 249 geht hervor, dass er schon vorher — wie ja auch die angegebene Adresse zeigt — den P. General Mistretta wiederholt als Commissarius Generalis vertreten hat, z. B. p. 37′ (3. Febr. 1828), p. 9 (5. März 1827), p. 121 (3. Juni 1828).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.
Rev^mo^ Padre
Cadendo ai *12.* del corrente la Professione dei due Novizj Giambattista Ricca di Civezza ; e Giuseppe Niggi di Oneglia ; supplico la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ di provvederli dell'Obbedienza, mentre colla più profonda venerazione le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente
Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^
Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *6.* Novembre *1828.*
Umilissimo, Devotissimo ed Obbligatissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 7 (Vgl. oben L 152)

Das Format ist ungefähr dasselbe wie bei den vorausgehenden Briefen (19,2 zu 24,5 cm); die Adresse wie bei Nr. 2 (vgl. oben p. 705). Der Poststempel lautet: Palestrina 22. Decembre (Datum 20. Dez.!); die beigefügte Bemerkung: P. Bellesini R. 25: dicembre 1828; dazu unten rechts die knappe Inhaltsangabe: Per il Professo Cantiani, onde sia collocato in Genazzano.

Der Inhalt des Briefes zeigt uns die grosse Sorge des Seligen für den Fortbestand eines arbeits- und lebensfähigen Konventes, der ja die Keimzelle der Reform des gemeinschaftlichen Lebens sein sollte.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.
Rev^mo^ Padre
Il Professo Fr. Niccola Canziani Studente nel Convento di Foligno scrisse, che desideroso di maggior perfezione ha risoluto di appigliarsi alla vita comune, e quindi di trasferirsi in questo Santuario, purchè possa attendere allo Studio. Io comunicai le di lui brame a questo Padre Maestro Priore, ed al Padre Reggente Chioc-

chetti, ed ambedue annuirono, offerendosi il detto Padre Reggente (che fu anche destinato dal di lei antecessore ad istruire gli Studenti del Convento di Friburgo) ad insegnargli le opportune Scienze. Egli pertanto sentendo la mia faverovele risposta, mi spedì jeri la supplica, che fa alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ per ottenerne l'intento, ch'io qui in seno ho il piacere di compiegare, ed in pari tempo di presentarle le mie fervorose preghiere, perchè si degni di benignamente esaudire l'umile ricorrente, e soddisfare così alli nostri comuni ardenti desideri di vederci ajutati nel Coro, e nella Chiesa da un giovane di buona volontà, e che trovandosi nell'età di circa *24.* anni può in poco tempo essere ordinato Sacerdote. Nella ferma fiducia, che la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ piacerà di presto provvedere in tal maniera al bisogno di questo Santuario, avviso pel medesimo corso di posta il detto Professo della spedizione a lei fatta della di lui supplica, per così consolarlo colla lusinga di vedere fra poco appagati i suoi voti. Le imminenti Feste del Santo Natale di Gesù mi risvegliano questo preciso dovere di augurargliele dal Cielo felicissime, che colla medesima effusione di cuore le desidera questo Padre Maestro Priore assieme a questa Comunità Religiosa. Frattanto supplicandola della Benedizione le bacio colla più profonda venerazione il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *20.* Dicembre *1828.*

Umillissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 8 (Vgl. oben L 156)

Format wie bei Nr. 7; Adresse und Poststempel fehlen. Der Brief richtet sich an den General, damals noch P. Mistretta (vgl. dazu auch die Angabe der Liste oben p. 697/8); er wurde anscheinend irgendwie persönlich ihm übermittelt, vielleicht wegen des doch in etwa heiklen Inhaltes. — Nur die gewöhnliche Bemerkung steht auf der Rückseite rechts oben: P. Bellesini R. 9. Maggio 29. Hier trägt der Selige dem General wieder seine Sorgen um das Noviziat und den Konvent in Genazzano vor. Sehr fein psychologisch behandelt er dabei das Anliegen des P. Maggi. Er hatte damit auch Erfolg: in einem späteren Brief (Nr. 13 — LI 162 — vom 16. 6. 1832; vgl. unten p. 716) erscheint dieser als Prior des Konventes. Und wie eindringlich bittet er wieder um Hilfe für die Erhaltung des Konventes!

P. Nicola Chiocchetti, der im vorigen Brief als P. Reggente bezeichnet wird, stand dem Seligen besonders nahe; war er doch sein Landsmann! Von 1796 bis 1800 war er sogar Prior des Konventes von Trient. Auf Veranlassung des Seligen war er nach dem Ende der Napoleonischen Wirren wieder in das Kloster zurückgekehrt. Er liess ihn auch in Genazzano nicht in Stich. Er opferte dafür sogar sein Amt als Generalassistent. Am 26. August 1829 war der Generalassistent der deutschen Assistenz, P. Thil aus Polen, gestorben (Dd 250 p. 24). Am 4. Sep-

tember 1829 unterbreitete P. Generalvikar Tomaso Antolini (vgl. Nr. 6) dem Heiligen Vater seine Vorschläge für die Nachfolge des P. Thil, an erster Stelle nannte er den Pater Chiocchetti (Dd 250 p. 26). Am 5. September 1829 wurde dieser vom Papste bestätigt (Dd 250 p. 28).

In den Kapitelsakten des Jahres 1831 (*Analecta Augustiniana* XIII, 1929, p. 468) erscheint er als Generalassistent, blieb aber nicht mehr lange im Amt. Er bat bald den Heiligen Vater um Enthebung von seinem Amt, weil er sich nach Genazzano zurückziehen wollte (Dd 251 p. 56). Der Papst überliess in der Audienz vom 13. Mai 1831 die Entscheidung über diese Bitte dem General, der am 8. Oktober die Resignation annahm (Dd 251 p. 56). Vgl. dazu auch Brief Nr. 9 und 10. Am 24. Dezember 1833 starb P. Chiocchetti in Genazzano (Dd 252 p. 78). Vgl. dazu auch *Festschrift* p. 97.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Il Novizio Svizzero Fr. Domenico Barras veggendosi privo di quella perfetta salute, che nella vita attiva di converso prima godeva, e conoscendosi a cagione dell'età sua avanzata di sopra a trent'anni inetto ad apprendere quelle scientifiche nozioni, che necessarie sono per la promozione agli Ordini sacri, desidera di ritornare allo stato laicale, e però supplica la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ di approvare questa di lui determinazione già preceduta da un maturo riflesso di più settimane, e non eccitata per via di altrui esortazioni, ma dalla di lui spontanea, e libera volontà dopo d'aver invocato il Padre de' lumi per rettificarla. Si degni pertanto di communicarmi la di lei definitiva decisione su tal oggetto in proposito, onde presto consolare l'umile supplicante. Presento poi alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ i miei vivi ringraziamenti per aver bilanciate le mie rappresentanze fattele sulla traslocazione del Padre Maggi, il quale alla scelta da lei dattagli di partire, o restare poteva certo mettere in pace il proprio cuore ; ma questa magnanima di lei deferenza in concedere alla di lui libera volontà l'elezione, anzicchè apportargli quiete, gli cagionò agitazione, volendo, che la scelta da lei solo dipenda. Non creda già per questo, ch'egli siasi raffreddato del desiderio di qui rimanere, poichè egli stesso mi disse, che a lei più d'una volta esternò vocalmente la sua contentezza di vivere in questo Santuario, e che però non occorreva di ciò ripeterle in quest'ultima sua, sebbene ella ricerchi di sapere la di lui propensione alla vita comune. Già la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ ha ponderato i motivi da me addotti per la necessaria confermazione del Padre Maggi in questo Santuario, e però la supplico di pacificare il medesimo con rispondergli, ch'ella si compiace di qui raffermarlo di stanza, senza lasciarlo più oltre sulla bilancia dell'elezione, alla quale ricusa egli assolutamente pel timore di contradire alla di lei volontà. La partenza del Padre Maggi non solo causarebbe quella del Padre Francieri, ma ben anche quella del Padre Maestro Chiocchetti, il quale jeridì mostrossi a questo Padre Priore, ed come risolutissimo di chiederle l'Obbedienza per essere traslocato, non per altro motivo, che per

non sentirsi capace di subire *pondus diei, et estus*, partendo il più sano, e forte, con cui dividevasi la giornaliera fatica. Che se ci abbandona pure il detto Padre Maestro, ch'è l'ancora di stazione, come certo succederebbe dall'assenza del Padre Maggi, oh allora sì che può dirsi intieramente disciolta la famiglia di questo Santuario, poichè allora chi vorrà starvi per vedersi oppresso dalle fatiche ? Ognuno verrà disanimato, dal vedersi anche privo d'un soggetto si abile per ischiarirci i dubbi, e le perplessità di coscienza, che talvolta insorgono. Io però affidato alla paterna cura, ed amorevolezza da lei sempre avuta per questo Santuario non mi darò mai a credere, che per assettare la famiglia di Benevento consistente in due, o tre Religiosi permetta la Paternità Sua Rev^{ma}, che vada questa in ruina, ch'è la custode del più gran Santuario, che nobiliti la nostra Religione, e pel di cui stabilimento tanto ella impegnossi. Se mai a caso prima di ricevere questa mia, avesse ella di già permesso al Padre Maggi di partirsene, si degni per carità di benignamente rimediarvi nell'avere ora inteso il grande sconcerto, che ne succederebbe. Noi però viviamo sicuri dell'innata di lei bontà, che vorrà presto consolarci, in prova di che questo Padre Maestro Priore, il quale unito a tutti gl'Individui di questa Religiosa famiglia si pregia di porgerle i suoi più ossequiosi rispetti, Venerdi prossimo darà principio ad un pubblico Triduo in onore di Maria Ssma del Buon Consiglio per la di lei conservazione. Pieno io intanto di profonda venerazione baciandole il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed'umilmente chiedendole la Paterna sua benedizione, mi glorio d'essere sempre della Paternità sua Rev^{ma}

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 6. Maggio *1829*.
Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 9 (Vgl. oben LI 159)

Das Format ist wieder etwas grösser: 19,2 zu 26,5 cm. Adresse und Poststempel fehlen. Auf der Rückseite steht nur die Bemerkung: P. Bacceliere Bellesini, Genazzano.

Der Brief enthält zunächst Glückwünsche zur Uebernahme der Leitung des Ordens, richtet sich also ohne Zweifel an den neugewählten Ordensgeneral (oder besser « Vicarius generalis ») P. Laurentius Tardì (vgl. dazu Brief Nr. 1 p. 703).

Bemerkenswert sind die Angaben über seine körperliche Schwäche: er könne nicht einmal mehr an den Prozessionen teilnehmen und habe im vorigen Herbst (1830) zweimal die Sterbesakramente empfangen. Wiederum bittet er sehr eindringlich um seinen Freund P. Chiocchetti — « das rechte Auge dieses Heiligtums » —, der vom P. Generalvikar Antolini weggerufen worden war (vgl. oben Nr. 8) und im Oktober 1830 hätte zurückkehren sollen. Dass diese Bitte Erfolg hatte, bezeugt der folgende Brief Nr. 10.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

La Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ sarà, ben credo, persuasa del giubilo, che sentì il mio cuore nella sua promozione, per cui ne resi le dovute grazie all'Altissimo. Mi trattenni però dal manifestarlo colle congratulazioni, per non accrescere l'afflizione all'umiltà a me già nota della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^, che solo per non opporsi alla divina volontà accettò si grave incarico. Non posso però differire più a lungo la debita rimostranza della profonda mia sommissione, ed inalterabile obbedienza, che ora ho l'onore, ed il godimento di prestarle inviolabilmente. Spero nell'affezione, ch'ella in modo speciale dimostrò a questo Santuario, di aver fra poco la gioja di baciarle personalmente il lembo della sacra Veste, e tanto più ciò sospiro per vedermi da miei incomodi giornalmente spinto al sepolcro. La debolezza delle mie forze m'impedisce perfino d'intervenire alle pubbliche Processioni, e nel passato Autunno ricevetti per due volte il Sagro Viatico. Mi era di gran conforto il Padre Assistente Chiochetti, che forma(va) (die eingeklammerte Silbe ist nachträglich hereinkorrigiert) l'occhio destro di questo Santuario ; ma dacchè contro sua voglia fu costretto a portarsi costì, ci siam trovati in angustie. Egli accreditava di molto la nostra Chiesa e colla sua perizia del canto fermo nel coro e colla sua indefessa assistenza al Confessionale, e poi ancora col darci lume ne' nostri dubbj, e col ben regolare co'suoi consigli gli affari conventuali. Lo stesso Padre Rev^mo^ Antolini, di buona memoria, che ce lo tolse, avea determinato di restituircelo pello scorso Ottobre ; ma la funesta di lui morte sospese il tanto sospirato di lui ritorno. Ora però che Sua Santità si compiacque di rimettere alla volontà della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ il rimandarcelo, la supplico col maggior fervore del mio spirito a non privarci più a lungo di sì degno, ed importante Soggetto a questo Santuario, al cui servizio la divina Provvidenza lo avea destinato. Ella, che con tanta premura s'impegnò all'ottimo di lui stabilimento, avrà senza dubbio gran piacere di tener in sua mano un mezzo sicuro a sostenerlo, e a consolare in pari tempo questa Religiosa Famiglia, non meno, che questa Popolazione, al cui bene spirituale tanto egli si adoprava. Così Maria SS^ma^ le sarà sempre propizia pel felice reggimento della nostra Religione, in veggendo la di lei sollecitudine a promuovere l'onore, e spirituale vantaggio di questa sua Casa. Pieno intanto della profonda venerazione ho il pregio di protestarmi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *2.* settembre *1831.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo ed Obbedientissimo
figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 10 (Vgl. oben LI 160)

Format wie beim vorhergehenden; ohne Adresse und Poststempel; nur die Bemerkung findet sich an der gewohnten Stelle: P. Stefano Bellisini (!).

Inhaltlich schliesst sich der Brief an den vorausgehenden an und ist damit sicher auch an denselben Adressaten, den P. Vic. Gen. Tardì, gerichtet. Er enthält zunächst den Dank für die Erfüllung der Bitte, den P. Generalassistenten Chiocchetti ihnen wieder zu schicken. Dann weist er hin auf eine sehr wichtige Aenderung im Leben des Seligen: Die Uebernahme des Amtes des Pfarrers im Febr. 1831. Er fühlt die Last so schwer, dass er um Enthebung von diesem Amt bittet, eine Bitte, die bis zu seinem Tode nicht erfüllt werden sollte.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Lunedì p. p. ebbi finalmente il contento di poter abbracciare il Padre Assistente Chiocchetti, Persona tanto vangaggiosa, e per così dire, necessaria a questo Santuario : onde rendo le più vive grazie, e lodi perenni a Dio, a Maria SS^ma^, ed alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ per un tanto bene compartitoci.

Per un mero caso di bisogno, e per non contraddire alle premurose istanze di questo mio Padre Priore accettai nello scorso mese di Febbraio il grave peso di questa Parocchia, superiore alle mie forze fisiche, e morali, nè mai da me per tal motivo temuto un si gran carico. Ora però, che per la Dio mercè veggo interamente tolto il predetto urgente bisogno, supplico umilmente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ della di lei carità a sgravarmi da questo sì importante, e da me non ancora bene appreso impiego per la mia incapacità nell'esercitarlo. Il paterno amoroso di lei cuore verso de' suoi figli in soccorrergli nelle loro gravi angustie mi assicura presto della grazia, che fervidamente imploro, mentre pieno di profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 12. Ottobre 1831.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, Obbligatissimo
ed Obbedientissimo Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 11 (Vgl. oben XLIV 130)

Blattgrösse wie beim vorausgehenden ; nur hat der Selige hier — eine der wenigen Ausnahmen — nur *ein* Blatt genommen. Auf der Rückseite finden sich Spuren des Poststempels: Palestrina.

Die Adresse lautet:

Al Molto Reverendo Padre Padrone Colendissimo
Il Padre Niccola Massabò Agostiniano
Perugia
SS. Filippo, e Giacomo

Dazu steht noch im oberen rechten Eck die Nummer für den Prozess: N XLIV.

Der Adressat wird unter den Zeugen des römischen Prozesses im Jahre 1844/45 unter Nr. XII aufgeführt (Summ. num. 2 p. 5). Er war damals Depositar und Procurator des Konventes S. Marino und 35 Jahre alt. Als der Brief geschrieben wurde, war er also etwa 22 Jahre alt. Der Brief richtet sich an diesen jungen Mitbruder, der unter der Leitung des Seligen sein Noviziat gemacht hatte (Vgl. seine Aussagen im Prozess Summ. num. 4 § 36 p. 22) und enthält Glückwünsche zur Priesterweihe.

Anscheinend hatte der Primiziant um Messtipendien gebeten; der Selige muss aber diese Bitte unerfüllt lassen, weil die Leute wegen der schlechten Zeiten fast keine Messen bestellten.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Pregiatissimo Padre Niccola

La moltiplicità delle incombenze mi rattenne la volontà, che avea di rispondere prima d'ora alla di lei lietissima lettera. Ringrazio il Padre delle misericordie, che si compiacque d'inalzarla all'eccelso grado del Sacerdozio. Confido nella divina bontà, che le darà la grazia di ben corrispondere a sì santa Vocazione. Gratissima mi è la promessa, ch'ella mifa di non dimenticarsi di me meschino ne'suoi Santi Sacrifizj, non che la di lei cordialità di augurarmi dal Cielo ogni benedizione, che prego con intensione di affetto di rifonderle copiosamente. Qui ci troviamo così sprovveduti di Messe, che il Padre Sagrestano ha di già cominciato a far celebrare gli obblighi dell'anno prossimo venturo. Non si creda, che questa Sagrestia venga provveduta di Messe, come negli anni scorsi, ma le presenti critiche circostanze tolgono ai divoti la possibilità di contribuirne le limosine. Ella però non pensi tanto a queste, che così eseguirà il buon consiglio del Padre Maestro Chiesa, il quale dice, che la Messa più sicura è quella senza limosina ; perchè scevra di attacco alla medesima, tanto più che il di lei amantissimo Genitore la provvede ne' suoi bisogni. Frattanto riverendola a nome pure dei la lei salutati, e baciandole le mani consacrate, ho il piacere di raffermarmi costantemente Di Lei

Genazzano S. Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *30. Dicembre 1831.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 12 (Vgl. oben LI 161)

Das Format dieses Briefes (wieder ein Doppelblatt) ist in der Breite gleich dem vorausgehenden, die Höhe ist etwas grösser: 26,3 cm.

Die Adresse lautet:

Al Rev^mo^ Padre Signore, Signore Padrone Veneratissimo
Il Maesro Lorenzo Tardì Vicario Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino
Roma
S. Agostino

Vom Poststempel ist zu lesen: Palestrina und Giugno, nicht aber der Tag; oben rechts die gewöhnliche Bemerkung: P. Bac. Stefano Bellisini (!) Genazzano.

Der Brief enthält nur die kurze Bitte, 4 Wohltäter des Klosters zu Ehrenaugustinern zu ernennen.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Desiderosi quattro benefattori di questo Santuario d'essere onorati della figliuolanza alla nostra Santa Religione supplico la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ di esaudirli, e sono i seguenti:

Signore Giovanni Milani di Guercino
Signore Clermene de Santis del Piglio
Signore Don Giuseppe Rossi della Cervara
Signore Francesco Saverio Talfini Medico di Rocca Canterano

Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, e mi raffermo

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 7. Giugno *1832*.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 13 (Vgl. oben LI 162)

Das Format ist wieder etwas grösser: 19,4 zu 26,6 cm ; Adresse und beigefügte Bemerkung sind wie bei Nr. 12. Der Poststempel lautet: Palestrina 18 Giugno.

Inhaltlich knüpft der Brief an den vorausgehenden an. Der P. General hatte anscheinend eine nähere Begründung der dort ausgesprochenen Bitte verlangt. Sie wird hier gegeben mit dem Hinweis, dass die Laienbrüder auf ihren Kollekturgängen von den genannten Wohltätern sehr gut aufgenommen wurden.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Fr. Tommaso Cenci, ch'è il solito nostro questuante dell'olio per questi Santuario, testifica d'essere sempre stato ricevuto nelle case dei quattro Signori già da me nominati nell'ultima mia umiliata alla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ con tutta cordialità, e liberalità, per cui li chiamiamo nostri Benefattori, ed il Padre Agostino Magi in

allora Priore m'insinuò di supplicarla, perchè si degni di onorarli dell'Affigliazione all'Ordine, ch'essi tanto desiderano. Altre notizie non tengo circa i detti Signori postulanti, e però implorando umilmente la Paterna sua benedizione col bacio della sacra Veste, pieno di profonda stima ho il pregio di ripetermi

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *16.* Giugno *1832.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 14 (Vgl. oben LI 164)

Format: 19 zu 25,4 cm ; ohne Adresse und Poststempel, also wohl irgendwie privat überbracht. Auf der Rückseite findet sich nur die Bemerkung: P. Bac. Stefano Bellesini 1833 (von einer anderen Hand als gewöhnlich).

Der Brief richtet sich unzweifelhaft an den Generaloberen, also an P. Tardì. Er verbindet die Sorgen des Seligen als Pfarrer mit denen des Ordensmannes. Der Selige war also nie einseitig nur auf sein Amt bedacht.

Er bittet den General, ein ihm von einem Mitbruder — allerdings nur mit Zustimmung des Generals — angebotenes Almosen für die Armen der Pfarrei verwenden zu dürfen. Man hielt also in Genazzano die klösterliche Armut sehr genau.

Ausserdem bittet er um ein Exempar einer neugedruckten Regelübersetzung, weil er den Unterricht für die Laienbrüder zu geben hatte.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Uno di questi miei Confratelli Sacerdote professo avendo riscosso, giorni sono, trenta sette paoli, che già da qualche anno avea dato ad imprestito, si offerì di consegnar a me tal somma in soccorso de' poverelli, purchè approvi questa si lui caritatevole oblazione la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^. Supplico quindi dal tenero di Lei cuore un sì opportuno provvedimento ai miei bisogni Parrocchiali. In pari tempo ardisco di pregarla d'una copia della nostra santa Regola volgarizzata fatta ristampare dalla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ con in fine le osservazioni sui doveri Religiosi, essendo io incombenzato di fare la Dottrina Cristiana, e spiegare le obbligazioni religiose a questi Fratelli Conversi. Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione imploro umilmente la Paterna Sua benedizione, mentre ossequioso Le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed ho l'onore di essere sempre

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano il dì *20.* Agosto *1833.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, Obligatissimo Servitore
ed Obbedientissimo Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 15 (Vgl. oben LI 165)

Format: 19,1 zu 27,1 cm ; wieder fehlen Adresse und Poststempel ; auf der Rückseite steht nur rechts oben (wieder von der gewöhnlichen Hand) die Bemerkung: P. B. Stefano Bellisini (!).

Mit dem Dank an den P. General Tardì für die Erfüllung der in Nr. 14 geäusserten Bitten bringt der Selige ein ähnliches Anliegen vor. Ausserdem bittet er um Klärung eines Widerspruches zwischen der dort genannten Regelerklärung und den Konstitutionen.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

Ringrazio sommamente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^, che si compiacque col dono favoritomi della nostra Santa Regola accrescere la caritatevole offerta fattami a prò di questi miei poverelli. Sì generosa di Lei beneficenza mi lusinga, ch'Ella si degnerà pure condiscendere ad un'altra piccola offerta, che mi fa per lo stesso oggetto il Padre ex Assistente Niccola Chiocchetti, di sei pavoli spettanti, sebbene non appariscano, a questo Convento, ch'egli teneva appresso di se per dar in limosina a' poveri nel tempo del suo Vicariato Priorale.

Leggendo nella succennata Regola gli obblighi, che hanno i Conversi per li defunti, parmi ritrovare dell'opposizione alla dichiarazione fatta su tal punto dalle nostre Sacre Costituzioni.

Queste al numero 6. c. 2. stabiliscono, che alla morte di qualche Religioso professo i Conversi della Provincia del defunto debbano dire 150. Pater nostri, come al numero 2. delle medesime, nel quale dopo la Festa di S. Michele vengono appunto prescritti 150. Parimente al n° 7. delle Costituzioni sono prescritti ai Conversi 150. Pater nostri per l'Anniversario dell'ordine, che cade in Novembre ; per quello, che si celebra in Febbraio, e per quello finalmente, che si fa in Luglio. Rapporto a ciò, che le Costituzioni ordinano ai Conversi al n° 3. del cap. 5 di recitare 25. Pater nostri pel Mat., dieci per le Laudi, e dieci pel Vespro negli Anniversarj del nostro Ordine, io intendeva nelle Messe anniversarie di qualche defunto del nostro Ordine, ma non mai nei tre predetti solenni Anniversarj, nei quali sono così chiaramente ordinati 150. Pater nostri ad ogni Converso professo. Supplico pertanto umilmente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ dello schiarimento a queste mie insorte difficoltà, mentre implorando la Paterna Sua benedizione colla più profonda venerazione Le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed ho il pregio di raffermarmi inviolabilmente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 27. Agosto *1833*.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, Obligatissimo Servitore,
ed Obbedientissimo Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 16 (Vgl. oben LI 166)

Format wie bei Nr. 15 ; auf der Rückseite steht nichts als im oberen rechten Eck die Bemerkung: P. Bac. Stefano Bellesini, Parroco in Genazzano 1838.

Der Inhalt ist sehr interessant: einmal erscheint hier zum ersten Mal der Name des P. Augustinus Proja (Nach den Prozessakten Summ. num. 2 p. 4 testis V. im Jahre 1844/5 Subsacrista Apostolicus, 56 Jahre alt), an den der Selige eine Reihe von Briefen richtete. Ausserdem erfahren wir hier die Tatsache, dass P. Vic. Gen. Tardì sein Amt niederlegen wollte (er war ja schon 72 Jahre alt); tatsächlich zog er sich 1835 nach Neapel zurück (vgl. LANTERI, *E. S. Aug.* p. 345). Der Selige nennt ihn einen grossen Förderer des Konventes und des gemeinschaftlichen Lebens. Er befürchtet von dem Weggang des Generals eine Schädigung dieser vita communis, zumal wenn dort ein Ordensstudium eingerichtet werden solle; darauf deute u. a. die Anwesenheit des P. Difendente Tommaso Ricci. Es ist dies wohl derselbe P. Difendente Tommaso Ricca, an den der im Anhang beigegebene am 28. Okt. 1831 geschriebene Brief gerichtet ist. Jedenfalls deuten beide Briefe auf einen etwas selbstbewussten Charakter dieses Paters. Darum bittet auch der Selige um dessen Versetzung, um die Früchte der bisherigen Bemühungen um ein vollständig gemeischaftliches Leben nicht zu gefährden.

Difendente war der erste theologische Grad, den man solchen Theologiestudenten gab, die sich besonders auszeichneten (« grado, che si suol dare nella nostra Religione a quelli, che si distinguono negli studj » Prozessakten Summ. num. 4 § 33 p. 21); auch der Selige hatte diesen Grad schon während der Studien erhalten (cfr. BALZOFIORE, *l. c.* p. 21).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Rev^mo^ Padre

L'inaspettata venuta del Padre Agostino Proja mi fu doppiamente gradita e per la consolazione di vederlo, e pel sollievo prestato agli indigenti miei Parrocchiani dalla liberalità della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^, per cui Le presento i più vivi ringraziamenti.

Sento con mio cordoglio, ch'Ella voglia assolutamente spogliarsi della sua carica. Chi potrà mai del di Lei zelo in proteggere la nostra vita comune investirsi ? Le tante opposizioni provate per lo passato mi fanno temere, che non ci venga affatto levata, coll' introdurvi soggetti poco, o nulla amanti di essa. Se qui viene eretto uno studio, sarà certamente distrutta, e con essa perirà il buon credito, che appresso questa minuta popolazione acquistò il Santuario col di lei mezzo. L'accettazione da noi fatta dei due Novizi già professati fu per provedervi qualche volontario allievo, e non mai per dar principio ad uno Studio, il quale verrà senza dubbio stabilito nelle nuove disposizioni, trovandosi qui stanziato il Padre Difendente Ricci.

Per non vedere pertanto con universale ammirazione atterrato ciò, che la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ ha felicemente piantato, La sup-

plico, quanto so, e posso, di rimuoverlo adesso, altrimenti al prossimo Capitolo generale riuscirà se non impossibile, almeno assai difficile la di lui traslocazione. Le prese dalla Paternita Sua Rev^ma^ premurose sollecitudini per lo stabilimento di questa nostra vita comune mi assicurano della sospirata grazia, mentre umilmente implorando la paterna di Lei benedizione, colla più profonda venerazione ho l'onore di baciarle ossequioso il lembo della Sacra Veste, e di raffermarmi inviolabilmente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *22.* Maggio *1835.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed
Obbedientissimo Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 17 (Vgl. oben XLII 128)

Format: 19,5 zu 27,3 cm ; auf der Rückseite ist von der Hand des Seligen geschrieben oben: A Sua Santità Gregorio XVI ; unten Pel Curato di S. Maria del Buon Consiglio di Genazzano.

Es handelt sich hier um eine Bittschrift an den Papst um Unterstützung für zwei Familien aus der Pfarrei des Seligen, deren Häuser plötzich eingestürzt waren. Das Schreiben ist nicht datiert, es muss aber im September 1838 abgefasst sein: einmal heisst es darin, dass der Einsturz « nello spirato mese die Agosto » sich ereignete (im abgelaufenen Monat August), andererseits nimmt der Brief vom 4. Nov. 1838 (Nr. 18) darauf Bezug.

Das Ereignis wird noch in einer Reihe der folgenden Briefe erwähnt.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

(Stempel der Pfarrei Gen. mit dem Bild der Mutter vom Guten Rat)

Beatissimo Padre

Il Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio di Genazzano fr. Stefano Bellesini Agostiniano prostrato ai piedi di Vostra Santità umilmente espone, che nello spirato mese di Agosto precipitarono all'improvviso le case di due povere famiglie della sua Parocchia, restando insieme sepolte sotto quelle rovine le meschine loro sostanze, ma per divina grazia salve le loro persone. Ridotte esse pertanto senza abitazione, e nella totale impotenza di riedificare il loro tugurio sospirano dal Cielo quel soccorso, che la nota indigenza di questo Paese, e la propria natia povertà non ponno loro somministrare ; mentre una delle disgraziate famiglie è composta di due persone conjugate, giunte ad un'età decrepita, e già da gran tempo costrette a mendicare ; l'altra geme carica di cinque individui, e tra le angustie del necessario sostentamento. Per non avere il Pastore di queste infelici sue pecorelle il sommo rammarico di vederle disperse, ed esposte nella prossima ventura fredda stagione ad esser vittime dell'ultima miseria, osa egli implorare coi più

ardenti voti dall'innata clemenza di Vostra Beatitudine quache benigno sovvenimento ; onde così poter provvederle del necessario ricovero.

Nr. 18 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 138)

Format: 19,3 zu 26,2 cm. ; nur die erste Seite des Doppelblattes ist beschrieben.

Der Schreiber des Schriftenverzeichnisses (vgl. oben XLIX 143 p. 697) vermutet aus dem Inhalt wohl mit Recht, dass der Brief an den späteren Kardinal und damaligen Monsignore Carlo Acton (vgl. dazu oben p. 703), Uditore generale della R. Camera Apostolica e sua Congregazione Criminale, gerichtet sei. Jedenfalls hat der dort erwähnte Brief vom 12. Dezember 1838 (Nr. 20) dieselbe Anrede. Kardinal Acton sagt selbst als Zeuge im Seligsprechungsprozess aus: « Conservo alcune lettere del Servo di Dio » (vgl. Prozessakten Summ. num. 8 § 191 p. 145).

Der Brief erwähnt die vorausgehende Bittschrift an den Papst (Nr. 17) und weist daraufhin, dass sie noch kein « günstiges Auge » gefunden habe. Er bittet den Adressaten um Einsatz seines Einflusses.

Geichzeitung bittet er — und das begründet die Annahme, dass Monsignore Acton der Adressat ist — um Gnade für einen Mann aus seiner Gemeinde, Giuseppe Gollini, der auf seinen Rivalen geschossen hatte, freilich ohne ihn zu treffen.

Die Sorge des « Guten Hirten » um Leib und Seele der ihm Anvertrauten zeigt sich hier einmal in der Tatsache, dass er sich die Verzeihung des Bedrohten schriftich geben liess, andererseits in dem Hinweis auf die Not der Schwester des Verhafteten.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Eccellenza Reverendissima

La degnazione, ch'ebbe Vostra Eccellenza Rev^{ma} nella sua breve dimora in questo Santuario di meco abboccarsi, mi anima a supplicarLa di conforto nelle angustie, che provo per le altrui miserie. Il memoriale presentato a Sua Santità, per ottenere qualche benigno soccorso alle due povere famiglie prive delle loro abitazioni precipitate in un istante, riposa fin qui in perfetto silenzio. Benchè riposto sul tavolino santissimo, non fu ancor mirato con occhio favorevole. La deficienza de' mezzi per ogni altra parte toglie altresì la speranza di qualche futuro alleviamento. Solo mi resta l'iterato *pulsate* dell' Evangelo, che mi dia la fiducia dell'*aperietur vobis*. Ma chi potrà meglio picchiare all'orecchio del Santo Padre, che Vostra Eccellenza Rev^{ma} ? Coi più fervidi voti pertanto supplico il di Lei benefico, e magnanimo cuore di sì caritatevole degnazione. In pari tempo oso implorare dalla generosa di Lei carità una sollecita definizione della causa del detenuto in coteste carceri Giuseppe Gollini di Genazzano pel colpo di pistola vibrato, ma senzo effetto, contro il suo rivale, del quale già tengo presso di me in iscritto il concesso perdono : onde così non rimanga più a lungo esposto al pericolo della vita civile, e corporale l'unica, isolata, ed ottima di lui Sorella.

Pieno intanto della più profonda venerazione ho l'onore di protestarmi costantemente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano il dì *4.* Novembre *1838.*

Umilissimo, e Devotissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano,
Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio.

Nr. 19 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 139)

Format genau wie beim vorhergehenden ; auf der Vorderseite steht im linken oberen Eck die Zahl 569, anscheinend die Nummer des Einlaufs ; auf der letzten Seite des Doppelblattes rechts oben: P. Bellisini (!), in der Mitte in einer sehr schlechten Schrift eine Bemerkung, die wohl heissen soll: Si scriva a Mr. Gov. di Roma di ... (unleserlich) la Supplica essendo di Competenza del Sped^e^. Vielleicht ist hier Monsignore Luigi Vannicelli gemeint, der 1838 Pro-Governatore und 1839 Governatore di Roma war (laut *Annuario Pontificio* 1838 p. 237).

Dem Inhalt nach an denselben Adressaten gerichtet wie Nr. 18. Der dort erwähnte Gius. Gollini ist inzwischen zu 15 Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt worden. Der Selige bittet den Adressaten, sich trotzdem beim Papst für dessen Befreiung einzusetzen und fügt ein eigenes Memoriale bei, in dem er die Gründe dafür darlegt.

(Stempel der Pfarrei Genazzano mit dem Bild der Mutter v. g. Rat)

Eccellenza Rev^ma^

La pervenutami certa notizia dell'emanata condanna di *15.* mesi di prigionia a Giuseppe Gollini di Genazzano da cotesto eccelso Tribunale Criminale dell'A. C., mi spinge a supplicare umilmente Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ d'interporre la sua valida mediazione appresso il Santo Padre per la liberazione del medesimo in riflesso dei gravissimi motivi esposti nel qui compiegato memoriale. La di Lei benigna condiscendenza mostratami alla calda raccomandazione qui fattaLe per tal oggetto mi rende così ardimentoso ad implorare la generosa carità di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ pel sovvenimento, di chi trovasi in un'estrema angustia.

Colla più profonda venerazione intanto ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano il dì *16.* Novembre *1838.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini,
Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio.

Nr. 20 (Vgl. oben XLIX 143)

Format wie bei den beiden vorausgehenden ; auf der letzten Seite des Doppelblattes steht die Adresse:

A Sua Eccellenza Rev^ma^ Monsignor Carlo Acton,
Uditore Generale della Rev. Camera Apostolica, e sua Congregazione Criminale
Roma

Dazu findet sich zum ersten Mal ein runder Poststempel (die bisherigen waren alle gerade Schriften), von dem nur zu lesen ist: 15 ... 1838 ; rechts oben von späterer Hand beigefügt: N° XLIX.

Der Brief beginnt mit der Annahme, dass der Adressat das Memoriale an den Papst (erwähnt in Nr. 19) erhalten habe und bestärkt damit die Annahme, dass auch Nr. 19 an Monsignore Acton gerichtet war. — Er bittet um weitere Unterstützung seiner beiden Anliegen: Freilassung des Gollini und finanzielle Beihife für die beiden durch den Hauseinsturz betroffenen Familien (vgl. Nr. 17 und 18).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Eccellenza Reverendissima

Mi lusingo, che Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ avrà ricevuto, assieme al pieno consenso della parte offesa, il mio Memoriale diretta a Sua Santità per la liberazione di quel povero carcerato Giuseppe Gollini in riguardo della desolata unica sua Sorella. Già passarono *5* Mesi del di lui arresto successo ai *2.* Luglio. Quindi al valido patrocinio di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ mi raccomando caldamente per la detta tanto sospirata grazia. In pari tempo oso implorare la di Lei mediazione, per ottenere qualche benigno soccorso da cotesta pubblica cassa de' comuni sussidii, onde alleviare queste due infelici famiglie mie Parrocchiane, delle quali precipitarono nel medesimo istante la casa. Affidato pertanto al di Lei benefico, e magnanimo cuore, pieno di profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *12.* Decembre *1838.*

Umilissimo, e Devotissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini Agostiniano.

Nr. 21 (Vgl. oben XLI 127)

Format: 18,9 zu 24,7 cm ; auf der letzten Seite rechts oben ist später beigefügt: N XLI.

Dieser Brief ist fast die wörtliche Wiederholung der Bittschrift an den Papst

(Nr. 17). Da diese bisher ohne Erfolg blieb, hatte anscheinend Monsignore Acton geraten, sich direkt an die Cassa dei sussidii zu wenden.

Die Bittschrift ist wieder nicht datiert. Da sie aber diesmal die Zeitangabe für das Unglück ändert in « nel Mese di Agosto dell'anno spirato », müssen wir sie wohl an den Anfang des Jahres 1839 setzen. Presidente della Commissione dei Sussidi war um diese Zeit Kardinal Mario Mattei (laut *Annuario Pontificio* 1838 p. 337), so wird er wohl in der Anrede gemeint sein.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.
(Stempel der Kirche von Genazzano mit dem Bild der Mutter vom Guten Rat)

Eminentissimo, e Reverendissimo Principe

Il Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio di Genazzano fr. Stefano Bellesini Agostiniano umilmente espone a Vostra Eminenza, che nel Mese di Agosto dell'anno spirato precipitarono all'improviso le case di due povere famiglie della sua Parrocchia, restando insieme sepolte sotto quelle rovine le meschine loro sostanze, ma per la divina grazia salve le loro persone. Ridotte esse pertanto prive della propria abitazione, e nell' impotenza di riedificare il loro tugurio sospirano dal Cielo quel soccorso, che già la nota indigenza di questo Paese, e la propria natia povertà non ponno loro somministrare, mentre una delle disgraziate famiglie è composta di due persone decrepite, e già da gran tempo costrette a mendicare ; l'altra geme carica di cinque individui, e tra le angustie del necessario sostentamento. Per non avere il Pastore di queste sue amate, ed infelici pecorelle il sommo rammarico di vederle vittime dell' ultima miseria, osa egli implorare coi più ardenti voti dall'innata carità di Vostra Eminenza Rev^{ma}, presidente alla cassa de' sussidii, qualche benigno sovvenimento. Che della grazia...

Nr. 22 (Vgl. oben LIII 180)

Ein einfaches Blatt von der Grösse 18,9 zu 24,6 cm. Es ist gefaltet und war verklebt, aber ohne Poststempel ; der Bittsteller, Herr Locatelli (nicht Lovatelli, vgl. oben p. 7) überbrachte es ja persönlich.

Die Rückseite trägt die Adresse:

Al Molto Reverendo Padre Padrone Veneratissimo
Il Padre Bacceliere Agostino Proja Agostiniano
Vice-Parroco Pontificio
Roma
Quirinale
Appresso Monsignor Sagrista.

Ueber P. Proja vgl. oben p. 719; er war mit dem Seligen anscheinend sehr befreundet. Das zeigt der Inhalt unseres Briefes; das zeigt die Tatsache, dass der

Selige sich in seinen letzten Lebensjahren in den verschiedensten Anliegen an ihn wandte. Für Reliquien der Ordensheiligen war allerdings immer der Sagrista di Sua Santità und sein Subsagrista zuständig.

Bemerkenswert ist im Briefe noch der Hinweis auf die gute Gesundheit des Seligen.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Il Signore Tommaso Locatelli latore della presente mi pregò da costì di fargli avere una Reliquia della nostra Beata Rita di Cassia, pella di cui intercessione confessa egli d'aver ricevuto da Dio diverse grazie. Fatemi dunque il piacere di presto soddisfare la di lui divozione. Io non manco di raccomandare nel divin Sacrificio ogni giorno l'anima di Vostra Sorella defunta, sebbene mi giovi sperare, ch'essa non ne abbia di bisogno. Fin qui il Signore si degna di conservarmi la salute. Desidero, ch'egli vi doni la sanità perfetta, che aveste a seconda del vostro avviso un po' alterata. Le Reliquie de' nostri sei ultimi Beati non le ho per anche ricevute. *Invicem oremus.* Addio

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 7. Febbraio *1839.*

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 23 (Vgl. oben LIII 181)

Wieder ein Doppelblatt vom Format 19,4 zu 26,2 cm ; allerdings ist es nicht mehr vollständig erhalten. Auf der Rückseite findet sich dieselbe Adresse wie beim vorhergehenden Brief, der Poststempel, von dem man allerdings nur die Zahl 1839 in etwa lesen kann, und einige von anderer Hand hinzugefügte, nicht auf den Brief bezügliche Bemerkungen.

Der Brief ist kurz vor dem Schafengehen in müder Schrift hingeschrieben. Er behandelt zwei Geldangelegenheiten; die eine ist eine Gewissenssache, die andere die Bitte um Besorgung eines Almosens von Don Vincenzo Colonna. Vielleicht bezieht sich die Quittung Nr. 38 (vgl. unten p. 740) hierauf.

La Festa del 25. ist das Fest der Mutter vom guten Rat, deren Gnadenbild ja in Genazzano verehrt wird. Anscheinend rechnete man an diesem Tag mit Wundern vor dem Heiligtum.

(Die linke obere Ecke ist abgerissen, jedoch ist der letzte Buchstabe noch sichtbar von dem gewöhnlichen Gruss : Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.)

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Vi prego di consegnar voi in persona la qui inchiusa al Rev^{mo}

Signore Rettore di cotesto Collegio Clementino, ma in proprie mani, e con tutta secretezza, essendo affare di Confessione, dal quale riceverete venti sette Scudi, che terrete appresso di voi, dandomene subito avviso. Credo certo, che il nostro Padre Rev^mo^ Generale si porti in Genazzano quanto prima, e però domani portatevi dal sullodato Padre Rettore, ed allora il ricevuto danaro potrete consegnare al Padre Secretario, perchè me lo consegni in proprie mani con tutta secretezza. Non tardate per carità di farmi avere la bramata limosina dal Signore Don Vincenzo Colonna. Nella Festa del 25. vi fu molto concorso, ma non sentii accaduto verun corporale prodigio, spero, che invece ne avrà operato molti de' spirituali. Getto la penna, perchè vado a letto. Addio.

1. Maggio 1839.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 24 (Vgl. oben LIII 177)

Format 19,3 zu 26,2 cm. ; nur die erste Seite des Doppelblattes ist, diesmal wieder mit klarer, gut leserlicher Schrift, beschrieben. Auf der Rückseite findet sich dieselbe Adresse wie bei Nr. 22 und 23, nur steht dort statt Quirinale die Angabe: Monte Cavallo. — Dazu findet sich noch der wagrechte Poststempel « Palestrina » und der runde, auf dem diesmal deutlich die Umschrift « Roma » zu lesen ist.

Der Brief enthält die inständige Bitte, den P. General zu einem baldigen Besuch in Genazzano zu veranlassen, um die bei einigen Religiosen eingerissene Unordnung zu beseitigen. — Diesmal treten also die Interessen der Pfarrei so gut wie ganz zurück.

Es handelt sich um den P. General Filippo Angelucci, der von Papst Gregor XVI. am 15. Jan. 1839 ernannt und auf den Generalkapiteln von 1841 und 1847 wiedergewählt wurde. Er starb 1850 auf einer Visitationsreis in Tolentino im 65. Lebensjahr (vgl. LANTERI, *E. S. Aug.* p. 347 und *I. V. Aug.* p. 369; dazu die Prozessakten, Summ. num. 2 p. 4 testis II).

In einem Postscriptum erinnert der Selige an die im letzten Brief (Nr. 23) geäusserte Bitte.

(Die linke obere Ecke ist abgerissen, damit auch der gewohnte Anruf).

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Questo Padre Priore trovandosi in grandi angustie per gli sconcerti, e disordini, che ammirò in qualche Religioso, e che minacciano il guasto dell'introdotta osservanza in questo Ven. Santuario, fece calda supplica al Padre Rev^mo^, perchè si degnasse affrettare quà

la sua venuta promessagli dopo la Festa della Madonna ; onde così apporvi gli opportuni rimedi, non giudicandosi egli atto per tal oggetto. Vedendo però, che le sue speranze vanno troppo prolongandosi, e che il bisogno della sua autorità personale si fa ogni giorno più urgente, m'incombe, premessi i suoi più distinti saluti, di pregar voi, e con esso anch'io mi unisco, perchè non tardiate un giorno di portarvi dal Padre Rev^mo^ Generale a supplicarlo caldamente a suo nome, e a mio ancora, presentata la nostra umilissima riverenza, di accellerare la di lui venuta ; onde almeno al principio dell'entrante Settimana possiamo vederci onorati di sua Persona. Altrimenti dopo la Pentecoste l'aspettazione e a lui, e a noi apportarebbe forse gran cordoglio per le funeste conseguenze dell'allungato provvedimento. Ancorchè non vi sia per allora il vetturale di Genazzano in Roma, sono sempre pronte costì le Vetture. Affidati pertanto al paterno amoroso cuore del Padre Rev^mo^ speriamo esaudite le nostre sì fervorose istanze, che voi certamente senza dimora porgerete. A posta corrente da voi attendo il riscontro di questa mia, che senza dubbio agita pure il vostro tenero cuore per l'amore, che nutre verso questo Ven. Santuario. Frattanto, raccomandandomi alle vostre orazioni, caramente vi abbraccio, e mi ripeto

Genazzano 7. Maggio 1839.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

P. S. Avvisatemi, se avete esatto il danaro annunziatovi nella mia antecedente.

Nr. 25 (Vgl. oben LIII 179)

Ein einfaches Blatt vom Format 19,2 zu 26,4 cm ; auf der Rückseite die Adresse wie bei Nr. 24 und beide Poststempel ; auf dem runden kann man entziffern: Roma, 18 ... 1839.

Ein kurzer, rasch hingeworfener Brief, der die Quittung für die in Nr. 23 an erster Stelle erwähnte Summe enthielt. Er spricht den Dank aus an P. Proja für dessen Uebermittlung und auch für dessen Bemühen um den in Nr. 24 gewünschten Besuch des P. General, der inzwischen erfolgt ist.

Bemerkenswert ist es, dass der Selige schon wieder an Almosen für seine Armen erinnert.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Vi compiego qui in seno l'attestato per la Mammona. Vi ringrazio dell'esatto danaro da cotesto Signore Rettore Clementino, a cui scriverà il postulante medesimo : vi ringrazio altresì della vostra mediazione per la visita del Padre Rev^mo^, il quale mi accennò a vostro nome, che mi spedirete certa limosina, che una certa Signora

pensa di dare ai poveri. Getto la penna, perchè debbo portarmi all'Orazione mentale : Addio

Genazzano 17. Maggio 1839.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 26 (Vgl. oben LIII 178)

Wieder ein einfaches Blatt von derselben Grösse und mit derselben Adresse (nur mit dem Zusatz: *Subito p. grazia*) wie das vorausgehende ; auf dem runden Poststempel kann man entziffern: Roma 28 Giu 1839 ; der Stempel Palestrina fehlt.

Der Brief enthält zunächst die Bitte, für einen Freund des Konventes eine Audienz beim hl. Vater zu vermitteln.

Um welches Memoriale es sich hier handelt, ist aus den erhaltenen Briefen nicht zu ersehen. Jedenfalls kann es nicht allzulange zurückliegen; denn der Zeitraum eines Monats scheint dem Seligen schon zu lange.

Er erinnert noch einmal an das in Nr. 25 erwähnte Almosen; er brauche das Geld dringend; denn der Typhus — zum ersten Mal erwähnt er die Epidemie, die ihm das Leben kosten sollte — treffe vor allem die Armen.

Schliesslich bittet er noch, die Approbation einer Hebamme zu beschleunigen: ein Zeichen, wie sehr ihn die Liebe zum Nächsten bedrängte.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Il Signore Medico Filippo Clementi, già da voi forse conosciuto, mi fece istanza, perchè lo raccomandassi a qualche persona di costì, che gli ottenesse grazia di aver udienza appresso il Papa per li suoi importantissimi affari : onde prego voi, che avete buona corrispondenza col Cameriere di Sua Santità, di farlo presto graziare d'un sì desiderato accesso, in riguardo pure della vicendevole amicizia, che passa tra lui, e questo nostro Convento. Egli ora trovasi in Roma, e si porterà da voi per tal oggetto, onde vi prego di consolarlo.

In data dei 14. Maggio voi mi scriveste, che già avete consegnato a Monsignor della Porta il mio memoriale ; ma pare, che la diuturnità d'un Mese, e più lo abbia affatto reso in obblivione, oppure smarrito : quindi procurate di riparlargli, così ancora non dimenticate quella limosina, che a vostro nome mi accennò il Padre Rev^{mo}, appresso la Signora a voi nota ; giacchè qui gira il morbo petecchiale, e attacca la gente povera, e jeri me ne morì una persona per tal male, onde pensate ai miei bisogni. Voi pure mi scriveste, che spedissi l'attestato della povertà, e dei buoni costumi di questa Mamanna, come di fatti ve lo inviai, ma fin qui nulla veggo di risposta, e però vi prego d'istare appresso cotesto Avvocato Giorgi di ottenere la tanto sospirata patente, e se non può

gratis, almeno col pagamento, che si farà con ogni sforzo, perchè sommo è il bisogno della supplicante. Presentate la mia riverenza a Monsignor Castellani, mentre coll'*invicem oremus* caramente vi abbraccio, e mi ripeto

Genazzano *18.* Giugno *1839.*

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 27 (Vgl. oben XLVII 134)

Ein einfaches Blatt von derselben Grösse wie die vorhergehenden.

Auf der Rückseite steht die Adresse:

All'Ornatissimo Religioso
Fr. Sante Sabuni Agostiniano
Roma
S. Agostino

Dazu der runde Poststempel, von dem man mit Sicherheit nur Roma entziffern kann, und von späterer Hand: *N° XLVII.*

Der Brief richtet sich an den Laienbruder, dem die Bedienung des P. Generals oblag, und enthält die Bitte, einen beiliegenden Brief dem P. General persönlich zu übergeben und ihn zu ersuchen, ihn allein zu lesen, nicht ihn von anderen vorlesen zu lassen, wie er es gewöhnlich wegen seines schlechten Augenlichtes tat; es handle sich nämlich um eine geheime Gewissenssache.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Sapendo, che il nostro Padre Rev^mo^ Generale a cagione della sua poca vista ordinariamente si fa leggere dagli altri le lettere, vi prego di consegnargli la qui inchiusa in proprie mani, dicendogli a mio nome, che lo supplico di leggerla egli solo, perchè questa contiene un secreto di Confessione. Perdonatemi per carità di tal disturbo, che vi arreco ; mentre pieno di cordiale affezione vi abbraccio, e mi offro pronto ai vostri comandi, dichiarandomi sempre

Genazzano il dì *4.* Agosto *1839.*

Vostro Amantissimo ed Obbligatissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini, Agostiniano.

Nr. 28 (Vgl. oben LII 167)

Wieder ein Doppelblatt im Format 18,9 zu 24,7 cm.

Auf der 4. Seite steht die Adresse:

Al Rev^mo^ Padre Signore, Signore Padrone Veneratissimo
Il Padre Maestro Filippo Angelucci

Priore Generale dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino
Roma
S. Agostino

Ueber der Adresse stehen die beiden Poststempel, der wagrechte « Palestrina » und der runde, auf dem man ziemlich gut entziffern kann: Roma 8 Ago. 1839 ; in der rechten oberen Ecke des Blattes findet sich die Bemerkung: Genazzano 6. Agosto 1839 P. Stefano Bellesini Curato und schliesslich noch: N LII.

Der Selige trägt hier dem P. General Angelucci (über ihn vgl. oben p. 726) die Bitte vor, einem seiner Neffen während seines Studienaufenthaltes in Rom im Konvent S. Agostino Wohnung zu gewähren.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Reverendissimo Padre

Domenica p. p. ricevetti per la seconda volta da Trento premurosissime istanze, perchè accennassi subito il locale ritrovato costì pel mio Nipote ; onde potesse senza ritardo il mio fratello preparargli il dovuto equippagio. Quindi sono costretto di tosto rispondergli. Ma di quanto grave rammarico sarò alla famiglia, allorchè sentiranno, che le mie speranze appoggiate sulla bontà della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ stanno ancora in bilancia, e che però il preso disegno non può aver il suo effetto ? Supplico pertanto l'innata di Lei carità a togliermi da tal pena con annuire benignamente all'umile preghiera, che or Le porgo colle parole del Leproso Evangelico : *Domine, si vis, potes.* Affidato al grazioso *volo,* imploro in pari tempo, ch'Ella si degni avvisarmi del prezzo mensile per la dozzina, compresa, come Le dissi, la collazione, acciocchè io possa presto ragguagliare di tutto il mio fratello, lusingandomi, che il mio Nipote non sarà di molestia a cotesto Convento per la buona educazione fin qui avuta. Ripeto intanto la mia profonda venerazione nel baciarLe il lembo della Sacra Veste, protestandomi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^
Genazzano il dì 6. Agosto *1839.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 29 (Vgl. oben LII 168)

Ein Doppelblatt vom Format: 19,2 zu 26,3 cm ; dieselbe Adresse wie bei Nr. 28, dazu dieselben Poststempel ; auf dem runden steht: Roma 19 Ago. 1839 ; rechts oben die Bemerkung von derselben Hand wie bei Nr. 28: Genazzano 17. Agosto 1839 P. Maestro Stefano Bellissini (!).

Bemerkenswert, dass der Selige hier zum erstenmal M.° (= Maestro) genannt wird.

Zunächst dankt hier der Selige dem P. General für die Erfüllung seiner Bitte in Brief Nr. 28.

Dann fügt er ein weiteres Anliegen an. Der P. General habe einen Mitbruder zum Novizenmeister ernannt, der bisher als Beichtvater segensreich gewirkt habe. Aber beide Tätigkeiten könne dieser nicht verbinden. Darum möge der P. General anderweitig helfen, zumal schon Klagen laut geworden seien, dass Pilger wegen Mangels an Beichtvätern nicht hätten beichten können.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Reverendissimo Padre

Ringrazio vivamente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ della singolare bontà, ch'ebbe nella graziosa accettazione di mio Nipote. Non tardai di partecipare a mio Fratello questa speciale sua degnazione, ed in pari tempo fargli presente la da Lei suggeritami pericolosa morale depravazione nella promiscua unione con quella studiosa gioventù.

L'ottima persona dalla Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ eletta in Maestro di questi Novizj sarà, non v'ha dubbio, di gran vantaggio ai medesimi, ma scema di molto lo spirituale servizio a questo Santuario ; poichè, com'Ella ben comprende, un Maestro de' Novizj non può soddisfare al suo dovere, se attende al Confessionario. Così anzichè provvedere all'estremo bisogno, in cui siamo di Soggetti per tal oggetto, ci vien levato, chi era di non poco ajuto. Supplico quindi instantemente la Paternità Sua Rev^ma^ a prendere in effetto di mira un punto sì rillevante, e così togliere le querele di questa popolazione, e de' forestieri, che per mancanza de'Confessori debbono ritornare alle loro Case, senza fare le loro divozioni. Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione Le bacio il lembo della Sacra Veste, ed implorando la paterna sua benedizione, ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *17.* Agosto *1839.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

P. S. L'inchiuso viglietto è del Padre Priore, che La prega di leggerla segretamente.

Nr. 30 (Vgl. oben XLVII 135)

Ein einfaches Blatt vom Format 19,2 zu 26,4 cm ; die Adresse ist dieselbe wie bei Brief Nr. 27 ; dazu kommen die beiden Poststempel ; auf dem runden ist zu lesen: Roma 24 Ago. 1839.

Der Brief enthält zunächst dieselbe Bitte wie Nr. 27; der Selige spricht von

einem dritten Brief; uns sind aber nur zwei erhalten, also ist zwischen beiden einer verloren gegangen.

Dann bittet er den Bruder, für das kommende Fest Mariä vom Trost Ledergürtel und Dreizehner für die Aufnahme in die Bruderschaft zu besorgen.

Schliesslich möge er noch dem Geometer ausrichten, der P. Prior könne erst nach dem Fest Mariä Geburt nach Rom kommen.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Fate il piacere di presentare in proprie mani al Padre Rev^mo^ anche questa terza lettera. Avvicinandosi la Festa della Madonna della Cintura, sono a pregarvi con intelligenza di questo Padre Priore di comparare una pelle, che serva per tante cinture solite a darsi alle Consorelle della Compagnia, unitamente agli anelli, le quali abbiano una sufficiente lunghezza, facendole tagliare da chi ne ha la pratica, come pure di ordinare *20.* coroncine della Cintura incatenate, ma in modo, che i vaghi delle medesime sieno divisi uno dall'altro per tre nodi di fillo di ottone, e non per un sol nodo, come costì usasi. Il pagamento di tutto ciò fatelo col danaro, che tenete, del nostro Convento, dandomene avviso separatamente della spesa sì delle Cinture, che delle Corone ; onde io possa fissarne il prezzo. Vi avverto di osservare, che le dette Coroncine non sieno di cristallo. Se non ritrovo, che venga a prendere questa fattavi commissione, vi prego di spedirmi il tutto ben impaccato entro la veniente settimana pel vetturale Ceccoto. Il Padre Priore vi avvisa di notificare all'Agrimensore, ch'egli dopo la Natività della Madonna si porterà in Roma, non potendo prima d'allora. Scusate per carità di tanti disturbi, mentre pronto ai vostri comandi mi ripeto, raccomandandomi alle vostre orazioni.

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 23. Agosto *1839.*

Vostro Affezionatissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 31 (Vgl. oben LIII 176)

Einfaches Blatt im Format 19,3 zu 26,2 cm ; auf der Rückseite steht nur die Adresse wie bei Nr. 25 (ohne den letzten Zusatz).

Der gute Freund P. Proja wird wieder bemüht, er soll ein Memoriale an den Papst sicher in dessen Hände gelangen lassen, wie er es schon einmal getan: Der Anlass dazu ist genau geschildert im Brief Nr. 34. Die päpstliche Regierung hatte angeordnet, dass für die am Typhus Verstorbenen ausserhalb des Ortes ein Friedhof angelegt werde. Der war aber nur mit einem Kreuz bezeichnet und hatte auch sonst ein unwürdiges Aussehen. Deshalb begannen plötzlich die Frauen, die Toten in der Kirche zu begraben. Daraufhin schickte die Regierung einen Richter und mehr als 30 Dragoner; eine grosse Zahl von Frauen und auch mehrere Männer wurden verhaftet. Das vermehrte natürlich noch die Not im Ort

und löste bei dem Seligen eine fieberhafte Tätigkeit aus mit dem Ziel, den Schaden wieder gut zu machen. Der Selige geht mit diesem Memoriale direkt an den Papst und sucht darin Klerus und Volk von Genazzano zu rechtfertigen und damit die Verhafteten wieder zu befreien.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

L'amore, che avete sempre dimostrato a Genazzano mi assicura, che tosto v'impegnarete, perchè venga messo sul tavolino del Papa il qui compiegato Memoriale, come faceste l'altra volta con una mia supplica a Lui indirizzata : mentre questo Paese per le nere calunnie addossategli trovasi nel più tristo aspetto appresso Sua Santità. A tal fine, fu qua spedito un Giudice a far processo, che fu accompagnato con trenta, e più Dragoni. Io pertanto coi Parochi, ed il Clero di Genazzano cerchiamo col detto memoriale di giustificare noi, ed il popolo. Non tardate però, perchè l'urgenza è somma, e deplorabile ; Pregate Iddio per buon esito, e caramente abbracciandovi mi ripeto

8. Settembre *1839*.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 32 (Vgl. oben LIII 175)

Einfaches Blatt im Format wie das vorausgehende und auch mit derselben Adresse. Dazu kommen die beiden Poststempel, der runde wohl mit der Umschrift: Roma 28 Feb. 1839.

Die Epidemie nimmt zu und damit die Not. Der Selige sucht mit allen Mitteln dieser zu steuern: er macht Schulden; er bettelt um Almosen. Er hatte an Donna Colonna, wohl die Gemahlin des in Nr. 23 als Wohltäter erwähnten Don Vincenzo Colonna, einen Bettelbrief geschrieben. Er lässt « den Praelaten dort » (aus dem Brief Nr. 36 ist zu erschliessen, dass es Monsignore della Porta ist — dieser ist schon im Brief Nr. 26 als Vermittler genannt) bitten, bei ihr seine Bitte zu unterstützen. — Das lässt auch verstehen, dass der Selige unmittelbar im nächsten Satz auf die Contessa della Porta zu sprechen kommt. Der zum Schluss als von der Epidemie befallen genannte Don Ceccobelli starb bald an dieser Krankheit (vgl. Brief Nr. 36).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Qui il morbo petecchiale si avanza, e però si moltiplicano gl'infermi, e le miserie. Io già contrassi il debito di quasi dieci scudi ; onde non so come progredire in tali angustie. Rinovai quindi una lettera alla Signora Donna Chiara Colonna per tal oggetto. Se volesse compiacersi quel Prelato a farle una visita, e farle di ciò parola, forse otterrebbe, come l'altra volta, per me la sospirata

limosina. Voi mi lusingaste di avere qualche soccorso dalla Signora Contessa della Porta. Questo sarebbe il punto più opportuno. Don Vincenzo Ceccobelli, che faceva il supplemento al defunto Arciprete Spaziani, è anch'egli gravemente attaccato dalle petecchie. Pregate quindi per lui, per me, e per tutto questo Paese desolato. Addio.

27. Settembre 1839.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 33 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 137)

Ein Doppelblatt vom Format 19,4 zu 26,4 cm ; die 3. und 4. Seite ist leer.

Nach der Annahme der Schriftenliste ist der Brief an Monsignore Acton gerichtet; ob das allerdings sicher ist, dürfte bezweifelt werden können, da es sich doch um eine reine Verwaltungsangelegenheit handelt.

Der Brief enthält nur eine Fürbitte für Sig. Terenzi, einen Beamten, der zum Schaden seiner Familie in einen entfernten Ort versetzt wurde. Wir sehen, mit welchen « Lappalien » sich der Selige trotz der turbulenten Zustände in seiner Pfarrei beschäftigte, und zwar — wie wir noch sehen werden — nicht zum letzten Male.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Eccellenza Reverendissima

Il benefico, e magnanimo cuore di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^{ma} mi anima a raccomandarLe il Signore Giuseppe Terenzi Sostituto Cancelliere in questo Governo di Genazzano, dattore della presente. Egli dopo d'avere consumati diciotto anni nel detto impiego con soddisfazione de' suoi Superiori, come lo testificano i qui annessi certificati, si lusingava di poter essere promosso in contemplazione del suo accurato servizio per sì lungo tempo prestato. Contro ogni sua aspettazione riceve nella corrente Settimana l'ordine di recarsi a Castelnuovo di Porto, per proseguire in quel governo l'attuale suo Uffizio. Egli tiene la numerosa sua famiglia a S. Vito. La commessagli traslocazione distante circa cinquanta miglia dalla detta sua Patria lo costringe a seco condurla con suo grave dispendio. Il tenue assegno di sei Scudi al Mese non bastava qui per la sua dozzina, come potrà mantenersi in appresso associato da' suoi domestici. Sì lagrimevoli angustie dell'Impiegato Signor Terenzi mi rendono ardito a supplicare Vostra Eccellenza Rev^{ma} di porle in vista all'Eccelsa Segretaria di Stato, perchè si degni premiare con qualche degna promozione il di lui fedele sì prolongato servizio, o destinarlo a S. Vito sua Patria, o di lasciarlo almeno sino a nuova apertura nell'attuale suo domicilio. Il tenero cuore di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^{ma} mi assicura di questa benigna sua raccomandazione, che umilmente

imploro, mentre colla più profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi inviolabilmente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio *4.* Ottobre *1839.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano, Curato.

Nr. 34 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 142)

Format wie beim vorausgehenden; wieder ohne Adresse; der Adressat ist aber derselbe wie bei Nr. 33, auf den hier hingewiesen wird mit dem Dank, dass der Monsignore sich für das dort vorgetragene Anliegen so warm eingesetzt habe.

Ausserdem enthält der Brief die Schilderung des Vorfalls, der oben p. 732 zu Brief Nr. 31 schon wiedergegeben ist.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Con trasporto di piacere ho ricevuto il venerato foglio di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ per l'onore, ch'Ella si compiace di farci fra poco colla sua dignitosa presenza, e perchè riesca più grata a questa Religiosa famiglia, l'ho manifestato soltanto al Padre Priore, che pregiandosi di ossequiarLa si consola di poterLa godere personalmente.

Ringrazio vivamente Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ delle calde premure, che degnossi prendere a favore dell'Impiegato Signore Terenzi. Sembra cosa assai strana in vero, che per riempire un luogo vacante, e sì rimoto, omessi i Soggetti più vicini, si scielga uno con tanto dispendio, e danno, per non dire, rovina di sua numerosa famiglia. Confido però, ch'Ella colla sua valida mediazione rimedierà ad un sì notabile sconcerto. Già a Lei sarà noto, che per arrestare il corso del morbo petecchiale serpeggiante in questo paese la Segretaria di Stato ordinò di erigere un Cimiterio fuori dell'abitato. Fu destinato a tal'uopo un locale, solo da una Croce segnato, e cinto da una fratta formata di frasche, già consumate dal fuoco, e così aperto all'ingresso degli animali. Un sì disadatto provvedimento cagionò tanto orrore a questa popolazione, che proruppe nelle più luttuose declamazioni. Le donne stesse mosse da un inordinato zelo con violenza seppellivano in Chiesa i Cadaveri. Per calmare il volgo esacerbato fu spedito qua un Commissario per processare i rei di tali tumulti, e furono perciò arrestate più donne, ed anche alcuni capi di casa. Le femine in gran parte vennero poste in libertà, ma vene sono ancora cinque, o sei detenute, ed altri uomini carcerati. Tra quelle vi è, chi deve in prigione lattare il bambino. Le loro famiglie cariche di figliuoli ancor teneri si trovano in grande desolazione, ed anche estrema miseria, e già sono per compire i due mesi di prigionia. I loro tumulti non hanno alcun'ombra

di ribellione, ma eccitati solo dal disordinato zelo di Religione, onde pare, che siano puniti a suffizienza. Se Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ insieme colla sua decorosa venuta portasse la grazia ottenuta della liberazione di queste povere infelici persone, oh quante benedizioni riceverebbe. La supplico pertanto di adoprarsi quanto può per sortire un sì sospirato soccorso, mentre colla più profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *17.* Ottobre 1839.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini,
Agostiniano, Curato.

Nr. 35 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 141)

Format und äussere Form wie bei Nr. 33 und 34, nur auf der letzten Seite findet sich in späterer, sehr schlechter Handschrift die Bemerkung: Lettera del Servo di Dio P. Bellesini Agostiniano ; auch der Adressat ist derselbe.

Der Monsignore hatte die Gefangenen, von denen in Nr. 31 und 34 die Rede war, besucht und ihnen versichert, er werde sich für ihre Freilassung einsetzen. Aber noch sind sie nicht freigelassen. Darum wiederholt der Selige seine Bitte in eindringlichen Worten.

Am Schluss sind noch zwei kleine Bitten angefügt, die letzte wiederholt die Fürsprache für Signore Terenzi, von dem der Brief Nr. 33 handelt.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Ecellenza Reverendissima

Il tenero, e pietoso cuore, dell'Eccellenza Vostra Rev^ma^ mostrato ai poveri carcerati di Genazzano detenuti nelle carceri di Palestrina nell'assicurarli del di Lei valido patrocinio per la prossima loro liberazione alleviò di molto le loro angustie, e miserie. Il vedersi però ancora rinchiusi, e così diferito il sospirato compimento della loro ben fondata speranza, li fa gemere nella tristezza, giusta la divina sentenza, *che spes, quae differtur, affligit animam.* I membri delle loro famiglie trovandosi per tal dilazione maggiormente oppressi dalla desolazione mi pressano di rinnovare all'Eccellenza Vostra Rev^ma^ le suppliche, onde mi lusingo, di benigno compatimento, se agli ardenti loro voti unisco i miei ancora per l'oggetto in proposito. Nella prossima passata Domenica ascoltarono *summo mane* la mia Messa Parrocchiale i Soldati Dragoni, per poi restituirsi a cotesta Dominante. Se Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ felicitò questo Paese col procurare la sollecita loro partenza, più sicuramento potranno vedersi fra poco asciugate le lagrime quest'infelici dall'innata di Lei carità. Di que' bambini lattanti già v'è, chi s'inferma, quel giovanotto

Fabricio Lanzi ancor geme in secreta, Niccola d'Amico languisce per la sua decrepita età. Senza ch'io mi dilunghi, Ella già ne fu spettatore di que' miseri, e di quelle povere Madri di famiglia, la di cui assenza mette sossopra i loro domestici. Non ardisco però iterare le mie fervide preci, perchè crederei di offendere il benefico, e misericordioso cuore dell'Eccellenza Vostra Rev[ma]. Solo La supplico di patrocinare quel memoriale, che osai consegnarLe diretto a Monsignor Mancelli Presidente della Comarca, perchè si degnasse confermare il rilascio fatto di *16.* Scudi a pieni voti da questo Consiglio Comunale al povero Giacomo Catarinazzi, e della potente Sua mediazione per un più decoroso provvedimento al veterano Impiegato Signore Terenzi. Pieno intanto della più profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi inviolabilmente

Dell'eccellenza Vostra Rev[ma]

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *5.* Novembre *1839.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano, Curato.

Nr. 36 (Vgl. oben LIII 174)

Der Bogen ist an sich genau so gross wie bei den vorausgehenden Briefen ; er ist aber nicht einfach zu einem Doppelblatt, sondern zweifach gefaltet, sodass die Schrift in der Mitte steht und die beiden äusseren Ränder — etwa genau so gross wie die Schriftbreite — nach innen geklappt sind. Dann ist das Ganze noch zweimal nach der senkrechten Richtung zusammengeklappt und verklebt ; so entsteht ein ganz gängiges Briefformat. Auf der freien Aussenseite steht die Adresse wie bei Nr. 24 und der runde Poststempel mit der Schrift: Roma 11 Nov. 1839 ; dazu später hinzugefügt 2 Bemerkungen: die eine könnte heissen: Acta Romana, die andere besser lesbare lautet: Monte d'oro N. 11 Dieto la tribuna di S. Carlo Carolina.

Der Brief enthält wieder lauter Bitten für andere: Der in Brief Nr. 32 erwähnte Don Ceccobelli war verstorben. Er bekleidete eine Kaplanei, die ihm vom Fürsten Colonna übertragen war. Ein Neffe des Verstorbenen war auch Priester und bewarb sich jetzt um diese Kaplanei.

Der Selige schickte dieses Bewerbungsschreiben an P. Proja. Er möge es durch Monsignore della Porta überbringen und empfehlen und gleichzeitig für ihn das gewohnte Almosen erbitten lassen.

Am Schluss mahnt er seinen Mitbruder, die in Aussicht gestellte Fürsprache für seine gefangenen Pfarrkinder (vgl. Brief 31, 34, 35) zu verstärken.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

L'immatura, e funesta morte di Don Vincenzo Ceccobelli già a voi nota portò gran disesto alla sua famiglia. Egli era investito d'una Cappellania conferitagli, quand'era Chierico, dal Principe Don Filippo Colonna. Ora il di lui Nipote parimenti Chierico mancante trovasi di Patrimonio. Si desidera perciò, che sottentrasse a Don Vincenza riguardo alla detta Cappellania, per cui v'inchiudo qui in seno la supplica per ottenerla ; onde vi prego di farla presentare con calda raccomandazione al Signore Don Vincenzo Colonna da Monsignor della Porta, rinnovando in pari tempo le istanze per me della solita limosina, giacchè col ribattere tante volte in fine si ottiene. Vi prego per carità di non tardar a far ciò, perchè altri sono i concorrenti alla detta Cappellania. Voi mi scriveste, che parlarete al Signore Avvocato Giorgi per la liberazione dei nostri Carcerati, ed intanto ancor gemono colle loro famiglie nella massima desolazione per zelo di Religione, sebbene alquanto disordinato, sempre però compatibile. Eh via procurate, che si liberino tanti infelici da sì lunga prigionia ! Attendo con ansietà di tutto ciò una vostra risposta consolatoria, mentre coll'invicem oremus caramente vi abbraccio, e mi ripeto

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini, Agostiniano.

La povera Anl[a] si trova al sommo angustiata, saluta le poverette, e se non fosse per la Madre decrepita, ritornarebbe con loro.

9. Novembre 1839.

Nr. 37 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 140)

Ein Doppelblatt von der Grösse 19,2 zu 26,9 cm. Die letzte Seite ist frei ; nur befindet sich darauf dieselbe Bemerkung wie bei Brief Nr. 35 auch von derselben Hand: Lettera del Servo di Dio Bellesini Agostiniano.

Der Brief bezieht sich auf die in Nr. 34 und 35 erwähnte Angelegenheit und ist an denselben Adressaten gerichtet wie die beiden. Hier dürften wir wohl mit dem Kompilator der Schriftenliste mit Recht als Adressaten Monsignore Acton vermuten; es handelt sich ja um eine kriminelle Sache.

Das Eintreten des Monsignore hatte endlich Erfolg gehabt. So dankt der Selige sehr herzlich dafür und schildert auch den Dank seiner Pfarrkinder: ein Triduum für den Fürsprecher.

Sofort bringt er wieder zwei weitere Sorgen vor: zeitliche Sorgen seiner Pfarrkinder, die ihm ja ebenso am Herzen lagen wie ihre ewigen.

Die erste betrifft eine Witwe, deren Mann auf eigene Kosten das Gefängnis hatte reparieren lassen. Der Selige hatte sich schon für den Mann eingesetzt, damit er seine Kosten zurückerstattet erhielte.

Nach dessen Tod tut er es jetzt eindringlich für dessen Witwe ; der Brief Nr. 40 wiederholt diese Bitte.

Der Schluss des Briefes bittet um Vergünstigungen für Strafgefangene,

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Ecellenza Reverendissima

Prima d'ora avrei dovuto prestare all'Eccellenza Vostra Rev^ma^ i miei più vivi ringraziamenti per l'assoluta liberazione dei poveri Carcerati di Genazzano colla di Lei valida mediazione ottenuta. Ma per destare negli animi de' medesimi la più grata riconoscenza ho voluto pria loro esternare l'eroismo della di Lei carità, che per trarli dalla prigione ricorse Ella con voto al patrocinio di Maria SS^ma^ del Buon Consiglio. Il sentire sì grande eccesso del di Lei amore fece tanta impressione ne' loro cuori, che non sapendo in qual maniera mostrare la sincera loro gratitudine si unirono concordemente a far un Triduo da me compiuto stamane con istraordinario concorso di popolo, per implorare dalla SS^ma^Vergine ogni benedizione sopra il loro sì amoroso liberatore. Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ si degni gradire quest'atto della cordiale loro riconoscenza.

Il defunto Signore Governatore Diamanti mi disse nella sua malattia, che Le avrebbe scritto, ripristinato in salute per supplicarLa ad interporre appresso L'Eminentissimo pro-Tesoriere pel pagamento dei lavori fatti in queste prigioni dal defunto Custode delle medesime alla povera Vedova, fu moglie del suddetto, di cui Le ne parlai vocalmente. Questo supplente Governatore si compiacque prendere in vista un tale oggetto col qui inchiuso dispaccio, che oso trasmetterLe aperto, onde vegga, se sia ben ordinato l'esposto. Quindi supplico Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^, a far presto avere il tanto sospirato pagamento a questa Vedova indigente, onde così provvedere agli urgenti suoi bisogni.

Questo Signore Cancelliere Criminale non può ultimare il processo di quel Giovanni Ceccobelli, cui Ella diede a mia istanza con suo rescritto la libertà pel tempo della vendemmia, finito il quale si presentò egli stesso alla prigione, come di fatti trovasi al presente in una secreta. Il motivo di tal sospensione è, perchè, avendosi trovate certe armi vietate in sua casa, deve essere carcerato pure il di lui Padre. Questi, trovandosi in senile età, di corporatura infelice, costode d'un gregge di pecore, non sa ridursi a tal carcerazione, per non lasciare in estrema miseria la sua numerosa famiglia. Però supplica la carità di Vostra Rev^ma^ di permettere, ch'egli subisca gli esami criminali, quando verrà ricercato, senza essere carcerato. Già sperasi, che per le armi ritrovate non sarà condannato, perchè di quelle erasi provveduto al tempo dei briganti, alla distruzione de' quali era destinato, e dopo le teneva chiuse in una cassa, senza farne più uso. Si degni l'innata di Lei pietà a consolare con tal grazia questo buon vecchio, il di cui cristiano costume *non merita* non merita (sic !) d'essere così punito. Pieno intanto di profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Dell'Eccellenza Vostra Rev^ma^

Genazzano 11. Dicembre 1839.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbligatissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

P. S. Il Signor Terenzi dimora ancora in sua Patria, onde pregoLa di procurargli un posto più vicino.

Nr. 38 (Vgl. oben XL 126)

Ein kleines einfaches Blatt von der Grösse 19,2 zu 10,6 cm.

Der Text ist eine Quittung über 20 Scudi, die der Selige als Almosen vom Fürsten Colonna erhalten hatte (vielleicht als Antwort auf die im Brief Nr. 23 oder Nr. 36 ausgesprochene Bitte).

Nel Nome di Dio

Io Sottoscritto confesso d'aver ricevuto da Sua Eccellenza il Signore Vice-Principe Don Vincenzo Colonna Scudi venti a titolo di limosina da distribursi ai poveri di questa Terra di Genazzano. In fede...

Dato da questo Ven. Santuario di Genazzano il dì *17.* Dicembre *1839.*

Fr. Stefano Bellesini, Agostiniano
Curato di Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio.

(Stempel der Pfarrei mit dem Bild der Mutter v. guten Rat).

Nr. 39 (Vgl. oben LIII 171)

Einfaches Blatt vom Format 19,2 zu 27 cm ; auf der Rückseite steht die Adresse wie bei Nr. 24 ; dazu Spuren der beiden Poststempel und von späterer Hand: N° LIII.

Diesmal handelt es sich wieder um eine Familienangelegenheit, über die der Selige schon einmal geschrieben habe (der Brief, auf den hier Bezug genommen wird, ist verloren; vielleicht war es der in der Schrifttenreihe unter Nr. LIII 172 verzeichnete): Der Bruder des Seligen wollte wissen, unter welchen rechtlichen Bedingungen seine Tochter Marietta das klösterliche Gelübde der Armut gemacht habe

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Fratello in Cristo Dilettissimo

Il mio fratello è anelante di sapere il risultato di quello, che vi scrissi nell ultima mia, come se avesse da morir fra poco ; onde fatemi il piacere di presto rispondermi, se la Marietta sua figlia Monaca Sacramentale abbia fatto nella sua Professione la rinunzia, e se questa posso avere autentica da spedirgli, oppure se siasi riserbato il diritto ai beni paterni, e materni, come è il costume forse nel di lei Monastero, altrimenti, se non gli do una sollecita risposta, si mette in agitazione colla famiglia, credendo, ch'io sia ammalato, e quindi mi ripete altra lettera, come fece altra volta. Fate dunque la carità di favorirmi senza dilazione su di ciò un decisivo riscontro.

Colgo l'imminenza dell'anno venturo ad augurarvi dal Cielo ogni benedizione, mentre raccomandandomi alle vostre orazioni caramente vi abbracio, e mi raffermo

Genazzano 28. Dicembre 1839.

Vostro Obbligatissimo Amico
Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nr. 40 (Vgl. oben XLVIII 136)

Ein Doppelblatt vom Format 19,1 zu 27 cm ; auf der Rückseite steht nur von späterer Hand: N° XLVIII.

Ueber den Adressaten gilt dasselbe, was oben p. 738 zu Brief Nr. 37 gesagt wurde.

Auch der Inhalt bezieht sich auf die in diesem Brief an zweiter Stelle behandelte Angelegenheit.

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Eccellenza Reverendissima

Il defunto Signore Governatore Erasmo Diamanti, mentre era infermo mi disse, che ristabilito in salute avrebbe scritto a Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^, perchè si degnasse far ottenere a quella povera Vedova, da me raccomandataLe, quei dodeci Scudi, che il suo Marito avea speso per le necessarie rifazioni eseguite in queste carceri. Dopo la di lui morte io feci nuova petizione per tale oggetto, ed il supplente Governatore Signore Gio. Spaziani, verificato il credito della suddetta Vedova, fece calda istanza all'Eminentissimo Pro-Tesoriere Generale pel sospirato pagamento, com'Ella avrà letto nell'ultima mia umiliatoLe, acciocchè si degnasse interporsi per la pronta esazione a seconda della caritatevole Sua promessa. Il vedere però, che fin qui non fu esaurita la detta istanza, ed io conoscendo il gran bisogno della ricorrente, supplico nuovamente Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ ad eccitare il giusto sollecito alleviamento alla medesima.

Le due recenti umilissime suppliche di noi Parrochi, e di quest' Illustrissima Comune presentate a Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^ avrà, spero, commosso il di Lei benefico cuore, per sortirne il bramato effetto colla calida sua mediazione. Si degni ricevere gli ardenti miei voti, ch'io porgo all'Altissimo, perchè diffonda sopra di Lei nell'imminente anno nuovo le più copiose benedizioni, mentre con profonda venerazione ho l'onore di raffermarmi costantemente

Di Vostra Eccellenza Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *29.* Dicembre *1839.*

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Servitore Fr. Stefano Bellesini,
Curato Agostiniano.

Nr. 41 (Vgl. oben XXXVII 123)

An sich hat das Blatt die normale Grösse des Papiers, das der Selige gewöhnlich verwendete; es ist nur als einfaches Blatt im Hochformat beschrieben, hat also die Maße 26,4 zu 38,4 cm.

Es handelt sich um ein Konzept (Beweis dafür sind die vielen Korrekturen und die Tatsache, dass es gleichsam als Schmierpapier verwendet ist: auf der einen Seite finden sich eine Reihe von Zahlenrechnungen), und zwar eine italienische Uebersetzung gewisser Bestimmungen der Diözesansynode von Palestrina des Jahres 1804. Der Text der Vorderseite ist zu finden in *Synodus Dioecesana Praenestina a. 1804* pars IV cap. 17 De Testamentis et Legatis piis, nn. I-IV, ed. Romae (sine anno), pp. 225-226. Die Rückseite findet sich im gleichen Werk Pars III, cap. 4, De decimis et oblationibus, nn. I-III und V, p. 135.

Wann der Selige diese Uebersetzung gefertigt hat, lässt sich nicht festlegen. Es ist aber anzunehmen, dass es während seines Aufenthaltes in Genazzano, oder noch besser während seiner Amtszeit als Pfarrer dort, also in den Jahren 1831-1840, geschah.

Il Sacro Sinodo Diocesano m'ingiunge di avviarvi, quanto sia stretto l'obbligo di adempire i pii Legati de' Testatori, e per tal effetto vi assegna le seguenti regole, che circa i medesimi devote osservare

1° Se il Testatore non assegnò il tempo determinato, entro il quale debbasi eseguire il pio legato, allora gli Eredi, e tutti quelli, ai quali fu commesso di soddisfarlo, colla maggior diligenza, e più presto che possono, debbono eseguirlo. Che se poi il tempo fu stabilito dal Testatore, allora entro il tempo fissato, sono obbligati di adempirlo, e dopo di ciò rendere testimonianza al Monsignor Vicario di Palestrina di tale adempimento.

2° Se gli eredi avranno trascurato di soddisfare il legato pio entro il tempo prescritto dal Testatore, oppure se in caso che dal Testatore non fosse stato prescritto verun tempo, avranno gli eredi lasciato passar un anno intero, senza soddisfarlo, allora perderanno essi il diritto di eseguire il pio legato, e toccherà alla Curia Vescovile di Palestrina il farlo eseguire.

3° Se il Testatore ordina, che in suffragio dell'anima sua si celebrino delle Messe, senza però assegnarne il numero preciso, non possono gli Eredi stabilire, quante Messe si debbano celebrare, ma al rispettivo Vescovo Diocesano tocca di fissarne il numero, ed al medesimo spetta altresì di assegnare la Chiesa, nella quale debbono essere le Messe celebrate, quando dal Testatore non fosse stata nominata, e neppure senza licenza espressa del medesimo Vescovo non possono gli eredi far celebrare fuori della Diocesi le Messe legetarie, ancorchè il Testatore avesse ciò lasciato a loro arbitrio.

4° Se avvenga, che per qualche legitimo impedimento sopravvenuto non possano gli eredi senza grave lor'danno adempire il pio legato, non perciò debbono da se medesimi giudicarlo cessato, nè

debbono a loro piacere sminuire parte del gravame, che seco porta il pio legato, o cambiarlo in qualche altra pia opera. Ma in tal caso debbono esporre tutti gli impedimenti sopravvenuti nella soddisfazione del pio legato al proprio Vescovo Diocesano, onde esso decida, che debba farsi in tale occorrenza, giacchè ciò aspetta solo all'ecclesiastica autorità.

Il medesimo Sacro Sinodo prescrive, che debbono osservarsi rapporto alle Decime, cioè 1° ordina, che nessuna privata persona ardisca preendere, ed esigere, sotto il nome di la (Lücke, weil zum Teil abgerissen ; der lateinische Text — *l. c.* p. 133 — lautet : « Nemo audeat Ecclesiae nomine primitias, decimas, quintas vel quartas partes... », darum ist hier wohl ausgefallen « chiesa la ») decima, o la quinta, o quarta parte, o le primizie di qualche genere, se non abbia di tal diritto i legittimi documenti, o non mostri l'antica consuetudine. Quelli poi, che hanno giusti diritti di esigere le decime, debbono mostrarne i documenti quanto prima alla Curia Vescovile di Palestrina, qualora non gli abbiano già prima comunicati alla medesima.

2° Tutti quelli però, che sono tenuti o per legge di diritto, o di antica consuetudine di pagar la decima, o qualunque altra parte, o le primizie di qualche annuale provento alle Chiese, o a certe persone destinate dalla Chiesa, si arricordino di pagarle con prontezza, e fedeltà, per non incorrere nelle pène stabilite dai Sagri Canoni ; anzi il Sagro Concilio di Trento scomunica tutti quelli, che sottragono parte delle Decime spettanti alla Chiesa, o in qualche modo impediscono, che non sieno pagate alla medesima. E da tale Scomunica non possono essere da nessuno assolti, so non dopo che avranno intieramente soddisfatto alle decime, che gli toccavano di pagare.

3° Se Nel pagar le decime si userà qualche frode o col dare la roba più cattiva, o col darne meno del dovere, o col ricercarne più di ciò, che la decima importa, Si arricordi il reo di tali frodi, ed inganni dello stretto obbligo di restituzione, e delle pene, che gli verranno imposte ad arbitrio prudente del Superiore, ancorchè il reo fosse ecclesiastico.

4° Delle offerte, che sogliono volontariamente farsi alle Chiese, agli Altari, ed alle Sacre Imagini, e quelle, che per obbligo si fanno alla Chiesa, non si possono confusamente, e senza prudente riflesso impiegare a qualunque uso ; ma deesi attentamente considerare, e fedelissimamente eseguire quella pia opera, per la quale le dette offerte furono presentate dai fedeli Cristiani.

Anhang

Nr. 42 (Vgl. oben XLV 132)

Dieser Brief gehört nicht dem Archiv der deutschen Ordensprovinz, sondern wurde von P. Exassistens Generalis Mariani zur Veröffentlichung zur Verfügung gestellt. Er erhielt ihn vor einigen Jahren von P. Avennali, dieser hatte ihn aus dem Nachlass des P. Mag. Quintarelli bekommen.

Der Brief ist unzweifelhaft authentisch, das zeigt nicht nur die Schrift und die Form (Breite 19,2 cm.), sondern auch die Aufzählung im Schriftenverzeichnis (XLV 132), wo Adresse, Incipit und Explicit genau wie hier angegeben sind.

Der Brief ist leider etwas verstümmelt, am oberen Rande ist ein Stück von etwa 5-6 cm. über die ganze Breite des Doppelblattes hin abgerissen.

Auf der letzten Seite steht die Adresse:

Al Molto Reverendo Padre Padrone Colendissimo
Il Padre Difendente Tommaso Ricca
Agostiniano
Perugia
SS. Filippo, e Giacomo

Schon bei der Einleitung zu Brief Nr. 16 (vgl. oben p. 719) wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass m. E. der dort genannte P. Difendente Ricci und der Adressat dieses Briefes identisch sind, wenn der Name hier auch Ricca heisst. Solche kleine Unterschiede in der Schreibweise der Namen kamen damals immer wieder vor. So haben wir gesehen, dass der Name des Seligen in den Bemerkungen auf den Briefen des öfteren Bellisini und einmal sogar Bellissini geschrieben ist. Das Datum des Briefes lautet einwandfrei: 28 Ottobre 1831, nicht 1837, wie im Schriftenverzeichnis (vgl. oben p. 696) angegeben ist. Der Brief ist zum grössten Teil schon publiziert bei BILLERI, *op. cit.* 97 f. Die Veröffentlichung endet dort mit dem Bibelzitat: Miserere mei Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea. — Von dort kann auch das Fehlende ergänzt werden: Die Ueberschrift lautete: Carissimo Fratello in Cristo. — In der ersten Lücke fehlt das Wort « nelle », in der zweiten das Wort « guisa le ».

Es ist schade, dass unter den hier veröffentlichten Briefen nicht mehr von dieser Art sind. Hier zeigt der Selige, wie er seinen früheren Novizen und auch anderen Mitbrüdern gegenüber sich als Seelenführer betätigte und viel Zeit verwendete, um ihnen die rechte Bahn zu weisen.

La sincerità della di lei confessione fattami obbliga me pure ad essere sincero nel risponderle a seconda di que' lumi, coi quali il Padre celeste mi rischiara la mente. Il pensiero, ch'ella dice di

aver avuto, andando al passeggio, tenga per certo, che quello non fu una divina ispirazione, ma le venne suscitato dal Demonio per distorla dall'applicazione allo studio, ed occuparla in ciò, che Dio adesso assolutamente non vuole: Ne' vale la scusa, che la ricerca fatta tende solo alla provvista, e non all'impiego: poichè se la di lei voglia venisse effettuata, non istarebbe al certo oziosa ; ma subito le si rivolgerebbero in capo mille pensieri, del profitto che ne potrebbe ricavare, e però di prepararsi all'opportunità col leggere le prediche, col ripulirle, ricopiarle, ed impararne qualcuna, per poi recitarla, onde usarsi alla pratica, ed intanto l'amore, che tutto per ora deve tendere allo studio, sarebbe almeno dimezzato alla predicazione. Fui più volte caldamente interpellato per lo stesso oggetto da un' altro mio confratello, che non fu mio Novizio, ma da me molto ben conosciuto, fornito di bel talento, ed avanzato nello studio, che per sollecitarmi a compiacerlo adduceva le di lei scuse ; ma finchè non fu promosso al grado di lettore, non gli mandai il Quaresimale tanto sospirato. Così anch'ella, se vuole prendere il mio consiglio, non deve per ora nè pur pensarvi, e scaciarne il pensiero, come una tentazione pericolosa ; occupandosi tutto allo studio, onde arricchirsi la mente di quelle cognizioni, che Iddio esige da Religiosi a maggior sua gloria, a spirituale di lei vantaggio, e del prossimo. Rapporto poi a ciò, ch'ella dice di aver perduto il primiero suo fervore, e di patire grandi tentazioni, non deve per ciò rattristarsi, essendo questo il costume ordinario che Iddio tiene nel condurre le anime alla perfezione. Agl'incipienti nella via della virtù, come una Madre ai suoi bambini, porge per nutrimento il latte della dolcezza, poi loro sostituisce un cibo sodo per farli crescere nella pietà, glielo amareggia anche talvolta con le aridità, con le tentazioni, affinchè si avezzino a mantenersi stabili nella divozione, la quale più si radica nel cuore, quando trovasi meno pasciuta della tenerezze, purchè si perseveri in essa senza desiderarle. Quindi la esorto a non lasciare mai le buone pratiche di pietà, mescolandole coll'applicazione allo studio, il quale deesi sempre cominciare, e finire coll'orazione, e non per altri fini, che per li sopra annunziati. Gli atti di umiltà sì interni, che esterni sono necessari per avvantaggiar nello spirito, qualora si facciano sinceramente credendosi in verità peggiori di tutti, e praticando di cuore la sera l'insegnamento di Gesù Cristo: *Cum feceritis omnia, dicite: servi inutiles sumus*, cercando... (Lücke, weil ein Stück fehlt) buone opere *soli Deo honor, et gloria.* In tal... (Lücke) tentazioni perderanno la loro forza, le quali si estinguono coll'umiltà, cioè colla propria diffidenza, e viva fiducia in Dio, dicendo: *miserere mei Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea.* La rubrica dice della preparazione alla Messa: *Pro opportunitate Sacerdotis facienda*, onde puossi anticiparla qualche ora prima, e solo rinnovare l'*ego volo celebrare Missam* etc. e l'applicazione di essa al momento, che si vuole celebrarla, così pure dopo in breve ringraziamento al fine della medesima per qualche urgenza, si può trasportare il rimanente

di quello nel progresso del giorno. Altrimenti solo un caso straordinario potrebbe esimerci dall'una, e dall'altro. Mi spiace, che il Professo Divizia siasi raffreddato : egli mai mi scrisse, cosa veramente insolita: preghiamo per lui, ed ella le scriva qualche efficace esortazione. Frattanto raccomandomi per carità ne' di lei Santi Sacrificj, e teneramente abbracciandola ho il piacere di raffermarmi sempre

di Lei

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì *28.* Ottobre *1831.*

Umilissimo, et Devotissimo Servitore
Fr. Stefano Bellesini,
Agostiniano.

Zum Schluss sei noch hingewiesen auf einige Briefe des Seligen, die schon veröffentlicht sind. Der erste ist von dem Seligen noch während seines Theologiestudiums geschrieben und zwar von Rom aus am 30. Oktober 1795 an seine Mutter. Er enthält eine umfangreiche geistliche Tagesordnung, die er für sie zusammenstellt. Sehr bezeichnend für die Klugkeit des Seligen ist die Eingangsbemerkung: « Ma prima di tutto le devo dire una cosa: che non tralasci alcun affare della sua casa per fare queste preci al Signore, perchè allora invece di acquistar merito, perderebbe purtroppo e si renderebbe colpevolle ; e neppure levarsi ogni divertimento, come sarebbe un po' di passeggio, per rendere il corpo più abile alla preghiera... ». Der Brief ist veröffentlicht in der von den Augustinern der römischen Provinz herausgegebenen Zeitschrift *Madre del Buon Consiglio* anno LVI no 8 (Okt. 1953) p. 4 ff. Dort auch ein Faksimile der ersten Seite des Briefes und anno LVII no 1 (Jan. 1954) p. 5 ff.

Die übrigen stammen alle aus dem Jahre 1817 und beziehen sich auf sein heimliches Weggehen aus Trient in diesem Jahr, wo er sich seiner Tätigkeit als Schulleiter und Direktor sämtlicher Elementarschulen des Bezirkes Trient nur durch die Flucht entziehen konnte, um so endlich sich wieder seinem geliebten Orden anzuschliessen. Zwei davon sind in deutscher Sprache (Italienischer Text in BILLERI p. 73 bzw. 74) abgedruckt in der Zeitschrift *Maria vom guten Rat* 21. Jahrgang 1925 p. 38 f. in dem Artikel *Des seligen Stefanus Bellesini Berufstreue* von P. Rudolf Arbesmann O. E. S. A. — Beide sind datiert: Bologna 8. Oktober 1817, richten sich an einen der Brüder des Seligen und schildern die Umstände seiner Flucht.

Der dritte ist veröffentlicht in der schon zitierten *Festschrift*

p. 83. Er ist datiert: Roma, S. Agostino, 17. Dezember 1817 und richtet sich an den Polizeikommandanten von Trient, der den Seligen auf seinen Posten als Schulleiter hatte zurückrufen wollen. Dieser setzt da auseinander, warum er dem Rufe Gottes eher folgen müsse als dem der Menschen.

Nr. 43

Zum Schluss sei hier noch ein Brief angefügt, der schon einmal veröffentlicht wurde, und zwar in den *Analecta Augustiniana*, I, Roma 1905/6 p. 11. Da er aber dort in Faksimile wiedergegeben ist, möge hier der volle Wortlaut folgen. Der Brief hat die typische vom Seligen gebrauchte Form. Die Adresse ist leider nicht vermerkt. Aber aus Anrede und Schlussformel sowie aus dem Inhalt geht hervor, dass er an den Generaloberen des Ordens, also an den Vicarius Generalis P. Lorenzo Tardì (vgl. dazu oben p. 703) gerichtet ist.

Eigentümlicherweise ist er in der Liste der im Schriftenprozess vorgelegten Briefe nicht aufgeführt, obwohl dort zehn Briefe des Seligen an P. Tardì verzeichnet sind. Er müsste dort unter LI zwischen Nr. 165 und 166 eingefügt sein (vgl. oben p. 699). Der Inhalt zeugt wieder von der grossen Liebe des Seligen zu den Armen seiner Pfarrei, ausserdem von der bis zum Tode dauernden innigen mitbrüderlichen Zuneigung zu seinem Landsmann P. Chiocchetti, von der oben schon wiederholt die Rede war (pp. 710, 712 und 714).

Viva Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria.

Reverendissimo Padre

Il Padre Serafino Francieri dopo qualche giorno del suo felice arrivo mi chiese, se ricevuto avessi i due Scudi, che già due mesi mi scrisse essergli stati consegnati dalla Paternità Sua Rev^{ma} a benefizio de' poveri di questa mia Parrocchia. A tale di lui inchiesta risposi, ch'io mai lessi nelle sue lettere si lieta notizia, che però prima di sera volli vedere effettuata ; onde m'affretto colla presente a porgerLe i miei cordiali ringraziamenti, che da sì lungo tempo mi conveniva di fare. Questa preventiva di Lei beneficenza mi anima a supplicarLa d'un altra maggiore. Alla Paternità Sua Rev^{ma} è già noto l'amor tenero, che strettamente mi univa al fu Padre ex Assistente Niccola Chiocchetti, per cui giorno, e notte non potei da lui tenermi lontano nell'estrema sua malattia ; gli amministrai i SS^{mi} Sagramenti, e spirò fra le mie braccia. Bramerei giovargli anche dopo morto, ed accopiare alle vocali preghiere le opere di misericordia.

Supplico dunque il pietoso di Lei cuore a dispensare anche a me qualche parte del copioso peculio da lui lasciato ; onde io possa così e suffragare coll'elemosine l'anima sua, e provedere anche in appresso alle molteplici necessità di queste mie pecorelle, da esso pure in vita più volte benignamente soccorse. Affidato pertanto all'innata di Lei carità vivo sicuro di tal grazia, che coi più ardenti voti umilmente imploro assieme alla paterna Sua benedizione ; mentre colla più profonda venerazione Le bacio il lembo della sacra Veste, ed ho l'onore di raffermarmi inviolabilmente

Della Paternità Sua Rev^ma^

Genazzano Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio il dì 4. Marzo 1834.

Umilissimo, Devotissimo, ed Obbedientissimo
Figlio Fr. Stefano Bellesini
Agostiniano.

Nur ein kleiner Teil des so reichen Lebens des Seligen liegt in den uns erhaltenen Briefen vor uns. Und wie kleine, so nebensächliche Dingen sind da behandelt ! Und doch lassen sie uns einen Blick tun in eine grosse Seele, die ganz erfüllt war von der Mahnung der Regel des hl. Augustinus: « Vor allem sollt ihr Gott lieben, und dann den Nächsten ».

Mögen diese Zeilen in etwa dazu beitragen, dass der doch ganz moderne Selige mit seinem pädagogischen, seinem sozialen Wirken wieder mehr gekannt, geliebt und verehrt werde. Mögen sie ein klein wenig mithelfen, dass der Selige bald auch in die Zahl der Heiligen aufgenommen werde.

P. Adalbero KUNZELMANN, O. E. S. A.

Münnerstadt.

Estado actual de las misiones Agustino-Espanolas

Vicariato de Changteh (Hunan-China)

1) *Historia de la fundación del Vicariato y sus condiciones.*

El 13 de agosto de 1879 expedía S. S. León XIII la Constitutión por la cual erigía canonicamente el Vicariato de Hunan Septentrional en favor de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas.

La noticia fué recibida con inmenso júbilo por todos los hijos de la Provincia, que habían nacido en cuna misionera y conocían al detalle las aventuras apostólicas de sus mayores en tierras del Celeste Imperio.

La Provincia de Filipinas había interrumpido su gloriosa tradición misionera cuando por la escasez de personal — después de la Guerra de la Independencia en los comienzos del s. XIX — se vió forzada a desamparar las misiones de China.

Pero, llenos de nuevo nuestros conventos de jóvenes entusiastas y apostólicos, los Superiores Mayores volvieron sus ojos con alegría a la tradición misionera de nuestros antepasados. Y, no pudiendo abrir centros misionales en el Japón — según el deseo del P. Provincial y su Definitorio —, la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide nos ofreció la Misión de China.

Según indicaciones de la misma Congregación, el asunto debía ser tratado con el Ilmo. Sr. D. Felipe Navarro, Vicario Apostólico de Hunan. A este fin el M. R. P. Provincial, Fr. José Corujedo, convocó Definitorio privado el 14 de juno de 1877, y en él se acordó enviar a China a los PP. Raimundo Lozano y Mariano Fábregas, para que allí ultimasen el asunto con el Vicario Apostólico.

Embarcados el 9 de julio del mismo año, llegaron a Siangtan para recibir la triste noticia del fallecimiento del Vicario Apostólico.

Prosiguieron, sin ambergo, su viaje, y en Hengchow se entrevistaron con el Ilmo. Sr. Semprini (Coadjutor del Ilmo. Sr. Navarro), con el cual trataron el problema de la fundación de la Misión Agustiniana en China. El Ilmo. Sr. Semprini puso al principio algunas dificultades, pero al fin las cosas se arreglaron satisfactoriamente.

La Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide aprobó sin más lo pactado por ambas partes, y el 13 de agosto de 1879 S. S. León XIII publicaba el Decreto *Ex debito pastoralis officii*, en virtud del cual establecía la división del Vicariato de Hunan, adjudicando la parte meridional a los PP. Franciscanos y la Septentrional a los PP. Agustinos españoles.

La Provincia de Hunan está enclavada en el centro de China y limita al norte con la de Hupé ; al sur con las de Kuangtung ; al este con la de Chiangsi y parte de Hupé, y al oeste con los territorios de Sechuan y Kueichow.

La extensión territorial del Vicariato es de 39.315 km. cuadrados, con una población aproximada de 9.000.000 de habitantes. La tierra es fértil y sus ríos encierran una variedad exquisita de pescados, aunque ni aquella ni éstos están explotados en una forma digna.

2) *Las misiones agustinianas de Hunan Septentrional actualmente.*

Los primeros pasos de nuestros misioneros fueron más que difíciles. Hacemos resaltar esto para apreciar en su justo valor la obra llevada a cabo por los misioneros agustinos, llamando la atención sobre el estado actual de las misiones para estimular los afanes que tal estado de cosas supone.

El estado caótico y revolucionario que encontraron los primeros misioneros agustinos — PP. Elías Suárez y Agustín Villanueva — hizo de su apostolado una auténtica tragedia. Nunca pudieron ejercer libremente su ministerio, y se vieron obligados a llevar una vida errante por la inicua progaganda de literatos y mandarines. Así transcurrieron los quince primeros años.

El 1895 señala el fin de las persecuciones violentas y el comienzo de una primavera de paz, consecuencia de la protección otorgada por Francia. Multitud de pueblos y aldeas y no pocas ciudades de primer orden abrieron entonces con gozo sus puertas a la predicación evangélica... Comenzaron a surgir casas parroquiales y

escuelas en las grandes urbes — centros misionales —, mientras que las pequeñas aldeas abrazaban con entusiasmo las nuevas doctrinas. Estableciéronse immediatamente cinco o seis Estaciones-Capillas al servicio de esas aldeas y bajo la jurisdicción de las Misiones Centrales, adjudicándose a cada misionero un territorio mayor que cualquier Provincia española.

El ambiente fué siempre mejorando hasta el punto de que en 1916 podía escribir el P. Bernardo Martínez, Provincial entonces de los Agustinos y más tarde Obispo de Almería: « Repetidas veces hemos dicho que el Vicariato Apostólico de Hunan constituye hoy por hoy una de las principales glorias de la Orden Agustiniana. Su conservación y florecimiento deberán ser algo así como el ideal de los que dirijan nuestros destinos » [1]).

Al hacernos cargo del Vicariato en 1879 sólo había 45 cristianos con una Casa-Residencia, la de Chia-kai-se, que desapareció por completo arrastrada por las aguas y envuelta en plena persecución. La Relación de 1925-1926 arroja la cifra de 18.351 cristianos con 33 Iglesias y 126 oratorios.

El 13 de marzo de 1925 la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide desmembró del Vicariato de Hunan Septentrional — hoy llamado de Changteh — la Prefectura de Shenchow, quedando integrado nuestro Vicariato por los distritos de Changteh, Lichow y Yochow, con una extensión de 39.315 km. cuadrados y 9.000.000 de habitantes.

A) *Distrito de Changteh.* — Comprende las ciudades de Changteh, Taoyuen, Hanshow, Yuenkiang, y Nanchow con una población aproximada de 2.675.000 habitantes. Comenzaron, pues, nuestros misioneros por instalarse en esta populosa ciudad, centro desde el cual podían dominar todas las actividades apostólicas del Vicariato. Los primeros agustinos — PP. Elías Suárez y Agustín Villanueva — arribaron a Changteh el 14 de mayo de 1880 por primera vez, pero sus esfuerzos resultaron inútiles. Les fué absolutamente imposible arrendar una casa en la ciudad, ya que los hunaneses retrocedían en sus contratos en el momento que se percataban de que los huéspedes eran misioneros extranjeros.

[1]) Cfr. *Memoria-Relación del Vicariato de Hunan Septentrional* (China) (1923-24), pp. 6-7.

Forzados a abandonar Changteh, dirijiéronse el 4 de junio de 1883 a la ciudad de Yuenkiang. Todavía el P. Elías hizo varias tentativas para establecer su residencia en Changteh, resultando todas tan inútiles como la primera. Peregrinaron entonces hasta Se-sui-tien, donde establecieron su residencia hasta que en 1889 — ya pacificado el ambiente — pudieron instalarse definitivamente en Changteh, donde alquilaron una casa en la calle de Hopa-lan, sita extramuros en la parte denominada Tung-men-wai.

Al hacerse cargo de la misión en 1901 el P. Benito González, comprendió immediatamente las pésimas condiciones de la Casa-Misión y se decidió a comprar otra no lejos de la anterior en la calle Pe-sang-lang donde se encuentra actualmente el Seminario.

En 1917, siendo misionero de Changteh el P. Hipólito Martínez, se terminó la construcción de la nueva Casa-misión e Iglesia en la calle de Pan-pie-kai, en terrenos más amplios adquiridos por el P. Agustín González. Un gran incendio redujo a escombros Casa e Iglesia el 17 de octubre de 1925.

Años más tarde el P. Vicente Avedillo, haciéndose eco del sentir común de los misioneros, edificaba una iglesia en el casco de la ciudad, comprando una casa en la calle Se-tan-hua, intra muros, y convirtiéndola en oratorio como está en la actualidad.

Seminario. — Está edificado en el solar de la antigua residencia. El edificio consta de un solo piso, construido de nueva planta en 1925, bajo la dirección del P. Angel de la Calle, el cual dirigió las obras del Colegio cercano a la residencia, pero en solar separado. Dificultades ambientales impidieron que se comenzasen las clases de segunda enseñanza. Hoy funcionan Colegios de segunda enseñanza reconocidos por el Gobierno chino.

En este Seminario se han formado parte de los misioneros jóvenes llegados de España en 1938 para continuar allí sus estudios, y varios sacerdotes chinos que hoy están trabajando heroicamente en medio del fuego y de la persecusión comunista. Hoy son 25 del clero regular y secular que cuidan de 21.000 cristianos.

Imprenta. — Fué inaugurada el 20 de abril de 1921, y en ella se imprimen libros de propaganda y doctrina cristiana, hojas misionales repartidas por millones, etc. El incendio del 17 de octubre de 1925 destruyó todos los caracteres europeos — por hallarse en la residencia — salvándose, sin embargo, las máquinas con todos los caracteres chinos.

Estaciones o visitas en la misión de Changteh. — Citamos como principales las siguientes:

Se-chou-pin, distante cuatro leguas de la central, con casa e Iglesia de construcción europea, edificadas en 1901 por el P. Benito González.

Niou-pi-tan, pueblo situado a la orilla izquierda del río Yun-kiang y a cuatro leguas de la ciudad en dirección este. Su fundador fue el P. Vicente Avedillo (1921), sucesor del P. Agustín González en la misión de Changteh. Una sola casa sirve de oratorio y residencia.

Huang-tou-tien, abierta en enero de 1925 por el mismo P. Avedillo, que dista siete leguas de la ciudad central al sur de la misma. Sirve de oratorio y residencia una casa china arrendada.

Los habitantes de la ciudad de Changteh suman unos 320.000, mientras que su jurisdicción alcanza a unos 700.000.

Misión de Hofuh. — Dista solamente dos leguas de la ciudad de Changteh. Fué la primera estación ocupada por nuestros misioneros al no poder establecerse en Changteh, y contaba ya con algunas familias cristianas. En 1887 compraron los misioneros una casa, en la que vivían con relativa tranquilidad, hasta que en 1897 los romeros, que se congregaban para conspirar en la famosa pagoda de Hofuh, incendiaron Casa e Iglesia y obligaron a huir al P. Saturnino de la Torre, director entonces de la misión.

De nuevo volvieron los misioneros a Hofuh bajo la protección de los Cónsules. Reconstruyeron los edificios incendiados e hicieron de ella el centro de todas las misiones, sirviendo como de escalón para abrir la de Tao-yuen. Hofuh posee una Iglesia sencilla pero bonita, edificada en 1906 por el Ilmo. Sr. Luis Pérez, quien guardó siempre una simpatía especial a la ciudad por ser durante mucho tiempo la cuna de la misiones del Distrito. Tiene además una casa amplia y cómoda con dependencias suficientes para un crecido número de estudiantes. Hasta el punto de que en ella estuvo instalado el Seminario de 1918 a 1923, fecha en que fué trasladado a Changteh donde se halla actualmente.

Misión de Tao-yuen. — Comienza en 1901 con perspectivas muy halagüeñas. Casi una mitad de la población se adhirió desde el primer momento a las nuevas doctrinas. Pero, llevados quizás por fines muy ajenos a los principios religiosos del catolicismo, recayeron pronto en sus errores antiguos, de tal modo que hoy es uno de los centros misioneros que cuenta con menor número de cristianos. La

casa — de construcción europea, una de las primeras del Vicariato — es obra del P. Victorino Pérez, fallecido en 1906. La Iglesia está dedicada a Santa Rita y es una de las mejores de la misión. Fué edificada por el P. Angel de la Calle, siendo misionero de la ciudad el P. Matías Chang. La misión de Taoyuen es la más poblada de todo el Vicariao, ya que sus habitantes ascienden a 1.215.407. Cuenta además con varias Visitas dependientes de la Central. Citamos entre las más principales las de *Tien-chia-ho* (1917), *Chiou-chi* (1912) y *Uchi-ho* (1919).

Misión de Hanshow. — Está situada a nueve leguas de Changteh en la orilla derecha del río Yuenkiang. Fué abierta en 1902 gracias a los trabajos y celo del P. Benito González. En su historia inicial sigue el ejemplo de la misión de Taoyuen. Las listas interminables de catecúmenos quedaron reducidas en muy poco tiempo a pequeñas columnas de fieles. Pero a partir de 1920 se hace palpable un incremento religioso satisfactorio, y ya en 1925 el número de catecúmenos ascendía a 1638. Tiene como filiales las Visitas de *You-kan* (1917) y *Yo-te-pu* (1923), con sendas casas chinas que sirven a tiempo de oratorio y residencia.

Misión de Yuen-kiang. — En ella se establecieron los primeros misioneros, PP. Elías Suárez y Agustín Villanueva, alojándose en una casa de cristianos apellidados Liou. Si bien hacían todos los años una visita a los cristianos, su permanencia entre ellos era casi siempre muy breve a causa de la persecución de que eran objeto por parte de los mandarines. El primer misionero que se estableció definitivamente en Yuenkiang fué el sacerdote indigena P. Pablo Cheng, que vivió con los citados cristianos desde 1892 hasta 1900, año en que le hizo huir la revolución de los « Boxers ». Et P. Benito González compró en 1901 un solar llamado Kucheng, a media legua de la ciudad, y edificó una Iglesia, trasladada más tarde por el P. José a una casa china. En 1912 fué edificada de nuevo en ladrillo bajo la dirección del P. Lázaro Ramírez, siendo misionero el P. Vicente Avedillo. De la misma época es la Casa-residencia, de construcción europea. Tiene como Visitas filiales las de *Taso-wei* (1914), *Yang-lo-chow* (1914) y *Nan-hu-chow* (1922). Las dos primeras tienen Casa-oratorio propia, y la última, arrendada. Cuenta además esta misión con dos escuelas: una de niños con más de 100 alumnos y otra de niñas con 85.

Misión de Nan-chow. — Fué fundada en 1901 por el P. Saturnino de la Torre, entonces misionero de Yochow. El primer misio-

nero residencial de Nanchow fué el P. Angel Diego, más tarde Obispo. La cristiandad creció considerablemente en los tres años (fines de 1902 a principios de 1906) que estuvo bajo sus cuidados. Cuenta non Casa-residencia, Iglesia y escuelas para estudiantes de ambos sexos. Entre las misiones filiales más principales podemos citar: la de *San-sien-hu* (1908) con casa y Capilla de construcción europea ; *Mao-chao-kai* (1903) y *Mao-hu-keu* (1918). Las dos tienen Casa-oratorio propia.

B) *Distrito de Lichow.* — Comprende las ciudades de Lichow, Tayung, Tzeli, Semen, Anfu y Ansiang. En todas ellas hay Misión Central, así como en Tsense, Wang-chia-chiamg y Se-suei-tien. Su población asciende a unos 3.000.000 de habitantes, repartidos en las siguientes misiones:

Misión de Lichow. — Fué fundada en 1898, después de grandes dificultades. Al año siguiente de su apertura edificaron la Casa-residencia y la Iglesia, con un orfanatrofio anejo. En 1923 erigieron los misioneros una nueva Iglesia, *intra muros*, en el centro de la ciudad, juntamente con una Casa más amplia y cómoda que la primera. De esa misma fecha datan ls escuelas para niños, en las cuales hacían sus estudios últimamente más de 350 alumnos. Al lado del orfanatrofio edificaron escuelas para niñas, que en la actualidad contaban con más de 100 alumnas, muchas de ellas de las llamadas niñas de la Santa Infancia.

Cuenta con dos Visitas filiales: *Yuin-chia-ho* (1913) y *San-yen-ten* (1924).

Misión de Tsense. — Tsense, famosa por su comercio, está situada en la margen izquierda del río Li-ho, a dos leguas de Lichow. Fué abierta en 1907 y cuenta hoy co nuna Casa-residencia y una Iglesia de construcción sencilla.

Pertenecen a esta Central las misiones filiales de *Kai-chichiao* (1885), célebre por las persecuciones que en ella padecieron los primeros misioneros Agustinos. Tiene Iglesia, pero carece de Casa-residencia para el misionero. Las de *Tuo-keu* (1911), *Sin-hua-i* y *U-tung-pu* (1912), *Niou-lan-hu* (1915), *Suen-lin-hi* (1918) y *Sin-chow.* En todas hay una Casa-oratorio que sirve también de residencia al Catequista.

Misión de Wan-chia-chiang. — Llámase por otro nombre *Huaisi* y fué abierta el año 1914. Tiene como filiales las Visitas de *Ta-*

yen-tan (1911) *Yan-chia-fang* (1919) y *Pichiachiao* (1914). Todas con Casa-oratorio.

Misión de Semen. — Misión difícil durante muchos años. El año 1884 el P. Agustín Villanueva daba por abierta la misión arrendando una casa en la ciudad, y adornando su entrada con el rótulo *Misión Católica.* Pero immediatamente comenzó la persecución por parte de literatos y mandarines. Pero venció la paciencia de los misioneros, que ya en 1891 pudieron abrir una escuela para educar a los primeros catequistas de la misión. Todo esto, naturalmente, en las afueras de la ciudad. Sólo en 1902 pudieron edificar en el centro de la misma la Iglesia y la Casa-residencia.

Misión de Tzeli. — A seis leguas de Semen, remontando la corriente del río se encuentra la ciudad de Tzeli. La apertura de esta misión data de 1902, fecha en que el P. Benito González llega a Tzeli para tomar posesión de una casa que habían donado para Iglesia. Su primer misionero fué el P. Nicolás Puras, quien se hizo cargo de la misión en 1903. En la actualidad cuenta Tzeli con Casa-residencia, una Iglesia hermosa y amplias escuelas para niños y jóvenes de ambos sexos.

Es una de las misiones más extensas de nuestro Vicariato ; pero el número de sus habitantes no corresponde a la extensión superficial, por tratarse de un territorio excesivamente montañoso.

Misión de Tayung. — Fué la última ciudad del Vicariato abierta a la predicación evangélica, sin duda por la distancia que la separa de la Mision Central (Lichow) y de Tzeli, de las cuales dista 36 y 19 leguas respectivamente. Sin embargo, es la ciudad más grande y rica de todo el Distrito, y está situada a las orillas del rió Li-ho. Fué abierta a la predicación en 1914. Hizo concebir en un principio grandes esperanzas, pero la realidad fué muy diversa. En el mismo año (1914) edificaron los misioneros en un gran solar un oratorio provisional, escuelas y habitaciones para la servidumbre, y prepararon el sitio para construir Iglesia y Casa-residencia tan pronto como la exijan el número de fieles.

Cuenta esta misión con tres Visitas: *Hu-pin* (1918), *Yang-tse-po* y *Chia-tse-ya* (finales de 1924 o principios de 1925).

Misión de Anfu. — Dista esta ciudad seis leguas de Lichow. Fué abierta a la predicación el mismo año que la Misión Central. Fueron muchas las dificultades con que tropezaron los misioneros. Hasta 1920 la Casa-oratorio era una cosa miserable. Hoy cuenta con una Casa-residencia bonita y una Iglesia bastante amplia.

Tiene tres Visitas filiales con casa-oratorio propia: *Gao-san* y *Hokeu* (1914), y *Sin-gan* (1919).

Misión de Ansiang. — Está situada a 13 leguas de Lichow en la desembocadura del Li-ho. Fué abierta en 1905 por el entonces misionero de Nan-chow, P. Angel Carbajal, no sin vencer antes grandes dificultades por parte del mandarín y los principales del lugar. Al año siguiente fué nombrado misionero de Ansiang el P. Diego Carbajal, quien en un principio hubo de alojarse en una miserable casucha de paja. A fines de 1906 compró con el permiso de los Superiores un terreno donde comenzó a edificar la Casa e Iglesia tal como se encuentran hoy. La construcción es sencilla pero cómoda y elegante. La Iglesia mide 30 metros de largo por 12 de ancho, con tres naves sustentadas por columnas de madera (como casi todas las del Vicariato).

Las Visitas filiales son numerosas. Citamos como más interesantes por las enormes dificultades que presentó su fundación las de *Kuan-tang* y *Chaio-chi* con casa y oratorio relativamente amplios.

C) *Distrito de Yochow.* — Al hacernos cargo en 1879 del Vicariato de Hunan Septentrional quedaba excluído el distrito de Yochow. Diez años más tarde y a instancias del entonces Provicario Apostólico P. Saturnino de la Torre, la S. C. de Propaganda Fide unía de nuevo el distrito de Yochow a nuestro Vicariato por decreto del 7 de diciembre de 1889.

Su población rebasa los 2.500.000 habitantes.

Misión de Yochow. — Se halla situada la ciudad a la boca del gran lago Tungting y casi a orillas del Yang-tse-kiang, y es la llave del Vicariato. De ahí el afán de los primeros misioneros por abrirla cuanto antes a la predicación evangélica. Pero las dificultades fueron muchísimas y el odio de los enemigos no les permitió fijar residencia en la ciudad hasta después de muchas tentativas. El 30 de junio de 1890 consiguió el P. Agustín comprar un solar en las afueras de la ciudad. Enterados algunos principales quisieron torpedear el contrato, pero sin fruto, porque las autoridades comenzaban ya a favorecer al misionero. En 1899 es nombrado misionero de Yochow el P. Saturnino de la Torre. Viendo el buen Padre que el solar adquirido no ofrecía solidez para edificar Casa e Iglesia, compró otro terreno intra muros de la ciudad y en él levantó la mejor Iglesia de la ciudad en 1906, sólidamente construída a base de columnas de ladrillo y, con una espadaña esbelta y graciosa. Arquitecto de la

construcción fué el malogrado P. Agustín de la Paz. La Casa — la mejor también del Vicariato — es de un solo piso, pero grande, sólida y bonita. Posee además la misión amplias escuelas para niños (con honores de Colegio) levantadas en 1923, y donde — a partir de 1924 — se establecieron clases de segunda enseñanza. En la actualidad cuenta con más de 100 alumnos. A un lado y separadas de las anteriores fueron edificadas (también en 1923) espaciosas escuelas para niñas, frecuentadas por más de 80 alumnas.

Tiene la misión tres Visitas filiales: *Yui-si* (1901), *Sin-chiang* (1910) y *Chen-chia-lin* (1923). Las tres tienen casa china propia que sirve de residencia-oratorio.

Misión de Linsiang. — Visita esta ciudad por primera vez el P. Benito González en 1893 y logra adquirir una casa en el lugar llamado *Kuan-se-tuan*. Las dificultades fueron immensas durante los dos años siguientes, hasta que en 1895 el almirante francés M. Bayle zanjó la cuestión por las armas. En dicho año el P. Benito González adquirió un terreno en Yalan y edificó Casa-residencia e Iglesia. Desde allí se extendieron nuestros misioneros por todo el Distrito de Yochow, abriendo las misiones de Yochow, Sa-tan (1898), Yuin-si (1901) y por fin la de Lin-siang (1905), a donde más tarde se trasladó el misionero de Yalan y donde reside en la actualidad en una casa china que sirve de residencia y oratorio.

Tres son las Visitas filiales de la misión de Lin-siang: *Yalan* (de la que ya hemos hablado) con casa y oratorio y donde se halla el Cementerio para los misioneros ; *Sa-tan* (1898) con buena casa y una Iglesia dedicada a Santo Tomás de Villanueva edificada en 1910 ; y *Tao-lin* (1912) con buena casa y oratorio.

Misión de Niekiase. — Misión central, cuya Iglesia, dedicada a N. P. San Agustín, fué levantada en 1907. Su primer misionero fué el P. Agustín González. Cuenta con dos Visitas: *Yueu-tan* y *Yang-lo-se*, ambas pertenecientes a la jurisdicción de Lin-siang. Fueron abiertas en 1918 y 1919 respectivamente. La Casa de la misión central — edificada por el P. Vicente Municio — es de construcción sólida y elegante.

Misión de Huayong. — Misión ideal por los frutos obtenidos. En la actualidad cuenta con más de 2.000 cristianos, suma no alcanzada por ninguna de las otras misiones centrales. Por eso tiene bonita casa e iglesia dedicada a San José de la Montaña, y cuyas obras comenzaron con el año 1909. Entre las Visitas más interesantes citaremos las siguientes: *Wang-yu* (1910), *Lo-ka-chuei* (1918) y *Chu-*

tse-keu (1919), todas con casa y oratorio propios. Tiene además la misión hermosas escuelas para alumnos de ambos sexos edificadas en 1922.

Misión de Pinkiang. — Dista 20 leguas de Yochow. Es el último rincón del Distrito en recibir la Buena Nueva. Sin embargo, los frutos han sido abundantísimos. Es la misión que cuenta con mayor número de bautizados y de Visitas. Estas sumaban en 1925 más de 25, además de las tres Centrales de *Pinkian*, *Chan-shon-kai* y *Sien-chung*, con un total de 2.898 cristianos. En 1918 se inauguró la Iglesia, dedicada a Nuestra Señora de la Consolación, de construcción sólida y esbeltas torres, edificada bajo la dirección del entonces misionero P. Pedro Cerezal. La Casa, amplia y elegante, había sido construída antes por el P. Gerardo Herrero, hoy Obispo de Changteh.

Misión de Changshoukai. — Dista 10 leguas de Pinkiang. Fué abierta a la predicación en 1910. En 1924 fué inaugurada la Iglesia (de mampostería), levantada por el P. Lázaro Ramírez. Se distinguió siempre y sigue distinguiéndose hoy esta misión por sus escuelas concurridas por gran número de alumnos y preferidas a todas las del lugar.

Misión de Sienchung. — Fué abierta esta Central para aliviar en lo posible la carga de las demás Centrales del Distrito (1925). Su primer misionero fué el P. Feliciano Luis. Su principal Visita es *San-gan-chiao*. Tiene Casa-residencia con oratorio.

Santa Infancia. — Además de su preocupación por formar escuelas de primera y segunda enseñanza, obviar las dificultades de la lengua escribiendo Gramáticas (de las que es modelo la del P. Agustín González) [2]), y abrir escuelas para la formación de catequistas (que han merecido elogios calurosos como los de Mons. Mario Zanin en 1934) [3]) los misioneros Agustinos han dirigido su actividad apostólica hacía una obra que les ha valido el prestigio ante la historia y la Congregación de Propaganda Fide. Se trata de la fundación de Orfanatrofios. Se debe esta obra al celo y discreción del Ilmo. Sr. Vicario Apostólico, Mons. Luis Pérez. Trabajó y se sacrificó también por esta causa el P. Celedonio Martín. Le siguieron y secun-

[2]) HERRERO GERARDO, O. S. A., *Apostolado misionero de los Ermitaños de San Agustín en los tiempos modernos*, en « España Misionera » XI (Madrid, 1954), p. 343.

[3]) *Ibidem.*

daron los PP. Matías Chang y Abraham Martínez, director este último de la obra durante muchos años.

Todo marchaba según los deseos de los misioneros. Pero estos se dieron cuenta muy pronto de que algo faltaba en la obra: unas manos maternales que cuidasen, alimentasen y educasen a los centenares de niñas recogidas en los Orfanatrofios. Y efectivamente en 1925 arribaron al Vicariato las primeras religiosas españolas. Llamábanse Teresa Blanco, Tomasa Romá, Visitación Franco y María Magdalena Paredes.

El celo y la caridad de estas monjitas atrajeron bien pronto la simpatía de muchas jóvenes chinas que dieron bien pronto su nombre para religiosas. El 2 de julio de 1926 tomaron el hábito en Lichow 12 naturales, de las que aún persevera la mayor parte y hoy están llevando toda la carga de la obra, ya que las españolas fueron expulsadas por los comunistas chinos en 1951.

Las niñas recogidas en los Orfanatrofios aprenden letras, doctrina cristiana y diversas clases de costuras y bordados. Pero como las cualidades e inclinaciones de las niñas eran muy distintas y los misioneros comenzaron a sentir la necesidad de formar, no sólo buenas madres de familia, sino también buenas maestras que les ayudasen en su ministerio,pensaron en hacer algo más importante. Y así fundaron frente a cada Orfanatrofio una escuela de primaria donde las niñas con cualidades para el estudio podían recibir mayor instrucción. Ante la insuficiencia de estas escuelas se abrieron otras de segunda enseñanza. Y muy pronto tantos esfuerzos se vieron coronados con el excelente número de 12 maestras que hoy son instrumento indispensable del misionero.

Era francamente necesaria esta compensación para alentar el ánimo de los misioneros que no ragatearon nunca sacrificios ni privaciones en pro de las niñas abandonadas de China.

N B. — De propósito hemos omitido, al hablar de cada uno de los centros de misión con sus Visitas, las estadísticas particulares, con el fin de evitar la monotonía y reducir la paginación. Pero daremos aquí una relación esquemática, de comparación, de la obra llevada a cabo por los Agustinos españoles en China desde 1877 hasta 1947, fecha de la última « Relación » que obra en nuestro poder [4]).

[4]) A partir de 1947 no tenemos datos precisos sobre las misiones, porque la Revolución Comunista impidió casi totalmente la evangelización en toda China.

1) *Estado del Vicariato de Hunan Septentrional en 1879.*

Había solamente ... ... 45 cristianos.

2) *Estado general del Vicariato de Changteh en 1925-1926.*

Cristianos inscritos en el Catálogo ...	17.749
Catecúmenos	8.402
Cristiandades	108
Iglesias	33
Oratorios	125
Sacerdotes Agustinos españoles	31
Sacerdotes Agustinos chinos	1
Seminarios: Mayor	1
Menor	1
Bautismos adultos	956
Bautismos « in articulo mortis »	124
Bautismos hijos de cristianos	475
Bautismos hijos de paganos	3.345
Confesiones anuales	9.259
Confesiones de devoción	35.869
Comuniones anuales	8.210
Comuniones de devoción	102.125
Predicaciones a los fieles	13.147
Predicaciones a infieles	11.877
Confirmaciones	533
Matrimonios bendecidos	62
Matrimonios mixtos	46
Extremaunciones	226
Escuelas de niños	52
Escuelas de niñas	46
Escuelas inferiores	9
Escuelas superiores	2
Escuelas de bautizados y catequistas	1
Catecumenados para varones	1
Cetacumenados para mujeres	1
Difuntos	2.112
Orfanatrofios (MM. Agustinas)	1
Religiosas Agustinas españolas	4
Religiosas Agustinas naturales	9
Niñas recogidas en el Orfanatrofio ...	175
Niñas recogidas en casas de nodrizas	375
Recogidas durante el año	1.050

3) *Estado general del Vicariato de Changteh en 1947.*

Cristianos inscritos en el Catálogo ...	24.332
Catecúmenos	3.250
Cristiandades	113

Iglesias: Estaciones primarias		20	
Estaciones secundarias		90	
Sacerdotes agustinos españoles		29	
Sacerdotes chinos (Agust. y secul.) ...		25	
Monjas agustinas españolas		5	
Monjas agustinas chinas		7	
Seminarios: Mayor		1	
Menor		1	
Bautismos adultos		1.312	
Bautismos « in articulo mortis »		287	
Bautismos hijos de cristianos		953	
Bautismos hijos de paganos		5.750	
Confesiones anuales		13.157	
Confesiones de devoción		143.825	
Predicaciones a fieles		17.090	
Predicaciones a infieles		14.312	
Confirmaciones		1.057	
Matrimonios bendecidos		217	
Matrimonios mixtos		143	
Extremaunciones		521	
Escuelas de niños		19	
	con	296	alumnos
Escuelas de niñas		14	
	con	228	alumnas
Escuelas profesionales		3	
	con	75	alumnos
Escuelas de Propagandistas		1	
	con	15	var. y
		12	muj.
Escuelas « precum »		18	
	con	294	alumnos y
		235	alumnas.
Catequistas varones		75	
Catequistas mujeres		62	
Maestros: varones		27	
mujeres		26	
Administradores del bautismo: varones		17	
mujeres		19	
Farmacias		3	
Orfanatrofios		3	
	con	400	niñas.
Asilos para ancianos		2	
	con	90	ancianos.
Dispensarios		3	
Archicofradías religiosas: de la Consolación.			
del Buen Consejo.			
del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús.			
Apostolado de la Oración.			

Asociaciones de laicos: Acción Católica.
Obra Pontificia de San Pedro Apóstol.

4) *La amargura del destierro.* — Nuestras misiones habián vivido efemérides de paz y de gloria desde 1931 a 1937, fecha en que sobrevino la guerra entre el Japón y China. Ya entonces presintieron los misioneros las duras pruebas que la Providencia les reservaba. Pero todo las soportaron con resignación: hambre, destierro, pérdida de las cristiandades, abandono de sus fieles.

Pero lo que más ha lastimado su corazón y el corazón de la Orden y de la Iglesia ha sido la Revolución comunista. Su historia es sumamente interesante porque es la historia del destierro de todos los misioneros agustinos españoles.

Vicariato Apostolico de Iquitos

1) *Creación de la Prefectura Apostólica de Iquitos.*

El 1 de mayo de 1894 amonesta S. S. León XIII al episcopado peruano en los siguientes términos:

« Os amonestamos, Venerables Hermanos, y estimulamos vuestra caridad para que multipliqueis las santas expediciones cerca de los indios para que se aumenten los mensajeros de las misericordias que, voluntarios y gozosos, vayan como operarios a la mies del Señor; y que, sin oir a la carne y a la sangre, se hagan todo para sus hermanos para ganarlos a N. S. Jesucristo y llevar por entre bárbaros pueblos la cultura de la civilización y la suavidad de las costumbres, disipando las tinieblas de la ignorancia, para que al fin también ellos reciban, por medio de la fe, la muerte entre los Santos » [5]).

Las palabras del Augusto Pontífice tuvieron magnífica acogida en la noble nación peruana. Y uno de los grandes actuadores de estos santos deseos del Pontífice fué el entonces Obispo de Marcópolis, asesor de la « Asociación de la Propaganda de la Fe en el Oriente del Perú ». Sus inteligentes trabajos tuvieron un feliz resultado.

El entonces Presidente de la joven República del Perú, D. Nicolás Piérola, aprobaba, por el Decreto-Ley del 3 de mayo de

[5]) *Misiones Agustinianas* (Album recordatorio del Cincuentenario de la llegada de los PP. Agustinos a Loreto, 1901-1951), p. 5.

1899, la creación de las Prefecturas Apostólicas del Oriente peruano. Citamos a continuación sus determinaciones más principales sobre el particular:

a) « Establecemos tres Prefecturas Apostólicas en dichas regiones para la reducción de los infieles a la civilización por la fe católica ».

b) « Cada Prefectura Apostólica será confiada a una Orden Religiosa ; el Superior y cada uno de los misioneros serán designados por la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide ».

c) « La primera Prefectura será designada con el nombre de « San León del Amazonas » [6]).

Precisamente esta Prefectura, que lleva el nombre del inmortal Pontífice entonces reinante, fué la confiada a los Agustinos españoles de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, según Decreto libérrimo de la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide.

Hasta 1912 la extensión territorial de « San León del Amazonas » era de unos 300.000 km. cuadrados. El excesivo campo de acción, el número limitado de los misioneros para atenderlo dignamente, y otras muchas causas ajenas al celo e interés de los Agustinos crearon algunas dificultades graves, que obligaron al Gobierno Peruano a negociar en 1912 con la Congregación de Propaganda Fide [7]).

Después de una información escrupulosa y sopesadas todas las razones, dicha Congregación determinó reducir la jurisdicción de los PP. Agustinos, desmembrando de « San León del Amazonas » una segunda Prefectura, denominada « Prefectura Apostólica del Putumayo y el Caquetá », que fué encomendada a los cuidados de los PP. Franciscanos ingleses.

La proximidad del tiempo y el respeto nos obligan a guardar silencio acerca de las peripecias y causas variadísimas que motivaron el abandono de la Prefectura por parte de los citados Padres.

Ante este fracaso, la Sagrada Congregación vuelve a intervenir y son otra vez los Agustinos los designados para atender a sus antiguos fieles dispersos en los 300.000 kilómetros del territorio peruano. De entonces datan las famosas expediciones de los misioneros agustinos, quienes con enormes sacrificios y peligros de su vida, obtuvieron éxitos rotundos en la conversión de los « yaguas », « ti-

[6]) *Ib.*, p. 6.
[7]) *Ib.*, pp. 64-65.

cunas », « witotos » y otras muchas tribus acampadas entre los ríos Napo, Putumayo y Yavarí.

Reconocidos estos méritos de los Agustinos en favor de la fe y civilización del pueblo peruano, el Gobierno comenzó a trabajar ante la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide para que la Prefectura fuese elevada a un grado superior en la jerarquía eclesiástica.

Los trabajos del Gobierno peruano y de los Agustinos obtuvieron muy pronto su recompensa. S. S. Benedicto XV, por Decreto del 22 de enero de 1921, erigía la Prefectura en « Vicariato Apostólico de San León del Amazonas » y confería la dignidad de Obispo Titular de « Aucanda » *in partibus infidelium*, al entonces Prefecto Apostólico, Mons. Sotero Redondo.

Al mismo tiempo la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide volvía a insistir en la desmembración del Vicariato con el fin de acelerar la Evangelización de las tribus amazónicas y aliviar la excesiva carga de los misioneros agustinos.

Para ello se crea la nueva « Prefectura Apostólica de San Gabriel del Marañón » a cargo de los PP. Pasionistas españoles. Poco después, en 1922, se recortaba aún más el Vicariato, al ceder el Perú a Colombia algunos territorios de la Amazonía en virtud del tratado Salomón-Lozano. Una tercera y última desmembración llegó en 1945. El 13 de julio de dicho año S. S. Pío XII, por su Constitución apostólica « In Catholici Orbis » creaba la Prefectura Apostólica de « San José del Amazonas » a cargo de los PP. Franciscanos Canadienses, cuyo Superior, P. Laberge, ejerce su jurisdicción en las tierras comprendidas entre el río Napo, Putumayo, Yavarí y sus afluentes, siguiendo la margen derecha del Amazonas hasta el límite con el Vicariato Apostólico de « San Francisco del Ucayali » evangelizado por los PP. Franciscanos españoles.

Con esta tercera y última desmembración el actual « Vicariato de Iquitos » (no ya « Vicariato de San León del Amazonas ») queda reducido a emos 90.000 kms. cuadrados, con una población aproximada de 70.000 habitantes, de los que la mitad residen en la misma ciudad de Iquitos, y el resto en pequeños pueblos o núcleos urbanos casi siempre separados entre sí por muchos kilómetros.

2) *Estado actual del Vicariato de Iquitos.* — Estudiando la actividad espiritual del Vicariato podemos dividir sus focos de irradiación en parroquias y centros de misión. Las parroquias se reducen a cinco: tres en Iquitos — S. Juan Bautista o Iglesia Matriz,

Santo Cristo de Bagazán y la Inmaculada en Punchana — y dos en Nauta — San Felipe y Santiago.

Los centros de misión son más numerosos y exigen más cuidados por las distancias que los separan y los peligros de viaje. Podemos reducirlos a los siguientes: Misión del rio Momón ; Misión de Santa María (río Nanay) ; Misión de Santa Rosa (río Itaya) ; Misión de la Inmaculada (río Amazonas) ; Misión de San Salvador-Omaguas (río Amazonas) ; Misión de San Regis (río Marañón) ; Misión de San Joaquín (río Amazonas) ; Misión de la Inmaculada (río Marañón) y Misión de río Tigre.

La diversidad de Credos podemos sintetizarla en la forma siguiente: De 900 a 1000 protestantes, pertenecientes a tres o cuatro sectas ; un centenar de judíos y unos 500 infieles. El resto es católico. El mérito de los misioneros agustinos resalta aún más comparando las escasas limosnas de los fieles, el coste elevado de vida, el modesto número de operarios, las grandes dificultades aumentadas por las exageradas distancias de los centros de misión con las visitas continuas y esmeradas de los misioneros y los progresos en las ciencias y en la religión y la construcción de escuelas e Iglesias.

El cuadro sinóptico que copiamos a continuación dice mucho en favor de los resultados obtenidos en los últimos años de misión:

Año	*Misionero visitador*	*Lugares*	*Duración cada viaje*
1942	P. A. Villarejo	Napo-Curaray	2 meses
	P. C. Gómez	Dsto. Sargento Lores	1 mes
	P. A. Villarejo	Tigre-Corrientes	3 meses
	P. F. Calle	Caballococha-Pevas	2 meses
1943	P. J. Quintana	Dsto. Sargento Lores	1 mes
1944	P. S. Treceño	Yanashi-Orosa	2 meses
	P. I. Barrio	Napo-Pantoja	3 meses
	P. A. Villarejo	Amazonas-Yavarí	1 mes
	P. E. Valles	Caballococha-Pevas	3 meses
	P. I. Barrio	Aguarico-Yashuni	1 mes
	P. B. Martínez	Marañon-Sumiria	1 mes
	P. S. Treceño	Dsto. Sargento Lores	1 mes
	P. I. Barrio	Napo-Curaray-Conaco	2 meses
	P. C. Gómez	Río Itaya	1 mes
	P. B. Martínez	Río Nucuray	1 mes
1945	P. I. Barrio	Aguarico-Yashuni-Arcada	2 meses
	P. E. Valles	Nanay-Momón	8 días
	P. I. Barrio	Pantoja-Iquitos	5 meses
	P. E. Valles	Nanay y afluentes	4 meses

	P. E. Valles	Iquitos-Caballococha	3 meses
	P. J. Almeida	Caballococha - Río Castilla	1 mes
	P. S. Treceño	Iquitos-Tanshiyacu	9 días
	P. J. Quintana	Dsto. Sargento Lores	1 mes
	P. I. Barrio	Pantoja-Iquitos	1 mes
	P. J. Almeida	Iquitos-Putumayo	2 meses
	P. I. Barrio	Iquitos - Cabo Pantoja	1 mes
1946	P. J. García	Nanay	15 días
	P. I. Barrio	Pantoja-Aguarico	4 meses
	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Iquitos	1 mes
	P. E. Valles	Iquitos-Yavarí	4 meses
	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Tigre	2 meses
	PP. N. Alonso e I. Barrio	Iquitos-Caballococha, para entrega de la Misión a los PP. Canadienses	2 meses
	P. I. Barrio	Iquitos-Nanay	1 mes
	P. I. Barrio	Dsto. Sargento Lores	2 meses
	P. N. Alonso	Iquitos-Porvenir	1 mes
	P. I. Barrio	Iquitos - Pantoja, para entrega de la Misión a los PP. Canadienses	15 días
	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Iquitos	1 mes
	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Marañón	3 meses
1948	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Marañón	2 meses
	P. A. Luis	Iquitos-Itaya	2 meses
	P. J. S. Abad	Iquitos-Momón	18 días
	P. B. Martínez	Nauta-Tigre	2 meses
	P. I. Barrio	Iquitos-Itaya	2 meses
1950	P. J. Almeida	Nanay-Momón	1 mes
	P. B. Martínez	Marañón-Samiria	3 meses

El esquema anterior presenta argumentos contundentes en favor de la labor religiosa, cívica y moral de los religosos agustinos en tierra de la Amazonía. Como la exposición de todos estos viajes fluviales sería una cosa muy prolija nos contentaremos con poner en escena la figura heroica del penúltimo Vicario Apostólico de Iquitos, Mons. José García Pulgar, Obispo titular de Botrys [8]). Su

[8]) Mons. José Garcí Pulgar había nacido la mañana jubilosa del 26 de mayo de 1892 en Pajares del Puerto (Asturias - España). El 26 de agosto de 1907 tomaba el hábito de San Agustín en el Colegio de Valladolid y el 27 del mismo mes de 1908 emitía su Profesión de Votos Simples. En 1915 profesaba de Solemnes en el Colegio Teologado de la Vid (Burgos) y el 24 de marzo de 1917 recibía la ordenación sacerdotal en Oviedo. Destinado a Colombia, ejerció el ministerio sacerdotal en las Parroquias de Soledad y Facatativá de 1917 a 1921, y de 1921 a 1924, respectivamente. Posteriormente las rudas tareas del Profesorado en el Colegio de San Agustín de Lima (Perú), del que fué Director y Sub-

vida es una gesta de hazañas que poco a poco fueron minando su cuerpo y agigantando su espíritu. El cuadro que a continuación trazamos no es más que un andamio de datos históricos:

Mons. García Pulgar tomaba posesión de su Vicariato el 28 de julio de 1942. El 20 de septiembre del mismo año inauguraba ya sus giras misionales por el río Napo hasta Santa Clotilde, para inaugurar y bendecir la Capilla de la « Colonia Agrícola » y administrar el sacramento de la Confirmación a los indígenas que encontraba a su paso. Un mes más tarde navegaba por aguas del Amazonas hasta Caballococha girando la Sante Visita Pastoral. La visita fué interesantísima y provechosa, y los pueblos enclavados en ambas márgenes del río sintieron la fragancia de sus virtudes y la simpatía de su persona.

El 2 de octubre del 43 inicia un recorrido de largo kilometraje visitando el Putumayo y sus afluentes hasta tocar los límites de Colombia y el Ecuador. Sencillamente 68 días de viaje en lancha y canoa. Su celo apostólico no omitió pueblo alguno sin su presencia y en todos administró los sacramentos, distribuyó limosnas, dió alientos a los pusilánimes, y como última labor recogió también ejemplares de gran valor etnográfico para su colección, que el tiempo convertiría en museo.

En marzo del 44 gira su primera visita pastoral a Nauta. El 24 de junio viaja a Tanshiyacu con el fin de asistir a la solemnísima fiesta del Patrono, Santiago Apóstol, y administrar el sacramento de la confirmación a varias personas.

El 5 de junio de 1945 llega por segunda vez hasta Caballococha en visita pastoral, después de 40 días de viaje. El 3 de diciembre del mismo año repite su visita pastoral a lo largo del Napo hasta Negro-Urco. Esta vez le acompaña el P. Ismael Barrio. El Sr. Obispo

director, trabajaron su vida durante 17 años — desde 1924 hasta agosto de 1941 — fecha en que la Santa Sede le nombró Obispo titular de Botrys y Vicario Apostólico de San León del Amazonas de Iquitos (Perú).

El 5 de julio de 1942 fue solemnemente consagrado Obispo en la S. I. Metropolitana de Lima, cuando contaba 50 años redondos, sanos y macizos, en plena madurez física y moral. Desde entonces agotó su vida robusta, como las montañas de su tierra, en una labor fecunda de apostolado y martirio. El viento helado de la última tarde de enero nos metió en el alma el frío de su ausencia. Ausencia, « que significa una pérdida irremediable para la Orden y para la Iglesia entera ». Humilde como él, la nota decía sencillamente: « Lima 31 de enero. Mons. Pulgar Ha Fallecido. Descanse en Paz ».

invierte 14 días empleado en administrar bautismos, confirmaciones y en estudiar las costumbres de los « witotos » y « orejones ».

El 13 de enero de 1946 se ausenta de sus queridas misiones para viajar a Roma acompañando al Arzobispo de Lima, Mons. Juan Gualberto Guevara y hacer la visita « ad limina ». El 13 de marzo de 1947 regresa a Iquitos después de una visita a España y Estados Unidos.

El 4 de agosto de 1948 llega de nuevo a Nauta acompañado del franciscano canadiense P. Emilio Turgeon, del agustino P. Nicolás Alonso y del pintor D. Ernesto Berningsen. El 17 de enero siguiente se traslada a Lima para tomar parte en la Segunda Conferencia Episcopal. El 1 de mayo emprende un tercer viaje a Nauta, con el fin de bendecir algunas imágenes y administrar sacramentos.

Pero su viaje record lo inicia en septiembre del mismo año cuando gira la santa visita pastoral por todo el Marañón hasta el Nucuray, empleando cuatro meses en tareas auténticamente apostólicas.

Más tarde viaja a Nanay con el P. Jesús García para bendecir la nueva Capilla de Santa María.

Omitiendo otros pormenores sobre la actividad apostólica de Mons. José García Pulgar creemos que la historia sabrá apreciar los sacrificios del ilustre Prelado y los de sus colaboradores, en favor de las buenas costumbres, de la sana cultura y de la verdadera religión.

Pero si los sacrificios han sido abundantes y a veces penosísimos, queda airosa la verdad de los hechos. De momento nos limitamos al campo espiritual en los 15 últimos años.

Para asegurar su cosecha espiritual, amasada con sudor y a veces con lágrimas y sangre, los misioneros han recurrido a prácticas buenas y aprobadas por la Iglesia, y que particularmente en el Vicariato de Iquitos han servido para fomentar la piedad y caridad cristianas. Me refiero a las Asociaciones Religiosas, que en la actualidad están rindiendo opimos frutos. Citamos solmente las principales.

1) *S. Corazón de Jesús y Apostolado de la Oración.* — Al fundarse la Asociación era Prefecto Interino el P. Miguel San Román, quien aprobó con sumo gusto su erección el 19 de julio de 1914. Mons. Sotero Redondo la reconoció como canónica, con Estatutos propios, el 8 de Junio de 1923. El 1 de Noviembre de 1925 fue agregada al « Apostolado de la Oración de Roma », expidiéndose al mismo tiempo el correspondiente Diploma. Sus fundadores no se

apartaron ni un ápice siquiera de la mente de la Iglesia y de las prácticas convenientes al fin específico de la Asociación. Sus miembros prestan hoy generosa ayuda en la formación catequística y en diversas actividades de carácter social-religioso. El número total de miembros desde su fundación hasta hoy ha sido de 1.048.

2) *Hijas de María.* Comenzó a funcionar esta Asociación el 30 de noviembre de 1919, siendo Vicario Apostólico Mons. Sotero Redondo. Actualmente cuenta con 229 miembros de la juventud femenina que busca en esta Asociación el amparo de su pureza. El 19 de enero de 1921 es agregada a la Asociación Central de Roma por decreto del Superior General de la misma. Del 29 de noviembre al 10 de diciembre de 1944 celebráronse diversos y solemnes actos commemorativos del 25 aniversario de su fundación, recogidos todos en un magnífico « Album recordatorio ».

3) *Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación y Correa.* — Fué el P. Senén Fraile Tejedor el fundador de esta Cofradía netamente agustiniana. Se inscriben las primeras socias el 28 de septiembre de 1924. Desde la fecha de su fundación hasta hoy funcona regular y progresivamente con un número elevado de miembros.

4) *Caballeros de la Vera-Cruz.* — El P. Valeriano Rivero quiso abrir un camino más al apostolado entre los hombres mediante el culto al « Lignum Crucis » y demás misterios de la Pasión. Inmediatamente pensó en la erección canónica de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz con la aprobación del Superior competente. Una y otra vez lo solicita, hasta que definitivamente el 15 de septiembre de 1937 queda canónicamente establecida la Cofradía, con estatutos propios, pero con actividades muy limitadas. La Asociación aportó alientos y medios económicos al tratarse del ornato de la Iglesia Matriz, adquiriendo uno de los « Vitrales » durante el gobierno del Sr. B. Gregorio Alonso.

5) *Cruzada eucarística.* — Es una Asociación de jóvenes creada con el fin de difundir el culto al Santísimo Sacramento del Altar mediante la confesión y comunión frecuentes. Es relativamente moderna, y su organizador fué el P. Nicolás Alonso, quien obtuvo de Mons. García Pulgar, entonces Vicario Apostólico, la erección canónica en la misma fecha de su fundación — 2 de febrero de 1942 —. Funciona solamente en la Cuasi-Parroquia del Santo Cristo de Bagazán.

6) *Hermandad del Santo Cristo de los Milagros.* — Es la Asociación que mejor encarna el espíritu de una antiquísima tradición

peruana, o mejor dicho, limeña. Mons. José García Pulgar aprobó su erección y Estatutos el 25 de octubre de 1947. Funciona bajo la dirección del Cuasi-párroco de la Iglesia Matriz de Iquitos. Integran la Hermandad varones y mujeres y sus socios aumentan considerablemente de año en año.

7) *Cofradía del Perpetuo Socorro.* — Su erección canónica data del 6 de noviembre de 1950. Esta Cofradía comenzó a funcionar ya en 1917, pero sin la aprobación del Prelado, según documentos que obran en el Archivo de la Vicaría Apostólica. El P. Claudio Bravo Morán pidió el 24 de noviembre de 1940 la agregación de esta Archicofradía a la de Lima. No existe ya actualmente, pero son muchos en Iquitos los devotos de la Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro.

8) *Talleres de Santa Inés.* — Es una Institución de beneficencia. Confecciona ropas y distribuye alimentos entre los necesitados. Componen la Asociación las ex-alumnas y alumnas de las MM. Franciscanas Misioneras de Iquitos. Son innumerables los pobres socorridos desde 1933 hasta la fecha.

9) *Niño Jesús de Praga.* — Pertenecen a esta Asociación los niños de ambos sexos. Fué erigida canónicamente por Mons. Sotero Redondo el 6 de julio de 1925, a instancias de las madres cristianas de Iquitos. Fin de la Asociación es inculcar en los niños el amor a Jesús Niño. Y frutos excelentes son la práctica frecuente de la confesión y comunión, la asistencia a la Santa Misa, y al Catecismo. Comenzó con 71 miembros y hoy cuenta con 356. El número total de miembros desde la fecha de fundación es de 1.797.

10) *Acción Católica Peruana.* — Merced a los trabajos de Mons. Sotero Redondo iniciaba sus tareas la « Acción Católica de Damas » el 21 de mayo de 1929. Diez años más tarde — el 5 de agosto de 1939 — autorizaba al P. Claudio Bravo Morán el establecimiento de las cuatro Ramas. Sus actividades son comunes a las de la Acción Católica universal. Hoy funcionan las dos ramas de mujeres y la de jóvenes. La falta de varones para constituir una rama de hombres hace que esta rama no exista en ninguna de nuestras parroquias.

Otra de las preocupaciones primordiales de los misioneros ha sido la enseñanza del Catecismo. Para obtener un mayor rendimiento espiritual los Agustinos de Iquitos han redondeado la formación religiosa de sus fieles, incrementando la actividad catequística en sus diversas formas.

a) *Catequesis dominicales.* — Los catequistas inmediatos son los mismos misioneros ayudados por las MM. Franciscanas Misioneras de María y 65 catequistas seglares. Funcionan en total 14 centros, cinco de los cuales están encomendados a catequistas laicos suficientemente preparados e intruídos a tal fin. De estos centros, 7 son frecuentados por los niños de Iquitos con una asistencia anual media de 1.800 alumnos ; 1 por las personas adultas de la ciudad con un promedio de 250 asistentes habituales ; y los otros 6 están fuera de la ciudad, y a ellos acuden más de 600 alumnos de ambos sexos.

b) *Catequesis escolares.* — Además de la enseñanza catequística impartida ininterrumpidamente en los 14 centros dominicales, funcionan en la actualidad 88 escuelas fiscales elementales con un total de 11.914 alumnos. Los Padres regentan 28 de los 88 centros citados, quedando el resto a cargo de personal autorizado.

c) *Catequesis misionera.* — Aquí no podemos hablar de matrículas. Son alumnos todos los habitantes de los pueblos visitados por los misioneros. Al hablar de los centros docentes de la Misión en los que habitualmente se enseña el Catecismo, excluímos naturalmente los dos Colegios de enseñanza media, la Escuela Politécnica, y los Colegios de instrucción primaria y secundaria regentados por los mismos misioneros agustinos, ni dos centros catequísticos para soldados bajo la dirección de los PP. Capellanes respectivos.

Para un aprovechamiento efectivo en la Catequesis se han editado más de 70.000 Catecismos para dos grados, y desde 1945 se han distribuído más de 55.000 ejemplares, lo que nos hace suponer que no hay familia católca sin Catecismo.

3) *Labor cultural de los PP. Agustinos en Iquitos.* — Desde el primer momento de su llegada a Iquitos y con el fin de llevar al infiel una evangelización auténtica, los misioneros agustinos trataron de unir a la administración de sacramentos e instrucción religiosa la competencia científica dirigida a educar la inteligencia y encauzar la vida social.

a) *Creación y mantenimiento de escuelas.* — El nivel cultural de Iquitos en 1901 — fecha de llegada — era francamente desconsolador. Según el entonces Prefecto Apostólico, P. Paulino Díaz, el atraso de la raza india era tal que no dudaba en afirmar que solamente el uno por mil sabía leer y escribir. No se podía decir lo mismo de los de raza blanca y mixta en cuanto a la cultura ;

pero en lo tocante a religión estaban a poca más altura que los indios, hasta el punto que era rarísimo quien sabía recitar bien el Símbolo.

El remedio de aquel estado lamentable de cosas a base de una campaña intensiva de estudio y sacrificio era un problema dificilísmo y casi insoluble. Era necesario comenzar por lo más fácil y a la vez lo más interesante: la educación de los niños. Por eso los primeros misioneros inicaron sus tareas apostólicas abriendo escuelas de primera enseñanza para blancos, indios y mestizos, no sólo en Huabico y Pevas, sino en todos los centros misioneros, siempre que las circunstancias lo permitían.

Esta iniciativa de los misioneros encontró franca simpatía en los padres de familia que mandaban libre y gustosamente sus hijos a las escuelas de los religiosos. Pero no se hizo esperar la campaña antireligiosa que pretendía torpedear las tareas educativas de los agustinos. Hubo sus choques más o menos fuertes, hasta que por fin llegó el momento de la ruptura definitiva.

La primera impresión (casi general) afectó vivamente al prestigio de los misioneros que fueron multados con la cantidad de 50 soles por determinación del Inspector de Instrucción del Concejo Municipal, que alegaba como razón de la pena la falta del permiso correspondiente para abrir escuelas. El Superior de la Comunidad Agustiniana no trató naturalmente de evadir la ley, y después de pagar la multa impuesta, solicitó la competente autorización, autorización que le fué negada en sesión del 16 de marzo de 1905.

Realmente predominaron criterios mezquinos entre las autoridades de la ciudad de Iquitos al negar su apoyo para una misión tan alta como la religioso-cultural, llevada a cabo por hombres que no buscaban intereses personales.

En un principio la campaña antirreligiosa ganó muchos partidarios pero el tiempo y el éxito de los misioneros se encargaron de esclarecer el ambiente entenebrecido. Poco a poco los padres de familia fueron compulsando friamente la labor educacional de los misioneros, que volvieron a ganar las simpatías de toda la ciudad.

Y la nota más destacada en todo este drama desconcertante nos la dió la conducta seguida por el principal jefe de la oposición, quien terminó por mandar a sus hijos a uno de los Colegios más acreditados de Lima: precisamente al de los Agustinos.

Sólo los números nos pueden dar una prueba exacta de lo reali-

zado por los misioneros agustinos de Iquitos en el campo cultural. Cincuenta años de magisterio con un total de más de 6.000 alumnos salidos de sus aulas son el testimonio más fuerte contra aquellos que negaban competencia y moralidad a los frailes y les consideranaban incluso como un peligro para la República.

Pero el celo de los misioneros llegó más lejos todavía. Sus cuidados penetraron también en las necesidades y miserias de la mujer, rodeada de inmensos peligros. Se imponía, pues, una educación seria y positiva. Para la realización de un cometido tan sumamente delicado nada mejor que una Congregación Religiosa. De ahí la llamada urgente y la respuesta decidida de las MM. Franciscanas Misioneras de María.

Ya en 1903 el P. Paulino Díaz hablaba con calor de este problema capital: « Si en todas partes del mundo son útiles y hasta necesarios tales modelos de virtud, aquí son absolutamente indispensables ; y si hasta ahora me abstuve de hacer indicaciones respecto a un asunto de tan vital interés, fué porque, considerando las grandes dificultades con que tropezaba, los desembolsos que un establecimiento de esta índole demanda — al menos por ahora —, estimo imposible realizarlo » [9]).

Pasaron los años, y hasta aumentaron las dificultades, pero los misioneros no olvidaron las sugerencias del P. Paulino Díaz.

En 1921, gracias al celo de Mons. Sotero Redondo, llegaban a Iquitos las MM. Franciscanas Misioneras de María. Estas religiosas, con una virud a toda prueba, han conseguido copiosos frutos en la formación de la mujer loretana y en la transformación del ambiente moral, mediante la instrucción primaria con que comenzaron sus tareas de apostolado hasta llegar a la Media, Normal e Industrial, que hoy mantienen con éxito creciente.

Los resultados han sido magníficos: Más de 7.000 alumnas han pasado por las aulas del « Colegio del Sagrado Corazón », con un bagaje de formación científica y religiosa que las hace beneméritas de la Iglesia y de la Patria.

¿ Faltaba aún más en la mente y en los deseos-realidad de los misioneros agustinos ?

Iquitos no tenía aún Colegio-Seminario para la formación de los aspirantes al sacerdocio. Y esta era una ilusión ideal en conso-

[9]) *Missiones Agustinianas* (Album recordatorio del Cincuentenario de la llegada de los PP. Agustinos a Loreto, 1901-1951), p. 52.

nancia con las normas y deseos de la Santa Sede sobre el problema del clero indígena.

Indudablemente esta ilusión miraba hacia dilatados horizontes, ya que nadie mejor que los naturales podían iniciar sus tareas evangélicas con una seguridad cierta de frutos opimos, gracias al conocimiento del carácter, costumbres e idiomas de sus hermanos.

Con estas miras, y pese al mal ambiente poco propicio para fomentar vocaciones religiosas, el P. Claudio Bravo Morán abrió un Seminario en Iquitos donde recibirían educación religiosa y científica los jóvesnes que se sintiesen llamados al estado sacerdotal. Y fueron precisamente los Agustinos los primeros en dar a la Amazonía dos sacerdotes nacionales. Comentando su ordenación escribía la Revista « Verdades cristianas » en su número del 14 de enero de 1951 : « Loreto tiene ya dos Padres Agustinos de la misma sangre que la nuestra ; dos mediadores entre Dios y los hombres, que, con sacrificios y oraciones, atraerán sobre nosotros las bendiciones del cielo ; dos heraldos de Cristo, que llevarán a las inteligencias más necesitadas la luz del Evangelio, y al corazón del pobre y del enfermo la paz y el consuelo que proporcionan los auxilios de nuestra sacrosanta Religión ».

« Valientes jóvenes loretanos ! Loreto os aclama y felicita porque habeis roto viejas creencias y antiguas tradiciones ; habeis dado un rotundo mentís a todos aquellos que, escudándose demasiado en los factores del clima, ambiente, americanismo, y otros por el estilo, pretendían que no era posible que de nuestra región saliesen sacerdotes y religiosos. Vosotros y los demás compañeros loretanos que muy pronto os seguirán en el sacerdocio habeis demostrado de una vez para siempre que, al igual que el limeño, español y canadiense, el loretano puede llegar al sacerdocio cuando sabe responder al divino llamamiento ; cuando sabe dar a su vida un tono heroico y deja sentir en su alma nobles y santos ideales » [10]).

b) *Publicaciones culturales.* — Los viajes de los misioneros de Iquitos han contribuído grandemente a un estudio más o menos detallado de la Amazonía, y sus trabajos han sido aportaciones muy valiosas a la geografía, etnografía, lingüística, historia y demografía del Vicariato.

[10]) *Ib.*, pp. 68-69. Los dos primeros sacerdotes loretanos son P. José Santillán Rengifo y Antonio Vázquez López. Recibieron el sacerdocio en la Catedral de Lima el 23 de diciembre de 1950.

Frecuentemente sus estudios han pasado a formar parte de Revistas de renombre, como « España y América », « Anales de la Propagación de la Fe en el Oriente Peruano », « Misiones Católicas », « España moderna », « Mundo Agustiniano », « Boletín Geográfico », « Memorias del Ministerio del Culto », etc., folletos, periódicos, y variedad de artículos que merecieron atención por la facilidad de la pluma de sus autores, y por la profundidad de conocimientos en los diversos temas estudiados.

A modo de síntesis destacamos las contribuciones principales: La Geografía y Cartografía está agradecida al informe y croquis anexo sobre el curso del río « Yahuas » debido a la experiencia personal del P. Plácido Mallo. La « Sociedad Geográfica de Lima » estimó de sumo interés esta aportación, ya que inmediatamente ordenó su incorporación al mapa general de Loreto.

Lo mismo digamos de los estudios del P. Avencio Villarejo, y de una manera especial del mapa anejo a su obra « Así es la selva », en el que da una minuciosa información sobre el curso, longidud y orientación de diversos afluentes de los principales ríos del Vicariato.

En la parte etnográfica, además del citado libro del P. Villarejo, merece especial mención la obra del P. Lucas Espinosa « Los Tupí del Oriente Peruano », fuente preciosa de información sobre el origen, usos, tradiciones y costumbres de casi todas las tribus que actualmente habitan el territorio de la misión.

Su interés por los diversos pueblos que evangelizaban indujo a los misioneros a no abandonar las cosas a una simple observación, y de ahí su preocupación por coleccionar todo el material que más tarde pudiera servir de argumento perenne para la historia. Fruto de esa preocupación son las diversas preciosidades típicas que se conservan en Lima, y en varios museos nacionales y extranjeros, muy especialmente en el « Museo Misional de PP. Agustinos Filipinos de Valladolid » (España).

Mons. José García, no satisfecho con estas coleccones particulares, y llevado de su amor a las ciencias naturales, empleaba sus ratos de ocio en coleccionar y clasificar apoyado en sus profundos conocimientos los diversos materiales etnográficos, especies vegetales, animales y minerales de toda la región amazónica, que nos pueden dar una idea aproximada de lo que es la selva.

Lástima que ni el Gobierno de Lima, ni el Municipio de Iquitos hayan alentado estos entusiasmos del Prelado construyendo un edi-

ficio adecuado para Museo, que sin duda hubiese llamado la atención de los estudiosos e investigadores.

En el campo lingüístico volvemos a insistir en la citada obra del P. Lucas Espinosa. Especialistas en la materia han reconocido sus méritos. y esperamos que en la nueva edición que el autor prepara aporte nuevos y desconocidos datos sobre el particular.

También la historia de Loreto ha tenido entre los misioneros sus aficionados e investigadores. Citamos los nombres del P. Bernardo Calle y de los PP. Laurentino Alvarez, Claudio Bravo Morán y Mons. Sotero Redondo, ya que con sus trabajos podemos reconstruir la historia de las tribus amazónicas y la monografía del Departamento de Loreto. Trabajo exhaustivo sobre la historia de nuestras misiones es la obra del P. Senén Fraile « Breva reseña histórica de la misión agustiniana de Loreto ».

4) *Una institución benemérita: La Pía Unión de Bienhechores de las Misiones del Vicariato Apostólico de Iquitos* (*M. Agustinianas*).

El problema económico fué siempre una de las primeras y más acuciantes necesidades de las misiones agustinianas. No hay que decir que los misioneros no escatimaron recursos e iniciativas para vencer estos incovenientes.

Sus hermanos Agustinos de Lima cooperaron siempre con afán de superioridad, creando en la Iglesia de San Agustín de Lima un centro de apostolado y ayuda a las misiones del Oriente Peruano. El Prefecto Apostólico de Iquitos tenía siempre en Lima un representante, el primero de los cuales fué el P. Eustasio Esteban, quien consagró enteramente su tesón y su espíritu al servicio de esta misión. Con los PP. de San Agustín de Lima trabajaban los de los Colegios de Lima, Santa Rosa de Chosica y Chancay, enviando limosnas y haciendo propaganda por medio de la Revista « El Buen Consejo ».

Pasan los años y con ellos aumentan las aspiraciones. El 28 de octubre de 1927 comienza a funcionar en el Convento de San Agustín de Lima un « Centro Misionero Agustiniano » con el fin — dicen los Estatutos — « de cooperar con espíritu de celo y caridad cristiana a favor de las misiones del Vicariato Apostólico de San León del Amazonas ».

Mons. Sotero Redondo, primer Vicario Apostólico — espíritu dinámico y apostólico — fué su fundador.

Poco tiempo después este Centro con sus Estatutos propios era aprobado por el Arzobispo de Lima, Mons. Emilio Lisson, por decreto del 29 de noviembre de 1927.

El Centro Misional dejó de funcionar el 27 de mayo de 1930 por renuncia de su Directiva. Así pasaron los años hasta que el 22 de julio de 1942, previa convocatoria hecha por Mons. José García Pulgar, Vicario Apostólico de San León del Amazonas, volvieron a reunirse diversas personalidades de Lima entre las cuales se encontraban algunos miembros de la Primera Directiva. La reunión tuvo lugar en el Salón de la Exposición Misional Agustiniana del Colegio de San Agustín. Todos convinieron en la necesidad de reorganizar el antiguo Centro. Y efectivamente la antigua Asociación volvió a revivir con el nombre de « Pía Unión de Bienhechores de la Misiones Agustinianas del Vicariato Apostólico de San León del Amazonas », bajo la advocación y patrocinio de la Virgen del Buen Consejo.

Por la última desmembración del Vicariato y en conformidad con la Constitución Apostólica del 13 de julio de 1945, los Superiores se vieron obligados a cambiar el titulo de la organización, por el de « Pía Unión de Bienhechores de las Misiones Agustinianas del Vicariato Apostólico de Iquitos », conforme al cánon 707 y al decreto de aprobación del 29 de noviembre de 1927.

La Pía Unión está canónicamente establecida en el Convento de San Agustín de Lima. Su fin específico consiste en ayudar con oraciones, sacrificios y limosnas a las misiones agustinianas del Oriente Peruano, pero sin menoscabo de las « Obras Misionales Pontificias » para ayuda de las Misiones de la Iglesia universal.

Todo lo recaudado durante el año se envía al Superior Eclesiástico del Vicariato, para ser invertido en las necesidades más urgentes, salva siempre naturalmente la voluntad de los donantes.

Está integrada por tres clases de socios:

a) *Socios activos.* — Se necesita la inscripción como tal y la contribución de una cuota mensual, trimestral o anual voluntaria, rezando diariamente a la Virgen del Buen Consejo, Patrona de la Pía Unión, tres Avemarías con la jaculatoria: « Madre del Buen Consejo, ruega por nosotros y por nuestros misioneros » (300 días de indulgencia).

b) *Sección infantil.* — Fomenta el amor de los niños a las Misiones en el hogar, en el colegio, en la escuela, en la parroquia,

etc., amor que se patentizará en oraciones, sacrificios y limosnas por sus hermanitos los niños de la Montaña del Oriente Peruano.

c) *Socios cooperadores.* — Se inscriben como tales, comprometiéndose a ayudar a las misiones económicamente, pero sin obligaciones espirituales. La ayuda de la Asociación merece todo encomio, y su aportación hasta el presente ha sido generosa, como lo prueban lo Boletines que anualmente edita la Junta de Bienhechores en favor de las misiones de Iquitos.

Al celebrarse el Cincuentario de las Misiones Agustinianas componían la Directiva de la Pia Unión las siguientes personalidades: *Director*: R. P. Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda (hoy Vicario Apostólico de Iquitos) ; *Sub-director*: R. P. Baudilio Montes ; *Asesor*: El direrctor de la Pia Unión del Buen Consejo ; *Presidenta*: Sra. Fausta I. de Gastañeta ; *Vice Presidenta*: Sra. Angélica Gildemeister de Osma ; *Tesorera*: Sra. Laura R. de Asín de Salazar Alarco ; *Secretaria*: Sra. Teresa Almenara de Anderson ; *Pro-Secretaria*: Srta. Teresa Anderson. *Vocales*: Sras. Anita Lecca de Narváez, Carmen Souza de Badani, Zoila Rojas de Donayre, Rosa Esther B. de Arosemena, Clementina Menacho de Morey, María Oyanguren de Boza, Elvira A. de Ballén, Carlota de Gavilano, Angela T. de González, Emilia de Ferradas, Srtas. Carmen Rosa Almenara, Rosa Mercedes Gurtiérrez, Lucy Barton, Lucía del Aguila y María Luisa Montori.

5) *La gratitud de un pueblo.* — Las autoridades de Iquitos se dieron perfecta cuenta de que el 1951 significaba una fecha cumbre para las misiones agustinianas. Se cumplián entonces los 50 años de la llegada de los primeros misioneros. De todas partes surgían con anticipación sugerencias, atenciones, programas destinados a llenar un deber de gratitud que los iquitenses llevaban muy dentro del alma. Los misioneros agustinos aceptaron todas las propuestas y se dejaron querer. Fieles a sus programas y a su misión, se concretaron a los cultos religiosos commemorativos de tan fausto acontecimiento. Las autoridades y el pueblo todo de Iquitos se encargó del resto, que fué nutrido en actuaciones: Sesión del Concejo Provincial de Mayna, con su Adhesión simpática y un Homenaje caluroso ; Sesión del « Centro de Periodistas del Oriente Peruano » ; Velada de Gala en el Teatro de Alhambra ; múltiplas adhesiones del Magisterio de Maynas ; adhesiones de las diversas Instituciones religiosas ; de los Clubs Deportivos, y la variadísima colaboración de excelentes plumas en la Prensa diaria de Iquitos y de Lima.

a) *Actuaciones religiosas.* — Copiamos a continuación el Programa de las mismas:

Actos commemorativos del Cincuentenario de la llegada de los PP. Agustinos a Loreto. (Programa)

Actuaciones religiosas:

Primera Semana misional (13-21 de octubre de 1951).

En las Cuasiparroquias de Bagazán, Punchana y Belén.

Todos los días: Mañana: Santa Misa y plática misional.

Tarde: Santo Rosario, Plática, Exposición y Bendición con el Santísimo.

En las Escuelas: Instrucción catequística a los escolares para prepararles a la Comunión General que tendrá lugar en la « Plaza de Armas » el día 25 de octubre.

El 21 Comunión para los fieles en las citadas Iglesias.

Capilla de Belén: Aparte de los actos comunes arriba indicados tendrán lugar los siguientes especiales:

El 13 por la tarde Procesión solemne desde la Iglesia Matriz trasladando la Cruz Misional con la reliquia del Lignum Crucis.

El 21 por la tarde solemne Procesión desde la Capilla de Belén a la Iglesia Matriz trasladando la Cruz Misional con la reliquia del Lignum Crucis.

Segunda Semana Misional. — (21-28 de octubre de 1951).

En la Iglesia Matriz. — Todos los días en la mañana Misa con instrucción catequística. En la tarde: Santo Rosario, Novena del Señor de los Milagros, sermón docrinal, Exposición y Bendición con el Santísimo.

Día 21. — Comunión a los reclusos. Desayuno A. C.

Día 25. — Comunión general de escolares. Desayuno.

Día 26. — Comunión de la Cofradía del Corazón de Jesús y fieles.

Día 27. — Comunión de la Hermandad del Señor de los Milagros, Caballeros de la Vera-Cruz y fieles.

Día 28. — Comunión de la A. C. y fieles.

Día 28. — Misa Pontifical. Solemne « Te Deum ». Asistencia Oficial.

En la tarde: Santo Rosario, Novena del Señor de los Milagros, Sermón y Procesión Solemne.

Los resultados de este programa fueron estupendos. Por decreto vicarial del 12 de octubre de 1951, Mons. José García Pulgar mandaba celebrar juntamente con la commemoración del Cincuentenario

el Año Santo Jubilar extensivo a todo el mundo por deseo de S. S. Pío XII. A este fín disponía dos Semanas Misionales (según hemos visto) invitando a todos a que cooperasen con su asistencia al realce de los actos que iban a celebrarse y declarando Iglesia Jubilar la de Belén.

Su previsión falló en este caso, pero santamente. Ocho días más tarde, es decir el 20 del mismo mes, Mons. se complacía en escribir que se sentía en la necesidad de prolongar la fecha establecida para ganar el Jubileo, y añadía: « Por el presente declaramos la Iglesia Matriz de San Juan Bautista de Iquitos y la de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación completamente Jubilares, en forma que, en cada una independientemente, puedan cumplirse las cuatro visitas requeridas para ganar el Santo Jubileo desde el día 21 del corriente hasta el próximo 13 de noviembre, festividad de Todos los Santos de la Orden Agustiniana, y fecha también commemorativa del nacimiento del Gran Padre y Doctor de la Iglesia, San Agustín ».

b) *Actuaciones cívicas.* — El 28 de julio de 1951 aparecieron dos artículos en el diario local « El Eco ». El primero, intitulado « Por los valores eternos de la Patria » era de Mons. José García Pulgar, y el segundo « Medio siglo d Misión Agustiniana en Loreto » estaba firmado por B. Gregorio y Alonso.

Estos dos artículos despertaron un fogonazo de entusiasmo que cuajó en la determinación de celebrar actos sin cuento de adhesión cívica, sugerencia que los ex-alumnos del Colegio de Iquitos hicieron suya en la reunión del 28 de agosto. Inmediatamente comenzaron a organizarse las Comisiones: un « Comité Central » y tres « Sub-Comités Auxiliaires ». En Concejo Provincial de Maynas abrió la ruta con su primera sesión cívica en la que rindió homenaje y adhesión a los Misioneros Agustinos, como expresión de cariño y gratitud de todo el pueblo Iquitense. Transcribir todo el Acto, tal como lo hace « La Razón », sería demasiado largo (aunque en verdad interesante). Nos limitamos, pues. a transcribir el Acta de la Sesión Solemne, acordada por unanimidad el 23 de octubre de 1951, según Oficio n. 989 del 24 del citado mes a la Presidencia del Comité Central:

« ... Su referida comunicación ha sido contemplada en sesión ordinaria anoche, habiendo acordado la Comuna de mi presidencia, en forma unánime, *Adherirse a los actos commemorativos de dichas*

efemerides con la celebración de una Sesión Solemne en la que se *entregará un pergamino* a la benemérita *Corporacion Agustiniana...* ».

Y en el Pergamino quedaron estampados para siempre los nombres de las Autoridades Iquitenses como prueba de una gratitud eterna que solo un pueblo unido puede expresar en la persona de sus dignas Autoridades.

Por demás brillantes resultaron también la Velada de Gran Gala en el Teatro de la Alhambra, y la Velada Literario-Musical de los Exalumnos del Colegio de Iquitos.

c) *Colaboraciones literarias.* — Se necesitarían muchas más páginas para poder presentar siquiera una síntesis de lo publicado en la Prensa local sobre la acción religiosa, cultural y cívica de los misioneros agustinos durante los 50 años pasados. Citamos algunos: « Medio siglo de Misión Agustiniana » por B. Gregorio y Alonso ; « Marcha-Himno » por un exalumno ; « Viñeta artística » ; « Los agustinos de ayer y de hoy », por el P. Arsenio Aníbarro ; « Plegaria Espiritual »; « El Señor de los Milagros y la Virgen de Fátima », por el P. J. S. Abad ; « El perro bombilla » por Carlos Arévalo, exalumno ; « Nuevo éxito musical » ; « Da a Dios lo que es de Dios y al César lo que es del César » y « Homenaje de recordación » por B. Gregorio y Alonso ; « Estampas de la Selva — Congratu lación a los PP. Agustinos », por Daniel Guzmán Cepeda ; « Dos cartas, un recuerdo y un homenaje », por Luis Alfonso Navarro Cáuper ; « Por los valores eternos de la Patria », de Mons. José García Pulgar, etc.

Estadística de Sacramentos administrados durante las cinco Décadas del Cincuentenario (Promedio anual, dichas sumas dividida por 10)

Años	*Bautismos*	*Confirmaciones*	*Matrimonios*	*Comuniones*
Década 1901-11	3.999	5.225	640	4.129
Década 1911-21	8.437	5.949	706	49.269
Década 1921-31	21.043	9.331	1.596	199.973
Década 1931-41	31.466	12.575	1.555	284.780
Década 1941-51	43.584	13.771	3.854	401.400

Resumen de la labor misionera (1951)

Baustismos	108.529
Confirmaciones	46.851
Comuniones	939.551

Matrimonios	8.351
Alumnos Colegio « S. Agustín » (1908-1951)	3.942
Alumnas Colegio « Sagrado Corazón » (1921-1951)	8.038
Prefectos Apostólicos	4
Administradores Apostólicos	2
Vicarios Apostólicos	2
Promovidos al episcopado	3
Sacerdotes	56
Hermanos de Obediencia	6
Murieron en la misión	6
Martirizados por los indígenas	2
Españoles	59
Peruanos	2
Filipinos	1

Todos han hecho vida anónima ya en la ciudad, ya en los ríos, cumpliendo en silencio su deber heroico.

N. B. — Esta historia sucinta de las Misiones Agustinianas de Iquitos llega sólo hasta 1951.

Prelatura de Jataí (Goias) — Brasil

Situación. — Se halla situada al SO. de Goiás. Limita al N. con Goiana, capital del Estado ; al S. y E. con Minas Gerais, y al O. con Matto Grosso. Eu altura sobre el nivel medio del mar oscila entre los 700 y 800 metros. El clima es casi siempre caluroso en general. La superficie total es de 87.000 kms. cuadrados, con una población aproximada de 120.000 habitantes.

La Prelatura del Espíritu Santo de Jataí, desmembrada de la Diócesis de Goiás, fué creada el 21 de junio de 1929 por la Bula « Sollicitudo quae in omnes » de S. S. Pío XI, y entregada a la Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de España, que tomó posesión de ella el 28 de abril de 1931.

Fué nombrado Administrador Apostólico el R. P. Germán Vega Campón, agustino de dicha Provincia, el cual recibió la Consagración episcopal el 1 de junio de 1941.

Mons. Germán Vega Campón nació el 11 de octubre de 1878 en Amusco provincia de Palencia (España). Cursó sus estudios de Filosofía y Teología en el Seminario diocesano de Palencia. Y en la Pontifia Universidad de Burgos (España) obtuvo el grado de Doctor en Sagrada Teología.

Ordenado sacerdote, regentó como cura ecónomo varias parroquias de la diócesis de Palencia y más tarde ganó en concurso la de Baltanás donde permaneció hasa 1915. Llamado por Dios a un estado de mayor perfección ingresó en el Noviciado de PP. Agustinos del Monasterio de la Vid, emitiendo sus votos temporales el 3 de abil de 1917. Emitió su profesión solemne en el Colegio de Bilbao, donde permaneció hasta 1920. Desde este año hasta 1923 fué misionero en Iquitos (Perú), viéndose luego en la necesidad de regresar a España por motivos de salud. Desde esta fecha hasta 1928 vivió como conventual en Gijón, pasando luego a Uclés, para volver como Superior de Gijón en 1929. Renunció a este cargo por indicación del entonces General de la Orden, Rdmo. P. Eustasio Esteban para trasladarse a Pavía (Italia) donde le cogió el nombramiento de Administrador Apostólico de la Prelatura de Jataí de la que se había hecho cargo la Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de España. Tomó posesión el 28 de abril del mismo año y el 1 de junio de 1941 era consagrado Obispo en la Iglesia Matriz de San Agustín de San Pablo (Brasil).

Mons. Vega Campón trabajó siempre por su Prelatura con un afán enorme, una voluntad de hierro y un espíritu ascético que ha impresionado siempre a todos los que le conocen y ven.

Por renuncia de Mons. Germán, fué nombrado Administrador Apostólico el Obispo Auxiliar de Goiana, Mons. Abel Ribeiro Camelo, quien tomó posesión de la Prelatura el 8 de mayo de 1955.

Años antes, en junio de 1951, por determinación expresa de la S. Sede, la Prelatura había sido encomendada a los PP. Agustinos de la Provincia de Castilla (España). Acualmente son doce los PP. que trabajan en la Prelatura, a saber: PP. Manuel Prieto, Eleuterio de la Peña y Antonino Fernández, residentes en Jataí; PP. Matías Boñar, Mario Díez y César Rodríguez, residentes en Río Verde; PP. Luis Valbuena, Jaime Robles y Fernando Martínez, residentes en Caiaponia; PP. Maximino López y Miguel Ferreras, residentes en Mineiros.

Cuatro son las parroquias de la Prelatura: *a*) Jataí, sede del Administrador Apostólico; *b*) Río Verde, a 108 kms. de la sede; *c*) Caiaponia, a 140 kms.; *d*) Mineiros a 150 kms.

a) *Parroquia de Jataí.* — La superficie de la jurisdicción de Jataí alcanza unos 32.000 kms cuadrados con una población de 31.000 habitantes, distribuídos en seis Municipios y Distritos.

La parroquia, cuyo titular es el Divino Espíritu Santo, fué creada por ley Provincial del 17 de agosto de 1864. Comenzó a ser administrada independientemente como parroquia agustiniana el año 1940. Además de la Iglesia Matriz, cuenta en la ciudad con la Capilla del Ex.cmo Prelado donde se administra todos los domingos el sacramento de la Confirmación.

La Iglesia está actualmente bastante deteriorada, y es incapaz para dar cabida a las multitudes que casi ordinariamente frecuentan sus cultos. Se espera la solución de un problema tan angustioso con la construcción de la Catedral, que está ya muy adelantada.

La Iglesia de Jataí es a su vez centro de irradiación, pues cuenta con seis Capillas principales distribuídas por todo el territorio: *Aporé*, a 180 kms. de distancia ; *Cassú*, a 130 ; *Itaruma*, a 160 ; *Lagoa*, a 250 ; *Sao Joao*, a 230 ; y *Serranópolis*, a 90 kms.

Ciertamente las distancias entre las Capillas y el centro son enormes y además los medios de comunicación resultan insuficientes. El vehículo ordinario para atender a estas poblaciones es el automóvil, si bien a veces resulta imposibles por falta de caminos. Porque hay que advertir que en toda la Prelatura no hay ni trenes ni carreteras dignas de tales nombres. Medio de traslado urgente para grandes distancias es también el avión. Y para ciertos lugares sólo pueden servir las caballerías.

El movimiento espiritual de la parroquia se acentúa cada día más. En 1941 el número de Comuniones alcanzaba a 10.000 sin contar las administradas en la Capilla del Sr. Obispo, y esto en una población de 3.000 almas. Pero este movimiento ha crecido considerablemente en los últimos años y las cifras de administraciones son francamente consoladoras. Damos un esquema de 1954:

Bautismos	1.120
Confirmaciones	810
Matrimonios	200
Confesiones	7.800
Comuniones	20.500,

cifra que ha duplicado la de 1941.

Un medio estupendo para mantener y aumentar la fe y el amor a la religión lo han encontrado los PP. en la erección de diversas Asociaciones religiosas, aptas para todas las ambiciones espirituales y conformes con toda clase de apostolado recomendado por los Obispos y la Santa Sede. Son varias las Asociaciones que existen

en la parroquia de Jataí. No hacemos más que nombrarlas: « Apostolado de la Oración », con buen número de socios ; « Pía Unión de Hijas de María » ; « Congregación Mariana Masculina » ; « Cruzada Eucarística », para niños de ambos sexos, cuyo fin es promover la Confesión y Comunión frecuentes ; « Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación » agregada a la de Roma ; « Talleres de Santa Rita » y « Visita Domicilaria de Santa Rita ».

Los Talleres de Santa Rita celebran todos los años con gran solemnidad la Navidad del pobre, fecha en que reparte gran cantidad de ropas alimentos y dinero, ademas del reparto periódico de cada mes.

Dentro de la parroquia se están llevando a cabo alguna obras interesantes. Han construído una casa capaz para albergar a diez Padres, con salones misionales, Biblioteca y Talleres de Santa Rita. Los PP. se han preocupado también de levantar algunas Capillas en los campos, a los que frecuentemente hacen excursiones misionales para dar aliento y consuelo a las pobres almas abandonadas. Junto con el trabajo espiritual en favor de la Parroquia de Jataí, los PP. se han encargado de proveer a las necesidades intelectuales de sus fieles, creando a este fin centros de enseñanza católica que preparen a los hombres a la lucha contra los males que les amenazan, particularmene por parte de protestantes y espiritistas que abundan bastante en la Prelatura.

En Jataí mantienen una escuela parroquial con 100 alumnos matriculados. Además los PP. dan clase de religión en diversos Grupos escolares, escuelas particulares, Gimnasios del Estado, etc. Enseñan otras asignaturas en su Colegio parroquial y en el de Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo, que cuenta en la actualidad con unas 400 alumnas.

Existen en la ciudad dos Grupos escolares, un Gimnasio del Estado, Gimnasio y Escuela Normal a cargo de las MM.Agustinas, una Escuela de Comercio, una Escuela Normal regional y un grupo escolar dirigido por Protestantes, amén de varias escuelas particulares para enseñanza primaria.

Tiene también la ciudad un Hospital dirigido por Religiosas Franciscanas de nacionalidad italiana.

b) *Parroquia de Río Verde.* — Fué creada en 1845 y su titular es Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Su jurisdicción alcanza unos 25.000 kms. cuadrados, con una población de 52.000 habitantes

distribuídos en seis municipios. En la sede de la parroquia existen dos Iglesias, una de la cuales es de construcción totalmente moderna (inaugurada el 22 de mayo de 1955) y está dedicada a Santa Rita de Casia. Lo mismo que Jataí, Río Verde es centro de irradiación sobre otras cinco capillas distribuídas en el territorio, a saber: *Quirinópolis*, a 120 kms. de la sede ; *Mateira*, a 170 ; *Cachoeira Alta*, a 140; *Montevidiu*, a 60; *Santa Elena*, a 48 kilómetros.

Todas estas Capillas son atendidas mensualmente desde Rió Verde (alguna cada dos semanas). Los viajes a las Capillas se hacen casi siempre en automóvil, si bien a veces resulta muy difícil por encontrarse los caminos en forma intransitable, especialmente en tiempo de lluvia. La mayor parte de los habitantes vive en los campos, siendo muy difícil el atenderlos debidamente por las enormes distancias y la escasez de medios de comunicación adecuados, ya que en muchos lugares no se puede usar más medio de locomoción que el caballo.

Un 95 por ciento de la población es católica, aunque, debido a la gran ignorancia e indiferencia religiosas, son relativamente pocos los que practican. Además hay que añadir el trabajo diabólico de las sectas protestantes, espiritistas y masónicas, que siembran la confusión, el indiferentismo y alejamiento de los deberes religiosos.

Actúan en la perroquias con bastante vitalidad las siguientes Asociaciones religiosas: « Apostolado de la Oración » ; « Pía Unión de Hijas de María » ; « Congregación Mariana Masculina » ; « Cruzada Eucarística » ; « Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación » y « Talleres de Sa. Rita de Casia », que socorren a un buen número de pobres.

Además de las fiestas litúrgicas, que se celebran con bastante solemnidad, últimamente han alcanzado gran relieve tres acontecimientos religiosos: la visita de la imágen de Nuestra Señora de Fátima, que resultó apoteósica bajo todos los aspectos ; la celebración de una Semana Mariana ; y una Semana Eucarística, con programas de cultos religiosos solemnes y sesiones de estudios en las que tomaron parte activa elementos seglares. Su fruto espiritual fué consolador.

En Noviembre último celebraron las fiestas Centenarias del Nacimiento del Gran Padre San Agustín con un Triduo solemne y una Velada Literario-musical.

Los PP. hacen frecuentes excursiones a los campos para dar misiones. Además de las notables reformas llevadas a cabo en la Iglesia parroquial, Capillas, etc., ha sido levantada recientemente una Iglesia en honor de Santa Rita de Casia con el fín de atender mejor a una zona distante de la Iglesia parroquial. Los misioneros tienen en proyecto la construcción de un Colegio regentado por Religiosas, ya que el mismo Ayuntamiento de Río Verde ha donado generosamente los terrenos.

Mantiene la Parroquia una Escuela parroquial con una matrícula de 300 alumnos y una Escuela Normal para formación de Profesoras. Esta última está subvencionada y reconocida por el Gobierno. Los Los PP. dan además clases de Religión en diversos Grupos escolares y escuelas particulares y también en el Gimnasio del Estado.

La Parroquia ha organizado además un Círculo de Estudios, con Estatutos propios, para levantar la cultura religiosa. Los socios se reúnen semanalmente y bajo la orientación de los Padres estudian temas religiosos, plantean cuestiones, resuelven objeciones, etc. El Círculo — que lleva el nombre del Gran Padre San Agustín y cuenta hoy con buen número de socios — está organizando una Biblioteca propria.

Ha salido ya a luz pública un periódico, fundado por la Parroquia o, mejor dicho, por los PP. de la Prelatura, cuyo título es *Roteiro* (Ruta). Su finalidad es la difusión de la buena Prensa contribuyendo a la cultura y orientación religiosa en esta región donde la ignorancia es espantosa.

Parroquia de Caiaponia. — Caiaponia — antiguamente llamada Río Bonito — es la parroquia más extensa de la Prelatura. Tiene aproximadamente unos 40.000 kms. cuadrados con una población de 30.000 habitantes, distribuídos en cinco municipios y distritos, a saber: *Aragarcas*, a 165 kms. de distancia de la sede ; *Baliza*, a 180 kms. ; *Bom Jardim*, a 125 kms. ; *Pirahnas*, a 75 kms. A pesar de su enorme extensión, está muy poco poblada. La ciudad de Caiaponia tiene alrededor de 2.000 habitantes.

Es francamente laudable la actividad desplegada y los éxitos alcanzados por los PP. Agustinos en Caiaponia. La Iglesia Matriz es sin duda la mejor de la Prelatura, gracias a los trabajos de los religiosos por enriquecerla y adornarla debidamente. Ultimanente han levantado la casa parroquial, en la que han puesto todo su

dinero y su entusiasmo. En su construcción han trabajado los PP. Camilo Solanas y Ramón Pérez.

El nivel espiritual de Caiaponia va subiendo visiblemente. Se necesita, sin embargo, un celo y una constancia a toda prueba para obtener frutos dignos en estos naturales, cuya vida espiritual está fuertemente influenciada por resabios de paganismo.

Los PP. han levantado un salón parroquial junto a la Iglesia Matriz para conferencias religiosas.

Cada una de las poblaciones anteriormente citadas tiene su Capilla. Las de Pirahnas y Bom Jardim han sido construídas por los misioneros, quienes remozaron también la de Baliza. La de Agaracas fué levantada por la « Fundación Brasil Central », entidad del Gobierno.

La parroquia tiene también una escuela regentada por los mismos PP. Agustinos.

Parroquia de Minerios. — Es la menos extensa de todas las de la Prelatura. Su extensión alcanza unos 12.000 kms. cuadrados con una población de 10.000 habitantes. Tiene bajo su jurisdicción las siguientes Capillas: *Santa Rita de Araguia*, a 72 kms. de la sede ; *Matrinchan*, a 108 kms. ; y *Córrego de Porteira*, a 36 kms.

Los PP. Agustinos pusieron todo su empeño en atender la parroquia como se lo merecía. Su primer Vicario, el P. Narciso Nerva, trató de poner remedio a un estado lamentable de cosas. El P. José A. Montaña reconstruyó la Iglesia, que amenazaba ruina, y la adornó con dos altares laterales, amen de otras reformas importantes en el presbiterio. Su sucesor, el P. A. Gregorio y Alonso, concluyó la reconstrucción de la Iglesia Matriz y adquirío varias imágenes para la misma. Con estos trabajos ganó mucho en decencia la Iglesia Matriz de Minerios que hoy es una de las mejores de la Prelatura. Una vez arreglada y ultimada la Iglesia, se pensó en la construcción de una Casa Parroquial, pues la que habitaban los PP. entonces era muy incómoda y estaba casi en ruinas. Efectivamente fué levantada una nueva Casa-residencia, bonita y cómoda, por frente de la Iglesia. Fué obra del P. Teódulo Asensio Roales.

Junto a estos avances materiales, los religiosos se entregan con entusiasmo a las tareas espirituales, francamente difíciles por hallarse bastante tarado el ambiente moral-religioso. Sin embargo, es consolador ver cómo los fieles van poco a poco avanzando en la

frecuencia de sacramentos, asistencia a misa los domingos y fiestas de precepto, días en que la Iglesia se llena materialmente de hombres precisamente, lo cual prueba que los trabajos de los religiosos no caen en tierra ingrata.

Actualmente e halla en construcción la nueva Iglesia parroquial, cuyas obras están llegando a su término: será la mejor de la Prelatura. Las Capillas de Córrego de la Porteira y de Matrinchan son también de construcción reciente. La Parroquia mantiene una escuela parroquial.

Hay que advertir también que en todas las parroquias citadas hasta aquí funciona un servicio de altavoces para instrucción y propaganda católica.

P. Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez, O. E. S. A.

Valladolid.

Irish Augustinian Mission in Nigeria *)

Introduction

On Sunday evening 22 January 1940 three cramped, travel-stained and very weary Augustinians reached Yola, the centre of the British Administration of the Province of Adamawa, Northern Nigeria, British West Africa. The three friars, all members of the Irish Province, were Frs. Anthony Dalton, Berchmans Power and Gabriel Broder (an Englishman). They discovered on arrival that all available accommodation at the Station was occupied. They had no choice then but to move their belongings into the so-called ' Catholic Church '. Here they made their ' Headquarters ' for almost a week. This ' Church ' was nothing more than a rectangular hovel measuring 30′ × 15′ with grass-mat ' walls ' and a grass thatched roof.

The story of that Mission really commences in 1936. On August 6 of that year the newly elected Provincial of the Irish Province, Very Rev. Thomas Cooney, wrote to Archbishop Riberi,

*) Sources for the history of the Mission are fairly abundant. Much interesting matter will be found in the quarterly publication of the Irish Province, *Good Counsel*, ii- (July-September 1938-). There is a very useful article by Rev. F. X. Martin, O. S. A., in *Tagastan*, vii (1944) 142-52, entitled ' The African venture '. Another article in the same journal (xi, Summer, 1948, 12 sqq.), ' The white man's tomb ', by Very Rev. Carlos Vicuna, O. S. A., ex-Ass. Gen., also deals with the subject. I have been able to use the indispensable Irish Provincial African files and a MS contemporary account of the vital years 1940-3, written in Nigeria by the first Superior of the Adamawa Mission and now Prefect Apostolic of Yola, Monsignor Dalton, O. S. A. The monthly *Augustinian Mission News* (May, 1949-), issued by the Irish Province, contains invaluable information and up to date news of the Mission. A very helpful report on the Mission by Fr. A Garman, O. S. A., covering the period May 1939 - September 1948, was published in *Good Counsel*, v (October-December, 1948) 15-23.

Apostolic Delegate to British Africa, informing him of the decision of the Provincial Chapter to send priests to do missionary work in Africa. The names of Frs. Luke Maddock and Berchmans Power were suggested as pioneers for the Mission [1]). As nothing transpired from this communication Fr. Cooney then wrote on November 14 to Fr. García, Procurator-General of the Order, asking him to petition Propaganda for a mission-field in either East or West Africa, as those regions seemed the most suitable and practicable for Irish foreign missionaries [2]). In his letter Fr. Cooney briefly indicated the following reasons for seeking a pagan mission for the Irish Province: 1) to answer the call of Pope Pius XI for missionaries to pagan lands; 2) the missionary spirit of the professed students and young priests of the Province ; 3) a marked increase in the number of postulants enabled the Province to seek further fields for missionary activity. Father García approached Propaganda and Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi replied thanking him most graciously for the offer made by Father Cooney [3]).

In April 1937 Archbishop Riberi visited the Prefecture of Jos, Northern Nigeria, staffed by the S. M. A. Fathers. During his visit Dr. Riberi referred to the offer of the Irish Augustinians and suggested the Province of Adamawa as a suitable territory for their new mission. During the same year Father Cooney, O. S. A., was away from Ireland on visitation of Irish Houses in Australia. On his way home he stopped at Rome and wrote to Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi on Dec. 21, stating that the Province was prepared to accept any Mission assigned by the Cardinal. He also mentioned that two Fathers were already in Southern Rhodesia, gaining experience in the Vicariate of Bishop Chichester, S. J., Salisbury [4]). The two priests were Frs. Luke Maddock and Berchmans Power, who sailed from London, accompanied by four Jesuits, on 15 October 1937.

On 9 February 1938 Propaganda wrote to Fr. Cooney, stating that Archbishop Riberi had been asked to select some English governed territory for the Irish Augustinians. He had accordingly chosen an area comprising parts of the Province of Adamawa per-

[1]) Copy of letter in Irish Provincial Archives (Nigeria).

[2]) Copy of letter in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

[3]) S. Con. Prop. Fide, N. 4247/36 (30 November 1936). Copy in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

[4]) Copy of letter in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

taining to the Jos and Benue Prefectures, as well as sections of the British Cameroons hitherto under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Buea and the Vicariate of Karthoum. In this latter area (British Cameroons) no missionary work had yet been done. The territory entrusted to the Irish Augustinians was stated to contain 33,765 sq. miles, a population of 658,000 of which almost a third (205,000) resided in British Mandated territory — an area of 11,115 sq. miles. The Irish Augustinians would have as Ordinary, Monsignor Lumley, S. M. A., Prefect of Jos [5]).

Fr. Cooney on February 23 placed before his Definitory the proposal received from Propaganda, which was formally accepted [6]). Propaganda ratified the decision on April 30, and in a letter to this effect Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi expressed his profound appreciation of the step taken by the Irish Augustinians. He also stated that the new missionaries would be subject to the jurisdiction of the Prefect of Jos until such time as the Mission was sufficiently developed to warrant erection as a Prefecture [7]). All was now set for the departure of the first Irish Augustinians to Nigeria ; and on October 12, Frs. D. B. Redmond (Superior), A. Dalton and G. Broder sailed from Liverpool. After disembarking at Lagos — the main port of Nigeria — they travelled 700 miles north-east to Jos which they reached on November 2. There the three friars were joined by their confrère Fr. Power in January 1939. He had travelled from Southern Rhodesia, but his companion Fr. Maddock, who had already done some twenty years of mission work in Australia (1915-36), failed to pass a medical test and was forced to abandon the idea of going to Nigeria.

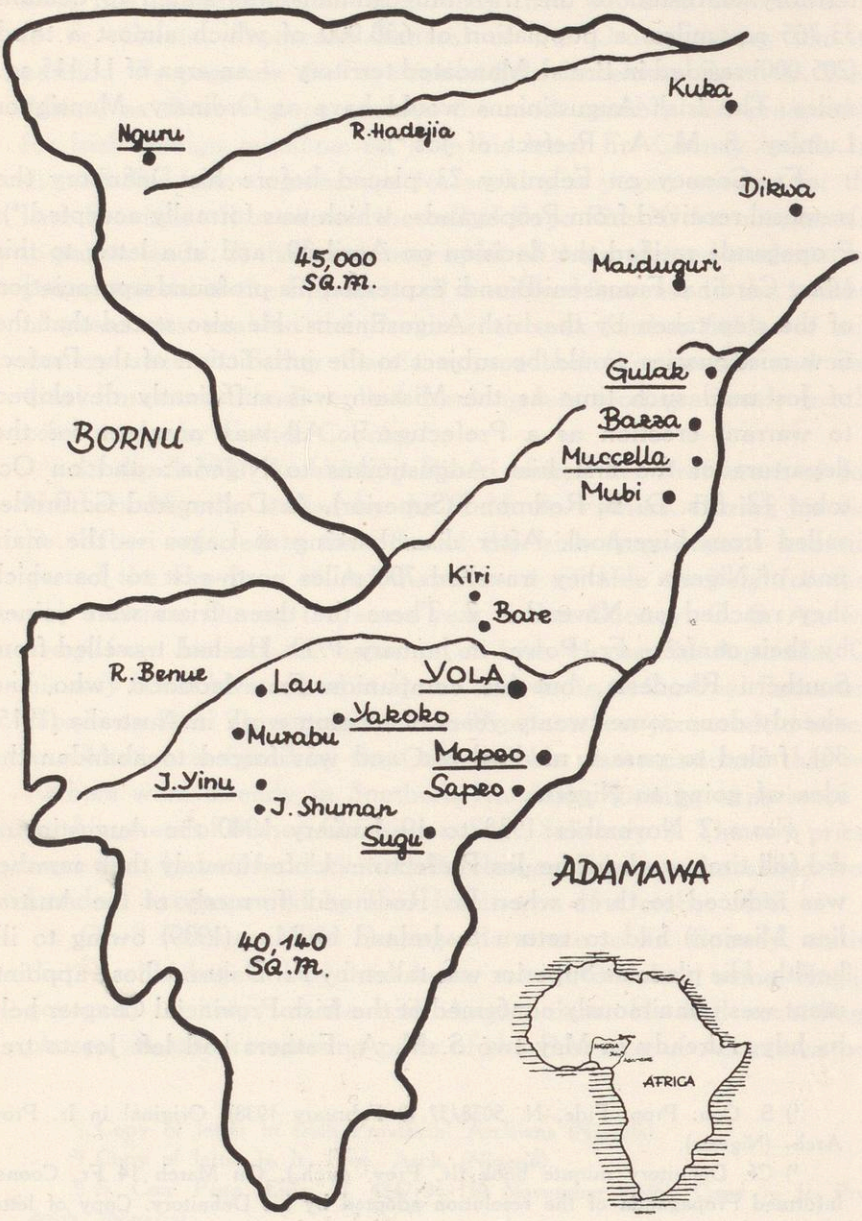
From 2 November 1938 to 19 January 1940 the Augustinians did full time work in the Jos Prefecture. Unfortunately their number was reduced to three when Fr. Redmond (formerly of the Australian Mission) had to return to Ireland in May (1939) owing to ill-health. His place as Superior was taken by Fr. Dalton whose appointment was unanimously confirmed at the Irish Provincial Chapter held in July. Already in May two S. M. A. Fathers had left Jos to trek

[5]) S. Con. Prop. Fide, N. 5038/37 (9 February 1938). Original in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

[6]) Cf. Definitory minute book (Ir. Prov. Arch.). On March 14 Fr. Cooney informed Propaganda of the resolution adopted by his Definitory. Copy of letter in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

[7]) S. Con. Prop. Fide, N. 1106/38. Original in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

Augustinian Missions in Nigeria - Africa



N. B. — Central Mission Stations are underlined.

Adamawa with a view towards selecting the most suitable sites for the Augustinian mission. Sugu and Boi were eventually chosen and government approval was sought. Boi was rejected, but in September permission was granted to start a mission at Sugu. The way now lay open and on 19 January 1940 Frs. Dalton, Power and Broder set out for Yola to take over formally the territory assigned to the Irish Augustinians by the Holy See.

To form a realistic and balanced appraisal of the Irish Augustinian effort in Nigeria it is essential to take into account the actual locale, the people, the influence of Mahommedanism and the progress made by non-Catholic sects. These factors, which cannot possibly be treated here with the attention they merit, constitute to a greater or lesser degree obstacles in the way of missionary work in most parts of North Africa ; but their impact is particularly felt in Adamawa — ' the Benjamin of the Missions, last in time and poorest in inheritance '. Moreover, the fact that the foundation year coincided with the outbreak of World War II must be borne in mind when one essays to measure the progress or, as the case may be, lack of progress made by the Irish Augustinians in Adamawa.

Adamawa

The Province of Adamawa, British West Africa, lies roughly between 6° and 11° North and 11° and 15° East. The area consigned to the Augustinians also embraces, as we have seen, parts of the former German Cameroons which became British Mandated territory through the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and are now administered as units of the Adamawa Province. Thus the northern tip of our Mission reaches almost to Lake Chad on the verge of the Lower Sahara and was previously a section of the Karthoum Vicariate. The most southern point of the Mission infringes on another part of the British Cameroons which had belonged to the Buea Vicariate maintained by the Mill Hill Society. Actually the entire area entrusted to the Irish Augustinians (40,140 square miles) is larger than Ireland itself.

Adamawa has been described as ' savannah country ; tawny rolling plains, covered with scrub, stretch away into the horizon, broken by barren mountains [8]). The province is bisected by the

[8]) *Good Counsel*, v (Oct.-Dec., 1947) 16.

river Benue flowing east to west, a tributary of the lordly Niger. On the whole the country is low-lying, especially along the banks of the Benue — the most fertile area. The year is divided into two seasons. The Wet season begins in April and lasts until mid-October ; this period is marked by continuous and extremely heavy rain: according to a report, 43″ was recorded at the mission station in Jauro Yinu in October 1951. During this Wet season Bazza in the north of the province is isolated for two months from another mission station, Gulak, although both are only twenty-five miles apart. In fact communications throughout Adamawa were exceedingly bad, there being only one all-season motorable road. The Dry season sets in towards the close of October and then the countryside undergoes a profound change ; bush fires roar across the plains and nothing remains but a ' black waste of ashes and stunted trees '. March, April and May are the hottest months, the temperature reading up to 105° in the shade. All the missionaries are protected by inoculation against small pox, yellow fever, typhus, cholera, etc., and none can afford to go without a daily prophylactic against malaria. Due to the extreme heat and lack of fats in the diet the missionaries gradually lose weight, but perhaps the chief danger to their health is the inevitable sequel of living in a ' Bush ' country where monotony and loneliness and sometimes apparent failure have to be contended with.

Unlike Southern Nigeria with its millions of Ibos and Yorubas, Adamawa is inhabited by numerous distinct tribes, the largest being the Mumye (90,000). It is estimated that there are over 100 spoken dialects in Adamawa: the two main languages are Fulani (used by the Mahommedans) — the *lingua franca* — and Hausa (used in government administration and in the schools). Altogether the pagan population totals approximately 800,000, while the Moslems are said to number 300,000. Almost 90 % of the entire population is illiterate. The pagan tribes may be divided into two categories: those tinged with Mahommedanism and those who are purely pagan, following their Ju-Ju and other primitive ancestral customs. To the first category belong the Chambas, Kilbas, and Jukons ; to the latter the Verres, Mumuyes, Higis, Komas and Marghis generally. Of the two the latter type offers the better material for evangelization. The largest concentrations of pagans lived until recently in ' closed territory ' where no whiteman was allowed to enter. All the pagans

are desperately poor and their way of life is exceedingly primitive. Hence the entire financial responsibility for the upkeep of the Mission has had to be, and still is, borne by the Irish people, apart from an annual grant made by Propaganda and some miscellaneous subventions. Here we should like to thank most gratefully our Maltese, American and German confrères for donations to the Mission. To date (1955) a sum of £130,000 has been contributed by the Irish Augustinian Foreign Mission Association.

Any survey of the Adamawa Mission that does not envisage the preponderant influence wielded by the Mahommedan element cannot avoid being absolutely misleading. When the British entered Adamawa at the beginning of this century and established a Protectorate, Mahommedan rule extended over the entire Province except in a few areas, particularly the territory of the Jukon tribe south of the Benue. Faced with a working system of government and law, the British decided to maintain the existing *status quo* and, having introduced certain changes, to rule indirectly through the Fulanis, the dominant Mahommedan class and mainly farmers. Thus when our Fathers entered Adamawa they found a Fulani Emir at Yola governing (with the exception of one District) the entire Province through his district chiefs and sub-chiefs, with his scribes and tax-collectors in every village — all astutely upholding the law of the Koran. Hence it is that all the major towns and villages are under the direct control of Mahommedans. Though relations between our missionaries and the British officials have always been correct and on the whole friendly, no Catholic schools or churches were permitted until recently in or near Mahommedan towns. Indeed before a mission is sanctioned by the government, the permission of the local Moslem chief must first be obtained. On the surface the Mahommedan is both polite and even cordial, but beneath he is steadfastly opposed to Catholicism on religious and political grounds. Moreover, prestige and power are synonymous in the mind of the pagan with Mahommedanism, while the very attractive nature of the Moslem code itself and the appealing promises for the faithful after death all constitute a severe handicap for the preacher of the lowly and ascetical gospel of Christ.

Lastly, the presence and activities of Protestant missionaries cannot be overlooked. The Church of the Brethern Mission arrived in Adamawa in 1924 and chose as its field of work the northern

section of the Province. Its greatest success has been achieved in providing efficient medical and humanitarian services, backed by ample financial resources. Generally the Brethern are friendly towards our missionaries, but the then Ordinary of Jos, Mgr. Lumley, S. M. A., was doubtless correct when he informed Propaganda in November 1939 that these Protestants were ' formidable rivals '. The Sudan United Mission came to Adamawa in 1911 and established its headquarters at Numan on the south bank of the Benue some forty miles west of Yola. This sect maintains numerous mission stations among the pagans south and west of Yola and has also crossed the Benue. It has apparently unlimited funds, is bitterly anti-Catholic, yet it is none too popular with the government. On the whole the sect has failed to win the respect of the people. Other Protestant missions are at work in Adamawa, such as the Sudan Interior Mission and the American Baptists. Their progress has not been impressive. The important point, however, is that the Protestants had acquired the best pagan sites before our Fathers came to Adamawa. No doubt their religious and educational work lacks depth and thoroughness, but by claiming a ' sphere of influence ' they are enabled to prevent our missionaries from entering and challenging their position and from establishing mission stations in or near so-called Protestant areas.

The foregoing sketch, though necessarily brief, depicts the essential background against which our Fathers began to lay the foundations of the first Catholic Mission in Adamawa. Those foundations were carried out during the war years at a time when communications with Ireland were exasperatingly slow, difficult and uncertain ; reinforcements of manpower almost impossible, and when prices of building materials, labour and foodstuffs rocketed. That so much was accomplished and maintained is deserving of the greatest praise. That even more was not accomplished, especially as the personnel of Protestant missions became depleted and sites were abandoned, is a matter for regret. It must be set on record, however, that the blame for lost opportunities and lack of development cannot be placed on the pioneers and their later co-workers who went to the very limit of human endurance to place the Catholic Mission on its feet and keep it there.

The history of the Augustinian Mission, which has been placed under the special patronage of Our Mother of Good Counsel and also under the patronage of St. Theresa of Lisieux, during the

period 1940-7 largely centres on Adamawa south of the Benue. This does not mean that the northern section of the Province was neglected. Various exploratory tours were made from December 1942 onwards and sites, e. g. Pakka (130 miles N. N. East of Yola), were selected, but due to Fulani opposition government permission was refused. Moreover, in March 1946 Frs. Kieran Cotter and Justin Hanly trekked to Gulak 180 miles north of Yola and picked a site at Kaya, the centre of the Marghi farming area.

St. Augustine's, Sugu, A. D. 1940 [9])

The fact that the first mission centre established by our Fathers was at Sugu, 100 miles due south of Yola, where the Chamba tribe is located, is because this site, trekked by the two S. M. A., missionaries, Frs. Gannon and Harrison, in May 1939, was the first to receive government approval (September 1939). Immediately after the Augustinian pioneers arrived in Yola they picked a site and made the required application for a church and school which are the twin spearheads of missionary work. Due to Mahommedan opposition permission to open a school at Yola was refused, though in due course a church was sanctioned in December 1940.

About January 28 of that same year the entire Augustinian Mission staff, Frs. Dalton, Power and Broder, loaded their lorry with stores from Jos some 350 miles away. The road to Sugu runs almost directly south from Yola and the Fathers broke their journey at Jada, a Fulani town sixty miles or so from Yola and twenty-eight from Sugu-their destination. At Jada the District Officer Mr Bryant was most helpful, giving detailed information regarding the rest of the journey. He informed the Fathers that no motor had been over the remainder of the road to Sugu for four years, nor had it been repaired. Frs. Dalton and Broder decided to make for Sugu on foot, accompanied by a line of carriers with various loads on their heads. Early on the following day Sugu was reached. Meanwhile one of the epics of the Adamawa Mission was being enacted. Fr. Power had returned to Yola with the truck for further supplies and with indomitable courage and admirable initiative he determined to bring the truck all the way to Sugu, a truck carrying some 8 cwt. of essential commodities and implements. It took

[9]) Early history in *Mission News*, i (June, 1949) 4-5.

him two and a half days to cover the twenty-eight miles from Jada to Sugu. Not only had he to clear stones off the track (one cannot speak of a road), cut through bush, fill holes and cross five dry river beds (two of them 100 yards wide), but he was forced to build a bridge across the 100 yard awning of the river Ini. It was almost an incredible feat, dangerous and exhausting, yet typical of this pioneer missionary.

The first mission structure at Sugu was a round mud hut erected as a temporary (so it was thought) dwelling for the Fathers. Next came huts to accommodate boys intended for the forthcoming school. At length a new Fathers' residence was started about the beginning of April. After many setbacks owing to the rains which repeatedly flattened sections of the gradually rising walls the roof was placed in position early in May. Shortly afterwards the Fathers had their first experience of a tornado. ' It came ', wrote Fr. Dalton, ' just one continuous roar that pounded the ears until they were numb. The rain was blown before it in sheets — one impenetrable grey wall of water... the top of the roof was torn like so much paper... the rain poured in... mocking all our puny efforts of the month that had passed '. Fortunately the damage was not too extensive and in a short time the roof was on again and stayed on despite tornado after tornado. Now began the real work of a mission. The plan adopted is the usual method operating in missionary countries. A central station comprising Fathers' house, church and school (a ' boarding school ' at Sugu) was erected, the whole estate or mission compound, as it is called, covering an area of five acres. The next step was to set up in the outlying region a number of satellite bush schools where catechists could teach elementary religious knowledge. These stations are visited and inspected once a month by a Father from the central mission. Thus the beginnings of Catholicism are laid. Progress at Sugu, however, was not so swift.

School opened on 17 March 1941 with twenty-five boys. All efforts to secure a Catholic teacher failed and a Chamba, who was a Mahommedan or thought he was, had to be employed. He failed to come up to expectations and the fact that the school survived at all is due to Fr. Broder's untiring vigilance. Later at another most difficult period (1943) Fr. Malachy Cullen proved himself a second Don Bosco and the boys stayed. Although a pagan town, Sugu was not as promising as had been expected. Mahommedan influence definitely retarded progress, especially when the chief

became a disciple of the Koran [10]). Despite giving free medical treatment to hundreds and actually saving the lives of those suffering from snake-bite the Fathers received no practical thanks for their invaluable and selfless work. In Sugu, for example, they were told that certain foodstuffs were unobtainable and therefore could not be bought, although it was common knowledge that there was no shortage of the goods in question. Mention of medical work by the missionaries calls to mind how the first contact was made with the natives. Hitherto the latter had stood coldly aloof, but one day during building operations a labourer was injured. He was successfully treated by one of the Fathers and the news brought pagan men, women and children, as well as Fulanis of both sexes, flocking to the mission, looking for treatment.

It is impossible to deal with the subsequent history of the Sugu mission in any detail. Fr. Augustine Garman arrived in Yola on 29 August 1940 after a harrowing journey by barge up the Benue from Makurdi. At Sugu he planned and brought to completion an excellent Fathers' house, working, as did the other Fathers, with his own hands. In addition himself and Fr. Kieran Cotter, apart from building a new spacious school, worked in the dispensary, taught in the school, trekked for new mission sites and supervised catechism classes in outlying districts. Other Fathers also contributed to the growth of the Sugu mission. That growth, none the less, was painfully slow, so slow that between February 1940 and 1945 not more than ten pagans were converted. Today the picture is indeed different, though not as striking as in other missions that came later. In 1952-3 [11]) twenty-two Baptisms were recorded. During the same period 159 Baptisms took place at Yola (an exception no doubt), ninety-seven at Mapeo, ninety-one at Bare and 116 at Bazza. The total Catholic population of Sugu in 1952-3 was 165 and Catechumens numbered 465. Though the Catechumenate was the largest in the whole Mission, the Catholics were numerically the lowest. It must be remembered that statistics for the early years of a Mission can be misleading. Anything approaching mass-conversions will never happen in Adamawa. The work of conversion,

[10]) The present chief is to all appearances a friend of the Mission. His daughter, Mary, was baptised on Christmas Eve 1949.

[11]) This is the latest period for which statistics from individual stations have been available at the time of writing (Dec. 1955).

due to the many tribal divisions and more obvious causes, is bound to be slow and unspectacular. Our Fathers are content to plant the Faith patiently and firmly ; they are wisely concentrating their main effort on the youth. It may and very probably will take fifty years before the wisdom and quality of their work will be justified. But that it will eventually be justified in God's own time is absolutely certain.

St. Theresa's, Yola, A. D. 1940 [12])

Yola has always been the headquarters of the Adamawa Mission [13]). A site was chosen on the west end of Jimeta town near the African hospital — the only government hospital in the whole Province [14]). The mission compound stands on an elevated stretch of rock and sand and commands the best view of the surrounding area. Something has been said already of the Fathers' first experience in Yola. After vacating the rectangular hovel, the fluctuating staff (sometimes one, sometimes two priests) moved into a temporary structure of mud and grass built by the redoubtable Mr Bello (the only Christian Fulani in all Adamawa) whom Fr. Power had commissioned. Meanwhile a new Fathers' residence and a suitable church were going up. The house was occupied at long last on Christmas Eve 1940, and the occasion was fittingly marked by a Missa Cantata in the open, celebrated by Fr. Dalton. Before the Mass there were six or seven Baptisms and afterwards two weddings. Even though the candidates were of southern Christian extraction and hence did not represent the pagan population, they helped to make that first Christmas a memorable one. No real progress was possible, however, as long as permission for a school was not forthcoming. Eventually about the middle of 1941 government approval was granted but only for children of immigrants from southern Nigeria. The joy of this paltry concession was offset by the news that Fr. Power's health necessitated his withdrawel from

[12]) Early history in *Mission News*, i (July, 1949), 4-5.

[13]) This central station was dedicated to the Little Flower in deference to the wishes of her sister Mother Agnes of Jesus (Pauline) who presented Fr. Cooney in 1936 with a relic of the saint for the first church of the Mission.

[14]) Jimeta is about six miles west of Yola itself and is the government centre: both towns are referred to as Yola.

the Mission. On August 15 he left by river steamer for South Africa and served as full-time Army Chaplain with the Basuto soldiers for five and a half years.

In mid-January 1942 the foundations of the present Fathers' house designed by Fr. Garman were laid. Application was again made for a school for native children ; at length it was sanctioned on condition that neither parent was a Moslem. This was December 1943. Six years later there were over 200 pupils on the roll-books and the average attendance at Sunday Mass was in the region of 600. In 1952-3 the Catholic population was 1126 ; Solemn Baptisms alone numbered 134 and during this same period the school had the status of a Senior Primary. The varied missionary activities of the Yola central station continue to expand and the number outstations is increasing.

Santa Maria, Mapeo, A. D. 1941 [15])

Perhaps the most striking feature of the history of the Adamawa Mission is the story of Mapeo. This central station is dedicated to Our Mother of Good Counsel and is familiarly known as *Santa Maria*. In November 1940 Fr. Power trekked the Mapeo district — sixty miles south of Yola — and marked a site on 8 May 1940 among the Chamba tribe on the borders of the Verre country. The site was approved in February 1941, so Fr. Power again trekked the district and built a crude but solid mud house and provided school accomodation. Owing to the strength of the Ju-Ju or 'Laura' the school failed to make any progress, although the local Fulani chief lent his support to the Fathers. The influence of the witch-doctor was more potent and it is tempting to assume that some diabolical agency was at work. By January 1942 when Fr. Philip O'Shea was holding the fort on his own the picture could not be more depressing — no boys, no school, no Catechumens, no prospects. Then, to make matters worse, Fr. O'Shea had to leave the Mission and return to Ireland at the end of January. There being no Father available to take his place Mapeo had to be closed. Unbelievable as it may seem, the entire Mission staff at this juncture consisted of Frs. Dalton, Broder and Garman. Their morale

[15]) Early history in *Mission News*, i (August, 1949) 4-5.

was severely tried. Apart from the shortage of priests, the disappointments and hazards of mission life with the emphasis on health and loneliness combined to challenge their tenacity. But they held firm. Three new priests, Frs. Cullen, Hartnett and Harney arrived early in October ; and on the 15th Frs. Garman and Harney reached Mapeo and set about reopening the mission. Both unfortunately got violently sick and once again Mapeo had to be closed. Contact, nevertheless, was maintained and on 10 March 1943 Fr. Harney decided to go ahead and reopen the school. The entire attendance numbered three boys whom Fr. Harney began to teach Hausa, a language which he scarcely knew. It was a heart-breaking mission, though an occasional gleam of hope was not lacking. On May 13 the first Baptism took place: Mai-Yanga and his wife were the recipients. The said Mai-Yanga was not a Chamba ; he was a native of the French Cameroons which lie very close to Mapeo. The great privilege of baptising the first Chamba was reserved to Fr. Cullen whose friend Juguda, christened Petrus on Pentecost Sunday 1946, became the rock on which Mapeo is built [16]).

The school continued to be most disappointing. It is well to remember that the Chambas are a matrilineal people ; perhaps there lies the origin of their fickleness. There can be no doubt that the womenfolk, so persuasive and deceptive, opposed the idea of boys going to school. The reason alleged was that the school was a diabolical institution and the Fathers were emissaries of Satan. The fundamental reason was that the boys would not be available for farm work. On June 13 Frs. Dalton and Hanly came to Mapeo with some Kilba boys from the Pakka area who, they hoped, would attract the Chamba boys to school, or at least familiarise them with that strange institution. The idea also envisaged the training of the Kilba boys for later work in their own area. The school had now four Bagarmi (French Cameroon), nine Kilba and six Mapeo boys. Frs. Cullen and Harney trekked the Verre country looking for more boys, while Fr. Hanly tried various experiments in an effort to hold the nineteen boys then resident at the mission. It was not easy. During the following year 1944 the number of pupils despite all kinds of inducements never exceeded thirty. Suddenly the tide began to turn. A good catechist was secured, a new school was

[16]) *Good Counsel*, v (April-June, 1947) 19; *Mission News*, vii (March, 1955) 4-5.

built and commenced to fill up. Mapeo has never since disappointed. Before the close of 1948 about 100 boys were boarding at Mapeo which also supervised a religious instruction class opened at Sapeo in 1949 and a church in Mambewa village. In 1952 the school was classified as a Junior Primary and the mission was conducting seven classes of religious instruction with an attendance of 204 students. Religious statistics for 1952-3 reveal a total of ninety-seven Baptisms, 3120 Confessions and 4160 Communions. The Catholics numbered 187 and the Catechumens 436. These figures have now been well eclipsed and Mapeo — the Cinderella of the Mission — has survived to become one of the most outstanding stations.

St. Peter Claver's, Jauro Yinu, A. D. 1945 [17])

The fourth mission established south of the Benue is Jauro Yinu. It was also the first station founded beyond the confines of the Yola District. Early in October 1943 an application for a site at Pakka was refused, so the Fathers decided to explore the region south-west of Yola. Frs. Dalton and Hartnett trekked 110 miles to Jalingo in February 1944. They marked a site at Jauro Yinu among the Jukons, six miles west of Jalingo the District Headquarters of the Muri Division. After an unusually long delay the government approved the site in March 1945, and Frs. Hartnett and Cotter moved into the newly finished residence on August 28 [18]). That same day the first Jukon, a dying child who had been brought to the church was baptised — a gift from St. Augustine on his feast-day ! Early in the following year Fr. Cotter completed the church and also a dormitory for boarders. Yet its troubles were not over. On Whit Sunday night 1948 lightning struck the Priests' house which rapidly took fire and became a total loss. Repairs, including a new roof, were carried out and furnishings were replaced. By the summer of 1952 two Junior Primary schools were functioning, while since March 1948 Jauro Yinu has been supervising the mixed-school at

[17]) Early history in *Good Counsel*, v (July-Sept., 1948) 17-21; *Mission News*, i (September, 1949) 4-5.

[18]) Cf. *Good Counsel*, loc. cit. 21; *Mission News*, loc. cit. 5, gives the date as June 1946, which is inaccurate.

Kona, a thickly populated pagan district offering excellent ground for conversions. The mission is also in charge of another school opened at Jauro Shuman in May of that same year (1948). It is, nevertheless true, that St. Peter Claver's, now ten years in existence, has made comparatively slow progress. The Catholic population in 1952-3 was 178 (the lowest in the Province apart from Sugu), Catechumens numbered 283 (the lowest, excepting Yola and Gulak (founded in 1948)). Baptisms at Jauro Yinu during the same period totalled sixty-nine (a good average), Confessions 2050 and Communions 3600 (the highest in the Province apart from Yola (8,000) and Mapeo (4160)). These figures are certainly encouraging and must be taken into consideration when assessing the progress of this mission among the Jukons.

St. Rita's, Bare, A. D. 1948 [19])

One of the most notable features of missionary work in Adamawa during 1940-8 was the number and extent of treks carried out. The record is held by Frs. Broder and Cullen who in March 1945 covered about 750 miles on foot, working down to the southern extremity of the Province and contacting the Mill Hill Fathers near Kumbo in the British Cameroons. As has been stated already, various treks were made throughout the northern section of the Adamawa Province, and in the course of one of these Fr. Dalton during August 1946 marked a site at Bare of the mud flats, ten miles north of the Benue, opposite Numan. The Bare people live by farming, and fishermen of the tribe work on the rivers Gongola and Benue. The mission site was approved in November 1947 and a temporary shack was erected by Frs. Broder and Hannon in February 1948. Shortly afterwards Fr. Cotter replaced Fr. Broder and in August the school was opened. Fifteen boys attended, while evening classes for adults were also organised. At Bare in 1952-3 within the space of four or five years the Catholic population was 197 and Catechumens numbered 294. Ninety-one Baptisms, 917 Confessions and 1344 Communions were recorded. The Junior Primary school and three classes of religious instruction were not overcrowded, but at the same time could not be faulted. The school at Kiri,

[19]) Early history in *Mission News*, i (November, 1949) 4-5.

founded and supervised from Bare, continues to progress. All in all this central mission has done remarkably well, especially when one considers the proximity of long established Protestant missions, particularly the Sudan United Mission at Numan (founded 1911).

St. Joseph's, Gulak, A. D. 1948

The second mission established north of the Benue and the farthest distant of all from Yola is at Gulak in the extreme north of the British Cameroons. Frs. Cotter and Hanly in March 1946 trekked to Gulak from Yola (a distance of 180 miles) and picked a site at Kaya in the Marghi country. It was approved in November 1947 and Frs. Cullen and Seary took up residence on 17 March 1948. There is a large though scattered pagan population in the district, but early efforts at evangelization proved most disappointing. Then one of the Fathers decided that his National Apostle St. Patrick — the original patron of the mission —was less efficacious than St. Joseph. The mission was accordingly rededicated on October 4. Two days later the first Baptism took place. A severe outbreak of the dreaded disease, cerebro-spinal-meningitis helped to break down existing prejudice and indifference, since the Fathers were able to treat the victims with success. Not all cases responded to treatment (some were too far advanced and medical supplies were insufficient), yet a very large proportion of those who succumbed received Baptism. By 1950 Gulak had eight outstations- the largest number in the Province. Three years later the Catholic population of this mission was 218 (only Yola and Bazza had higher figures) ; the Catechumenate, however, was comparatively small (159), but it must not be forgotten that St. Joseph's at the time was, apart from Bazza, the latest foundation made by our missionaries. In 1952-3 thirty-seven Baptisms, 1000 Confessions and 1200 Communions were registered. The latest figures have not been received, though unofficial reports state that the mission has continued to make steady progress.

Our Mother of Consolation, Bazza, A. D. 1950 [20])

The third central mission station established in the northern half of the Province is at Bazza in the Chubunawa district. The site was first surveyed in February 1948 by Frs. Garman and Broder. Bazza town lies about 130 miles north of Yola. The sorrounding area is possibly one of the most thickly populated parts of Adamawa, the Higi tribe numbering 64,000. A site was marked midway between Bazza itself and Chukumu on the verge of closed territory and approval was sought in 1948. Protestant missionaries strongly objected, but sanction for a Fathers' house, church and school was granted in July 1949. Fr. John Seary — first native Australian Augustinian priest — deserves special mention for his work in connexion with the building of the site and for laying the foundations of what has become one of the most successful ventures of the Mission. Due to lack of staff Bazza has for long been handicapped, notwithstanding the amazing progress made since 1950. Thus Fr. Thomas Flynn from January 1952 to the middle of 1953 had to manage on his own not only the central mission but also the outstations. In addition to instructing and teaching he rendered sterling service during a violent epidemic of cerebro-spinal-meningitis and won the confidence and support of the natives, as well as baptising a very large number. Baptisms at Bazza for 1952-3 totalled 113 (the highest proportion in the Province apart from Yola) ; 1500 Confessions were heard and 3000 received Holy Communion. A Senior Primary school was opened this year ; and the latest school in the Province — Muccella — is being partly supervised from Bazza, which is undoubtedly a very flourishing mission.

St. Monica's, Yakoko, A. D. 1955 [21]

From the very beginning it had been the dream and prayer of all our missionaries to secure a mission-station in the beautiful mountainous country of the Mumuye people, between Yola and Jauro Yinu. The government allegedly had some trouble with these

[20]) Some interesting sidelights on the early history of this mission will be found in *Consolation* (Dublin, Oct.-Nov., 1952).

[21]) I own my information on this mission to Fr. Berchmans Power, O. S. A.

hardy pagans and refused to allow any missionaries to trek the area until 1953. Immediately, Monsignor Dalton and Fr. Cotter set out to visit the Mumuyes in the populous region of Yakoko, seventy-five miles west of Yola. For many years an old immigrant Catholic from Togoland, Mr Dalmeida,managed a store for John Holts & Co. at Zinna, about ten miles from Yakoko. This good man encouraged the Mumuyes to accept the Fathers and to send their children to school. A site was applied for and readily granted. Fr. Berchmans Power, having returned to Nigeria in October 1954, arrived at Yakoko in February of this year (1955) to begin building our newest mission, dedicated to St. Monica. How different Fr. Power found the response of the Mumuyes compared to that of the Mapeo Chambas in 1941 ! Even before he had the school buildings floored at Yakoko and at the outstation at Zinna ten miles away, there were over 100 little children eager to enrol. Both schools were opened last June and continue to advance. while approval for four additional outstation schools among the promising Mumuyes has been granted.

Arrival of F. M. D. M. Sisters, A. D. 1950

Up to the year 1953 education of girls had not been carried out on the Mission on any scale. The absence of nuns had for long been the main reason, but it is well to bear in mind that in Adamawa, as in all pioneer missions, the idea of educating women has never commended itself to the natives. Mahommedan influence is no doubt largely responsible for this attitude, but even apart from that, the idea only becomes acceptable with the advance of civilization and education itself. Hence the arrival in July 1950 of an advance guard of Sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of the Divine Motherhood from Guildford, Surrey, England, marked a new stage in the development of the Adamawa Mission. The first care of these nuns is not specifically education in the academic sense but rather medical work among women. Infant mortality and maternity diseases have from time immemorial been rampant in Adamawa ; consequently the advent of nuns who specialise in this field is a tremendous blessing. In February 1952 the government asked for our co-operation in running a Health and Welfare Centre in Sugu. The offer was gladly accepted, for, *inter alia*, it provides excellent

opportunity of making contacts. The Centre, staffed by three nuns, opened officially in 1954 and has been a marvellous success and has won the highest praise from government officials. There is, however, at this juncture an immediate and most pressing need for an all-out effort to grapple with the problem of women's education. Progress made in this direction since 1953 indicates that with a sufficient staff and the necessary funds this essential work is capable of rapid expansion. To date the Mission is supporting and conducting two boarding schools for girls at Yola and Sugu. An Adult Women's Domestic School is also functioning at Yola. About 300 girls are at present being educated by the Mission.

Seminarians

The most vital work of all is not being neglected — the provision of a native clergy. Two Mapeo boys, instructed and educated by the Mission, are now students at All Hallows Junior Seminary, Onitsha, Southern Nigeria. After completing their Secondary education they will enter the Senior Seminary to study for the Priesthood. Three more applicants hope to go to the Junior Seminary in January 1956.

Apart from the usual programme of church and pastoral work, education, supervision of outstations, canvassing for pupils and giving medical aid, the Fathers have been instrumental in providing vernacular Catholic literature for the people. This is, of course, an essential missionary adjunct. To date the Catechism has been translated by our missionaries into Chamba, Jukon, Marghi and Bare dialects and printed versions have been made available. A Hausa prayer-book and a Catechist Handbook have also been produced. A number of Fathers contributed to these invaluable projects, but a special tribute must be accorded Fr. Aidan Kennedy who had the initiative to procure while holidaying in Dublin an Adana printing machine which he has put to excellent use in Adamawa.

Prefecture Apostolic of Yola, A. D. 1950

As is well known, the Adamawa Mission was raised to the

status of a Prefecture Apostolic by the Holy See on 14 July 1950 [22]). On the following day Fr. Dalton was nominated Apostolic Administrator. The Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop David Mathew, had on numerous occasions readily and warmly congratulated our Fathers on their wonderful work in the most difficult of all African Missions (excepting Sokoto in north-west Nigeria) — Adamawa. Finally, Fr. Dalton on 27 October 1950 was appointed Prefect Apostolic of Yola [23]). *Roma locuta est !*

Statistical tables may not reveal spectacular results with regard to Adamawa, but interpreted in the light of time, circumstances and background they cannot be other than most heartening and gratifying. The Mission is still in its infancy. Prospects were never better. Even should the political situation in the Province lead to independence, our position is secure. Plans for 1956 show that the momentum is increasing. The Senior Primary School at Bazza is to be completed and in 1958 will become an Elementary Teachers' Training Centre ; two compounds for adult women trainees are to be erected at the Sisters' school, Sugu ; Bare will have a Senior Primary school next year (1956), as well as a new church, and schools are also to be built at Numan and Gwyana ; five Junior Primary schools are planned for and will be supervised from Yakoko and Jauro Yinu ; a Junior Primary school to be directed from Mapeo is scheduled for 1956 and another under the supervision of Gulak. These are but some of the projects. Doubtless the Mission has had its ' Dark Night ', its (to use the late Bishop Shanahan's phrase regarding a phase of his own magnificent work among the Ibos) ' brick wall of failure '. The field is not yet won. Adamawa will never witness the astounding transformation that crowned Bishop Shanahan's apostolate in Onitsha-Owerri between 1902 and 1932. Still there can be no doubt that Adamawa will be christianised, provided an adequate supply of priests, working through God's Grace, and sufficient financial support are forthcoming.

[22]) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, xliii (1951) 102-3.

[23]) *Ibid.* 286, where Danton should read Dalton.

Prefecture Apostolic of Maiduguri, A. D. 1953

Before we bring this survey to a close, a word must be said about the latest Augustinian assignment in Nigeria. On 19 May 1951 the Apostolic Delegate, Dr Mathew, wrote to the Irish Provincial, Very. Rev. J. C. Dullea, applauding the work done by the Augustinians in Adamawa [24]). He stated that Northern Nigeria was being flooded with Protestant missionaries from the U. S. A. and Canada. He was anxious that the Irish Augustinians should enter the Province of Bornu immediately, since hitherto no Catholic Mission had been established in this territory. The Bornu Province, which adjoins Adamawa at its northern extremity, is administered politically by the British ; the population numbers 1,595,708 and the territory comprises 45,000 sq. miles. At the Provincial Chapter of the Irish Province held in July 1951 it was decided to accept the Delegate's invitation. Mgr. Dalton reported that although Maiduguri, the capital of the Province, had a Catholic population of 1500, composed mainly of southern immigrants, the only other suitable site for a mission was Gashua on the extreme west of the Province. There were in fact only three pagan areas (widely separated) ; the remainder of the country was almost entirely Mahommedan, with Protestant missions in two places.

From the point of view of the Adamawa Mission the offer to evangelise Bornu was not too inviting. Commitments in Adamawa itself were exceedingly heavy and urgent ; the Fathers there were scarcely able to cope with immediate demands, much less embark on an entirely new missionary venture. The tide, as we have pointed out, had definitely begun to turn and it was imperative to take full advantage of the situation. The real crux of the matter was shortage of priests ; from 1949 to 1951 no addition had been made to the staff of the Prefecture ; only one priest could be spared to supervise and manage Bazza.

The call of the Church, however, did not go unheeded and Mgr. Dalton and his Council detailed Fr. Hanly to make a start at Maiduguri. This veteran of the Adamawa Mission arrived there in March 1953. A site for a mission was approved by the government, but due to Moslem opposition permission to start a school

[24]) Letter in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria).

was refused; it was granted later and there are now about 200 Junior Primary pupils attending. As an earnest proof of its deep interest in and hopes for Bornu the Holy See on June 29 erected the Mission into a Prefecture [25]) and appointed Mgr. Dalton Apostolic Administrator on 26 February 1954 [26]). Though valuable and most necessary work is being done to consolidate the immigrant Catholic population and although a residential mission has been established at Nguru, near the Sahara, progress in this Prefecture will be slow because of the great shortage of priests. Next autumn, we are glad to report, Adamawa and Bornu will receive the necessary reinforcements from Ireland. And so Augustine's Irish sons endeavour to reclaim for Christ and Augustine the land of his birth and the nursery of his monastic institute which was established in Ireland some twenty-years after the Great Union of 1256.

Benedict HACKETT, O. S. A.

St. Patrick's,
Rome.

Roll of Honour

1937: Frs. L. Maddock, B. Power (served in Salisbury, Rhodesia).
1938: Frs. D. B. Redmond, A. Dalton, G. Broder.
1939: Frs. A. Garman, P. O'Shea.
1942: Frs. M. Cullen, O. Hartnett, A. Harney.
1943: Frs. K. Cotter, J. Hanly, K. Anderson, C. Fitzsimons.
1945: Frs. G. Roche, B. Hannon, A. Kennedy, A. O'Connor, P. Martin.
1946: Frs. A. O'Mahoney, T. Flynn.
1948: Frs. J. Seary, F. Heffernan, J. Callaghan.
1949: Frs. C. Power (brother of Fr. B. Power), C. Madden, D. Coleman.
1951: Frs. J. Crean, D. Gough, G. Cunnane.
1952: Frs. A. Donovan, L. Lyons.
1954: Frs. J. King, J. Bresnan, K. Moylan.

[25]) *Acta Apost. Sedis*, xlv (1953) 775-6. For some unaccountable reason the index to this volume does not list the Prefecture under its proper title (Maiduguri).

[26]) S. Con. Prop. Fide, N. 762/54 (Copy in Ir. Prov. Arch. (Nigeria)). In the *Acta Apost. Sedis*, xlvi (1954) 423, Mgr. Dalton's appointment as Prefect Apostolic of Yola is given under the date 26 Feb. 1954. This is incorrect.

Statistics for 1940-55

	June 1940	June 1955
Priests	5	24
Nuns	0	6
Catholics	90	3502
Catechumens	20	4500
Central missions and outstations	2	59
Schools and classes of religious instruction	0	62
Attendance	0	3606

N. B. Statistics for the Maiduguri Prefecture are not yet available, but we have included Frs. J. Hanly and C. Madden in the above total of priests (June 1955), as well as the school at Maiduguri; the number of pupils (200) has also been added. In addition to the 3606 pupils listed above under June 1955, thirty-two additional scholars are being educated at present outside the Yola Prefecture, apart from the two seminarians in Onitsha, Southern Nigeria. In some cases the above figures are only approximate.

Dutch Augustinian missionaries in Bolivia

The 15th century of the death of St. Augustine in 1930 seemed to be the right occasion to fulfill a long-cherished desire of the Dutch Augustinians to partake in the apostolate of the missions. This the province could do only with great sacrifice, because it was but 35 years since it had gained its independence.

In choosing a mission territory the Province would have preferred a vicariate or prefecture in the Dutch colonies of the East Indies [1]) but in September 1929 the Father provincial, Dr. Servus Makaay, met in Paris the Most Rev. August Sieffert C. SS. R., bishop of La Paz in Bolivia, who was travelling in Europe looking for priests to help him in his vast diocese, where an acute shortage of clergy was threatening Catholic life with slow but certain death. This meeting started the negotiations which led to the eventual foundation of the mission in 1930 [2]).

The Augustinians had been working in the Vice-Royalty of Peru, which comprised present Peru and Bolivia. The four principal cities of Bolivia: La Paz, Sucre, Cochabamba, and Potosí, had their Augustinian church and monastery, located at the principal plazas of the towns. The famous Indian shrine of Our Lady at Copacabana had been in the hands of the Augustinians. The wars of indepen-

[1]) In 1929 negotiations were begun with different missionary Orders, to obtain a territory on the island of Java or the smaller neighboring island of Madura, but they did not lead to satisfactory results.

[2]) The Definitory of the Dutch province approved the plans on March 26, 1930. Within two weeks followed the approval of the Most Rev. Prior General E. Esteban (Letter to the province by Father Makaay on April 9, 1930 in the archives of the vice province to which we shall refer as AVP. The access to these archives was made possible through the kindness of the present commissary provincial, Father Marcus Meyer).


PANAMA
VENEZUELA
COLUMBIA
GUYANA
ECUADOR
BRAZIL
PERU
BOLIVIA
LA PAZ
PARAGUAY
CHILE
PACIFIC
OCEAN
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA
ATLANTIC
LATIN AMERICA


BOLIVIA
Beni
Lake Titicaca
Yungas
Coroico
Chulumani
Irupana
Copacabana
LA PAZ
ILLIMANI
PERU
Eastern
COCHABAMBA
Oruro
Cordillera
Lake Poopo
Western
ALTI
Sucre
CHILE
PLANO
Potosi
Cordillera
PACIFIC
Railway
Scale
0 30 60 90 miles

dence around 1800 expelled all these friars, who had always been faithful subjects of the Spanish Crown. Churches and monasteries were confiscated ; some of the churches were transferred to the Franciscans or seculars [3]).

On October 8th, 1930, the first group of four missioners departed from Holland: two priests and two lay brothers, led by the superior Fr. Chrysostomus W. Van Dyk. They arrived in La Paz on November 15th of the same year. Fr. Van Dyk, a man of great and energetic personality, had been undoubtedly the best-known Augustinian in Holland. He was the founder of the National Eucharistic League, which he had organized in order to promote the new decrees of the Holy Pope Pius X with respect to frequent Communion and the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. He was secretary for the organization of the International Eucharistic Congress of Amsterdam in 1924 ; he was one of the country's foremost speakers and preachers, and thus it caused considerable surprise when he volunteered to be the first Augustinian missioner in Bolivia.

Once in Bolivia, however, Fr. Van Dyk was seriously disappointed. For a man who had been used to preaching to large crowds of people and packed churches, to seeing thousands of men, women and children receive Holy Communion, it was utterly disconcerting to observe the unfortunate condition of the Church in Bolivia, with its empty and filthy churches, without priests. The people were living in superstition and unbelief. This was too much for a man of his temperament and activity, and on Dec. 30th of the same year he wrote to his superiors in Holland that it would be an endless task for the Dutch Province to spend men and effort on such a hopeless situation [4]). He directed his group to leave Bolivia — January 15th, 1931, and return to Holland. During their journey, however, word came from Fr. Provincial that under no circumstances should Fr. Van Dyk go back to Holland. Thus he went to the German confreres at Racine, Wisconsin, U. S. A., until in the spring of 1933 the Most Rev. Father Clement Fuhl, General of the Order

[3]) It does not seem to be within the purpose of this article to describe the history of the Augustinians in the Spanish colonial empire. We must refer to the existing literature on the subject.

[4]) Copy of letter in AVP. — His description of Bolivian conditions is definitely too dark and pessimistic. With the letter he sent a telegram that they were leaving the country. His decision to leave before an answer of the Provincial had reached Bolivia was unfortunate.

invited him over to Italy to be pastor of the Shrine of Our Lady of Good Counsel at Genazzano and international director of the Pious Union. But as his health suffered much in that country, he was soon permitted to go back to the United States, where he worked in St. Rita's Parish in Chicago, until his death, March 25th, 1939.

Fr. Van Dyk's memory is greatly honored in his province, although his effort to establish the Bolivian mission failed. It taught the province that such an enterprise would not be as easy as had been anticipated during the time of preparation and first enthusiasm. Fr. Van Dyk's failure put the whole project to a severe test. Who was going to accomplish what such an eminent and energetic organizer had not been able to achieve ? Finally, one of the most prominent men of the Province made himself available. Father Thomas H. Van der Vloodt, S. T. M., a man already in his sixties, fervently asked permission to be sent. At that time, Fr. Van der Vloodt was pastor of the newly founded parish of St. Thomas of Villanova at Nijmegen, located in a very poor section of the town, with a population mostly of unskilled factory workers. This parish probably provided the best preparation for Bolivia to be found in Holland ; yet, it was certainly most unusual for a man of his age to leave his native country, where he had served the Order as a master of novices, professor of theology and finally as a pastor for more than 30 years. The administration of the Province, however, did not thing it should refuse the generous offer of this zealous priest, who seemed to know what he wanted. Fr. Provincial consented, January 28th, 1931 [5]), and Fr. Thomas departed on February 25th. On his journey he was joined by Brother Frederick Van Grinsvens, one of the original group, who had waited for him at the Dutch island of Curaçao in the West Indies. The other two members of the original group had chosen to go back to Holland, with the full consent of Fr. Provincial.

Thus, for the second time, the Bolivian mission was started. After arriving in La Paz on Easter Sunday, April 5th, 1931, the two missioners stayed in that city with bishop Sieffert in order to investigate existing conditions and to see what type of work should be accepted. On December 23rd of the same year they set out for the territory of South Yungas, located about 50 miles East of

[5]) Many details of Fr. Thomas' history we have taken from his diary in AVP.

La Paz. This is a section of moderately high mountains, with steep and narrow valleys, through which rivers flowing from the highlands find a path to the Amazon lowlands. The climate in the scattered small villages at altitudes of 5,000-6,000 feet is semi-tropical, and the people make a living raising coffee, oranges, bananas and especially coca for densely populated La Paz and the Andean. This area, covering roughly 1500 sq. miles was the Augustinian mission field.

Fr. Van der Vloodt found conditions extremely bad. In the chief town of Chulumani (pop. 2000) there was one old and sickly priest ; the other villages had not seen a priest for many years. Fr. Thomas made his headquarters at the village of Chirca, from where he started to make long journeys on mule-back throughout the territory, along narrow paths through the mountains, wading through rivers, in order to get some idea of what had to be done. The situation was almost desperate. People calling temselves Catholics had forsaken the practice of their religion ; churches were in a dilapidated condition with weeds growing in them. At the present time it seems unbelievable that Fr. Thomas did not give up immediately or look for easier work, but there seems to have been an unconquerable force and energy within the soul of this man, which drove him to stay and begin this seemingly hopeless task of bringing back the people of the Yungas to the Church. He wrote to his superiors in Holland saying that there were definite possibilities in this mission, and asked for help. This help arrived in the persons of Fr. Lamberto Gielen and Brother Juan Swinkels, early 1932, and Fr. Ireneo Otsen with Brother Pedro Coolen in 1933. With the latter two also came Fr. Provincial Makaay to perform the first Visitation, October 1933. Completely exhausted, Fr. Thomas died at Chulumani on February 16th, 1934 [6]). Ours is not the task to judge his work and his merits, but the fact remains, that whatever the Dutch Augustinians have been able to do in Bolivia during the past 25 years, is due basically to the undaunted and indefatigable perseverance of the 60-year old pioneer Fr. Thomas Van der Vloodt.

The two principal towns of South Yungas were entrusted to

[6]) On the last page of his diary we read, not without a great deal of respect for this remarkable Augustinian: « 1934, 23 Jan. God's Will be done in everything, and aways, and everywhere. For the poor mission of Bolivia great sacrifices shall have to be made. En ego quia vocasti me ».

our care in 1932: in March 1932 bishop Sieffert appointed Fr. Lamberto Gielen pastor of Irupana, and on December 13th of the same year Fr. Thomas received his appointment as pastor at Chulumani, after the native pastor had resigned because of old age and ill health. From these centers the fathers and brothers undertake numerous journeys to attend to the people in the many small villages, Indian communities and the mines of the area [7]). The transportation

[7]) The houses at Irupana and Chulumani received their canonical foundation from the Most Rev. Father General Pasquini on June 21st, 1938 (Rescr. Congr. de Relig. 4360/38 of June 14th, 1938). With respect to the parishes, there exists a contract between the bishop of La Paz and the Augustinian Order, signed by bishop Sieffert and Fr. Makaay, Nov. 9th, 1933, whereby the bishop entrusts to the Augustinians the care of all parishes in the provinces of South Yungas and Inquisivi (which lies just East of S. Yungas) for an indefinite time. Among other regulations, it is stated that if in the future the bishop wants to cancel the contract, he shall give 6 months' notice, similarly if the Augustinians wish to retire, they also promise to give 6 month's notice (copy in AVP).

A decree of the S. Congr. Concilii, dated April 5th, 1943, assigns the parish at Chulumani to the Order « ad nutum Sanctae Sedis », and the other parishes in South Yungas (Irupana, Laza-Ocobaya, Chirca-Villa Aspiazu, and Yanacachi) « ad nutum Ordinarii ». In 1954 a preliminary contract was signed by the Archbishop of La Paz, Most Rev. Abel I. Antezana, the provincial Fr. A. H. Van der Weijden, and the commissary provincial Fr. M. H. Meyer, in order to obtain a new decree whereby these parishes also would come to us « ad nutum Sanctae Sedis ».

On December 24th, 1939, work was begun in the province of Inquisivi, already mentioned in the contract with bishop Sieffert. A community was set up in the town of Quime, from where this vast territory was to be taken care of. Under the direction of Fr. Mateo Suiker a new monastery was built at Quime. However, in 1947, during the visitation of Fr. Provincial Sebastianus Van Nuenen negotiations were begun on a new division of territories. A *prelatura nullius* was to be formed, comprising Inquisivi with a few other provinces. The prelature was first offered to the Augustinians, who declared they could not accept it, as this would mean that Yungas had to be abandoned, and the *prelature* itself was already too vast for our small number of men. Thus the prelature was given to the Spanish Passionists (Constitutio Apostolica « Quod Christianae plebis regimini » of December 25th, 1949). As a result of this the Inquisivi province was turned over to these Passionist fathers on May 16th, 1951, and the monastery at Quime sold to them. The house at Quime had never received a canonical foundation.

At the request of the archbishop of La Paz, the Hollandish Augustinians have been taking care of the parish of Coroico, which comprises almost all of the province of North Yungas, since February 1951. This work however, which continues up to this date, is still being considered temporary, so that no attempts have been made to obtain canonical foundation and other rights.

problem, always a major one, has partly been solved by the acquisition of a jeep and another will be acquired soon.

The results of 25 years of hard work can be summed up by stating, that all churches in their care are in good condition, people have learned to respect their priests, hardly anyone dies without the Sacraments, numerous marriages have been validated, there is a group of faithful Catholic families in each village, and many thousands have made their first Communion [8]).

Work will always be hard in these regions, where one encounters an apathy in religious matters, where people do not seem to care to surpass a certain level of religious traditions, where they are willing to go to church on certain local feast days and to participate in processions on various occasions, but where it is most difficult to convince them that a truly Christian life comprises more than just that. This is long-term mission work.

[8]) « With respect to the apostolic work in these districts, new problems have » developed by the revolutions of the past ten years. Up to a few years ago, the » Indian population did hardly count within the social and economic structure of » the country. All authority and influence rested with a smal group of whites and »l mestizos. Recently, this situation has changed profoundly. The present govern- » ment, through its Agrarian Reform of 1953, has tried to put an end to the » system of large ownership, by allotting the land to the Indians. The original » owners are now allowed to keep only a small property. Whereas the Indians » formerly had to work two or three days a week on the land of the big owner, » without pay, but in exchange for a small piece of ground which they could » cultivate for their own use, today this labor is to be rewarded. In this new » system there is much which, at first sight, seems more attractive than it is in » reality. For one thing, production has decreased enormously, and it is very well » possible that many, in the end, will be poorer than they used to be. In spite » of this, the Indian population has acquired a great deal of self-respect, which » can never be undone again, not ony among the peasants but also among the » numerous miners. All these people, who used to have even their private affairs » taken care of by « compadres » (a form of small-time lawyers) in town, today » want to take care of themselves, and unite in trade unions. As the majority of » them are illiterate, naturally the most active elements will obtain the greatest » influence. Shall these be the Catholics or the Communists ? At this moment, » both parties seems to have equal chances. It was a great joy to me, to observe » that our missioners pay the fullest attention to this situation. They are earnestly » trying to obtain a sufficient number of lay catechists and labor leaders, especially » in the small Indian communities. Unfortunately, our confreres themselves are » seriously handicapped by their as yet insufficient knowledge of the Indian native » languages. Improvement on this point would undoubtedly be of the highest im- » portance » (From a report on the visitation in Bolivia, letter to the Dutch province by Fr. Provincial Van der Weijden, September 4th, 1954).

Shortly after the establishment of the Yungas mission it became clear [9]) that the Augustinians should also settle in one of the larger cities of Bolivia [10]) in order to have a foothold for arriving missioners, a procuration center for the benefit of those inland, and a point of contact with Church and State authorities. This would also add to the prestige of the Augustinians, who would have remained practically unknown if they had confined themselves to the remote territories of Yungas.

La Paz seemed the natural site for such an establishment, and during World War II this led to the foundation of a parish in this city. The foundation was complicated by the fact that within the parish territory there was a very popular shrine with a miraculous statue of our Lord « Nuestro Señor del Gran Poder » (Our Lord of Great Power) [11]). Today, on the main street of Chijini, an almost completely Indian borough of La Paz, you will find a beautiful new church with parish hall, and in the back of this a 15-room monastery, which serves as rectory as well as headquarters of the Fr. Commissary Provincial. A parish of an estimated 40 to 50,0000 people is being cared for by a community of 7 fathers and 2 brothers [12]). Here literally thousands of Baptisms are administered every year, hundreds of marriages are blessed, and, aided by a faithful group of catechists, the fathers teach religion in 11 public schools of the area. Hundreds of families are being visited, and every Friday Indians from all over come into the church to adore their beloved « Señor del Gran Poder ».

Within this parish there live more people than in all of Yungas, and except for transportation, problems are similar and even greater. A city, growing far too fast for its capacity to absorb newcomers, soon becomes a breeding place for poverty, discontent and Communism. There is no decent housing, light, water or sewerage in the outskirt sections where thousands are entering every year,

[9]) Fr. Thomas Van der Vloodt already writes about this possibility to Fr. Provincial Makaay in the fall of 1932.

[10]) The provincial chapter in Holland, of 1938 gave order to prepare the foundation of a house with church in La Paz.

[11]) AVP contain a large number of documents on the subject.

[12]) A decree of the S. Congr. Concilii assigns the parish to the Order « ad nutum Sanctae Sedis » (May 22th, 1943). The monastery was canonically erected by the Most Rev. Father General Eberhard on Oct. 25th, 1954 (Rescr. S. Congr. de Relig. 10266/54, Oct. 19th, 1954).

looking for a job which they thought would be an easier way to make money than to work on the land. These problems are known in many big cities the world over ; they are accentuated in a country which is perhaps the poorest in the Western Hemisphere, and which has been afflicted by political and economic instability. The help of foreign priests and religious are vitally needed for there are few native clergymen, and the majority of them are old.

The third and youngest branch of Augustinian labor in Bolivia is one which could not possibly be missed in any full-grown community within the Order. It is the apostolate of teaching, which the Order undertook through the erection of a secondary school in Cochabamba, the second largest city in Bolivia (pop. 100,000) [13]). There are two ways of conducting a school in this country. One could start out from the assumption that since in Bolivia the educational and economic level is among the lowest in the New World, a simple little school would suffice ; whatever would be taught, would be good enough, as anything at all is always better than nothing. Such schools could have been started in any place at all in Bolivia. With more than 75 % illiteracy, this should not have been difficult. Actually, many such schools exist, and many more are needed. However, the superiors of the Dutch province of the Order have chosen to set up a school which in many respects surpasses ordinary Bolivian standards. Many years of careful preparation have gone into this project [14]), which shows great promise in its beginnings, although this very preparation has placed a serious responsibility on those who are assigned to accomplish this work. « Colegio San Agustín », the first Catholic institution of its kind in Bolivia, is different from other secondary schools in the country in that it primarily stresses scientific and technical subjects, as well

[13]) On July 25th, 1950, the Most Rev. Berthold Buehl OFM, apostolic administrator of the diocese of Cochabamba approved the foundation of such a school. This approval was confirmed by the Most Rev. Tarcisio Senner OFM, bishop of Cochabamba, on June 4th, 1954 (AVP). The canonical foundation was granted by the Most Rev. Fr. General Eberhard on Oct. 25th, 1954 (Rescript. S. Congr. de Re. 10266/54, Oct. 19th, 1954).

[14]) In 1949, the provincial chapter in Holland sent Frs. Marcos Meyer and Andrés Van Meegeren to Cochabamba to prepare the foundation of the school, whereas three young fathers were sent to Villanova University, O. S. A. to obtain engineering degrees; a few years later some more young priests were assigned to Villanova University for the same purpose. In January 1955 the school was actually begun.

as the study of the English language, which has become more and more important in Bolivia.

Besides providing a good Catholic education for its pupils, the purpose of this school has been conceived as adding a certain form of prestige to the Church in Bolivia, by showing that the Church is willing to make sacrifices toward the technical development of the country, which is now being undertaken by various international organizations, such as Point Four and UNESCO. In Bolivia, as well as anywhere else, a certain degree of economic welfare is indispensable for a sound development of Catholic family life. This school will, furthermore, try to maintain at least as high a level of education as that of some influential Protestant schools, and to provide the type of modern education many Bolivian parents are apparently demanding for their children. It has been an unfortunate source of difficulty to the Catholic Church in Bolivia, that many people send their children to Protestant schools, which make a good impression due to the considerable financial aid they receive from their mother churches in North America. It has been said that these Protestant institutions were the only places where one could learn sciences, engineering and English in preparation for further studies abroad. These schools have been educating a large number of people who very often did not become Protestants, but whose outlook on religious matters is one of complete indifference and one-sided criticism of the faults of the Church in South America. It has become necessary, in all of South America, to show that being a good Catholic does not necessarily include being behind the time, and it is exactly this point which « Colegio San Agustín » is trying to emphasize in its ways and methods.

It is clear, that such an ambitious project should cost a large amount of money. That it has been possible, is due to an unusual form of cooperation between the Dutch and the two North American provinces of the Order.

The Americans obtained ten priests from the Dutch province to relieve a temporary shortage of teachers in their various high schools and colleges. With their salaries, the Dutch province was able to finance the construction of a monastery and a workshop at Cochabamba, and funds are available for the construction of the main school building, which will be begun within a short time. Thus, without any outside help or donation, « Colegio San Agustín »

could be realized, and will be able to maintain a standard which can match anything Bolivia is showing today.

The most recent foundation [15]) was established in the parish of St. Joseph in the city of Camagüey, Cuba, which is affiliated to the Bolivian vice-province. The Dutch province accepted this parish at the special request of the late Fr. Dougherty, provincial at Villanova. Four fathers are working at Camagüey at the present time.

In February 1951, the Bolivian mission was elevated to the rank of Vice-Province under the protection of St. Thomas of Villanova, patron Saint of the pioneer-missioner Fr. Van der Vloodt [16]). Its first commissary-provincial, Fr. Emilio De Rooy, who had been vicar-provincial since 1943, was forced to resign in November 1952, because of ill health [17]). It was a hard sacrifice for Fr. De Rooy to make, when he was told to stay in Holland, having worked 14 years in Bolivia as an example of unselfish priestly zeal. Today, December 1955, the Vice-Province consists of 28 priests (22 in Bolivia, 4 in Camagüey, 2 teaching with the North-American provinces), and 9 lay brothers (all in Bolivia). This small force is now trying to accomplish the vast work entrusted to its care. It is greatly inspired by the example of four eminent Augustinians who sacrified their lives for the Bolivian missions. First of all should be mentioned the Most Rev. Father Clement Fuhl, who, being Prior General of the Order, decided to go to Bolivia to perform the Sacred Visitation in 1935. In spite of ill health and advice to the contrary, he demonstrated his keen interest in the young mission by undertaking the arduous journey from the Pacific Coast (port of Arica, Chile), across the 15,000 feet high Andes to La Paz, This was too much for his weakened constitution: a few days after his arrival in La Paz he died a saintly death on March 31st, 1935. His mortal remains

[15]) Correspondence between the superiors of the Order and the Most Rev. Carlos Riu, bishop of Camagüey, in AVP. The fathers arrived in Camagüey in February 1955. Canonical foundation was granted by the Most Rev. Father General Eberhard on March 8th, 1955 (Indultum Apost. March 4th, 1955).

[16]) The Congregatio intermedia at Culemborg, Holland, February 1st, 1951, made the decision, which was approved by the Most Rev. Father General Hickey on February 15th, 1951 (AVP).

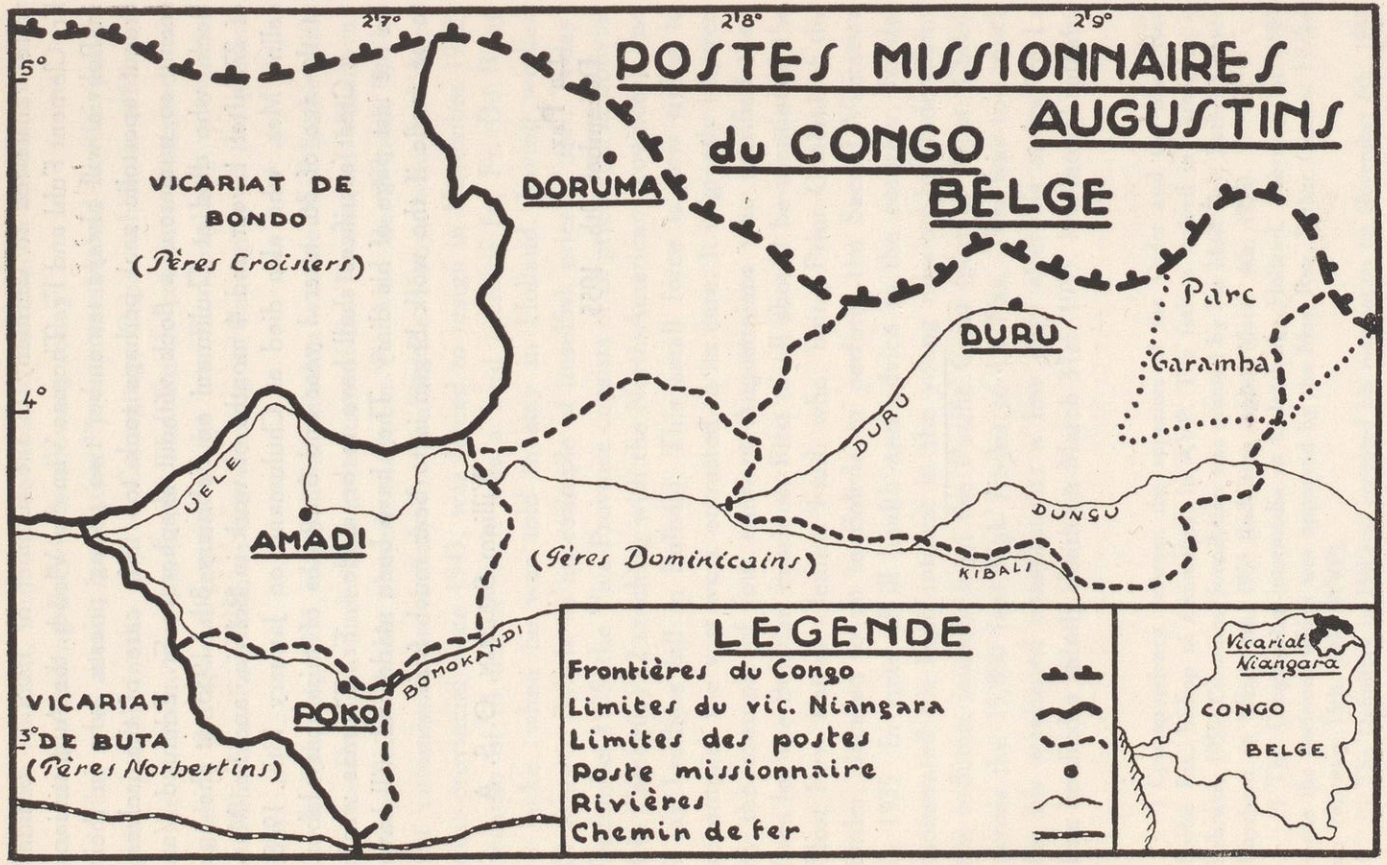
[17]) The Definitory in Holland accepted his resignation on November 6th, 1952, and appointed on the same day the present commissary provincial, Very Rev. Father Marcus Meyer STD.

were transferred to Germany in the summer of 1953. — Besides Fr. Clement Fuhl and Fr. Thomas Van der Vloodt, the Augustinians in Bolivia will always remember two young priests, who in their ardent apostolic zeal perhaps took too little care of themselves, seeing so numerous a flock without shepherds: Fr. Edmund Van Beek, who died at Chulumani on February 8th, 1938, at the age of 27, after 1 year and 4 months of work in Bolivia, and Fr. Marcelino Mes, who also died at Chulumani, on January 13th, 1948, at the age of 36, after 1 year and 8 months of missionary labor.

« Great sacrifices shall have to be made », Fr. Thomas wrote on the last page of his diary. They have been made and will have to be made if the work begun is to bear much fruit.

William SAELMAN, O. S. A.

La Paz,
December 9th, 1955.


POSTES MISSIONNAIRES
AUGUSTINS
du CONGO BELGE
2°7°
2°8°
2°9°
5°
4°
3°
VICARIAT DE BONDO
(Pères Croisiers)
DORUMA
DURU
Parc
Garamba
DURU
UELE
AMADI
(Pères Dominicains)
DUNGU
KIBALI
BOMOKANDI
VICARIAT
DE BUTA
(Pères Norbertins)
POKO
LEGENDE
Frontières du Congo
Limites du vic. Niangara
Limites des postes
Poste missionnaire
Rivières
Chemin de fer
Vicariat Niangara
CONGO
BELGE

Les Augustins au Congo Belge

La moisson est abondante...

En ce siècle de missions, plus que jamais retentit la plainte du Christ: « La moisson est abondante, mais les ouvriers sont peu nombreux » [1]). Aussi, pour répondre à Son appel, des Augustins belges sont allés prêcher l'Evangile sous le ciel inclément des tropiques. A l'heure où nous écrivons ces lignes, il y a quatre ans qu'ils sont partis.

1. *La Croix sur l'Uélé.*

C'est en 1898, que les Norbertins de Tongerlo plantèrent la Croix sur les plateaux de l'Uélé, un territoire vaste comme huit fois la Belgique. Gombari et Amadi furent leurs premiers postes. Accablés par la maladie et décimés par la mort, les pionniers se virent bientôt contraints de céder le district de Niangara aux Dominicains belges.

Le 3 novembre 1911, le P. Réginald Van Schoote s'embarquait avec quelques confrères pour le Congo. Après trois mois de voyage, les nouveaux missionnaires et le P. Van Schoote, nommé Préfet Apostolique par un décret du 16 janvier 1912, se fixèrent à Dungu, confluent du Kibali et de l'Uélé et à mi-chemin entre Amadi et Gombari. Grâce aux renforts, Monseigneur Réginald procéda à la fondation de Nzoro, Tuku, Aba, Niangara, Dungu, Rungu et Doruma. Toutes ces stations furent fondées peu avant ou peu après la Grande Guerre. En 1917, Watsa remplaça l'ancienne mission de Gombari. Nzoro dut être abandonné en raison de la maladie du sommeil et la mission fut transférée à Aba que plus tard les Pères Blancs reprendront.

Lors de sa visite ad limina en 1922, le Maître Général de

[1]) Luc X, 2.

l'Ordre, désireux de voir Mgr Van Schoote jouir d'un repos bien mérité, lui offre le priorat de Sainte-Sabine.

Le P. Rolin succéda au Préfet démissionnaire, mais lorsqu'en 1924, la préfecture fut élevée au rang de vicariat, celui-ci ayant exprimé le désir de ne pas être élu, Rome nomma le P. Lagae.

Les missions de Viadana, Faradje et Duru sont fondées.

L'Uélé accueille également les Dominicaines qui s'installent à Niangara en 1924, à Doruma et à Watsa en 1926, à Amadi en 1927, à Dungu en 1929, à Faradje en 1932, à Duru en 1936, à Rungu en 1939, à Viadana en 1948 et à Tora en 1950.

Depuis 1944, les Chanoinesses du St Sépulcre de Turnhout travaillent à Paulis.

En 1948, Mgr De Wilde succède à Mgr Lagae admis à la retraite.

Finalement, de 1937 à 1950, six nouveaux postes surgissent de la brousse: Makoro, Paulis, Medje, Ingi, Poko et Tora de sorte qu'à l'arrivée des Augustins, l'Uélé dominicain compte quinze stations dont douze desservies par des Sœurs blanches, 975 chapelles de brousse, 100.000 chrétiens et 18.000 catéchumènes sur une population de 600.000 indigènes.

2. *Sic sua permansit ab avis in stemmate virtus.*

Croire qu'en partant au Congo, les Augustins belges sont missionnaires pour la première fois est faux car déjà sous le règne des Archiducs, plusieurs d'entre eux réévangélisaient la Hollande calviniste. Vers 1630, il est question d'une véritable mission dont le provincial avait la préfecture ... et cela jusqu'à la fin du siècle dernier. D'autres, tel le frère de S. Jean Berchmans, furent envoyés dans les missions augustiniennes espagnoles.

C'est ainsi que la vertu se transmit des aïeux à la postérité.

Depuis longtemps, la province belge caressait le dessein de commencer une fondation dans la colonie. Pour s'en convaincre, invoquons deux témoignages.

Dans son opuscule intitulé *L'Ordre des Augustins*, le P. Louis Goegebuer observait en 1946: « Le Congo appelle les Augustins belges, une jeunesse enthousiaste et généreuse se prépare à cette mission, car comme leurs pères d'autrefois, ils porteront l'Evangile au bout du monde » [2]).

[2]) L. GOEGEBUER, *L'Ordre des Augustins*, Marchienne-au-Pont, 1946, p. 51.

De son côté, le P. Alype Van den Born écrit: « De Belgische Augustijnen hopen weldra een missie te aanvaarden in Congo » [3]).

Le 31 janvier 1952, le provincial des Dominicains adressait au T. R. P. Emmanuel van Berkel une lettre pour lui demander s'il était possible aux Augustins belges de seconder ses missionnaires dans l'évangélisation du vicariat de Niangara.

Lundi 18 février, le rêve se réalisait. Réuni à Héverlé, le définitoire agréait la demande du P. Gobert O. P. Quelques jours plus tard, Mgr De Wilde était à la hauteur de cette décision et en mars l'approbation du Général de l'Ordre suivait. Voici les termes de cette approbation:

CURIA GENERALIZIA AGOSTINIANA
Via S. Uffizio, 25 — Roma (9)

Admodum Reverende P. Provincialis,

Valde gavisi sumus lecta postrema epistula tua, in qua nuntiabas nobis Provinciam tuam consilium cepisse Missionem inter infideles instituendi in Vicariatu Niangara (Congo Belgica). Probamus toto corde et laudamus propositum vestrum, neque dubitamus quin Deus favore suo semper laborum vestrorum adiutor sit. Videtur nobis in praesenti non opus esse alia licentia Superiorum Maiorum Ecclesiasticorum.

In posterum, cum jurisdictio independens nobis necessaria erit, hanc licentiam res postulabit. Interea munus nostrum est quaerere legitimas auctoritates de hoc argumento, et, si opus sit, petere necessarias facultates. Vale et roga Deum pro me et pro nostro Ordine.

Romae, 7 Martii 1952.

Addictissimus ex corde
Fr. Joseph Hickey
Prior Generalis

Or, sur les instances du Vicaire Apostolique de Niangara, il fallait se hâter.

Le 14 mars, les PP. Guillaume van den Elzen, Bruno van Mierlo, Matthieu Baggen et Libert Coremans étaient désignés pour la nouvelle mission par le définitoire tenu à Saint-Trond. En avril, le T. R. P. Provincial s'envolait pour l'Uélé afin d'ouvrir les négociations et d'établir les postes à reprendre. A peine rentré, il recevait l'approbation de la congrégation de la Propagande ainsi conçue:

[3]) A. Van den Born, *St Augustinus en de Augustijnenorde*, Gent, 1945, p. 121.

SACRA CONGREGATIO
DE PROPAGANDA FIDE
Prot. n. 1758/52

Roma, 2 maggio 1952.

Il sottoscritto Segretario della Sacra Congregazione « de Propagande Fide », in esecuzione degli ordini dell'Em.mo suo Superiore, si reca a premura di communicare alla P. V. Rev. ma che questo Sacro Dicastero, esaminata attentamente la domanda del Superiore della Provincia Belga, concede, con la presente, la necessaria autorizzazione per l'invio di alcuni religiosi della suddetta Provincia nel Vicariato Apostolico di Niangara al fine di svolgervi l'apostolato missionario sotto la giurisdizione del Vicario Apostolico, e, in seguito, di potervi fondare una nuova missione.

Lo scrivente si pregia inoltre significarLe che la Propaganda, mentre si ripromette i migliori frutti di bene dalla collaborazione che i religiosi agostiniani sapranno dare con spirito di generosa dedizione all'Ecc.mo Mons. De Wilde, Vicario Apostolico di Niangara, desidera che, compatibilmente alle possibilità di personale, i Padri Agostiniani abbiano assegnato quanto prima un ben delimitato territorio dove svolgere l'apostolato missionario.

Nel pregare V. P. di voler portare quanto sopra a conoscenza del Superiore della Provincia Belga, il medesimo Segretario profitta dell'incontro per esprimerLe il suo distinto ossequio.

(firm.) † Celso Constantini
Segret.

Rev.mo P. Giuseppe HICKEY
Priore Generale degli Eremitani
di S. Agostino
Roma

Concordat cum originali in Archivo Ordinis asservato.
Romae, die 4 Maii 1952.

Fr. Ignatius Aramburu
Secretarius OESA.

La cérémonie d'envoi ayant eu lieu à Gand le dernier dimanche de juin, nos premiers missionnaires montèrent le surlendemain 1 juillet à bord de l'Elisabethville.

Au chapitre provincial tenu à Gand du 17 au 22 août, cinq pères et un frère convers sont désignés pour le Congo. Hélas, le 17 septembre, le poste de Poko télégraphiait le décès du P. Matthieu, supérieur de Doruma, survenu à Poko l'avant-veille [4]). Sa mort fut

[4]) Né à Vaals le 3 octobre 1917, il prit l'habit le 25 septembre 1936 et fut ordonné prêtre à Gand le 27 septembre 1942.

un lourd tribut pour la jeune mission mais dans sa mort se vérifiait une fois de plus la parole de Jésus: « Si le grain de blé ne tombe en terre et ne meurt, il reste seul ; s'il meurt, il porte beaucoup de fruit » [5]).

Après l'émouvant adieu du 16 novembre à Contich, les PP. Boniface van de Winkel et Philibert Buys accompagnés du frère Stanislas Vaes prennent l'avion le 18 à Melsbroek. Le P. Alphonse Michiels et le P. Willibrord Schokker, eux, s'embarqueront sur l'Albertville le 9 décembre. Quant au P. Luc, il restera en Belgique jusqu'au 24 mars 1953. Accompagné de l'économe des missions, le nouveau provincial visite Poko, Amadi et Doruma du 3 juin au 19 juillet.

En août, le P. Guillaume est nommé Supérieur religieux de la mission. Le 31 du même mois, le frère Joseph Viaene est admis à l'oblature par le chapitre. Le 16 septembre, le provincial nomme les PP. Jacques van de Rakt, Guido Deltour ainsi que le frère Grâce Vandenheuvel pour le Congo. Sous les yeux de Mgr De Wilde, les nouveaux missionnaires reçoivent la croix le jour de Toussaint. Le 18, le P. Jacques gagne l'Uélé par avion avec le frère Grâce tandis que le P. Guido quitte Anvers le 24 novembre.

Durant l'année mariale 1954, le P. Georges van Deelen, nommé le 18 janvier et envoyé en la fête de l'Annonciation, part le 9 avril en compagnie de Son Excellence Mgr De Wilde.

Treize mois plus tard, le P. Marcel Blommaert quitte l'aéroport de Melsbroek. En la fête du Christ-Roi, les PP. Gérolphe Van Tilborg et Amand Jonk, désignés par le chapitre triennal tenu à Gand du 16 au 20 août 1955, sont envoyés officiellement au Congo, où le 15 novembre un appareil de la Sabena les emmène.

Envoyé le 13 mai 1956 de Coq s/Mer, le P. Laurent Van Os est allé rejoindre le 24 ses frères missionnaires qui vont fonder bientôt leur premier poste à Gilima entre Duru et Doruma et auront leur préfecture dans un proche avenir.

Actuellement, la mission comprend les postes suivants: Poko, Amadi, Doruma, Duru.

3. *In nomine Domini.*

Bornée au Nord par le Soudan et le territoire français du Chari, à l'Est par le Parc de la Garamba et les missions de Faradje et

[5]) JEAN XII, 24.

de Tora, au Sud par l'Uélé et le Kibali ainsi que les missions de Niangara, Viadana et Medje et à l'Ouest par le vicariat de Buta et celui de Bondo, la mission des Augustins belges est le double de leur patrie. Deux grandes races se côtoient: les Azandés et les Mangbetous. Les Azandés ont tous les caractères du soldat tandis que les Mangbetous sont plutôt des artistes. Hélas les deux races sont polygames, ce qui constitue un sérieux obstacle à leur conversion. Entre ces deux groupes, on croise des races moins représentées comme les Amadis, les Bambos et les Pygmées. Chacune d'elles a son propre langage, d'où l'inconvénient pour le missionnaire qu'il habite Poko, Amadi, Doruma ou Duru.

Poko. — A vrai dire, Poko n'est pas un village, mais un poste de l'Etat qui a ses bâtiments, un hôpital, une prison et une léproserie. Certes, Poko est important au point de vue administratif et sur nos autres postes, il a la préséance car le Vicaire Provincial habite ici. Outre le domaine de l'Etat, il y a celui de la mission qui couvre une surface de 100 hectares.

Poko fut d'abord chapelle de brousse de 1911 à 1948. Son fondateur, le P. Brasseur O. P. y bâtit l'église en potto-pot, huit classes, deux banous (dortoirs pour le personnel de la mission). Il bâtit encore sa résidence, l'ensemble sur un an et demi. A l'arrivée des Augustins, le 26 juillet 1952, il était occupé à construire une école en briques. Aussitôt rodés, ceux-ci achevèrent l'école en chantier et érigèrent la seconde. Ils songèrent ensuite à une église (plus tard chapelle des catéchumènes) qui fut bénite par le T. R. P. Joseph Cornelissen, le 28 juin 1953, lors de sa visite canonique, puis à une menuiserie, à la salle des moteurs, à un atelier, à l'annexe et à la maison des Pères bénite le jour de Toussaint 1954.

D'après les statistiques du Vicariat 1954-1955, Poko compte 3 Pères, 1 prêtre indigène, 1 frère convers, 11 instituteurs pour les écoles des centres, 15 instituteurs pour les écoles de brousse, 70 catholiques étrangers, 3.837 catholiques indigènes, 450 catéchumènes et 59 chapelles de brousse. Les missionnaires ont à leur actif: 262 baptêmes d'adultes, 20 baptêmes d'enfants, 121 baptêmes en danger de mort, 59 mariages chrétiens, 159 enterrements, 2.700 communions pascales et 38.000 communions de dévotion.

Selon les statistiques de juin 1954, la mission de Poko avait 10 écoles, 216 garçons et 72 filles dans les écoles des centres, 254 garçons et 20 filles dans les écoles de brousse.

Rien que sur cette mission, il y a 25.000 païens.

AMADI. — Le 11 janvier 1953, les PP. Alphonse et Willibrord furent installés à Amadi par Mgr De Wilde. Lorsque les Dominicains reprirent le poste aux Prémontrés en 1912, le P. Vincent Van Caloen fut désigné comme premier supérieur. Un an après, Amadi comptait déjà 7 chapelles. La langue fut un grand handicap. Après le bangala, langue des blancs, il fallut s'appliquer à l'idiome régional, le barambo. Successeurs du P. Van Caloen, les PP. Lagae et De Meyer éditèrent un catéchisme en barambo. Plus tard, le P. De Meyer édita un grand catéchisme, des chants et des prières ainsi qu'une Histoire sainte dans cet idiome. En 1918, 100 baptêmes avaient déjà été administrés. Lentement, les chapelles de brousse attirèrent les chrétiens qui formèrent de nouveaux villages. Pour enrayer cette émigration, les chefs indigènes réclamèrent bien vite une chapelle pour les leurs. C'est ainsi qu'en 1919, le poste d'Amadi comptait 24 chapelles, 750 chrétiens et 1724 catéchumènes. Alors qu'en 1917, il n'y avait encore que 20 filles catéchumènes, en 1922, on en comptera 200. En 1927, les Dominicaines de Bruges relevèrent les Sœurs de Berlaar desservant l'hôpital, la maternité, préparant les femmes au mariage et enseignant la jeunesse féminine.

1934 fut un bienfait pour la mission. Sur ordre de l'Etat, tous les indigènes vivant au fond des bois et le long des rivières durent s'aligner au bord des routes. Ainsi les noirs furent mieux à la portée des missionnaires qui érigèrent une chapelle par groupe, de sorte qu'en un semestre, le nombre des chapelles monta de 47 à 180 et les catéchumèmes augmentèrent par milliers.

Situé à 70 km. de Poko et à 200 de Doruma, Amadi est le poste le plus ancien du vicariat. Sa population composée de Barambos et de Madis vit des produits de la pêche. Le poste possède une église et une résidence de même style, le tout en briques avec un toit de chaume, des plantations de caféiers et des palmeraies. La tâche des Pères consiste surtout à visiter la brousse, diriger l'école des garçons et les constructions et assurer l'apostolat au poste.

D'après les statistiques du Vicariat 1954-1955, Amadi compte 3 Pères, 4 Sœurs, 8 instituteurs pour les écoles des centres, 11 instituteurs pour les écoles de brousse, 10 institutrices, 7 catholiques étrangers, 5.742 catholiques indigènes, 518 catéchumènes et 68 chapelles de brousse. Les missionnaires ont à leur actif: 78 baptêmes d'adultes, 154 baptêmes d'enfants, 220 baptêmes en danger de mort, 17 mariages chrétiens, 310 enterrements, 4.600 communions pascales et 90.770 communions de dévotion.

Selon les statistiques de juin 1954, la mission d'Amadi avait 9 écoles, 298 garçons et 168 filles dans les écoles des centres et 263 garçons dans les écoles de brousse.

DORUMA. — Doruma emprunte son nom à Doromo ou Ndoruma, chef nègre audacieux et turbulent qui attaqua et massacra la colonne Janssens-Van Holsbeek. Battu le 15 avril 1896 par le colonel Chaltin, il faisait, peu de temps après, sa soumission à l'E. I. C. et mourait en 1903.

Le 15 août 1913, le P. Péscheur O. P. quittait Amadi pour explorer la région entre l'Uélé et la frontière septentrionale du Congo belge. Quelques mois plus tard, Doruma avait déjà une petite chapelle fréquentée par une cinquantaine de catéchumènes. En 1914, le P. Péscheur reçut l'ordre de rechercher un endroit propice à la fondation d'un poste. Son choix échut sur Tuku. Exténué par un labeur inlassable, il fut contraint de rentrer en Europe où son coadjuteur, le P. Van den Plas, le rejoignit en 1917. Le P. Lagae fut chargé de remplacer ce dernier. Visitant Doruma et Makusa, il fonda deux nouvelles chapelles dans la contrée et fut autorisé par les chefs Dika, Jaberada et Kana d'en ériger d'autres sur leurs chefferies. Revenu à Tuku, l'année suivante, le P. Van den Plas en fonda encore trois sur le territoire de Doruma.

Tuku étant trop distant des autres centres, on scinda la mission en deux. Ainsi à l'Est, on eut la mission de Dungu et à l'Ouest, celle de Doruma. Le P. Rahier, qui arriva en 1921, fut son premier supérieur. Sous la direction des missionnaires, les chrétiens afflués de Tuku érigèrent l'église S. Vincent, la résidence provisoire des Pères, une école, un dispensaire et... la mission de Doruma était fondée. Rentrant d'un séjour en Europe, le P. Lagae fut appelé à succéder au P. Rahier. Vers Noël 1924, le P. Lagae fut nommé Vicaire Apostolique de la mission de Niangara. Toute la chrétienté de Doruma fut aussitôt en liesse car Dieu avait daigné choisir leur évêque du sein de leur mission. Le P. Sloekers assura sa succession à Doruma. Grand bâtisseur, il mit en chantier la maison actuelle des Pères, une école pour garçons et la résidence des Dominicaines qui arrivèrent le 20 février 1926.

Avec le temps, le poste passa aux mains des Augustins qui y vinrent le 9 août 1952. Le plus beau de tout le vicariat, on y accède par un drève splendide de palmiers. Sa superficie est de 600 hectares dont 500 de prairies pour le bétail. Les Dominicaines ont le lazaret,

l'hôpital, le dispensaire et la maternité à leurs soins. Enfin, ses écoles sont réputées. La région assignée aux missionnaires couvre une superficie de 20.000 km².

D'après les statistiques du Vicariat 1954-1955, Doruma compte 3 Pères, 1 prêtre indigène, 4 Sœurs, 9 instituteurs pour les écoles des centres, 29 instituteurs pour les écoles de brousse, 11 institutrices, 18 catholiques étrangers, 8.526 catholiques indigènes, 2.430 catéchumènes et 82 chapelles de brousse. Les missionnaires ont à leur actif: 883 baptêmes d'adultes, 145 baptêmes d'enfants, 320 baptêmes en danger de mort, 183 mariages chrétiens, 401 enterrements, 6.000 communions pascales et 142.000 communions de dévotion.

Selon les statistiques de juin 1954, la mission avait 27 écoles, 335 garçons et 167 filles dans les écoles des centres et 989 garçons dans les écoles de brousse.

Mais Doruma est un pauvre pays et la population qui parle quasi partout le zandé s'adonne à la culture du coton. Les Azandés de cette mission sont plus fermés de caractère qu'ailleurs. Courageux, ils ont l'esprit de famille et dressent leurs huttes au bord des rivières ou à l'orée des bois. Les bananes, le maïs, le manioc et les patates douces suffisent à leur subsistance.

DURU. — Sise à 300 km. de Poko et à 210 de Doruma, la mission de Duru emprunte son nom au Duru, affluent de l'Uélé. Presque aussi grande que la Belgique, la mission fut érigée canoniquement par Mgr Lagae le 21 août 1931. De 1911 à 1920, le vicariat n'avait encore que deux chapelles sur cet immense territoire. La cause se doit tant à l'opposition des chefs qu'à l'influence croissante du protestantisme. En 1928, le P. Gillet O. P. liait connaissance avec Gilima, fils de Renzi. Quatre mois plus tard, le même missionnaire avait une entrevue avec le chef suprême des Azandés. Cet entretien ouvrit les portes du territoire de Gilima à l'Evangile.

De retour d'un séjour en Europe, Mgr Lagae chargea en février 1931 le P. Gillet de fonder la mission de Duru. Le fondateur arriva le 23 avril et six mois plus tard, les premiers bâtiments, base de la mission actuelle, sortaient du sol.

Alors qu'à Pâques, la chefferie de Gilima ne comptait encore que 18 écoles de brousse avec 15 catéchistes, à la mi-août, elle en compte 30 avec 40 élèves par école.

La conversion d'André Zabili porta un coup aux Azandés protestants qui sont plus de 13.000 sur l'étendue du vicariat.

En mai 1940, la nouvelle église était inaugurée.

Comme Doruma, Duru relève du poste administratif de Dungu. Sa population est évaluée à 50.000 Azandés dont Dekpé, successeur de Gilima décédé le 10 septembre 1949, est aujourd'hui le chef suprême. Tiède d'extérieur, vu de près, l'Azandé de race est intelligent, hospitalier, respectueux du bien d'autrui et discipliné.

Le 15 septembre 1953, le P. Luc quittait Poko pour Duru, dernier poste à reprendre aux Dominicains. Au poste même, il y a 113 familles chrétiennes avec 112 enfants seulement, tandis que la mission en compte 1042 avec 610 enfants. Bien des familles doivent expier ici le triste sort d'être nées et d'avoir été élevées dans le paganisme.

D'après les statistiques du Vicariat 1954-1955, Duru compte 4 Pères, 1 oblat, 7 instituteurs pour les écoles des centres et 22 pour les écoles de brousse, 5 institutrices, 7 catholiques étrangers, 7.012 catholiques indigènes et 1.004 catéchumènes. Les missionnaires ont à leur actif: 963 baptêmes d'adultes, 209 baptêmes d'enfants, 118 baptêmes en danger de mort, 162 mariages chrétiens, 232 enterrements, 4.735 communions pascales et 125.600 communions de dévotion.

Selon les mêmes statistiques, la mission a 32 écoles, 244 garçons et 161 filles dans les écoles des centres, 955 garçons et 65 filles dans les écoles de brousse.

Depuis le Nouvel An 1956, huit Dominicaines indigènes remplacent leurs consœurs blanches qui de juin 1954 à juin 1955 ont eu 108.203 consultations et donné 10.000 piqûres aux lépreux. Désormais, les nouvelles religieuses desservent l'école, la maternité et la clinique de Duru.

Enfin, nos missionnaires visitent trois fois l'an les 55 chapelles de brousse dont la plus lointaine est à 120 km. du poste.

Au terme de cet article, il ne nous reste qu'à écouter notre Foi: les hommes ont été créés pour la gloire de Dieu. Or, c'est par le Christ seul qu'ils peuvent Le glorifier et être sauvés.

Aussi la voix des missionnaires porte le Christ à chaque jour nouveau ... car la moisson est abondante.

Jean-Marie BASILIDE, O. E. S. A.

Return to Nagasaki

A hardware store in the Motofurukawa section of Nagasaki marks the site of the Church of St. Augustine, founded by Augustinian missionaries in 1606 and continuing as a wellspring of Catholic truth until the end of missionary activity in Japan twenty-nine years later. During the pastorate of Blessed Ferdinand of St. Joseph it served 10,000 worshipers. Here a score of our brethren, including eleven who have been beatified, suffered martyrdom together with thousands of the faithful. After this heroic blaze of charity the curtain of night descended on Augustinian missions in Japan for more than three centuries.

The return of the Augustinians, long desired by Bishop Yamaguchi, was initiated by the late Fr. Provincial Joseph M. Dougherty of the Villanova Province in an early 1952 communication to the late Fr. General Joseph A. Hickey. Fr. Hickey accordingly made representations to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which were answered on June 16, 1952, with the following permission:

Con lettera del 14 corrente, la Paternità Vostra Reverendissima domandava a questo Sacro Dicastero il permesso di poter mandare alcuni Padri di codesto benemerito Ordine della Diocesi di Nagasaki (Giappone).

Al riguardo, mi do premura di significare a Vostra Paternità che questa Sacra Congregazione, attesta la richiesta fatta dall' Ecc.mo Ordinario di Nagasaki, concede ben volentieri, con la presente, il desiderato permesse.

Mentre formulo voti che i buoni Eremitani possano, sulle belle orme dei loro predecessori, compiere in Giappone un felice, fruttuoso apostolado, profitto dell'occasione per rinnovarLe i sensi del mio distinto ossequio, con cui amo raffermarmi

della Paternità Vostra Rev.ma
devotissimo nel Signore
(firm.) P. Card. Fumasoni-Biondi, Pref.

Cello Constantini, Segret.

Thus it came about that three American Augustinians, Fathers George Krupa and Thomas Purcell of the Province of St. Thomas of Villanova and Fr. Edward Robinson of the Province of Our Mother of Good Counsel, arrived in Nagasaki on November 22, 1952.

The fathers lived for a year at the Yokahama monastery of the Atonement Friars while attending the Far Eastern Institute of Oriental Languages, which is conducted by the Franciscans in Tokyo. It was above all necessary to begin learning Japanese ! Meanwhile the Shiroyama area, rebuilt after total devastation by the Atomic Bomb, was designed as their field of work in Nagasaki. With this end in view the Augustinians purchased from the Marianist Brothers a building and about five acres of land.

Studies in Tokyo were completed on August 1, 1953. On the Feast of Our Holy Founder Bishop Yamaguchi blessed the little Monastery of Our Mother of Consolation in Nagasaki and offered the first Mass. The fathers were not yet ready for official parochial responsibilities ; ahead of them still remained a year of study with a teacher who came daily to the monastery. Their public chapel was convenient for the Catholics of the neighborhood, however, and they soon had good opportunities to preach and hear confessions.

On August 28, 1954, work was begun on a more suitable monastery building and on a hall that was to serve as a temporary church. On All Saints' Day the corner stone of a permanent church edifice was laid. By Christmas the monastery and hall (temporary church) were completed and the Bishop had proclaimed the erection of the new Parish of Shiroyama ; this is a parish with approximately 1300 faithful — mostly from families that kept the Faith through the persecution — and a local mission field of 50,000 pagans. Father Purcell became the first pastor. On May 1, 1955, the new church was dedicated, leaving the hall free for other uses.

The first important provision for the education of the young was the conversion of the hall into a child center and kindergarten with 150 children and four teachers. Later the fathers began construction on the first free Catholic parochial school in Japan. The school is to accomodate, at first, 300 children of the parish. Although the Sisters of St. Maur who are highly regarded as educators in Japan, will provide the teaching staff, the school will be directed

by the Augustinian Fathers and run along the lines of an American parochial school.

Bishop Yamaguchi desired the fathers to concern themselves also with university students. In the fall of 1954 two fathers joined the English Faculty of the venerable University of Nagasaki, thus becoming the first Catholic priests to teach in that institution. After the new monastery was ready the building formerly used for this purpose was made into « St. Mary's Hostel » for university students and placed under the directorship of Fr. Krupa. It is to be noted that the majority of the twenty-two students housed there are pagans.

It is impossible to say how many fathers will one day be needed. The first reinforcements arrived in October, 1954. They were Fathers James Ryan, O. S. A. (Villanova Pr.), and Edward Griffin, O. S. A. (O. L. of Good Counsel Pr.). These fathers went at once to Tokyo to embark on the indispensable study of the Japanese Language.

Thomas PURCELL, O. S. A.

Nagasaki (Japan).

Das Justinus-Werk für die studierende Jugend aus den Missionsländern

Einen eigenartigen und wichtigen Sektor missionarischer Arbeit betreut die deutsche Ordensprovinz seit dem Jahre 1951 durch die Sorge für das « Justinus-Werk ». Damit hat sie sich an einem neuralgischen Punkt in das Weltmissionswerk der Kirche eingeschaltet, wie übrigens nochmals etwas später durch die Uebernahme der Leitung des grossen Missionsärztlichen Instituts in Würzburg (Bayern).

Um die Aufgabe des Justinus-Werks zu verstehen, ist die Darstellung eines Missionsproblems nötig, das die Kirche heute sehr beschäftigt. Es ist die religiöse Sorge um die studierende Jugend aus den Missionsländern, die an den Universitäten Europas und Amerikas ihre wissenschaftliche und berufliche Ausbildung sucht.

Im Jahre 1925 hielt der bekannte Chinamissionär Vinzenz Lebbe in Fribourg (Schweiz) einen Vortrag, in dem er über das Problem der asiatischen und afrikanischen Studenten an den Hochschulen des Westens sprach. Diese jungen Menschen kommen an unsere Universitäten, begierig, alles Wertvolle und Schöne aufzunehmen, um später ihrem eigenen Volk damit zu dienen. Sie verbringen dann mehrere Jahre unter uns und kehren oft mit reicher Fracht wissenschaftlichen Könnens heim, aber innerlich zerrissen von den widerstreitendsten Ideen.

Diese Studenten verlieren vielfach ihren angestammten Glauben, weil sie die Unhaltbarkeit ihrer heidnischen Religion vor den Ergebnissen der modernen Wissenschaft einsehen ;aber dieser Verlust wird nur selten durch die Hinwendung zum Christentum in einen Gewinn verwandelt. Oft werden diese Studenten in religiöser Hinsicht gleichgültig oder, und das ist noch schlimmer, sie werden zu glühenden Verfechtern moderner Irrlehren, vor allem des Mate-

rialismus und Kommunismus und damit immer auch der Gottlosigkeit.

Die Studenten, die ihre wissenschaftliche Ausbildung in Europa empfangen haben, rücken in ihrer Heimat in die einflussreichsten Posten ein und werden den Studierenden ihrer eigenen Universitäten bei Besetzung der Schlüsselstellungen fast immer vorgezogen. Als Diplomaten und Richter, als Regierungsbeamte und Volksvertreter, als Wirtschaftsführer und Professoren, als Fachleute in Presse, Radio und Film werden diese Männer den Kurs ihres Volkes bestimmen. Ihre Haltung der Kirche gegenüber wird die Stellung des ganzen Volkes zu ihr entscheidend beeinflussen. Ihre christentumsfeindlichen Gesetze können mit einemmal vernichten, was die Mission in langer, opfervoller Arbeit aufgebaut hat. Ihr Wohlwollen dagegen kann dem Christentum weite Tore öffnen. Wenn der Lehrer und Arzt, der Regierungsbeamte und Industrielle des eigenen Volkes katholisch sind oder wenigstens die Kirche schätzen und ihr wohlwollend gegenüberstehen, welcher Berg von Vorurteilen wird schon allein damit beseitigt ! Die Religion Christi erscheint dann nicht mehr als ausländische « Einfuhrware », sondern als die grosse geistige Idee, die auch dem östlichen Menschen etwas zu bieten hat.

An den Hochschulen von U. S. A. sind regelmässig etwa 15.000 junge Menschen aus Asien, Afrika und Südamerika eingeschrieben. An den europäischen Universitäten dürfte ihre Zahl heute 40.000 überschreiten, wobei die bevorzugten Länder Frankreich, England und Deutschland sind.

Einige konkrete Beispiele mögen dartun, wie sich die Einflüsse auswirken können, denen die Jugend aus Uebersee während ihrer Studienjahre im Westen ausgesetzt ist. Etwa 80 % der rotchinesischen Führer empfingen ihre Ausbildung an unseren Universitäten, unter ihnen der Ministerpräsident Tschu-En-Lai und der Chef der rotchinesischen Armee Chu-Teh, der auch Stellvertreter Mao-Tse-Tungs ist. Der Führer von Nord-Vietnam Ho-Chi Minh verbrachte mehrere Jahre in Europa. Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Präsident der Goldküste, einer der fähigsten Politiker, war als Negerbüblein getauft und in einer Missionsschule erzogen worden. Später studierte er unter harten Bedingungen in U. S. A. und in England, wobei er seinen Glauben entfremdet wurde und der kommunistischen Partei beitrat, die er aber später wieder verliess. Der Oxford-Student Yomo Kenyatta wurde Führer der Mau-Mau-Bewegung in Kenia. Darf man

nicht annehmen, dass die Weltgeschichte einen anderen Verlauf genommen hätte, wenn diese Männer bei uns ausser Technik und Wissenschaft auch menschliche Wärme und christliche Liebe gefunden hätten ?

Wir verpassen grosse Möglichkeiten, die Menschen für Christus zu gewinnen, wenn wir uns der Jugend aus Uebersee nicht annehmen. In den Missionsländern verschliessen sich vielfach die gebildeten und damit einflussreichen Schichten der Botschaft Christi. Die gelben, braunen und schwarzen Studenten an unseren hohen Schulen werden aber die gebildeten und einflussreichen Männer von morgen sein. Jahrelang lebt diese Jugend nun in einem christlichen Land und viele von ihnen könnten für das Gottesreich gewonnen werden. Doch wir Christen gehen achtlos an ihnen vorüber.

Vor 20 und 30 Jahren schon haben sich die Kommunisten der akademischen Jugend aus den fernen Ländern angenommen, wie sie es heute tun, oft unter grossen persönlichen Opfern. Sie ernten jetzt, was sie damals gesät haben, als wir noch schliefen. Das gewaltige chinesische Reich z. B. ist ihre Beute geworden durch die Studenten, die in der Zeit ihrer Berufsausbildung die kommunistischen Ideen aufgenommen haben und die heute das Land regieren. Wo der Kommunismus im Vormarsch ist, sind seine Bannerträger fast immer ehemalige Studenten.

Dem erwähnten Vortrag von P. Lebbe wohnte der spätere Bischof von Lausanne, Genf und Fribourg Dr. Franziskus Charrière bei. Sofort entschloss er sich zu tatkräftiger Hilfe. Er gründete ein Hilfswerk für Studenten aus den Missionsgebieten und stellte es unter den Schutz des Laien und Martyrers St. Justinus. Mit dem « Justinus-Werk » war eines der ersten Missionswerke dieser Zielsetzung in der katholischen Kirche ins Leben gerufen. Zum Wintersemester 1927 kamen die ersten Studenten an, drei Chinesen. Am 15. November 1927 wurde das Werk vom Diözesanbischof Marius Besson bestätigt. Die päpstliche Bestätigung empfing der damalige Domherr und Seminarprofessor Charrière für seine Gründung am 6. April 1929 durch Papst Pius XI. persönlich in einer Audienz, in welcher die ersten Schützlinge des Werkes dem Statthalter Christi vorgestellt wurden. Das Justinus-Werk wurde der Aufsicht der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide unterstellt. Es wird von ihr seit 1929 auch regelmässig finanziell unterstützt.

Am 1. Okt. 1928 wurde ein Miethaus bezogen, das heutige

Theresianum in Fribourg. 1929 konnte ein grosses Grundstück mit vier Gebäuden erworben werden, die als « Foyer St-Justin », als Studentenheim eingerichtet wurden. 10 Jahre später entstanden unmittelbar gegenüber dem Foyer die modernen Gebäude der Katholischen Universität.

Um das Apostolat für die Studenten aus Uebersee auf eine breitere Basis zu stellen und den jungen Menschen die schwierigen Ferienmonate überbrücken zu helfen, wurde 1929 ein Berghaus « Bädli » in der Nähe des Schwarzsees gekauft, etwa 20 km von Fribourg entfernt, auf einer Höhe von 1050 m. 1938 erfolgte der Ankauf eines ähnlichen Hauses in der Hochgebirgswelt des Wallis, im Dörfchen St-Luc (1650 m).

1945 wurde der Gründer des Justinus-Werks zum Nachfolger von Bischof Marius Besson bestellt. Seine neue grosse Aufgabe zwang ihn Wege zu suchen, wie er seinem Missionswerk Dauer und Weiterentwicklung sichern könnte. Im Sommer 1951 machte er unserer deutschen Ordens-Provinz den Vorschlag, das Justinus-Werk zu übernehmen. Bereits am 5. August kam ein Vertrag zustande und seit dem 1. Oktober 1951 is das Werk vollständig an den Orden übergegangen. Unser bisheriges Studienhaus Augustinianum auf dem Schönberg in Fribourg wurde verkauft und seine Aufgabe mit der neuen Missionsarbeit verbunden, indem ein Teil des Foyers für die Klostergemeinde abgetrennt und eingerichtet wurde. Bischof Franziskus Charrière hielt darauf, seine Wohnung im Foyer beizubehalten, sodass wir die Ehre haben, den Diözesanbischof ständig in unserer Mitte zu wissen.

Wir Augustiner konnten nicht nur die bisherige Arbeit fortführen, sondern auch wesentlich erweitern. Alle Gebäude wurden einer gründlichen Erneuerung und Modernisierung unterzogen, eines wurde ganz abgerissen und durch einen Neubau ersetzt, der am 24. Oktober 1955 eingeweiht werden konnte. Wir haben eine schöne und grosse öffentliche Kapelle eingerichtet, in der jeden Sonntag Nachmittag das hlst. Sakrament ausgesetzt ist, damit viel für die Missionen gebetet werde. Ein eigener « Gebets-Kreuzzug » für das Justinus-Werk zählt viele Mitglieder, vor allem Priester und Ordensleute. Die Haushaltung wird von unseren Rita-Schwestern geleitet. Heute haben wir neben den Räumen für die klösterliche Gemeinschaft und die Angestellten etwa 45 Studentenzimmer zur Verfügung und dazu die entsprechenden Gemeinschaftsräume. Es

werden neben den Studierenden aus den Missionsländern auch katholische Studenten aus Europa und U. S. A. aufgenommen, damit die Asiaten und Afrikaner im täglichen Zusammenleben mit Katholiken das Christentum kennen lernen. So leisten hier katholische Laienstudenten wertvolle Missionsarbeit.

Die innere Organisation wurde vollständig erneuert bzw. erst geschaffen. Die « Justinus-Blätter », die vierteljährlich als doppelsprachiges (deutsch und französisch) Werbeorgan für unsere Missionsarbeit erscheinen, konnten ihre Auflage um 1/3 erhöhen. Bestehende Kontakte mit den Studentenseelsorgern in der Schweiz und im Ausland wurde vertieft und neue geknüpft. In hunderten von Predigten und Vorträgen, speziell auch in Priesterversammlungen, wurde und wird unsere Missionsaufgabe bekannt gemacht. Dies geschah nachhaltig 1955 auch durch Teilnahme des Werks an der Missions-Wanderausstellung « Messis » durch die Schweiz. Die wertvolle Arbeit der Ferienlager wurde weiter gepflegt und durch ein System von Einladungen der Studenten in katholische Familien während der Ferien ergänzt.

Das Justinus-Werk konnte auch wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung seines Missionsgedankens in Deutschland gewinnen. Es hat dort zuerst mit dieser Arbeit begonnen (1952) und sie seither weiter geführt und im Bewusstsein der Katholiken heimisch gemacht, auch andere ähnliche Bemühungen nach Kräften gefördert.

Der Kontakt mit der Missionsfront ist sehr rege. Das Werk ist heute in den meisten Missionsländern wohlbekannt. Es nimmt Studenten auf, die von einheimischen Bischöfen empfohlen sind oder von den Missionsoberen, unabhängig von deren Ordens zugehörigkeit. Es werden Christen und Heiden aufgenommen, gelegentlich auch eingeborene Priester zum Weiterstudium. Bisher (1956) wurden mehr als 900 Studenten aus Uebersee für kürzere oder längere Zeit betreut, eine kleine Zahl im Verhältnis zu dem grossen Strom von Studierenden aus den Missionsländern, aber eine bewundernswerte Leistung, wenn man die bescheidenen Mittel des Justinus-Werks bedenkt. Viele dieser Männer sind inzwischen in einflussreiche Stellungen aufgerückt und zu einer kräftigen Stütze des Missionswerks in ihrer Heimat geworden.

Mit heiligem Stolz schaut das Justinuswerk auf seine beiden chinesischen Martyrer, die 1951 mit ihrem Herzblut das Zeugnis ihres Wortes für Christus besiegelt haben: Herr Thomas Tseng-

Mien, Professor der juristischen Fakultät an der Katholischen Universität von Peking, Schützling des Justinus-Werks von 1928 bis 1936, und Herr Johannes Tung-Che-Tche, der seit 1936 im Justinus-Werk war und in Fribourg zum Priester geweiht wurde. Seine letzte herrliche Predigt, die ihm die Palme des Martyriums brachte, ist in ganz Europa bekannt geworden.

P. Bernardin WILD, O. E. S. A.

Fribourg, Augustinianum.

Recensiones

Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei Libri I-X, XI-XXII. Aurelii Augustini Opera Pars XIV, 1 and 2. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina vol. XLVII and XLVIII. Turnholti, Brepols 1955. XLV, 899 pp. (two volumes).

It is a well-known fact that the fourth edition of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* by Bernard Dombart and Alphons Kalb (Leipsic 1928-'29) presents the best text we have, better than Hoffmann's in the Wiener Corpus. It is, therefore, no wonder that the editors of the *Corpus Christianorum*, with the permission of Teubner, have reprinted their text and critical apparatus. Yet the present edition is more than a simple reprint: in the text and apparatus the Addenda of Kalb in his second volume have been inserted ; as to the Scriptural quotations, the study by Dom De Bruyne (*Les citations bibliques dans le « De Civitate Dei »*, in *Revue Bénéd.* 1932, pp. 550 ff.) has been taken into account. Then there is a new division of books: the first volume now contains books I-X, the second books XI-XXII, being the division of Augustine himself, as we know from his letter to Firmus, edited for the first time by Dom Lambot in 1939. This letter, as well a chapter 2.69 of the *Retractationes* concerning the *De Civitate*, has been added to the preface. The Argumenta, the contents of each chapter, are no longer printed separately, but are collected as a Breviculus, an analytical index, in the preface, as the leading manuscripts demand.

The editorial preface (pp. V-VIII) is short, too short, as a matter of fact ; it only deals with the most important MSS. and the two recensions of the text. The preface of Dombart and Kalb has not been reprinted, which is the more regrettable as the critical appa-

ratus often refers to the preface. The Bibliographia selecta (pp. IX-XX) is excellent and more than select, though it would, of course, not be difficult to add some items especially to the rubrics Generalia and Quaestiones selectae. As to the translations enumerated on p. XII, it might have been more convenient to indicate that several english translations are much older than they appear to be: e. g. John Healy's translations dates from 1610 ! Other translations are not mentioned at all, so the one by Henry Gee of 1893 and an italian one by J. Passavanti of 1885. No complete dutch translation is mentioned, though there is one by Fenacolius (17th century), and Oscar Moe translated the *Civitas* into norvegian in 1884.

Concerning the text and textcritical bibliography there are only a few desiderata: The two most important reviews of Dombart-Kalb's latest edition deserved to be mentioned: F. Skutella, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) pp. 334 ff. and O. Tescari, *Boll. di Filol. Class.* 36 (1929) pp. 115 ff. and 37 (1930) pp. 19 f:these scholars have closely examined Kalb's merits. Of the older textcritical studies those of Petschening, Kukula and Richards are mentioned in the critical apparatus, but not in the bibliography. Both Kalb and the *Corpus Christianorum* seem to have overlooked the interesting, though not convincing conjecture of T. Frank, *Class. Philol.* 4 (1909) pp. 436 ff., who proposed II 27 line 1 *philosophus M. Tullius* in stead of *philosophaster Tullius* (Cp. A. F. West, *Class. Philol.* 5 (1910) pp. 50 ff.). How satisfactory Dombart-Kalb's text is, may be deduced from the fact that,as far as I know, only one new conjecture has been proposed since 1929: F. Walter, *Philol. Wochenschr.* 1941, pp. 431 f. reads II, 16 line 4: acceperunt, <receperunt>. I do not think the editors have failed to mend the passage by overlooking this conjecture, for no addition at all is necessary (the editors follow Dombart-Kalb and read *acceperunt <tenuerunt>*. There are perhaps a few passages where one might prefer a variant from the critical apparatus, so in V, 10 line 58 the word *non* should be deleted, as the editors themselves indicate already [1]).

The objection Skutella raised against Kalb's use of the brackets <>, is still in force: sometimes there should be no brackets at all, sometimes it should be []. But all these shortcomings are only *Schönheitsfehler*: with their fifth impression of Dombart-Kalb the Benedictines of Steenbrugge have made it possible again to consult the best text of the main work of St Augustine.

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[1]) This is one of the three passages where P. de Labriole, in his edition of the *Civitas* (Paris 1941) did not follow Dombart-Kalb's text. His successor, J. Perret, has maintained the Teubner text everywhere.

Michel Paludanus

Ses attitudes devant le jansénisme

*(Suite et fin *)*

VII. La victoire de Paludanus.

Le groupe que le P. Paludanus put réunir à Gand pour y continuer le chapitre dissident n'était pas très nombreux [244]). A part De Coninck, le président désigné, Brulius, l'ex-provincial, il ne comptait que Jean De Witte, prieur de Gand, Melchior Geubels, prieur d'Enghien, Jean Van der Heucht, prieur de Hazebrouck, Pierre Immeren, recteur de Hildesheim et Judocus van der Kerckhoven, recteur de Dunkerque. Les autres étaient des discrets, élus et présents en contravention à plusieurs ordres assortis de peines [245]). Au dernier moment, émus par la gravité de l'attentat, deux prieurs (celui de Tirlemont, Jean Petri et celui d'Anvers, Gérard Crieckels) s'étaient retirés après avoir assisté à la prétendue ouverture du chapitre. Mais, à leur place, hésitant depuis longtemps, le définiteur Ignace De Dyckere, avait rallié les rebelles. Il s'en expliqua lui-même dans une lettre non datée (de la fin d'avril 1649) au général:

... « Sed cum paucis post diebus intelligerem adversae parti [Paludani] dilationem hanc capituli minime placere, imo de facto ad eiusdem celebrationem ex arbitrio Ill^mi^ D. Internuntii procedi, per postam Gandavo de nocte Bruxellam accurri sabatho ante dominicam tertiam post Pascha ; reperique de facto Concilium Brabantiae a P. Provinciali invocatum per regium procuratorem et primarium ap-

*) Voir *Augustiniana*, V (1955), 125-162, 205-240, 325-361.

[244]) Voir *Acta capituli provinciae Coloniensis Ord. Eremit. S. Augustini Bruxellis inchoati et Gandavi continuati et absoluti*, dans Ms. CC 52 (circa finem). Certains recteurs, encore que légitimement présents au chapitre, n'avaient, cependant, pas de droit de vote.

[245]) Ils semblent avoir été au nombre de 18. Le nom de Louis de Brul, discret de Liège, a été biffé.

paritorem congregationem capitularem inhibuisse ; quod licet eadem die, quae fuit 24 Aprilis et proxima die dominica iterum ac tertio esset factum, et Ill^mus Internuntius consensisset in translationem continuationis capituli Gandavi faciendam, multum diligentiae adhibui ut Patribus persuaderem ut consentirent in capituli usque ad finem Iulii translationem ; quod ubi tunc provincialis et ei adhaerentes nollent admittere, Gandavum cum declarato praeside et pluribus Patribus me contuli nolens in invocatione potestatis laicae habere partem ac volens arbitrio superiorum et Sanctae Sedi, ut credidi, me omnino conformem reddere » [246]).

De Dyckere y compris, le nombre des capitulaires légitimes n'était que de huit sur un total de quarante-et-un, et, par conséquent, il restait insuffisant pour conférer à la réunion de Gand toute apparence de chapitre légal. Mais le P. De Coninck, y pourvoit. En tant que « praesidens cum potestate ius suum unicuique tribuendi » il rend le 30 avril 1649 ce décret:

« Nos magister fr. Petrus Damasus De Coninck, S. T. Doctor Lovanienis et professor, capituli provincialis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini in Belgio ex mente Sanctissimi Domini Innocentii X et Sacrae Cardinalium super Regularibus congregationis, iussu Rmi P. Generalis apostolici praesidens cum potestate ius suum unicuique tribuendi, omnibus has visuris salutem.

Cum expositum nobis fuerit a discretis seu deputatis conventuum Provinciae huius Colonienis in capitulo nostro provinciali Bruxellis quidem 23 Aprilis inchoato, sed Gandavum translato ob rationes infra ponendas, auctoritate Illmi D. Internuntii, conventus huius provinciae iuxta Ordinis Constitutiones fuisse a saeculis aliquot in pacifica possessione et usu iuris discretalis et licet a triennio turbati semel fuissent a Magistro Joanne Rivio non ideo possessione sua excidisse eo quod tunc facta fuisset omnis oppositio quae iuxta temporis locique opportunitatem, servata religiosa modestia, obedientiaque Rev. PP. Generalibus debita fieri poterat, ab eoque iuris a tot saeculis usque ad nuperam turbationem pacifice possessi usu eos non debere impedire litis pendentiam quae super validitate duorum rescriptorum RR. PP. Montii et Petrelli Romae coram S. Congregatione cardinalium etiamnum haerere dicitur...

Cum... Sua Sanctitas, non obstante litis-pendentia... iniunxisset praesidenti, ut in hisce comitiis faceret unicuique ius suum tribui... utendo facultate nobis a Sanctissimo Domino attributa ad unicuique ius suum tribuendum, velimus provisionaliter declarare:

[246]) Ms. CC 52, n° 201. La défection du définiteur fit une impression pénible sur le parti de Rivius. Bacherius écrit le 15 mai à son ami Tasselon: « P. Ignatius [De Dijckere] ut desultorio ingenio est, partes provinciae ob privatas (quas nosse potes) simultates deseruit »...; *ibid.*, n° 71.

Conventus contra quos in hac causa nihil est pronunciatum imo pro quibus frequentissimis litteris Roma scriptum fuisset sententiam esse conceptam, in antiqua iuris sui discretalis possessione esse manutenendos, considerata praesertim urgentissima provinciae necessitate, a qua in hisce circumstantiis publica scandala non possent averti, nisi iam discreti conventuum ad ius vocis admitterentur eamque vel solam rationem... sufficere, ut arbitrari possemus mentem Rmi Patris esse... discretos hac vice ad ius suffragii admittendos, quippe salus populi suprema lex esto. Et merito praesumi posset, Rmum Patrem, Sacram Congregationem... imo Sanctissimum Dominum ideo nos, (quamvis noverit discretorum causae ante hac fuisse patrocinatos), Patre Magistro Rivio ad id muneris importunissime commendato, praesidentiam huius capituli cum mandato unicuique ius suum tribuendi... demandasse » [247]).

Vu toutes ces considérations, De Coninck résout en un moment une question que Rome n'a pas voulu terminer en deux ans ; il confère aux discrets droit de présence au chapitre et de vote aux scrutins, alors que l'internonce, avait toujours affirmé que ce second droit ne pouvait venir que de Rome.

Ainsi ce chapitre « légitimement commencé à Bruxelles » pouvait être « continué et achevé à Gand » avec la même « légitimité ». On passe donc immédiatement aux élections, et en premier lieu à celle du provincial. Contre toute attente, le scrutin n'est pas favorable au P. Paludanus, qui, après tout ce qu'il avait fait et bravé pour la cause de discrets, aurait pu compter sur une plus grande reconnaissance. Furent élus: provincial, Joachim Brulius, l'ex-provincial que nous avons déjà rencontré plusieurs fois ; définiteurs: Paludanus, Jean De Witte, prieur de Gand, Melchior Geubels, prieur d'Enghien, Josse Vanden Kerchove, recteur de Dunkerque ; remplaçant de l'ex-provincial, Jérôme Cannoye, provisiteurs Fulgence Stevins, discret de Gand, et J. B. De Perne, discret de Louvain, professeur de théologie et signataire du « scritto perniciozo ».

Sans tarder, on procéda à la nomination des prieurs, qui durent partir aussitôt pour occuper leur poste.

Les noms de ces religieux ne font sur nous aucune impression.

[247]) Ms. CC 52, n° 271, 15. On se souviendra, que l'ordre pontifical, d'attribuer à chacun son droit, repose sur une interprétation arbitraire du décret de la Congrégation des Réguliers. Dans une lettre du 15 mai (CC 52, n° 71) Bacherius écrit: « Certe totius iam Patriae communis sententia est, merito discretos abrogatos quorum factionibus et inaudita temeritate suae nobis turbae excitatae sunt... ».

Mais il n'en fut pas ainsi pour Bacherius et Tasselon. Le premier écrit au second:

« ... Ut definitorium suum complerent, fictione nescio qua, sed plane ridicula, P. Cannoye, nullo hactenus in provincia officio functum ac iuvenem loco ex-provincialis assumpserunt, et loco visitatorum Patrem Stevens et P. N. quos pro- visitatores appellarunt. Atque hic praeclarus concessus, vide nunc quos priores summa festinatione elegerit atque illico properanter per omnes conventus ad capiendam ante alios possessionem emiserit. Duaci constitutus P. de Buisson ; Basseae, P. Frans ; Insulis, P. Jordanus Selleslag ; Mechliniae, P. Chrysostomus Loots ; Lovanii, P. Vanden Driesche, supprior P. Locchia ; Diesthi, P. Danckart ; Herenthalii, P. Smolders ; Hasseleti, P. Morren etc. suae omnes factionis homines et alias, ut scis, notatos aut notandos »... [248]).

Si Paludanus fut trompé dans ses espoirs par l'élection de Brulius comme provincial, il allait quand même avoir la satisfaction de triompher de ses adversaires.

Le « conciabule de Gand »[249]) avait presque fini son travail au moment où, à Bruxelles, les vrais capitulaires, attendant le terme du délai imposé par l'internonce, allaient commencer le leur. Le 29 avril, le jour de leur arrivée, ils étaient au nombre de 31. Ne manquèrent à l'appel que les huit qui se trouvaient à Gand, Léonard Egghens, qui en route vers le chapitre, était tombé malade à Tirlemont, Pierre de Vos, prieur d'Ypres, qui n'avait pu sortir de la ville assiégée et Gérard Carlier, prieur de Bruges, qui s'était excusé d'avance [250]).

Ce même jour, l'internonce fit remettre au provincial le billet suivant:

« Cum in mea absentia ab hac civitate, mihi fuerit expositum quod laici se immiscerent rebus vestri Ordinis, ac vim faciendo expulissent ab hac civitate et Patres qui audiri debent in vestro capitulo provinciali, et etiam qui debent habere vocem, imo P. Praesidem eiusdem capituli, qui fuit de expresso mandato Sanctissimi Domini Nostri a vestro Patre Generali constitutus, fui coactus concurrere ut capitulum transferatur Gandavum, ubi speratur quod non fiet violentia Patribus, et liberum erit regulari modo inter se procedere. Cumque mihi per S. Congregationem Regularium fuerit de-

[248]) Ms. CC 52, n° 69.

[249]) Cette expression revient dans une lettre de Rivius au général du 13 novembre 1649; CC 52, n° 128.

[250]) Voir les *Actes du chapitre de Bruxelles*, dans CC 52, n° 132.

mandata directio eiusdem vestri capituli, prout videbit ex adiuncta copia, hoc significatum volui, ut V. P. se eidem cum suis conformet, et evitentur difficultates et nullitates, quae secus faciendo incurrerentur et valeat... » [251]).

Le provincial délègue aussitôt deux capitulaires pour entrer en pourparlers avec Bichi, mais bientôt ils sont de retour : ils ont appris à la nonciature que le patron est absent pour huit jours. C'est pourquoi le provincial lui écrit, toujours le 29 avril, la lettre que voici :

« Acceptis litteris Ill^mae^ V^ae^ quibus ipsa capitulum nostrum nunc secunda vice Bruxellis indictum, Gandavi celebrari mandat, Patres diffinitorii a me convocati illico decreverunt tres e corpore suo, una cum Priore Bruxellensi ad Illmam V. mittendos. Quibus redeuntibus nuntiantibusque responsum sibi a domesticis Illmam T. foras exisse et verosimiliter non rediturum ante octavam vespertinam, Patres iterum convocati, iudicarunt rationes suas quas oretenus praedictis oratoribus oretenus exponendas commiserant, hoc scripto exponere,

Ac 1° aiunt se non videre qua potestate capitulum alio transferri possit, quo expresso vicarii apostolici mandato atque annuente ipso Summo Pontifice, imo per S. Congregationem mandante, ita Bruxellis praecipitur celebrandum ut praeterquam in ipso conventu Bruxellensi pro comitiis agendis Patres convenire non debeant et consequenter non possint.

Deinde ad id quod ait exclusos a loco capitulari qui audiri debeant, respondent ex Patribus Capitularibus a Provinciali vocandis et vocatis se neminem exclusisse, neque excludere, quin potius omnes ad unum, in diem hodiernum, iuxta consensum et consilium Illmae Vestrae, tum verbo tum scripto ad comitia invitasse. Praeter eos autem neminem se agnoscere qui hic audiri debeat, neque iudicem qui eorum hic causam iudicare possit.

Quod autem scribit Gandavi liberum fore regulari modo in capitulo procedere, respondent neque minus hic liberum esse, imo liberius multo et regularius, utpote ubi ex Summi Pontificis mente et auctoritate, necnon Vicarii Nostri mandato sub gravibus penis celebrari praecipitur, ita ut si alibi quam in conventu Bruxellensi celebretur pro vero et legitimo capitulo haberi non possit.

Quapropter illos qui Gandavi pauci admodum, utpote non nisi tres priores et quinque praeterea vocales existunt, huc cum omni humanitate et instantia, Patrem in primis Praesidem designatum invitavimus, paratissimi Rmi P. Vicarii litteris sicut quoad loci capitularis ita et praesidentis designationem obedire.

Quod vero ad regiam protectionem attinet, ea tantum invocata est, nec nisi in extremo discrimine usurpata, contra discretorum abrogatorum violentiam et quorumdam reliquis absentibus qui maxi-

[251]) *Ibid.*

mam vocalium legitimorum partem constituebant, iniuriosam et irreligiosam contra Ordinis Nostri Constitutiones praecipitantiam. Hisce finem imponens » [252]).

Le 29 avril encore s'étant réunis, les trente-et-un capitulaires examinent la situation. Leur attention s'arrête surtout sur le décret du 5 décembre 1648, par lequel le général, au nom du Saint-Père, ordonne avec une grande force que le chapitre doit avoir lieu à Bruxelles et pas ailleurs. Ils se convainquent que l'internonce n'a pas les pouvoirs voulus pour déroger à ce décret, car, tout récemment, il a révoqué le délai de huit jours sous prétexte qu'il l'a concédé sans en avoir la compétence. Pour finir, ils concluent que le chapitre, pour être valide, doit avoir lieu à Bruxelles et que celui qui est en cours à Gand est nul.

Le lendemain, 30 avril, quand après le chant du *Veni creator*, les capitulaires se rendent de l'église à la salle de réunion, et que le provincial marche dans les rangs, deux personnages veulent lui mettre un papier dans les mains. Il continue sa marche. Le papier tombe par terre. Un des deux visiteurs le remasse. Il s'agit d'une lettre, datée de « Bruxelles 30 avril », de l'internonce qui, la veille, avait annoncé une absence de huit jours:

« Vestra Paternitas potuit videre ex litteris Sacrae Congregationis causas quare capitulum fuerit alias translatum ad hanc civitatem, sed cum hic talis fuerit facta iniuria Patri Praesidenti capituli inhaereo contentis in mea epistola quam heri dedi. Patres qui sunt Gandavi coadunati conqueruntur quod Vestra Paternitas absque permissione superiorum confugerit ad saeculares pro executione sententiae quam sustinent non exequendam causa pendente de illius validitate coram superiore ac postea a loco capituli fuerint eiecti religiosi per saeculares cum aliis vocalibus et praeside, si relata sint vera.

Non obstat consensus quem dicit a me impetratum, quia, audita parte, vidi non posse fieri, et ea de causa studui ut inirent compositionem de tempore capituli, etc.

Si V. P. sit in culpa quod saeculares turbaverint vestrum Ordinem provideat proprio honori et conscientiae, credens quod calleat poenas et a iure et a vestris Constitutionibus impositas et ita moneat alios, cum praevideam quod eiecto praeside dicent adversarii Paternitatem Vestram excommunicatam et non posse celebrare capitulum ac nescio an satis sit invitare, si fecerit, praesidem taliter eiectum, non remota causa, praecipue cum modo videatur praetendi quod V. P. nullam habeat amplius iurisdictionem.

[252]) Ms. CC 52, 271, 16.

Hoc volui confidenter significare Vestrae Paternitati, quam gauderem quod querelas tempore suae administrationis in diversis locis expositas non augeret in fine cum tali praeiudicio vestri ordinis et publicis scandalis et agendo contra tot expressa mandata Generalis qui pluries per se et per alios monuit Paternitatem Vestram, praecipue cum sua epistola data 13 Martii proximi ut a me legitimos sensus acciperet ac illis se deberet conformare. Quod in responsum vestrarum litterarum quas heri vesperi accepi significatum volui » [253]).

Cette lettre ne semblait pas devoir interrompre le cours du chapitre commencé. A défaut de président, on recourt à la solution prévue par les Constitutions pour le cas où la lettre du général désignant le président n'aurait pas été remise. Ainsi Matthias Pauli, le plus âgé des capitulaires, prend la place que le P. De Coninck a refusée. On passe aux élections. Furent élus: provincial, Jean Mertens, prieur de Bruxelles, qui les derniers jours s'était fait remarquer par ses démarches et qui, au surplus, était en possession d'un témoignage authentique de l'internonce reconnaissant l'entière satisfaction donnée au Saint-Siège, en dépit de la signature du « scritto pernicioso » ; définiteurs: Jean Rivius, Jean Neefs, Jean Mantelius, prieur de Cologne ; Laurent Choulaeus, prieur de Tournai ; visiteurs Lambert de Saint-Jean, prieur de Maestricht, et François Coillo, prieur de Lille ; ex-provincial, Beydaels.

Mais le dimanche 2 mai 1649 l'internonce prononça la sentence suivante, conçue en termes peu canoniques:

[253]) Ms. CC 52, 271, 17. Au sujet de cette lettre, Bacherius écrivit à Tasselon, le 15 mai: « ... Die, quo ad provincialis electionem procedendum erat, eo tempore quo e templo (ubi coram frequenti populo festo die *Veni creator* cantatum fuerat) ad capitulum procedebamus, in ipso capituli limine, notarius quidam litteras eius [Internuntii] clausas provinciali praesentavit, quas cum is pertransiens cum silentio non accepisset, notarius eas in terram cadere reliquit, quae ab uno visitatore sublatae sunt. Hinc odiose vociferabitur, credo, Romae, litteras eius despectas atque in terram adiectas etc., cum nihil horum factum sit et si provincialem admonere circa capitulum celebrandum voluisset, id poterat die praecedenti facere. Sed nondum, credo, partem consuluerat, ex cuius arbitratu facit omnia. Rogatus etiam qua potestate capituli locum transtulisset, hanc rem in litteris suis intactam reliquit » ; CC 52, n° 71. De fait, le notaire P. Van Nuvele dit dans l'exploit de son acte notarié: « ... Latae sunt [litterae Internuntii] a me... R. A. Melchiori Beydaels, circa horam nonam, in ipso progressu seu plena processione ad capitulum... quas quidem litteras noluit recipere sed eas proieci ante pedes eius coram praecipuis Patribus eum concommitantibus » ; CC 52, n° 271, 17.

« Ilme Domine, Exponunt reverenter Pater Praesidens et provincialis O. E. S. A. provinciae Coloniae, ad notitiam suam devenisse P. P. M. M. Melchiorem Beydaels et Joannem Rivium, cum quibusdam sibi adhaerentibus, post apertas, lectas, publicatas litteras Rmi Patri Vicarii Apostolici quibus de mandato S^mi D. N. praesidens capituli constituebatur R. P. M. Damasus De Coninck, praesumpserint eum non tantum in executione huius sui muneris per potestatem laicam cum maximo scandalo turbare sed et eumdem cum vocalibus a conventu et civitate Bruxellensi iubere recedere, sed erigentes etiam altare contra altare alium praetensae suae Congregationi praesidem, videlicet P. Matthiam Pauli, contra praedictum legitimum praesidem iam actualiter munere suo fungentem via facti designare et in praesidem intrudere, idque in magnum contemptum auctoritatis Illmae D. V... hinc est quod exponentes humiliter rogent... dignetur designationem praedicti Patris... declarare nulliter esse praesumptam... eidemque sub poenis arbitrio suo infligendis praecipere ut statim... se abdicet...

Antonius Bichi... Mandamus P. Mathiae Pauli, primo, secundo et tertio sub poena excommunicationis maioris ipso facto incurrendae, absolutione nobis reservata, ne se pro praeside capituli gerat... Ac iniungimus omnibus religiosis ut R. P. Petrum Damasum De Coninck pro praeside vero et legitimo agnoscant et non alium sub poenis in litteris praesidentialibus... contentis... » [254]).

Matthias Pauli interjeta appel (le 4 mai), mais cela ne l'empêcha pas d'être, le 8 mai suivant, déclaré par l'internonce contumace, rebelle au Saint-Siège et à ses supérieurs, et excommunié [255]).

Sur ces entrefaites, le chapitre avait continué. Ainsi par exemple :

« Feria quinta [6 Maii] habitae sunt disputationes publicae quibus praesentiam suam commodarunt Illmus D. Archiepiscopus Mechliniensis, D. Pignaranda, primarius regis catholici in conventu Monasteriensi pro pace legatus, abbates, virique alii praeclarissimi » [256]).

[254]) *Ibid.*, n° 271, 18.

[255]) *Ibid.*, n° 271, 19.

[256]) *Ibid.*, n° 135. C'est sans doute alors que Bacherius put constater ce qu'il allait écrire le 15 mai 1649 à Tasselon : « ... Miratur tota patria ac primates inprimis viri ac Concilia Regia tantam in Paludano audaciam et temeritatem, ne dicam furorem ; deinde Internuntii partialitatem ac malam fidem » ; CC 52, n° 71. Le chapitre de Bruxelles écrivit le même jour au Général : « quodque auditis causae meritis Ill^mi Belgii archiepiscopi Mechliniensis et Cameracensis designatus ratum et legitimum habent [capitulum Bruxellensem] ; *ibid.*, n° 138. Il serait assez étonnant que Gaspar Nemius, archevêque nommé de Cambrai, ami des jésuites et

Enfin les capitulaires de Bruxelles élurent aussi les supérieurs des couvents. Mais, partout ils étaient en retard sur ceux de Gand, qui avaient déjà fait occuper les postes. Il en résulta des situations qui rappellent le grand schisme d'Occident. Qu'il suffise de mentionner ce passage de la lettre de Laurent Choulaeus au général:

« ... Crevit insolentia, ubi praesidem illum [De Coninck] designatum esse innotuit... ut merito iam de nostris conventibus dici queat: claustra in castra, religiosos in milites esse conversos » [257]).

Il s'agissait, en effet, d'amener les couvents à l'obédience de Gand ou à celle de Bruxelles. Voici un exemple: dans un italien médiocre Philippe de Sau écrit le 19 juin de Bruxelles au général:

« Io sono dal capitolo di Gantes mandato a casa mia come suddito ; dal capitolo di Bruxelles pure sono mandato al medemo convento, ma come priore. Quando m'arrivai costà, già il priore dell'altra parte di Gantes avea preso possesso et perciò non volsero che stessi costì, nianco come suddito, se prima non havea negato e abgiurato il capitulo di Brusseles. A questo disse io: iudicate, si oporteat magis obedire hominibus quam Deo ; obedimus enim praepositis nostris, quod vos negatis. Alla fine son' stato forzato di partire, et arrivato a Brusseles, ivi da questi buoni Padri (per haver per il passato servito questo convento nel offitio del sindico) sono stato cortesamente ricevuto, massimamente dal Padre Maestro Beydaels »... [258]).

C'était pour mettre un peu d'ordre dans ce chaos que, dès le 4 (ou le 14) mai 1649, le Conseil privé a donné, au nom du roi, ce décret, approuvé par l'archiduc si antijanséniste:

« Visis in Privato Regis Concilio supplicibus libellis ibidem exhibitis per superiores et religiosos Ordinis S. Augustini, congregatis in forma duorum capitulorum in Bruxellensi et Gandensi civitatibus, eo fine ut in protectionem susciperentur ; aliisque in eorum conclusionibus propositis. Omnibus consideratis declarat S. Maiestas, intentionem suam esse ut partes in Romana Curia sibi provideant coram Sua Sanctitate, Patribus Capituli sui Generalis, quod breve celebrabitur, aut alia quavis Congregatione cui competit ; quodque ad evitandum scandalum, confusiones et inconvenientia quae interea

des antijansénistes, qui, en attendant sa confirmation résidait à Bruxelles, ait approuvé le chapitre de Bruxelles. Si le fait est vrai, il prouve le sens réaliste du prélat.

[257]) Ms. CC 52, n° 65.

[258]) *Ibid.*, n° 97.

oriri possent, donec super eorum controversiis aliquid statuatur, electio novorum superiorum et quidquid ulterius in eorum congregationibus tractatum et resolutum fuit suspendatur ; mandantes ut unusquisque ad eum conventum redeat a quo exivit, ubi interim religiosi regentur ea forma et per eosdem provincialem, diffinitores, priores aliosque superiores per quos regebantur, antequam congregarentur, sacra S. Maiestate eos in sua protectione in hunc finem habente... Quod ut in Brabantia quoque et Flandria procuretur, litterae ad utriusque Provinciae Concilia statim destinabuntur. Ita actum » [259]).

Mais l'internonce intervint également. Dans le *Species facti* on lit :

« Quin et die 20 eiusdem mensis [Maii] in favorem capituli Gandavensis (quod tamen antea saepius sibi non probari dixerat, asserens se provinciali ibidem electo, provincialis titulum non tribuere) provisionalis protectionis litteras conscribi atque omnibus Provinciae conventibus intra dies decem communicari iussit ; sed irrita quoad conventum Bruxellensem iussione, nondum enim sunt illi communicatae. Quibus insuper litteris mandat ei provinciali obedientiam exhiberi... Consimiles litteras largitus est Ill^mus D. Chisius » [260]).

Par cette opposition au décret du Conseil privé, l'internonce allait augmenter les causes de ses futures difficultés avec le Conseil de Brabant. Mais, en attendant, il eut gain de cause. Presque tous les couvents se rangèrent sous l'obéissance de Gand. En fin de compte, les capitulaires de Bruxelles n'eurent plus d'autres refuges que les couvents de Bruxelles et d'Anvers [261]). Dans ceux-ci, on obéissait donc au P. Beydaels, qui en vertu du décret du Conseil privé reprenait, jusqu'à la décision de Rome, sa fonction de provincial.

[259]) *Ibid.*, n° 140. Le texte reproduit est naturellement une traduction du français ou du néerlandais. Certains documents lui attribuent la date du 14 mai, qui semble plus probable.

Sur l'intervention des Conseils dans l'affaire des augustins on trouvera quelques documents supplémentaires aux Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, *Conseil de Brabant*, office fiscal, 2378, ainsi que dans G. DU PAC DE BELLEGARDE, *Mémoires historiques sur l'affaire de la bulle « Unigenitus »*, IV, Bruxelles, 1755, 496-501.

[260]) *Ibid.* Voir le texte de ces deux décrets, *ibid.*, 274, n. 23 et 25.

[261]) Le 21 mai 1649, Brulius, le provincial de Gand, écrit au Général que les supérieurs sont acceptés dans tous les couvents exceptés quatre ou cinq (Ms. CC 52). Mais ce nombre fut bientôt réduit à deux.

Il importait, naturellement, beaucoup à Bichi, que le chapitre de Gand fût approuvé à Rome. En transmettant les actes de celui-ci, il écrivit le 27 mai 1649 au général:

«... Vedrà da essi tutto il seguito del negotio, e come per l'espulsione del Presidente da questo convento di Brusselles io sia stato necessitato di concorrer seco alla traslatione dell capitolo nella sudetta città et come quà da altri padri con l'appoggio delli secolari in tanto ne sia stato celebrato un altro con diversi gravi inconvenienti et scandali, come credo che le parti le havran significato. Et pero non mi stendaro a dargliene altri ragguagli, rappresentantogli solo che se trovarà bene di approvare il capitolo di Gante, manterrà la parte maggiore e più sana delli suoi religiosi in queste parti et che hanno eletti superiori più gravi e meritevoli di quel che habbia fatto la parte adversa, prevaleranno gli obedienti alla S. Sede nella materia Janseniana nel suo ordine et farà che un altra volta si obbedischi meglio alli suoi ordini senza ricorrere alli secolari per impedire l'essecutione come è stato fatto in questa occasione » [262]).

Mais une seconde lettre de Bichi au général, en date du 19 juin, est d'un ton moins assuré:

« Non posso esprimere con qual afflittione habbi intesa la mostruosità delli due capi e capitoli che ben solo ha potuto turbare la consolatione et quiete con cui si è fatto il capitolo generale. Tanto maggiormente che non essendo in mia mano provedere a tanto disordine per essere causa della S. Congregatione per rispetto delli discreti, a me non resta altro che piangere questa divisione e raccomandarla a Dio...

Per questa cagione non ho confirmati gli atti trasmessimi sinchè non si vegghino li meriti di questa causa dalla medesima S. Congregatione » [263]).

Il est facile d'expliquer ce changement de ton. L'internonce venait de recevoir des nouvelles de ce chapitre général, dont « le cours paisible lui sert de consolation ». Or ce chapitre, auquel, à un certain moment, le pape avait remis la décision de l'affaire des discrets, venait de prendre la résolution suivante:

« Attentis rationibus, quas Patres nostrae Provinciae Coloniensis pro abrogatione discretorum obtulerunt (quamvis, ob debitam reverentiam, quam exhibet Capitulum Generale totaque religio S. Congregationi Regularium, penes quam causa agitatur, nihil omnino

[262]) Ms. CC 52, 266[bis].

[263]) *Ibid.*, 266.

audeat decernere) tamen, quia in sacris Constitutionibus habetur quod definitiones unius Capituli Generalis in alio vel confirmentur (vel revocentur) ut tamquam Constitutiones habeantur ; propterea, cum in praeterito Capitulo de anno 1636 fuisset facta facultas R^mo Generali Montio abrogandi discretos, et de facto abrogasset multos, inter quos etiam discretos Provinciae Coloniensis, instante eadem Provincia, indeque abrogatio eadem confirmata fuisset a R^mo Petrello, Patres Definitorii praesentis Capituli, nemine discrepante, ut suis Constitutionibus inhaereant (Salva semper reverentia S. Congregationis, nihilque decernere super hoc intendentes) confirmarunt eandem abrogationem factam in alio Capitulo Generali, quam eidem S. Congregationi praesentarunt, ut pro summa sapientia habita ratione sententiarum decerneret » [264]).

Cette nouvelle ne semble pas avoir consolé Joachim Beydaels, l'ex-provincial, provisoirement remis à la tête de la province, par un décret du Conseil privé. Le matin du 15 juin il fut trouvé mort dans son lit. Dans une lettre du 26 juillet, ce décès est présenté par De Coninck et Brulius comme un exemple de ce qu'ont à craindre de la justice divine ceux qui ont recours de façon criminelle à l'autorité civile [265]). Cependant, le lendemain de cette mort, le P. Philippe de Sau, l'attribue à une cause plus naturelle :

« ... Il quale [P. Beydaels, provinciale passato] del gran disgusto de gli travagli, al improviso, il 15 del corrente, è passato a meglior vita. Non crederebbe la R. P. R^ma quant' afflictione hebbe preso il cuor suo dalla rinfacciata ingiosta dal Monsignor Internuntio, il quale disse publicamente a questo buon Padre ch'era huomo scandaloso, e ch' havesse comesso molti scandali, dove egli era huomo innocentissimo di vita ; ogni volte qu'elgi pensava a queste parole non si poteva contenersi di piangere, e che alla fine il povero Padre di cuordoglio sia trovato morto. Pareva ch'Iddio il giorno d'avanti lo tirava a dar l'ultimo vale a i suoi parenti ; andai con esse lui a visitar quasi tutti, in spatio di un hora e mezza, e poi tornatosi al convento, andò alla sua camera, nella quale il giorno sequente dal suo compagno fu trovato morto nel atto di vestirsi per andar al matutino, dal quale mai ci mancava... » [266]).

[264]) *Acta capituli generalis 1649*, in *Analecta Augustiniana*, 11 (1925-26) 31. Faisons remarquer cette particularité du chapitre de 1649 : il ne fut pas présidé par le Cardinal Protecteur « certa infirmitate praepeditus ». C'est pourquoi le Pape délégua Marc Aurèle Maraldus, secrétaire aux brefs, prélat en relation avec les Barberini et Albizzi. Nous en parlerons dans une étude consacrée à l'origine romaine de la bulle *In eminenti*. En ce chapitre de 1649 Philippe Visconti fut élu général.

[265]) Ms. CC 52, n° 10.

[266]) *Ibid.*, n° 97.

Après la mort de Beydaels, un nouveau décret du Conseil privé (26 juin) remit l'administration de la province entre les mains de son prédécesseur, Jean Rivius [267]).

Ce fait amène les adhérents du chapitre de Gand à lever une fois de plus le bouclier contre leur adversaire. Le 19 juillet Paludanus, que l'arthrite a empêché depuis plusieurs semaines de manier la plume, écrit une lettre au général contre Rivius qui se fait maintenir par les séculiers. Brulius et De Coninck exposent, dans une lettre commune [268]), « *qualiter per diversos ad laicam potestatem Concilii Brabantici et Parlamenti Mechliniensis et Consilii Secreti... recursus* », une province florissante est réduite à la plus grande misère. Ils demandent au général de confirmer le P. Brulius ou de confier le provincialat au P. De Coninck ou à Paludanus [269]). Le même 26 juillet, dans une lettre particulière, De Coninck supplie le général en ces termes:

« Miserere tandem, miserere provinciae nostrae et in ea lanbentis et pene iacentis Ordinis magni, miserere filiorum tuorum, nec eos diutius leonum, id est laicorum ferocitati per Rivium traditam eorum dentibus mordacibus, unguibus eviscerantibus laniendos, discerpendos relinque. Eius regimen in capitulo Bruxellis inchoata, Gandavi continuato iuxta ordines ex Urbe habitos, confirma,

[267]) *Ibid.*, n° 140, 141 et 121.

[268]) *Ibid.*, n° 14.

[269]) *Ibid.*, n° 10. Dans une lettre non datée (mai-juin 1649) De Dijckere écrit sur ses adversaires: « ... novam turbarum inquietudinis occasionem quaerere quando nimirum in conventibus Brabantiae ac signanter Lovaniensi adhibita vi Concilii Brabantici priorem loci, suppriorem etc. a capitulo Gandavensi constitutos per apparitores sive regios actuarios quotidie ad coenobium comparentes conantur monasterio eicere »; CC 52, n° 5. Concernant le couvent de Louvain on lit encore dans DE TOMBEUR, *Historia Provinciae* (Ms.), 460-461: « 21 Junii ad priorem Lovaniensem venit D. Proconsul Eynatte, exhibens litteras Cancellariae, quibus mandabatur magistratus Lovaniensis, ut his visis publicarent, toti civitati nobis interdictionem collectae eleemosynarum in toto districtu Lovaniensi sub mulcta 30 florenorum civibus nobis stipem impendentibus infligenda. Haec scandalosa publicatio ad nostram instantiam dilata est, data a P. Priore et deputati attestatione in scriptis, quibus policentur nos, donec Concilio Brabantiae satisfaceremus, nullas hic sive publice, sive privatim eleemosynas collecturos. Atque ita numquam hic facta est publicatio, factum tamen arrestum bonorum etc. ». Sous la date du 27 septembre on lit encore (p. 459): « Sub comminatione arresti tam personae quam bonorum temporalium et inhibitionis collectae solitae eleemosynarum, Patres Lovanienses contra violentias illas iterato et verbo et scripto institerunt apud Ill. D. Internuntium, Archiducem etc., sed nil obtinuerunt nisi ut obedirent sententiae regis et concilii privati ».

laicorum pedibus calcatam iurisdictionem et immunitatem Ecclesiae tandem erige... Te ergo... per viscere te mea, per D. Augustini augustam regulam, per Christi Jesu vulnera, hoc rogo ut iustis desideriis nostris facere satis dignetur... Dignetur... Magistrum Joachimum Brulium a nobis electum provincialem, Rivii in eo officio praedecessorem... ad officium rectoris provinciae assumere. Magistro Rivio, quem alioquin amo, gubernante et sic manu laica adhibita, numquam quies ; rancor, odium et caetera religionis mala solum dominabuntur. Hoc boni tantum causa dixero. Pro me nihil ipso rogo, tametsi pro me alii. Hoc solum ut quietius Deo et Ordini serviam, in servitio revisoris librorum cum suis privilegiis a Paternitate Vestra confirmer, modo pax redeat nobis. Sin minus, alibi provinciam aliam aut Ordinem quaerendi vel bonam conditionem aliquam queritandi veniam faciat, ut anima mea salva sit, semper Ordini nostro et provincia affectissima. Valeat.

P. S. Magistro Veron, mortuo provinciali nostro, anno 1637 et in rectoratu intrante P. M. Paludano, substitutus est a Reverendissimo Montio tertius, eo relicto » [270]).

Ces passages méritaient d'être relevés, afin de donner une idée de la psychologie inquiétante du P. De Coninck. Tout en protestant de son désintéressement, il manifeste clairement qu'il cherche à être provincial, fût-ce au préjudice de ses adhérents, Brulius et Paludanus.

Mais voici surtout une lettre de l'internonce au général, en date du 15 juillet:

« Mi ritrovo una di V. P. R^ma^ delli 19 del passato, nella quale esprime il suo sentimento delle difficoltà... che anco a me dogliono fin all'anima e volentieri spenderei del mio proprio sangue per rimediarvi come tanto affettuasamente ella mene ricerca : mà se costà non si spedisse questa causa ogni giorno va producendo peggiori effetti, poichè non contenta la fattione del P. Rivio di quello che nel capitolo dell' anno 46 avevo operato per evitar l'interventione delli discreti, quest'anno oltre alli ordini espressi che ne tenevo, hanno più tosto voluto sottomettersi al Conseglio di Brabante, procedendo indirectamente et con mille bugie per farlo impegnar contro di me et discacciare da questo convento tutti quelli che non eran a lor gusto, quali io studiavo di placare et sottomettere al lor giuditio, et poi altre alli due capi che io andavo in alcuna maniera tollerando per aspettar il giudizio di V. P. R^ma^ vi hanno voluto il terzo, facendovi mettere anco il Conseglio Privato quale, di propria autorità, ha deputato superiore il P. Rivio, quale dall'altre parte vien stimato del tutto indegno di questa carica, et scommunicato per haver procurato tal carica direttamente dalli secolari che con questa pessima

[270]) Ms. CC 52, n° 11.

consequenza verranno a pretender di fare de superiori delli Ordini Mendicanti come fanno delle abbatie che vi nominano li abbati, et oltre alle querele che li danno li Padri, che credo note a V. P. R^ma^, io vi aggiungo che è disobbediente alla Santa Sede, non mi havendo mai voluto assicurare della sua obbedientia nella causa del Jansenio, in modo che non mi inganni come ha fatto altre volte, et di più vien appreso di me accusato di amator del vino et che spesso si trovi per più hore serrato solus cum sola e vino [sic] in sagrestia o altro luogho a certe hore non frequentato.

Se V. P. R^ma^ mandarà quanto prima la confermatione del capitolo di Gante sarà per li megliori religiosi della provincia, che hanno quasi tutti li conventi non obstante l'arte del P. Rivio et la forza et violenza di questi Consigli, che hanno voluto experimentare anco inverso di questa carica et mia persona, non che introdottili nei conventi contro l'immunità ecclesiastica, et sarà sicuro che li saranno obedienti come sono alla S. Sede et evitarà molto maggiori scandali.

In tanto non lassarò di usar ogni arte per ridurli a qualche compostione, ma non vedo modo per la mala natura del P. Rivio, che non vuol haver superiori almeno che l'admonischino et rallegrandomi della ellettione al generalato » [271]).

Dans ce document il faut surtout relever les passages où Bichi affirme que Rivius a, par mille mensonges, amené le Conseil de Brabant à procéder contre lui, l'internonce, et même à recourir à la force et à la violence. Les faits allégués avaient eu lieu le lundi 12 et le mardi 13 juillet. Ils sont décrits par Bichi lui-même dans une lettre du 15 :

Lundi, au déjeuner, le Conseil de Brabant envoya « une douzaine de personnes », qui, une fois entrées, ne permirent plus à personne de passer la porte. Comme je ne voulais pas leur parler, ils montrèrent à mon secrétaire certaines sentences de cassation dans l'affaire des capucins et des augustins, disant qu'ils ne s'en iraient pas avant d'avoir obtenu de ma part la cassation des mêmes sentences. Ils restèrent jusqu'à sept heures de l'après midi, moment où le comte de Peñaranda vint me voir. Par peur ou pour d'autres raisons, ils s'en allèrent alors dans une auberge, disant qu'ils y mangeraient à mes frais. « *Esclamai del torto* ».

Revenus le lendemain matin, ils ne parvinrent pas à entrer. L'après-midi, ils escaladèrent le mur de la cour, mais ne trouvant aucune porte ouverte si ce n'est celle de l'étable, ils prirent les deux chevaux de carrosse et les emmenèrent, disant qu'ils les vendraient dans trois jours si je ne leur donnais pas satisfaction [272]).

[271]) Ms. CC 52, 267.

[272]) NF, 33, 234-37. L'internonce exagère certains détails. Le Conseil de Bra-

Bichi porta plainte auprès des ministres et surtout de Peñaranda, qui lui conseilla de céder. Le 14 juillet il signa les cassations.

Dans la lettre au général, citée plus haut, Bichi attribue la démarche du Conseil de Brabant aux augustins et tout particulièrement au P. Rivius. Cependant, il était mieux renseigné, car il était en possession de deux billets écrits par François-Marie d'Anvers, capucin, à l'avocat fiscal Léonard de Herre [273]), pour réchauffer l'ardeur du Conseil. En transmettant, le 15 juillet, ces billets à Rome, Bichi avait, en outre, laissé entendre dans la lettre d'accompagnement, que ses difficultés avec le Conseil résultaient à la fois du jansénisme, d'une sentence déjà ancienne relative aux minimes, « e per haver fatto che già li carmelitani obbedissero al lor generale nella causa del prior di Alosto et molte altre dispute » [274]).

Mais il va en tirer tout le parti possible dans l'affaire des capucins, qui ne nous regarde pas, et celle des augustins, qui le gênait beaucoup.

Déjà, dans sa première lettre du 15 juillet, il écrit:

«... Se nella causa dell'agostiniani venisse la speditione quanto prima, impedirebbe molti scandali che vanno a nascere anco di nuovo in quell'Ordine per questi essersi [protetti] del Consiglio Consiglio di Brabante, e se sarà confirmato il capitolo di Gante, si favorirà a quasi tutti li religiosi della provincia et si farà conoscere che non è utile alli frati il ricorrere alli Consigli secolari. Goderei che quanto prima mi potesse apparire l'intentione di Nostro Signore »... [275]).

Répétant cette dernière idée dans sa lettre du 22 juillet, il ajoute:

Non devo lasciare di dirli come si scuopre che questi fastidii siano stati in gran parte cagionati dalli janseniani, che vedendomi godere la gratia di Sua Altezza et escluderli da ogni sorte di avanzamento, per mezzo di consiglieri e frati già impegnati a lor favore, habbiano ordito tutto questo et avendo già stampato un libretto nel

bant donnera une toute autre version, où cependant prédomine une tendance minimisante; cf. LEFÈVRE, 181-182.

[273]) Voir ces lettres, datées du 1er juin, dans NF, 33, 224. Cf. HILDEBRAND, *De Kapucijnen in de Nederlanden*, VI, 296; et passim.

[274]) NF, 33, 226-228. Cette lettre est évidemment antérieure à l'autre de la même date qui a déjà été citée. Par l'affaire des Minimes il faut sans doute entendre celle des Mineurs; cf. HILDEBRAND, VI, 295; sur celle des Carmes, cf. NF, 33, 250-52.

[275]) NF, 33, 240-41.

quale l'arcivescovo di Malines si scuso dal fare obbedire alla bolla, che facevan correre per e mani segratamente nel giorno che son cominciati questi fastidii, lo hanno comminciato a far vendere publicamente » [276]).

Naturellement, les augustins sentent la force de l'argument à charge que l'internonce et leurs adversaires vont tirer de l'action violente du Conseil de Brabant. Déjà le 17 juillet, ils obtiennent de Léonard de Herre, fiscal du Conseil, témoin bien renseigné, une attestation où ce chef d'accusation est traité de « metamorphosum plus aequo monstruosum » [277]).

Cette intervention du Conseil de Brabant va avoir une importance capitale dans le procès qui continue toujours à Rome sur la suppression des discrets et qui s'est doublé d'un second concernant la légalité des deux chapitres.

A peine celui de Gand était-il fini, qu'Ignace De Dijckere, surnommé par ses adversaires « Jan de Lauffer » (Jean le coureur), prend pour la septième fois de sa vie le chemin de Rome [278]), afin d'y défendre les intérêts du dernier parti auquel il a adhéré. Il devance le P. Laurent Choulaeus qui part dans la même direction vers la fin du mois de mai.

[276]) NF, 33, 240-41.

[277]) Ms. CC 52, n° 142. Dans une seconde attestation du 6 octobre de l'année suivante, le fiscal affirme que Beydaels n'a jamais rien demandé au Conseil, si ce n'est de pouvoir tenir le chapitre sans discrets. De Herre ajoute que déjà autrefois il a fait savoir cela au général, à Mgr Farnèse et à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne: « certissimum est nullum alium [recursum] habitum fuisse, eo quod libellus desuper exhibitus pro stylo curiae ad me remissus fuisset... »; CC 52, n° 152.

Rivius écrira le 4 décembre 1649: « Paradoxum enim videtur omnibus tantae ibi existimationis esse Internuntium ut sub eius sola attestatione (qui nihilominus pars est) rectum fiat quod pravum; et verum quod falsum erat; Nam si falsi contra eum actionem et turbarum, in quas tranquillas et bene ordinatas religiones, sive domos earum invexit, instruere vellemus, plenoque numero et specie possemus adducere testimonia istud evidenter convincentia. Inspiciatur tantummodo recusatio Patrum Capucinorum quam ad P. Laurentium [Choulaeum] transmitto; apparebit illico Internuntii levitas et per eam Romanae hic Ecclesiae male sive fulta sive commissa auctoritas »; CC 52, n° 129; Bacherius écrira le 20 octobre à François-Paul Speranza: « ... Nos minime tangunt [facta a Concilio Brabantiae] utpote quae facta sunt nobis insciis, neque quidquam in eam rem conferentibus; deinde causa nobis erat communis cum Patribus Franciscanis et Capucinis, quos non minus Abbas S. Anastasiae [Bichi] turbavit quam nos, cum irreparabili totius patriae scandalo »; CC 52, n° 91.

[278]) N. De Tombeur, *Provincia Belgica*, II, 461 et 464.

Ce délégué du chapitre de Bruxelles arrive à Milan vers la fin de juin. Le 23 de ce mois, il écrit au nouveau général, Philippe Visconti, pour le féliciter de son élection et lui manifester le désir de le rencontrer sous peu. Il poursuit:

« Quem in finem, atque etiam ut commissa mihi negotia procurem, quantis possum itineribus ad Urbem propero ; mirantibusque plerisque provinciae nostrae Patribus, quod rursus iter hoc tam prompte et incunctanter susceperim, ab iis potissimum missus quos minus de me meritos censent. At ego causae meritum perpendo non personarum. Est porro nostra eiusmodi ut mihi profecto videatur debere me pro ea promovenda non laborem modo et qualemcumque meam industriam, sed vitam ipsam, si necesse fuerit collocare.

Longe contrarium R^mae P. V. persuadere conabitur R. P. Ignatius Dyckerius, sed valde dubito utrum ex conscientiae dictamine, an vero ex passionis impulsu.

Praevenit iste iter meum, eodem prorsus modo quo praetensum Gandavense definitorium in electione priorum localium nos praevenit » [279]).

Choulaeus arriva à Rome avec un retard de huit jours sur le P. De Dijckere [280]. Là, l'affaire se traitait sans hâte, du fait que la décision du chapitre général n'était pas favorable à ceux qui avaient toujours soutenu secrètement les intérêts du P. Paludanus. Vu la puissance de ceux-ci, les prélats qui auraient dû s'occuper de l'affaire se retirèrent. Visconti, le général des augustins, note pour sa part:

Generalis in hac causa non se immiscuit ob plures rationes: 1° ne videretur magis in unam quam alteram partem inclinare ; 2° quia tangebat et iurisdictionem internuntii ; 3° quia contendebatur recursus ad regios ; 4° quia agebatur de doctrina Jansenii » [281]).

Mgr Farnèse d'abord, Mgr Maraldi ensuite, se déclarent malades. De Dijckere lui-même fait de son mieux pour prévenir la réunion de la commission. Entre temps il agit dans les coulisses, car ce n'est que là qu'il espère réussir [282]).

[279]) Ms. CC 52, n° 67.

[280]) Ms. DD 84, 474-481: « Binos [Choulaeum et socium] pariter eo [Romam] destinaverunt Bruxellenses, sed serius, ita ut hi non nisi octiduo post illum in Urbem pervenerint... ».

[281]) Ms. CC 52, n° 150. Il est évident que Visconti redoute le Saint-Office. Néanmoins il a fait plus qu'il ne l'avoue ici (voir *infra* n. 286, 296).

[282]) Voir le rapport de Visconti: « Procrastinante autem Gandavensi [De

Il fait venir de Belgique une copieuse documentation, en particulier de longues listes signées par les religieux des divers couvents qui désirent l'admission des discrets au chapitre [283]).

Néanmoins les membres de la commission sont très ennuyés. Visconti note:

« Farnesius attribuit Fagnano quod daret velut caecus etc. Maraldus sensit pro utroque annulando » [284]).

Annuler les deux chapitres était, sans doute, la solution la plus simple sinon la plus juste. Le définitoire de Bruxelles ne s'y mon-

Dijckere] licet certi iam cognitores sive iudices fuissent a Sanctissimo Domino pro his causis [Discretorum et Capitulorum] assignati, Bruxellenses diem illi dixerunt; ipse delationem petiit. Alia igitur rursus illi dies dicta, congregatione indicta, sed huic moram iniecit superveniens Illmi D. Farnesii, ac deinde et Illmi D. Maraldi iudicum infirmitas; ita ut ad unum alterumve mensem dicta congregatio dilata sit »; ms. DD 84, 474-81

[283]) On trouvera ces *listes* dans le ms. CC 52. Rivius admet que le nombre des adhérents au parti adverse est plus grand; mais il fait remarquer que, parmi eux, se trouvent les clercs et les laïcs; « totus et omnis bonorum sacerdotum coetus nobiscum est; ms. CC 52, n° 132. Il écrivit encore le 4 septembre 1649: « Ad verum efficiendum quod falsum est, nihil adiuvat turba mendacium calumniatorum. Qua propter ex tot domibus et personis tam sollicite contra me suscitatis, tot descritis invectivis videt equidem Rma V. rem ex composito geri »; ms. CC 52, n° 122; et le 23 octobre 1649:

« P. Ignatius partis adversae procurator, qui istic est, ut ostenderet quam bene officio sibi commisso functus sit, misit huc ad suos scripturas omnes quas ibi exhibuit. Eae scripturae postquam D. Internuntio monstratae fuerunt pervenerunt, nescio quo casu, ad manus nostras. Visis iis lectisque cum norrore et stupore dixi: tantaene animis monachalibus irae ?

Omnes siquidem illae scripturae, nulla excepta, scatent refertaeque sunt mendaciis, calumniis, pravis suspicionibus, falsis praesumptionibus, iudiciis temerariis et malignis, laedoriis et scommatis, adeoque dictante odio et livore confectae...

Quamobrem ipse D. Internuntius, cum lectas a se scripturas ad eum remitteret a quo acceperat, rescribi per secretarium suum iussit in haec verba: Remito ad P. V. scripturas adiunctas, quas Illmus Dominus meus existimat non ostendendas cuilibet sed tantum Patribus diffinitorii ad evitendas irritationes. 22 Octobris 1649 et infra Ferd. Niphus ». *Ibid.*, n° 126.

D'après une méthode chère aux antijanssénistes (voir notre étude: *Een geheim genootschap ter bestrijding van het Jansenisme*, dans nos *Jansenistica*, t. I, Malines 1950), les adversaires de Rivius recueillent toujours des attestations contre lui auprès des gens du monde; *ibid.*, n° 125.

[284]) Ms. CC 52, n° 150. Fagnano était effectivement aveugle, au sens réel du mot.

trait pas contraire [285]) ; naturellement, celui de Gand n'en voulait pas [286]). Visconti lui était très favorable, et à sa demande, il fut chargé de rédiger un projet d'accord. Dans celui-ci il proposait de nommer Brulius provincial, Mertens ex-provincial, et de charger les visiteurs de sonder les désirs des religieux au sujet de l'abrogation des discrets [287]).

Mais il était à prévoir que la solution serait celle qui plairait le plus au Saint-Office. Aussi, dès le mois d'octobre De Dijckere peut faire savoir aux siens que le chapitre de Gand sera approuvé. Cette nouvelle fait une terrible impression sur les adhérents du chapitre de Bruxelles. Rivus écrit le 13 novembre 1649:

« Conciliabulum illud Gandense non obstantibus omnibus et nullitatibus et vitiis suis, a Romanis iudicibus approbatum ideo esse, quod occasione nostri hic capituli executionem a Concilio Brabantiae subierit D. Internuntius, postremis Roma litteris intelleximus. Deus bone, quale hocce iudicium est ? Quid enim ad nos pertinet ; quomodo causam nostram attingit quod contra internuntium Brabantiae Concilium egit ? Neque enim actio Concilii actio nostra est ; aut Concilium nos induximus ut contra internuntium ageret. Nemo enim id dixerit aut probaverit. Quapropter, si Concilium peccaverit, ipsum puniatur, non autem nos innocentes et innoxii... Non habeat praemium inobedientia, et obedientia poenam » [288]).

Il demande d'insister auprès du Pape pour une révision. Au contraire le provincial de Gand insiste pour l'expédition immédiate de la décision de la Congrégation [289]).

[285]) Voir, entre autres, la lettre de Rivius en date du 18 décembre 1649; ms. CC 52, n° 131.

[286]) Je suppose que c'est à cette circonstance qu'il faut attribuer les mots obscurs que, dans une lettre non datée, le P. De Dijckere écrit contre le « R. P. Antonius [sic] Visconti, [qui] in personam P. Ignatii Dyckerii in aedibus et audientia Illmi D. Farnesii coram pluribus insolenter debacchandi [occasionem arripuit] etiam cum contemptu ac praeiudicio totius Provinciae Belgicae » ; ms. CC 52, 260.

[287]) Voir à ce sujet plusieurs pièces dans les mss. CC 52 et CC 14.

[288]) Ms. CC 52, n° 128.

[289]) Voir la lettre du « Pater Provincialis caeterique de diffinitorio nostro et ego communi nomine et meo, F. Petrus Damasus De Coninck », Louvain 5 novembre 1649; ms. CC 52, n° 8. La décision des cardinaux va finalement ramener la paix dans la province. De Coninck et ses partisans n'ont jamais voulu faire tort à l'autorité des deux généraux, mais « quorumdam solum hic restitisse ambitioni, cui ut ei facerent satis tot criminationum falsarum nymbis pauperes apud

Le général conserva pourtant de l'espoir jusqu'au bout. En effet, quand il avait présenté son projet d'accommodement à Mgr Farnèse et au Card. Pancirolo, il avait demandé :

« eumdem Pancirolum ut disponeret praedictum Farnesium, qui respondit se facturum, et concordiam illam laudatam ab ipso fuisse ; et Generalis contulit cum Patribus ut facilius eis persuaderet etc. Die porro 13 Februarii 1650, de repente, tradidit decretum huiusmodi P. Ignatio Dickero, et statim ab Urbe eum dimisit, nulla notitia data alteri, etc. » [290]).

Sur cette décision, remise au P. De Dijckere, nous renseigne le document suivant :

« Magno cum animi sensu Sanctissimus Dominus Noster intellexit augustinianae familiae fratres provinciae Belgicae sive Coloniensis, tot tantique dissentionibus atque discordiis agitari, quinimo in capitulo proxime celebrato plerosque religiosorum, salutaribus cohortationibus ac monitis internuntii in Belgio residentis longe posthabitis, spretis insuper eiusdem praeceptis, ecclesiasticas censuras parvifacientes, veritos non fuisse temerarie procedere ad electiones capitulares in urbe Bruxellensi, tametsi iam ante, ne id fieret, idem internuntius prohibuisset, et vero capitulum Gandavi habendum iustis de causis transportasset, ubi nihilominus pii quidam et melioris notae vocales, ac Sedem Apostolicam debita reverentia observantes, instituerunt aliud capitulum cum discretorum interventu a singulis fere monasteriis designatorum, pariterque ad electiones provincialis, definitorum, priorum localium aliorumque officialium qui in eiusmodi functionibus nominari solent, devenerunt. Quapropter Sanctitas Sua cupiens, ut et contumaces [!] sua poena et obedientes [!] maneant condigna praemia, ex voto quorumdam Romanae Curiae praelatorum (quibus hoc negotium discutiendum commiserat) statuit ac decrevit ut capitulum Bruxellense cum omnibus inde sequutis annullaretur ; haberet vero suum robur et effectum Gandavense ; instruendus esset provincialis P. Joachim Brulius, qui omnino suum munus obierit, reliquae porro electiones stabilirentur atque auctoritate apostolica, prout melius ad quietem et tranquillitatem eiusdem dictae provinciae Amplitudini Tuae visum esset, corroborarentur, communicata hunc in finem eidem facultate, officia etiam inter Patres adversae partis dispensandi, dummodo submittant sese et admissorum illos errorum poeniteat.

eosdem Rmos praedecessores asperseant ut tantum non obtruerant ». Ils n'ont pas été conduits par un esprit de vengeance mais par l'amour du bien de la province.

[290]) CC 52, n° 150. Sur le retour à Louvain du P. De Dijckere, on lit dans N. De Tombeur, *Provincia Belgica* (ms.), II, 462 : « 30 Martii [1650] hic Roma redux appulit P. M. Ignatius Dijcker, pro capitulo Gandensi actor. Hic exceptus etiam cum explosione insititiorum et evibratione pyropylarum, etc. ».

Et quia huiusmodi dissidiorum origo derivatur a controversia super abrogatione discretorum introducta, huic idem Sanctissimus, habita sententia et consilio S. Congregationis negotiis Regularium praefectae, necnon audito ac consentiente praefati Ordinis Priore Generali, Amplitudini tuae committendum duxit, ut constito [!] quod maior provinciae pars discretorum electionem in antiquum usum reponi desideret, quodque haec opportuna censeantur media conciliandi animos, sedandi tumultus pristinaeque paci provincia restituendi, indulgere possit (quando ita in Domino iudicaverit expedire) ut in posterum discreti eligantur et ad capitula provincialia, ut hactenus fieri consuevit, ablegentur, donec aliter a hac S. Sede fuerit resolutum. Quae omnia de mandato Suae Beatitudinis Amplitudini Tuae significo » [291]).

Ce document n'est pas une décision de la Congrégation, mais une lettre du cardinal-patron à Fabio Chigi nonce à Cologne [292]). Il vient donc du Saint-Office, Congrégation dominée par les amis de Chigi qui tient à soutenir l'honneur de son neveu, l'internonce de Bruxelles, et comme eux combat le jansénisme partout où il croit le trouver [293]).

Cette décision fut accueillie avec consternation par le parti de Rivius. Jean Mertens, le provincial élu au chapitre de Bruxelles, écrit le 19 mars 1650 à son général:

« Cum stupore et horrore totius Belgii intelleximus emanasse decretum Sacrae Congregationis in favorem capituli Gandensis, reiecto Bruxellensi, sine causa, nisi vitio vertatur superiorum mandatis obtemperasse. Meliora sane a tam sancto tribunali speraveramus, a quo praemium suae rebellionis referunt, qui poenam omnium iudicio merebantur... Quod de iniuria Ill^mo D. Internuntio a nobis irrigata perscriptum est, commentum est figmentum est, ut specioso suam possint adversarii titulo palliare rebellionem et

[291]) On trouve le texte de ce document aux Archives du Vatican, fonds de la Congrégation des Evêques et des Réguliers, Registre 1650, fol. 10; également dans DD 84, 479-80.

[292]) On ne trouve nulle trace d'une décision de la Congrégation, ni dans le Registre de 1649 ni dans celui de 1650. Dans ce dernier, au lieu d'une décision, on rencontre cette lettre du cardinal « patron ».

[293]) Chigi, devenu cardinal, et plus tard pape, a eu des scrupules de conscience au sujet du traitement infligé à Rivius. Voir certaines lettres dans le ms. CC 14, ainsi que la lettre de Rivius au Pape Alexandre VII, en date du 25 juillet 1655, dans *Lettere dei Particolari*, t. 31, fol. 74.

Disons encore que, devenu pape, Fabio Chigi, bien qu'il ait tant donné dans le népotisme, a fait finir son neveu, devenu cardinal (seulement en 1659), dans le petit diocèse d'Osimo. C'est la preuve qu'il reconnaissait son incapacité.

enorme attentatum. Ad nutum R^mae^ Paternitatis Vestrae, a quo ne ad latum unguem recessero, adibo Ill^mum^ D. Internuntium, omni cum animi submissione et reverentia, eique provinciae nostrae pacem et quietem animitus commendam » [294]).

Le 23 avril suivant il écrit encore au même:

« Ea est provinciae nostrae afflictissimae facies et insultantium oppressis adversariorum insolentia, ut nihil tristius, nihil commiseratione dignius videre sit... Interim desiderio R^mae^ P. V. satisfecimus litteris S. Congregationis, sine ulla contradictione, prompto animo obediendo, ut nihil ex parte nostra defuerit submissioni debitae » [295]).

La décision du Saint-Siège mettait la province des augustins devant un terrible fait accompli. Les insoumis sortaient victorieux d'un combat engagé avec si peu de justice. Aux autres, qui perdaient leur cause, il fallait beaucoup de vertu pour se soumettre. Les exécuteurs se conduisirent de façon à en exiger encore plus [296]).

[294]) Ms. CC 55, n° 112.

[295]) *Ibid.*, n° 113.

[296]) On trouvera quelques détails dans le résumé de Visconti; voir plus haut. Il était entendu, et le général y insistait, que les exécuteurs donneraient les charges indifféremment aux adhérents du chapitre de Gand et de celui de Bruxelles. Or c'est ce qu'on ne fit pas, et pour se donner une apparence de raison on continua la campagne de dénigrement. Voir par ex. une lettre de Chigi au général en date du 19 mars 1650; cf. CC 52, 264; voir aussi, *ibid.*, un « Compendium cuiusdam scripti ab internuntio: « I capi non hanno mai voluto dar sodisfattione sufficienti per l'obedienza alla Santa Sede circa Jansenio, stante che più volte hanno mostrato in parole e scritto voler essere obedienti e poi in ogni occasione sono mostrati pertinaci defensori di questa dottrina. Giovanni Mertens, priore di Brusseles, aspirando al provincialato, diede qualche sodisfattione, come il priore di Anversa; nè è giovato mostrar ordini della Sacra Congregatione e P. Generale, havendo havuto più forza Giovanni Rivio col consiglio del advocato Mortelle, cugino del Caleno capo de' janseniani. Questo P. Rivio e Beydaels etc. estorsero dal noncio, con importunità e manzogne, consenso... » de retarder le chapitre, ce qui était au-dessus de ses pouvoirs... Le général Visconti, trop bien renseigné, faisait de faibles et prudents efforts pour améliorer le sort de ses bons religieux opprimés. Pour l'avoir osé, il reçut une réprimande de Fabio Chigi, nonce de Cologne. Elle lui fut sans doute communiquée par Albizzi, auquel Chigi avait écrit le 10 juin: « ... Ma di nuovo il generale di S. Agostino disaiuta in voler abbassare appassionamente i discreti e obbedienti e sostenere gli indiscreti e contumaci sotto pretexto che stiano a favore della sua autorità... »; ms. Chigi, A. I. 22, 217 v.

Visconti répondit à Chigi: « Sono cosi gravi e continoati li richiami de' Padri di cotesta provincia per li pretesi mali trattamenti del P. Provinciale [Joachim Brulius], che io confesso haver talvolta scritto con qualche senso, con

Mais elle ne manquait pas. Grâce à elle, enfin, rentrait la paix, dont cependant, sans rougir, Bichi attribua le mérite à Paludanus, le vainqueur [297]).

VIII. Le grand antijanséniste.

Au moment où il s'opposait à l'autorité dans son ordre et dans sa province en combattant la suppression des discrets, Paludanus avait compris qu'il aurait tout l'appui de la Curie romaine à condition de se poser en antijanséniste militant. Cependant, il rencontrait une difficulté: il avait été janséniste lui-même, et — il devait le savoir —, rien ne se perd plus difficilement qu'un tel renom. Mais habile qu'il était, il trouva le rémède: sans retard il adopta la méthode que plus tard son général devait recommander au P. Lupus: qui veut se défaire du soupçon de jansénisme, doit écrire contre les jansénistes.

termine però tale che non ho mai ecceduto, e se havessimo da librare le sue e le mie lettere in riguardo, anco d'esser suddito, si vedrebbano senza dubbio molto più piccate e da me solo tolerate per giusti rispetti; non vorrei però perdesse quel rispetto che deve all'officio, non havendo io tralasciato l'affetto di padre, ancorchè nelle cause della provincia potesse procedere con maggior honorevolezza de' miei anticessori et atti publici della mia religione. Oltre che dovrebbe servirsi della vittoria con maggior moderatione senza irritare più gli animi et indurli in disperatione.

Non havendolo pregato in altro solo, che procuri dare sodisfattione alle parti e non mi pareva gran fatto che havesse concessa la stanza di Brusseles al P. Rivio, non infimo della provincia, essendo anc'io ricercato da persone grandi, et havendo pregato il P. Provinciale, havendo potuto commandare; et assicuro V. S. Illma che ho rimesse tutte le cause a lui medesimo, per sostenere in tutto la sua autorità onde non so qual motivo egli habbe da dolersi. Il P. Ignatio [De Dijckere] poi molto meno deve lamentarsi che se ha dato qualche ordine perchè renda conto di certa donatione del Barone Taxis, io l'ho fatto per reiterate istanze dell'istesso Barone, qual dicesse essere fraudato in molta somma dall'istesso Ignatio, qual potrei anco castigare per l'alienatione fatta. Nondimeno ho remissa la causa all' istesso P. Provinciale, suo confidente »; Ms. CC 5 (3e fascicule).

Voici deux spécimens, particulièrement significatifs des plaintes que reçut le général. Dans une lettre sans date, André Van den Brande écrit: « O scelera, O Deus, itane mori ita affligi innocenter »; Josse ab Isscha se dit, le 3 novembre 1650, prêt à partager le sort de ceux « qui a triumphantium insolentia intolerabili quotidie opprimuntur »; ms. CC 52, no 54 et 55.

[297]) Voir une lettre, datée du 28 juillet 1650, de Chigi au Cardinal secrétaire. Nous la reproduirons plus loin.

Voici quelques détails que nous tirons de la correspondance des jésuites, antijansénistes eux, dès la première heure.

Le P. Adrien Crom, jésuite de Bruxelles, confident de l'internonce, écrit le 28 avril 1648 à son ami le P. François De Cleyn, à Louvain:

« Heri adfuit mihi D. Pronuntius retulitque Eximium D. Paludanum sibi exhibuisse opusculum quoddam a se compositum contra *Augustinum* Jansenii, de quo et ipse aliquando nobis locutus fuit, et Romam perscripsit, promisitque ostenturum se, Jansenium in praecipuis suis dogmatibus aberrasse a mente Sancti Augustini. Optimum factum, sed laboratur in executione, ut liber lucem videat.

C'est ce que Paludanus fait. Dès le printemps de 1648, son manuscrit est achevé, mais il ne lui appartient guère encore. En effet, un ancien janséniste qui se lance dans la polémique antijanséniste n'échappe pas à un contrôle vigilant de la part de ses nouveaux compagnons d'armes.

Suo nomine, ut hic edat numquam facultatem impetrabit a suo provinciali janseniano et antidiscreto. Ut a P. Generali suo, repugnante provinciali, impetret, pronum non videri mihi respondit pronuntius. Ut a Sacra Congregatione Inquisitionis venia petatur, ea securissima et minime implexa foret via, sed longa. Verendum est enim ne opusculum ipsi prius videre velint, et ne relinquant in tenebris sicubi displiceat, vel etiam edi vetent ob causas aliquas extrinsecas occurrentes. Tunc, ait, interclusa esset omnis alia via et nostris scriptoribus crearetur praeiudicium.

Ergo, nisi quid occurrat melius, videtur D. Pronuntius et quoque ipse auctor propendere ut subornato prodeat nomine. Vellet tamen D. Pronuntius prius approbari et a variis legi. Credo propediem mittendum Domino Ab Angelis, apud quem videre poteritis, vel etiam per partes domi legere, quod omnino expedit, ut videatur necubi in nos vel nostra impingat. Libenter ergo opusculum percurrissem, sed videbatur pronuntius festinare ut D. Ab Angelis legeret, ac deinde mitteretur ad episcopum Antverpiensem, qui quoque id per se suosque, verbi gratia P. Joannem [298]), lustraret et approbari curaret. Dixi ergo D. Pronuntio omnino satius et efficacius fore, si nomen sui auctoris praefixum haberet. Si tamen alieno sive ficto prodire, ob causas supradictas, deberet, expedire eo casu ut D. Paludanus, velut censor apostolicus, opus approbet, asseratque auctorem

[298]) Il s'agit de Jean De Jonghe, autrefois professeur à Louvain, où il fut avec Crom et De Cleyn un des premiers adversaires de Jansénius. Gaspar Nemius, évêque d'Anvers, avait de très bonnes relations avec les Jésuites. Voir *Jansenistica*, I, passim.

bene assecutum esse Sancti Augustini mentem ; sibi quoque post diuturnum eius examen perspectissima.

Rogo Reverentiam Vestram ut, si D. Ab Angelis post reditum nondum adierit, hac occasione eum adeat, si ita videbitur, cum P. Praefecto, quem saluto, gratissimamque rem fecerit, si iudicium suum et Domini Ab Angelis perscribat, primo quid de editione censeat, deinde quid de opusculo ipso, ubi id videri potuerit. Purum esse dicitur, et quod perlegi facile possit...

[P. S.] ... Patri Paludano nihil dicatur de opere illo. Ipse forte ultro dicet, qui dixit D. Pronuntio se non invitum futurum ut etiam a Societatis hominibus legatur. Noluit tamen id iam urgere pronuntius, ne nimium, ut aiebat, iesuita videretur » [299]).

Quelques mois plus tard, le 11 juin 1650, Crom écrit une fois de plus au P. De Cleyn :

« ... Mitto et catalogum capitum opusculi P. Paludani, quod D. Pronuntio legere tradidit, et is mihi. Totum perlegi cum P. Del Plano [300]). Placet mihi rei substantia, et capita quae tractat. Sed passim iusto verbosior est, et pluribus locis nimis excusat jansenianos et archiepicopum [301]), quem tamen non nominat, et sic restat saepe inter duas aquas. Quare velim semel iterumve illum dimittere ex ponte illo noto Reverentiae Vestrae, ut maculas illas eluere possim. Absque illis enim optime multa tractat, et egregie illos mordet. Curavit id D. Pronuntius sibi describi. Ego observationes illi scripto dabo, quas suo nomine poterit P. Paludano proponere. Si edatur, res erit salutaris. Catalogum illum deinde libenter recipiam. Poterit Reverentia Vestra cum P. Praefecto [302]) et professoribus communicare, sed non cum aliis, ne resciat P. Paludanus nos vidisse. Iustum erit opusculum... » [303]).

Prêt à l'impression dès le commencement de 1648, le livre tarda beaucoup à paraître. On peut en deviner quelques raisons : mésentente entre le P. Crom qui veut que le nom de l'auteur soit connu et ce dernier qui s'y oppose ; corrections ultérieures que les jé-

[299]) Ms. II, 1220, 138.

[300]) Dès le début du jansénisme, le P. Ferdinand Del Plano s'était distingué en le combattant; cf. *Jansenistica*, I, passim.

[301]) Il réfute les *Rationes* de l'archevêque de Malines, sans pourtant nommer celui-ci. Celles-ci furent plusieurs fois éditées. Voir WILLAERT, *Bibliotheca*, passim.

[302]) C'est-à-dire Ignace der Kennis, « quatorze ans professeur et onze ans préfet des hautes études à Louvain, trois ans recteur du même collège; écrivain ecclésiastique, il se distingua dans la lutte contre le jansénisme naissant » ; PONCELET, *Nécrologe*, 74; cf. *Jansenistica*, I, passim.

[303]) Ms. II, 1220, 142.

suites veulent apporter au texte pour l'habiller à leur goût [304]) ; enfin le mauvais succès du livre du P. Ripalda [305]).

Ce n'est qu'au début de 1651 que le livre antijanséniste de Paludanus vit le jour. Il n'en prit qu'une plus grande actualité. En effet, au mois d'août 1650, Philippe IV avait ordonné une troisième fois, définitive celle-ci, de publier la bulle. Comme l'exécution se heurtait à des nombreuses difficultés, il parut à cette époque plusieurs opuscules pour et contre la bulle [306]).

Le titre choisi par Paludanus était le suivant: *Veritas bullae urbanianae demonstrata in eo quod asserit in Augustini Jansenii multas e propositionibus a Pio V. et Gregorio XIII. damnatis contineri.* Namurci, Typis Ioannis Godefrin Typog. jurat. 1650, in-8, 59+3 pp.

Contrairement au désir du P. Crom, le nom de l'auteur n'apparaît nulle part, même pas (selon la suggestion du même Père) dans l'approbation. Celle-ci, datée de Namur le 5 octobre 1650, fut donnée par R. Du Lauri, doyen, official et censeur, qui juge:

« Tractatus hic, quo veritas bullae Urbanianae demonstratur contra eos qui illam falsitatis insimulant, ad Sedis Apostolicae honorem defendendum utiliter imprimi potest ».

Par une lettre datée de Louvain le 10 septembre 1650 et signée *NN*, Paludanus donne à Jacques Speecq, professeur anti-janséniste de Louvain, la permission de publier, s'il y voit de l'utilité, son livre qu'il nomme un *Parallelum* [307]).

Speecq avoue dans son adresse au lecteur: « Non diu deliberandum mihi fuit... ut adiunctum parallelum, Pontificiis decretis conforme, ... publici iuris facerem » ;

Mais, désireux de mieux obéir aux loix ecclésiastiques que beaucoup d'autres auteurs, il refuse de publier quoi que ce soit en

[304]) On a attribué la *Veritas bullae* au P. Ignace Der Kennis; cf. WILLAERT, n° 2611. Faut-il croire qu'une collaboration réelle soit à l'origine de cette attribution ? D'autres auteurs, à la suite de GERBERON (*Histoire*, I, 354-56), ont attribué la *Veritas bullae* à Valentin Randour, professeur de Douai.

[305]) Le livre de Ripalda fut si malmené par les Louvanistes que, selon toute vraisemblance, il fut retiré du commerce. Voir L. CEYSSENS, *Juan Martinez de Ripalda et le troisième volume de son « De ente supernaturali »* (1648), dans *De Gulden Passer*, 33 (1955) 1-26.

[306]) Voir WILLAERT, passim.

[307]) « Parallelum itaque breve admodum (quoniam ita putebatur) inter proscriptos ac Ianseniános articulos contexui, quod veteri amicitia fretus et obsequi gratia Eximiae Dom. Tuae oblatum venio... ».

contravention aux décrets du Concile de Trente, et par conséquent, lui, Speecq, ne craint pas de faire connaître son nom.

Dans un premier chapitre, Paludanus indique son but, qui est la défense de la bulle *In eminenti*. Celle-ci affirme que l'*Augustinus* contient beaucoup de propositions déjà condamnées par Pie V, — fait que les jansénistes refusent d'admettre et que notre augustin va donc prouver. Procédant logiquement, il démontre, au chapitre II, l'authenticité de la bulle, et aux chapitres suivants, son bon droit. Jansénius et ses disciples ont, en effet, repris une trentaine de propositions déjà condamnées (elles sont exposées en détail aux chapitres III, IV, V) et d'autres opinions contraires au Concile de Trente (chap. VI). Pour finir, l'auteur passe aux arguments *ad hominem* (chap. VII) et à une *oratio pro domo* (chap. VIII, intitulé *Licita est huiusmodi scribendi ratio*). Il essaye d'expliquer comment, en publiant son livre, il ne contrevient pas aux bulles de Pie V, de Grégoire XIII et d'Urbain VII, qui interdisent sévèrement toute controverse au sujet du baianisme et du jansénisme. Son raisonnement, bien que très spécieux, porte à faux [308]).

Le jugement des premiers lecteurs fut favorable. François Vander Veken, le confesseur du nonce Chigi à Cologne, écrit le 10 février 1651 au P. De Cleyn:

« Ego vero gratias ago pro... *Veritate bullae urbanianae*, opusculo valde utili, claro et solido » [309]).

Le 29 mars 1651, Antoine Meerhouts, recteur du Collège de Ruremonde, écrit:

« Percurri opus Paludani, et perplacet. Non videor hactenus vidisse quod planius et modestius iugulet causam adversam, quamquam suaviter demulcet lucernarium istum Arausicanum eiusque filium eruditionis. Utinam tandem ad tam claram lucem aperiant oculos »... [310]).

[308]) Tout comme Ripalda, le P. Paludanus invoque une lettre du P. Jean de Lugo, jésuite espagnol résidant à Rome, professeur au Collège romain, membre du Saint-Office, bientôt cardinal. Mais l'art dialectique de ce théologien, si grand fût-il, était impuissant à faire accroire que les trois bulles n'interdisaient que la controverse entre Dominicains et Jésuites sur les *auxilia*.

[309]) Ms. II, 1220, 156.

[310]) *Ibid.*, 158. Faisant allusion au titre de certains ouvrages publiés à cette époque par Froidmond, le P. Meerhouts semble désigner saint Augustin par le *Lucernarius Arausicanus* et Jansénius par le *filius eruditionis*; cf. WILLAERT, n° 2545 (lisez: Vincentii Lenis, *Theologi Arausicani...*) et 2570.

Comme il s'y attendait, l'auteur fut bientôt attaqué par les jansénistes. Cependant, avant d'exposer la polémique qui s'engage, il faut élucider un petit problème bibliographique.

Parlant des efforts faits par les antijansénistes pour justifier la bulle, Gerberon écrit:

« Quelqu'un d'eux [des antijansénistes] fit un extrait de vingt-huit articles qu'il prétendait être les mêmes que ceux qui avaient été condamnée de Pie V et qu'il se vantait d'avoir tirés du livre de Jansénius. Cet écrit qu'on intitula: *Parallelum inter Baianas propositiones et propositiones Jansenii*, fut dédié le dixième septembre de cette année [1650] à Maître Jacques Speecq, Docteur en Théologie de Louvain » [311]).

Quel est ce *Parallelum* que le P. Willaert ne mentionne pas et que je n'ai pas trouvé, mais dont l'existence est difficile à nier ? La description qu'en fournit Gerberon fait penser au P. Paludanus et à son *Veritas bullae*: des deux côtés même dédicace au même Jacques Speecq, datée du même jour, 10 septembre 1650 ; de part et d'autre à peu près le même nombre de propositions contraires à la bulle de Pie V attribuées à Jansénius [312]) ; la même date d'impression. Il y a plus: dans la lettre de Paludanus, reproduite dans la *Veritas bullae*, l'auteur lui-même nomme son ouvrage un *Parallelum* et Jacques Speecq emploi le même terme dans son épitre au lecteur [313]).

Il faut donc conclure que le *Parallelum* et la *Veritas* sont un seul et même livre du même auteur, mais publié sous des titres divers et peut être aussi à des dates différentes [314]). Le livre de Paludanus a ainsi une ressemblance de plus avec celui du P. Ripalda, dont le titre original: *Adversus Baium et Baianos* devint en-

[311]) GERBERON, *Histoire*, I, 353-54.

[312]) On ne saurait, sans un contrôle sévère, déterminer le nombre exact des propositions relevées dans la *Veritas*.

[313]) Nous avons noté plus haut ces expressions. Elles ne reviennent pas dans l'approbation du censeur namurois.

[314]) Dans le prologue de ses *Notarum Molinomachiae*, Sinnich prétend que la *Veritas bullae* ne vit le jour qu'après sa *Molinomachia* « ... Collatione utriusque operis instituta, eruditi censerunt posterius a priori refutatum ante quam natum... Admirationi quidem ut obviaretur, subnexa est ad calcem *Epistola*, quasi auctoris ab obstetricatorem de data 10 Septembris 1650, scilicet ad persuadendum librum iam tunc fuisse elucubratum ac proelo paratum, uno etiam ab auctore in alienas manus consignatum, cum nondum *Molinomachia* in lucem edita, sed nec in utero fuisset concepta. Epistola ista in anterioribus libri exemplaribus non habetur, quae

suite beaucoup plus inoffensif: *Adversus articulos olim a Pio V et Gregorio XIII et novissime ab Urbano VIII P. P. damnatos.*

Bientôt Jean Sinnich, le professeur de Louvain qui avait autrefois profité de l'appui du P. Paludanus, oppose au *Parallelum*, dont il ignore l'auteur, le livre suivant: *Aurelii Aviti, Veronensis Theologi, Molinomachia, hoc est Molinistarum in Augustinum Iansenii, Antistitis Iprensis, insultus novissimus, viginti octo Consonantiarum Doctrinae inde excerptae, cum Articulis a Pio V. Pontifice proscriptis, Compilatione subnixus: totidem vero Dissonantiarum contrapositione elisus.* Parisiis, Apud Societatem Typographicam, anno 1650 ; in-8, [8] + 167 pp.

A ce livre, paru pendant que la *Veritas bullae* était sous presse, Paludanus réplique, toujours sous l'anonymat, par un *Appendix ad Veritatem bullae Urbanianae demonstratam seu notae ad Aurelii Aviti Molinomachiam verius Urbanomachiam accessit Tractatus apologeticus pro eiusdem bullae auctoritate.* Namur, Jean Godefrin, 1651, in-8°, 40 pp.

Ce supplément à la *Veritas bullae* comprend deux parties. La première, dépourvue de titre spécial, soutient, contre Sinnich, la présence dans l'*Augustinus* de nombreuses propositions déjà condamnées. A la page 16, en venant à la conclusion, l'auteur apostrophe Sinnich:

« ... Aperi tandem oculos tuos, Aureli Avite, quisquis es... et vide quam post omnes tuos, tuorumque per decennium clamores, in sententia constantes sint Romani iudices... » [315]).

La seconde partie, intitulée *Tractatus apologeticus pro bullae Urbanianae auctoritate* insiste sur les questions fondamentales. Un premier chapitre établit: « *sententiae Romani Pontificis esse obtemperandum, eaque quasdam propositiones Baii (atque adeo Jansenii) damnari non quomodolibet, sed in rigore verborum et sensu ab*

Namurci immediate allata sunt et in quorumdam adhuc manibus exstant; sed addita est exemplaribus Lovanii prostantibus ». GERBERON, *Historia*, I, 354-56, a suivi cette interprétation.

[315]) Paludanus mentionne, comme preuve de la constance romaine, le décret du Saint-Office, en date du 6 octobre 1650, condamnant le *Catéchisme de la grâce* de Feydeau. Il en reproduit le texte. A la fin du supplément, dans une lettre au lecteur, A. Speeck reproduit le mandement, daté du 29 novembre 1650, par lequel l'évêque de Gand, « exemple de soumission au Saint-Siège », publie le décret du 6 octobre. A cette époque les antijansénistes croyaient prochaine une conversion de cet évêque janséniste. Voir note 323.

auctore intento » ; le second chapitre ajoute : « *Summum Pontificem definientem ut caput Ecclesiae res ad fidem pertinentes non posse errare* » ; finalement le troisième conclut : « *Non posse S. Sedis, in rebus fidei, veritatem humanis artibus labefactari: propositiones Baii, etsi ab eadem S. Sede confuse haeresis, erroris, temeritatis, offensionis scandalive nomine damnatas, tamen erroneas passim videri ; denique eum, qui asserit bullam controversam S. Augustino repugnare, non adeo bullae quam ipsi Augustino auctoritatem detrahere* ».

Ce supplément ne resta pas sans réponse. Bientôt Sinnich reprit la parole dans ses : *Notarum, Molinomachiae Aurelii Aviti per anonymum aspersarum Spongia Sive responsio dispunctoria ad Libellum, cui Titulus: Appendix ad veritatem Bullae Urbanianae demonstratum: seu Notae ad Aurelii Aviti Molinomachiam, verius Urbanomachiam, Authore Aurelio Avito Veronensi Theologo*. Parisiis, Apud Societatem typographicam, Anno 1651, in-8°, 104 pp.

Paludanus reparaît avec une publication plus volumineuse, qui, cette fois, porte son nom : *Apologia Constitutionis Urbanianae quae incipit « In eminenti Ecclesiae », divisa in duas partes, edita per F. Michaelem Paludanum, Gandavensem Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini in Belgio Ex-provincialem et Sacrae Facultatis Theologicae in Academia Lovaniensi Seniorem Magistrum Regentem*, Lovanii, Typis Andreae Bouveti, in-8°, 4+196+32 pp. [316]).

Plutôt qu'une réponse à Sinnich, ce livre était une publication d'une brûlante actualité. La députation louvaniste à Madrid venait de faire connaître les résultats qu'elle avait obtenus [317]). Si elle n'avait pas pu empêcher la publication de la bulle, elle avait du moins amené le roi d'Espagne à certains accomodements. Dans l'ordre même de publier la bulle, il annonçait qu'il s'adresserait au pape pour obtenir la révision du procès de l'*Augustinus* et sa réédition, au besoin avec correction. Cet ordre, daté de Madrid le 14 juillet 1650 [318]), était à peine connu en Belgique, que dès le 26 septembre nous lisons dans une lettre du P. Crom :

[316]) Les approbations sont celles de Joachim Brulius, provincial, 22 février 1651 ; de Pierre-Damasse De Coninck, 15 mars 1651 ; et d'Antoine Dave, 14 mars 1651 ; l'adresse typographique manque après le titre, mais elle est indiquée sur la dernière page.

[317]) Voir notre étude *Jean Recht en mission à Madrid*, dans *Augustiniana*, 1 (1951) 21-47 ; 107-139 ; 192-204.

[318]) Voir L. CEYSSENS, *Sources espagnoles relatives à la publication de la*

« ... Idem episcopus [Antonius Triest, Gandavensis] sparsisse dicitur Dominum Recht ex Hispania scripisse brevi se remedium reperturum, et missurum contra litteras regias [319]). Obiecit hoc illi pronuntius, quaesivitque quomodo adversus voluntatem regis et Pontificis mendacia auderet spargere.

Dicitur etiam P. Paludano episcopus suasisse ne Apologiam pro bullae editione vulgaret. An persuaserit, nescio. P. Paludanus, a D. Pronuntio rogatus iudicium suum scribere de correctione Jansenii, an fieri posse videretur, respondit non posse nec expedire ob rationes Reverentiae Vestrae non ignotas. Scriptum eius, satis bonum etiam subsignavit D. Dave, qui forte id Reverentiae Vestrae communicaverit » [320]).

Donc, dès septembre 1650, Paludanus s'est mis au service de l'internonce pour combattre le plan des jansénistes que le roi a fait sien. Aussi son livre en préparation gagne-t-il en actualité à mesure qu'avancent les préparatifs de la publication de la bulle. Dans la lettre encyclique aux évêques où il impose l'exécution de la volonté royale, le gouverneur général mentionne les démarches que le roi se propose de faire à Rome. A leurs tours, l'archevêque de Malines, l'évêque de Gand et les vicaires capitulaires d'Ypres parlent, dans leurs mandements, de l'intéressant détail contenu dans les lettres du roi et du gouverneur [321]).

C'était cette révision et cette réédition qu'il fallait combattre sans délai. Paludanus fut prêt à temps. Son livre en soutint l'inopportunité et l'impossibilité. Certains chapitres de la première partie de son traité portent des titres très significatifs:

Cap. VI. An rationabiliter et convenienter apud S. Sedem apostolicam urgeatur huius Constitutionis revisio seu iteratum causae examen ?

Cap. VIII. Argumenta adversariorum contra hanc Constitutionem obedientiamque ei debitam ;

Cap. IX. Utrum haec Constitutio sit falsa et suppositia, an vera et genuina ?

Cap. X. Iudicium circa qualificationem seu censuram huius libri esse infallibile ;

bulle In eminenti en Belgique, dans *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'histoire*, 116 (1951) 234 ss.

[319]) Le sens est que Jean Recht essayera d'obtenir la révocation l'ordre royal imposant la publication de la bulle.

[320]) Ms. II, 1220, 144.

[321]) Plus tard ces mandements furent mis à l'Index, et Boonen et Triest cités à Rome et suspendus.

Cap. XI. Infallibilitas Pontificis est absoluta, non dependens a conditione quam ipse, cum definit, possit omittere.

Cap. XIV. Pontifex non erravit declarando in libro Jansenii contineri et renovari multas propositiones a Pio V damnatas.

Cap. XXII. Purgatur Constitutio a nota animi praeventi et praeoccupati.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage a un titre spécial (qui manque à la première):

Pars secunda, in qua vindicatur Sedes apostolica ab opprobrio eversae per hanc Constitutionem suae infallibilitatis damnatique in Jansenio Augustini et subruitur fundamentum harum calumniarum, videlicet praetens a Augustinianae Jansenianaeque doctrina per omnia identitas.

On le voit, Paludanus touche effectivement les points fondamentaux de la controverse. Mais, dans son cas, cela était fort dangereux, vu son passé. Il avait beau proclamer dans son épilogue: *Amicus mihi est Jansenius, sed usque ad Aras, usque ad Augustinum, Sedemque apostolicam.* Cela n'avait pas toujours été sa manière de voir. On allait le lui rappeler.

En effet, il y eut une réponse: *Vertumnus, Dialogus. Interlocutores Cosmas et Damianus S. Theol. Baccalaurei.* S. l. n. d., in-8°, 8 pp. Certains passages méritent d'être relevés.

Au début Damien annonce à son ami:

« Quidam advenae Antverpienses rem miram et insolentem narrant: a Comite suo, mediae quadragesimae, nocte Dominicae *Laetare*, cum saccaris et tragematis puerorum, per fenestras et caminos iniecta [322]) fuisse exemplara libelli cuiusdam cui titulus: *Apologia Constitutionis Urbanae*, edita per F. Michaelem Paludadum...

Cosmas. — Quaenam malum vertigo venit ei in mentem ? Nam eum olim tam a partibus Sociorum aversum vidimus, ut in academicis declamatiunculis quaenam iniquiora, et quae nos admiraremur, in bullam etiam Pii V aliquando effutiret. Et vidisti, credo, testimonium illud magnificum, typis etiam excusum, quod initio harum turbarum, doctrinae Jansenii perhibuit.

Damianus. — Non est una de hac vertigini sententia. Quidam dicunt voluisse imitare gallum, qui in culmine turris Sancti Petri excubat et tam est ad pugnam et contradictionem paratus ut rostrum in quemlibet ventum hunc illuc statim convertat. Alii favere

[322]) Dans certaines régions de l'ancien duché de Brabant on fêtait autrefois (et encore maintenant) à la mi-carême le *Sintergreef* (le Saint Comte). C'était la Saint-Nicolas d'aujourd'hui.

voluisse quibusdam qui causae suae contra indiscretos Romae patroni sunt. Nonnulli, quod animadverterit quorumdam ad lectiones academicas aut beneficia ecclesiastica ambitioni non infeliciter cessisse transitum ad Molinae partes.

Les deux bacheliers continuent à s'entretenir sur le contenu de l'*Apologia* et prouvent qu'ils ne sont pas des novices dans la littérature patristique. Après huit pages de haute théologie positive, Damien demande:

Quodnam ex hoc specimine de *Apologia* Ex. D. P. Paludani iudicium, Cosma, formasti ?

Cosmas. — Ad decipiendos homines ignaros videri conceptam natamque. Exterius enim sat formosa, sed a fuco et Chrysippi gypso intus in multis suis membris et veris eius discipulis iniuriosa ; quod facillimo calamo, si venia detur, ostendi potest.

L'actualité pouvait aussi nuire à l'*Apologie* de Paludanus. Dans son rapport du 4 mai 1651 sur la publication de la bulle faite dans son diocèse, l'évêque de Gand exprime sa crainte que « par la tolérance de la publication de l'*Apologie* du P. Paludanus... ne refroidira la ferveur », puisque la bulle « interdit non seulement les éditions *pro* mais aussi *contra* » [323]). Mais heureusement pour Paludanus, les temps sont passés où Rome désirait encore l'application intégrale de la bulle. Il faut attendre le départ de Léopold-Guillaume pour que les Conseils de Bruxelles en viennent à une interprétation stricte et interdisent, en dépit de Rome, le livre antijanséniste du P. Alexandre Sibille, dominicain, pourvu d'une approbation du Saint-Office [324]).

De plus, le 30 septembre 1651, lors du renouvellement annuel des charges, la Faculté de théologie ne voulut réadmettre Paludanus comme professeur, qu'après lui avoir fait promettre de déclarer par écrit: « *se in libro nuper evulgato neque Facultatem, neque aliquem de gremio eius voluisse infamare vel traducere velut*

[323]) Mus. Bell., D 2, n° 5. Faisons remarquer ces détails: dans une lettre du 3 février 1651 le P. Crom avait écrit: « ... Scripsi item conversum penitus esse episcopum Gandensem »; Ms. II, 1220, 155; ce qui est contredit par le rapport de l'évêque lui-même, cité plus haut. Pourtant le P. Willaert cite sous le n° 2604: *Triest, A., év. de Gand. Prohibitio Catechismi de gratia facta in Congr. Romae coram Innocentio X die 6 Oct. 1650. Tractatus apologeticus pro bullae Urbanianae auctoritate publicata (29 nov. 1650) (infaillib. papale)*, Namur, in-4. Pour l'intelligence de cette citation, voir plus haut note 315.

[324]) LEFÈVRE, *Documents*, passim.

rebellem Sanctae Sedi ». L'exécution de cette promesse semble avoir été pénible ; elle ne suivit qu'un mois plus tard, le 2 novembre [325]).

Finalement, au mois de mars 1652, l'auteur eut du fil à retordre au Conseil de Brabant. En effet, le procureur général de cette Cour fit valoir qu'André Bouvet avait imprimé l'*Apologia* sans avoir obtenu le privilège et sans censure. Cette omission lui sembla d'autant plus punissable qu'au chapitre 13 l'auteur prétend, lui-aussi, au préjudice de l'autorité royale, que celle-ci n'a pas le droit de placet. Par une apostille du 21 mars, Bouvet et Paludanus reçurent l'ordre de s'expliquer dans les huit jours. La maladie d'abord, la mort ensuite allaient mettre notre auteur à l'abri des poursuites d'un Conseil sans miséricorde [326]).

IX. L'ÉVÊCHÉ MANQUÉ.

Formant un parti, les jansénistes usaient volontiers de leur influence pour faire promouvoir leurs candidats aux stalles capitulaires, aux chaires d'universités, aux sièges épiscopaux. Il est assez probable que Rivius leur dut en 1647 sa nomination à l'évêché de Bois-le-Duc [327]).

Mais cette influence, — Rivius put s'en apercevoir, — avait vite commencé à baisser, surtout en ce qui concernait les bénéfices curiaux. En effet, n'arrivant pas à impressionner les jansénistes par des arguments de théologie ou d'ascétique et n'osant pas leur appliquer les peines ecclésiastiques, la Cour de Rome prit pour ligne de conduite: ne tenir aucun compte de la préconisation de candidats jansénistes ou simplement jansénisants, et réserver ses

[325]) FUL, 388, 261.

[326]) Mus. Bell., D 6, n° 32.

[327]) Sur ces données générales, il faudrait surtout citer des sources d'archives. Ce qui nous mènerait trop loin. Nous nous contenterons donc de renvoyer à des ouvrages connus: GERBERON, *Histoire*; RAPIN, *Mémoires*; LEFÈVRE, *Documents*; CORNELISSEN, *Romeinse bronnen*; *Biographie nationale*; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*.

Concernant les recommandations de Rivius en vue d'un épiscopat, on trouvera quelques données dans J. WILS, *Obituaire des augustins de Louvain*; cf. *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 30 (1903) 423-24. On y rencontrera la lettre de Philippe IV (Madrid, le 22 mars 1649) recommandant à Léopold-Guillaume le P. Rivius pour un des évêchés qui seront disponibles, vu que sa nomination au diocèse de Bois-le-Duc est resté sans effet.

faveurs à ceux qui faisaient ouvertement profession d'antijansénisme. C'était, croyait-on, un moyen de décourager ceux-là, d'encourager ceux-ci.

A partir de 1646, le roi d'Espagne, à partir de 1647, l'archiduc Léopold-Guillaume adoptèrent volontiers ce procédé, en dépit de certains de leurs conseillers.

Ainsi, Libert Froidmont, par ailleurs candidat très qualifié et souvent proposé dans les consultes, fut toujours écarté, à Madrid même. Ainsi encore, Henri Calenus, bien que nommé dès 1644 par le roi, ne put jamais, en raison du refus de Rome, occuper le siège de Ruremonde, pas même après avoir fait une profession de foi antijanséniste.

Au contraire les antijansénistes réussissaient facilement. Le siège destiné à Calenus fut réservé à Guillaume des Anges, professeur de Louvain, antijanséniste de la première heure, dont — nous l'avons vu — Paludanus était finalement devenu l'ami et le collaborateur. Marius-Ambroise Capello, dominicain, professeur de Louvain, préfet de la mission hollandaise, fut nommé en 1647 au diocèse d'Ypres, en 1652 transféré à celui d'Anvers. Mais, ce théologien avait été en 1641-1642 assez prudent pour ne pas se prononcer en faveur de Jansénius et par la suite, pour s'y déclarer ouvertement contraire.

Pourvu qu'il fût antijanséniste, le candidat n'avait pas besoin de posséder beaucoup d'autres qualités. L'antijansénisme couvrait même à l'occasion comme d'un manteau des insuffisances et même des défaillances peu convenables chez un évêque. Des hommes sans grand mérite ni valeur vont occuper des sièges épiscopaux. Mentionnons François Villain, qui devient évêque de Tournai en 1647, et François de Robles qui est placé, en 1652, à la tête du diocèse d'Ypres. N'oublions pas Jacques de la Torre. Nommé en 1640 coadjuteur du vicaire apostolique de la mission hollandaise, Philippe Rovenius, il reçoit en 1647, avec le titre d'archevêque d'Ephèse, la consécration épiscopale des mains de son ami Fabio Chigi, nonce à Cologne. Bientôt après, condamné à l'exil par les Provinces-Unies, il vient, en 1649, se fixer à Bruxelles. Il aspire à quelque évêché des Pays-Bas, et, en dépit de ses défauts mais grâce à son zèle antijanséniste, il parvient à faire souvent mentionner son nom lors des vacances.

Or Paludanus, qui, en apparence, s'était donné tant de peine pour combattre le jansénisme dans sa province religieuse, n'avait

encore reçu aucune récompense, pas même celle d'être élu provincial au chapitre de 1649. Depuis lors ses livres, surtout le dernier qui portait son nom, semblaient légitimer tous les espoirs.

En effet, l'*Apologia* obtenait un grand succès. Répondant à une lettre de Paludanus, qui avait demandé le magistère en théologie pour Jérôme Cannoye, son confrère et collaborateur, Visconti lui écrivait le 30 décembre 1651 :

« Dici nequit quanti Eminentissimus Card. Roma fecerit litteras tuas quarum lectione plurimum confirmavit opinionem de te suam. Iam liber tuus ab omnibus fere Eminentissimis Cardinalibus visus, approbatus et ad coelum elatus est, Ipse Summus Pontifex laudavit quam maxime cum ingenti gloria nominis tui, et decore religionis. Memores igitur tanti beneficii mittimus patentes litteras pro magisterio quod postulasti multo praestantiora cupientes ex animo conferre [328]). Interim precamur Deum ut te salvum et incolumem pro Sanctae Sedis auctoritate tuenda quam diutissime servet » [329]).

[328]) Dans le même registre, sous la date du 6 janvier 1652, on lit: « Ad eumdem [Paludanum] datae sunt litterae cum patentibus litteris quibus promovetur ad magisterium P. Hieronynum Cannoye in gratiam Magistri Paludani et mercedem laboris; plurimum enim inservivit in expugnatione jansenismi ».

Le P. Cannoye a voulu profiter de la situation. Cela ressort d'une réponse du général, non datée, conservée dans le ms. CC 14: « Alterum exemplar *Apologiae* Urbanicae recepimus, quod opportuno tempore transmissum est quo ab Eminentisisimo Brancacio summis precibus petebatur, pro quo gratias agimus. Quod non adhaereas Jansenio iam pridem nobis et notissimum et iucundum; neque verearis aliorum insidias nam patrocinium habebis Sedis apostolicae, quae potens est ac clemens, neque patietur sibi addictos et humiliter obsequientes aliquid pati, nec desunt illi vires quibus etiam longe dissitos tueatur et protegat. Nos vero non deerimus pro modulo nostro ».

Le général fit à Paludanus la grâce particulière de pouvoir conférer à un confrère de son choix le titre de maître en théologie, avec les privilèges y afférents; voir ms. Angelica 280, 142.

Cette faveur ne plut pas au P. Ignace De Dijckere, devenu provincial au chapitre de 1652. A la date du 6 juillet 1653, Visconti écrit à Théodore Ameyden, un néerlandais devenu journaliste à Rome:

« Ringragio della participatione della lettera del P. Ignatio Dichero, Provinciale di Colonia. Egli ha fatto quel peggio ha saputo somministrargli il spirito di vertigine contro la facoltà concessami da Nostro Signore, di fare li maestri, et maestri in quella provincia tanto qualificati et presentati da persone cosi qualificate come il P. Paludano et Brulio pure da esso stimati.

Il Signore però l'arriverà perchè non permette tanto disprezzo della autorità de ' superiori a ' quali hanno professata obedientia. Questa confidenza nella misericordia di Dio mi fa stare con l'animo quieto. Quando potrò essere da V. S. la renderò più capace, rimettendo in tanto la causa a' piedi del SSmo crocifixxo; ms. CC 6 (vers la fin).

[329]) Ms. CC 14; une autre copie dans ms. CC 5.

Le 13 janvier 1652 Visconti ajoute encore:

« Ex litteris Eminentissimi Romae cognosces quanti Roma te faciat et quo pretio habearis in hac curia. Certe Cardinalis hic praeco fuit tuarum virtutum et meritorum ; utinam altiori loco esset, non indigeres apud eum deprecatore. Idem sentiunt alii Cardinales ; inter quos etiam Eminentissimus Spada plurimum cupit ut si in promptu habes quae in materia ianseniana in tractatu pro bulla polliceris, quam primum des operam ut lucem videat. Rogamus et nos et, quatenus opus est, pro gloria Dei et S. Sedis honore mandamus ut omni conatu vires exaras et impendas ut tuo studio verus Augustinus ex viro Augustiniano appareat » [330]).

Pour ne pas faire souffrir son humilité, Visconti n'écrit pas à Paludanus tout ce qu'il sait, notamment qu'à Rome l'auteur de l'*Apologia* est si estimé « *ut dignus galero a pluribus purpuratis aestimatus fuerit* » [331]).

Parmi ces cardinaux admirateurs on peut facilement distinguer, tout d'abord Jules Roma, qui occupe la première place dans la commission récemment instituée au Saint-Office pour l'examen des cinq propositions ; ensuite ses collaborateurs Bernardin Spada, Martio Ginetti (en même temps préfet de la Congrégation des religieux) et Dominique Cechini.

Dans leur sixième réunion, le 20 juillet 1652 ces cardinaux résolurent:

« Scribendum esse Abbati Sanctae Anastasiae [Bichi] qui vocat ad se P. Paludanum et sibi faciat consignari quidquid habet in materia janseniana » [332]).

[330]) Ms. CC 14.

[331]) Cette expression se retrouve dans deux lettres de Visconti au provincial Ignace De Dijckere; l'une sans date, l'autre du 8 juin 1652: toutes les deux sont conservées dans le ms. CC 15.

[332]) Voir A. SCHILL, *Die officielle Relation über die Verurtheilung des Jansenismus*, dans *Der Katholik*, 63 (1883) II, 292.

Concernant les manuscrits de Paludanus envoyés à Rome, Mr de Saint-Amour note dans son *Journal* (p. 124): « M. le Cardinal Barberin me mena encore dans sa bibliothèque, l'après-dîner du mercredi sixième [septembre 1651]. Je lui rendis ce jour-là quelques cahiers manuscrits qu'il m'avait obligé de lire d'un auteur nommé Paludanus. Je lui dis que j'y avais trouvé un expédient assez favorable pour ôter les difficultés de la réception de la bulle d'Urbain VIII... M. le Cardinal Barberin fut assez satisfait de ce discours, et me dit gaiement que recevoir cette bulle c'était couper bras et jambes aux Jésuites. *Quando riceverete la bolla, tagliarete le gambe alli Giesuiti...* et il me fit une réponse qui marque son activité

Fier du grand honneur fait à son ordre, Visconti, qui en 1650 a voulu écarter Paludanus de la Province belge [333]), le nomme président du prochain chapitre, à tenir en 1652:

« Cupientes capituli nostri proxime futuri acta quantum in nobis est ad Dei in primis gloriam et provinciae quietem dirigere, tuae prudentiae et zelo commendandum existimavimus praesidentiae munum, tum ut reipse cernas tuis augendis honoribus numquam defuturos... » [334]).

De son côté, l'internonce, qui a déjà attribué à Paludanus la charge de censeur apostolique dont il a privé Pontanus, met de plus en plus sa confiance en lui. Il recourt à son entremise pour obtenir du P. Lupus une conversion aussi complète que fut la sienne.

Meilleur signe encore: Paludanus est poussé par les jésuites, si puissants auprès de l'internonce, de l'archiduc et de son confesseur (leur confrère) le P. Schega. Le 3 février 1651, veille de la publication officielle de la bulle *In eminenti*, on lit dans une lettre du P. Crom:

... « Suggessi ut Lovanii omnino [bulla] promulgetur, etiam in schola, ut fecit Toletus. Placet id omnino P. Schegae, videturque mihi in eam rem adhiberi posse P. Capello, vel eo detrectante, P. Paludanus » [335]).

Ce plan ouvrait des perspectives à notre augustin. François Tolet, le jésuite romain qui était venu à Louvain en 1580 pour y promulguer la bulle contre Baius, devint plus tard cardinal [336]).

Naturellement Paludanus ne pensait pas au chapeau rouge. Mais une mitre entrait bien dans son champ visuel. Les circonstances lui permirent même d'envisager plus d'une possibilité.

La première concernait le vicariat apostolique de la Mission hollandaise. Le 10 (ou le 11) octobre 1651 venait de mourir dans sa cachette d'Utrecht, le vicaire apostolique Philippe Rovenius,

et sa grande diligence à lire les livres, savoir qu'il avait lu celui-là presque tout entier dans son carosse en faisant les sept églises ».

[333]) En janvier 1650 Visconti voulut faire venir Paludanus à Rome comme assistant des provinces ultramontaines; cf. ms. DD 84, 452.

[334]) Ms. CC 14.

[335]) Ms. 1220, 155.

[336]) J. GRISAR, *Die Universität Löwen zur Zeit der Gesandschaft des P. Franciscus Toletus*, dans *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti De Meyer*, II, Louvain 1946, 941-968.

archevêque de Philippes. Dès qu'il apprit ce décès, Jacques de la Torre, archevêque d'Ephèse, et depuis bientôt douze ans, coadjuteur du prélat décédé, fait savoir à la Congrégation de la Propagande que son clergé le désire comme successeur, et qu'en vertu des facultés à lui octroyées le 2 avril 1648, il s'est chargé de l'administration de la mission [337]).

Mais il y avait déjà trois ans, que De la Torre se trouvait en exil à Bruxelles, sans aucun espoir réel de pouvoir rentrer sous peu dans la mission. Par conséquent, ne lui donnerait-on pas inutilement la succession de Rovenius ? Il ne pourrait pas administrer personnellement la mission ; dès le commencement il aurait à se servir d'un coadjuteur. Ainsi, pourquoi ne pas le laisser coadjuteur avec le titre d'archevêque d'Ephèse et nommer un nouveau vicaire apostolique avec le titre d'archevêque de Philippes ?

De fait on peut lire chez des auteurs modernes que cette dernière opinion se fit jour et qu'ainsi « les religieux mirent en avant le nom du P. Paludanus » [338]). L'affirmation n'a rien d'étonnant, mais elle manque de précision. Qui sont, au juste, ces religieux qui posent la candidature de Paludanus: les missionnaires qui travaillent en Hollande, ou leurs confrères qui résident dans les Pays-Bas ?

Les jésuites sont-ils du nombre ? [339]). R. Benninc Janssonius

[337]) R. R. Post, *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 's Gravenhage 1641, 1.

[338]) Rogier, II, 168; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*, IV, 1341. En ce dernier endroit c'est un franciscain du nom de Paludanus qui est proposé comme candidat au vicariat.

[339]) L'internonce Mangelli écrira en 1654 au sujet de Jacques de la Torre: « opposto alla dottrina di Jansenio e sua fazzione, per le quali ragioni, secondo ch'io credo, lo favoriscono anco efficamente in simili occasione il P. Schega... e li Padri della Compagnia di Giesù; facendole ogni oppositione e contradizione possibile il defunto arcivescovo di Malines... Uno di questi giorni passati, parlando io con alcun Padre grave della Compagnia di Giesù [Dorothée Louffius] et toccando la fama che correva circa li costumi di Monsignor d'Effeso, e come gli emoli della Compagnia pigliano occasione di dire ch'essi promovono e favoriscono soggetti poco degni, preferendo il privato interesse e convenienza al beneficio publico, il che è stato detto ancora rispetto la persona di Monsignore Vescovo d'Ipri, per mezzo de' loro officii promosso a quel vescovado, mi fu risposto che veramente essi aiutano li loro amici, ne si mettono a fare perquisitioni criminali delle lore persone, anzi quando alcuno entra a volerne parlar male et farne criminose informationi, non le danno orecchio, pensando essere malignità e non toccando ad essi per obligo la verificatione di simili materie »; Archives du Vatican, Nunziatura di Fiandre, 39, 404-405; le texte a été intégralement publié dans Post, *Romeinse Bronnen*, II, 56-58.

va jusqu'attribuer la candidature de Paludanus aux seuls jésuites [340]), sans, cependant, en fournir les preuves, Aussi on peut en douter, car pour les jésuites il doit avoir été difficile de prendre parti contre De la Torre. Celui-ci, en effet, se montra aussi antijanséniste que Paludanus, et, précisément en cette année 1651, il semble avoir donné cette *Synopsis vitae Cornelii Jansenii Leerdamensis*, qui nous paraît un persifflage de mauvais aloi [341]), mais qui alors devait rendre un grand service à la cause antijanséniste.

Sans choisir entre Paludanus et De la Torre, il se peut que les jésuites, usant d'une habile diplomatie en vue de l'avenir, aient mis en évidence leurs bons services auprès de l'un et de l'autre. On sait par ailleurs, que dès 1652 ils profiteront largement, par les « concessions éphésines » [342]) des bonnes dispositions de l'archevêque d'Ephèse.

Mais voici quelques textes qui pourront fournir un peu plus de lumière. Il s'agit de deux lettres de Jacques de la Torre, écrites précisément à l'époque qui nous intéresse. La première est adressée à Théodore Silvoltius, natif de Grolle (en Hollande), troisième successeur de Jansénius à la Présidence du Collège hollandais à Louvain [343]). Le 15 décembre 1651, deux mois après la mort de Rovenius, le Louvaniste avertit le coadjuteur « de l'effort qu'on fait pour le P. Paludanus ». Deux jours plus tard, Jacques de la Torre lui répond:

Gratissimum quidem accidit quod vestris 15 praesentis scriptis me monueritis de conamine pro Patre Paludano. Internuntius vero negat quid subesse, praeterquam quod sibi fuerit quidem propositum ipsum hoc quod scribitis ; sed responsum se reddidisse fratribus istis id proponentibus, esse iam nos successores et actualiter in officio sanctae memoriae Philippensis. Petiise deinde monachos

[340]) ROGIER, *Geschiedenis*, II, 182-83; B. BENNINCK JANSSONIUS, *Geschiedenis der Oud-Roomschkatholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 's Gravenhage 1870, 112-13.

[341]) Les deux éditeurs de cette *Synopsis* (G. BROM, dans *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 19 (1891) 438-447; et C. CALLEWAERT, dans *Jansénius évêque d'Ypres, ses derniers moments, sa soumission au S. Siège*, Louvain 1893, 165-66) attribuent ce document à l'année 1655; R. R. POST, dans *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 1, affirme que la *Synopsis* était connue dès le début du vicariat de Jacques de la Torre et par conséquent il en place la rédaction en 1651. Le texte contient déjà des indices du trouble mental qui caractérisa les dernières années du nouveau vicaire apostolique.

[342]) BENNINCK JANSSONIUS, *Geschiedenis*, 112.

[343]) REUSENS, *Documents*, III, 455; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*, VI, 1220.

illos, quatenus Patri Paludano hinc daretur quod obtinebam antea ego ; ac respondisse se, haud convenire ut coadiutor detur senior coadiuto [344]). Crediderim vero quod conamen instituetur ut Philippensis illi detur titulus, et superioritas in dioecesim Buscoducensem ; quod per nos licet.

Operae pretium non duco, anxie haec monere nostros de Clero ; monui tamen Cuyckium [345]) nostrum, et per illum Chisium et Albitium [346]), qui bene volunt Patri isti ob *Apologiam* illius adversus Jansenium nostrum. Et opposui quod si monachus praeponeretur Clero nostro, actum esset de religione nostra in partibus. Et quidem, si talis poneretur, qui patriam nostram vix vidit, aut saltem non usque adeo novit.

Mitto Eximiae Vestrae Reverentiae terribile breve, sat prolixum, Sanctissimi [347]), Principi Archiduci ante triduum traditum ; et secretius significo, significasse etiam Sanctissimum quatenus Mechliniensis et Gandavensis in persona, et nullatenus per procuratorem, intra semestre compareant Romae, et rationem reddant non receptae citius bullae jansenianae [348]).

Secretius, inquam, hoc significo, ne odium istorum praelatorum incurram, qui id revelari forsitan nollent... [sic]

Officia offero etiam Eximio D. Sinnic et Clarissimo Plempio [349]), qui hic dicitur sponsus. Et perseverabo [...]

P. S. Rogatus sum ex parte D. Mechliniensis dare ordines.

[P. S., II] Etiam post scriptum locutum mihi venit augustinianus quidam P. Lupus ; cui proponenti id quod significaveratis nobis, opposui in primis quod tametsi sub poena capitis et apparentissima personae meae apprehensione (uti supponebat) regredi in

[344]) D'après une lettre postérieure de l'évêque (cf. infra), cette réponse de l'internonce fut inspirée par De la Torre lui-même.

[345]) Pierre Cuyck, archiprêtre, membre du vicariat; cf. ROGIER, *Geschiedenis*, II, 397.

[346]) François Albizzi, assesseur de Saint Office, était également, à cette époque, secrétaire d'une commission instituée à la Propagande pour les affaires de Hollande.

[347]) Ce bref du 11 novembre 1651 était en effet « terrible ». Le Pape y reprochait amèrement à Léopold-Guillaume de ne pas avoir respecté les droits de l'Eglise dans la façon dont il venait de publier la bulle. Cf. L. CEYSSENS, *Sources espagnoles relatives à la publication de la bulle In eminenti en Belgique*, dans *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 116 (1951) 238. Voir l'original du bref dans le ms. *De baianismo et jansenismo*, conservé aux archives de l'Archevêché de Malines.

[348]) Pour plus de détails sur les censures contre l'archevêque de Malines et l'évêque de Gand, voir P. CLAESSENS, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, I, Louvain 1881, 292 ss.

[349]) Vopiscus Fortunatus Plemp, natif d'Amsterdam, professeur de médecine à Louvain, avait épousé en 1650, à l'âge de 49 ans, Anne Marie van Dieve. Voir *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*, VI, 1136-1137.

partes nostras numquam possem, nihilominus Clerum et fidei propagationem destrueret penitus, uti et seminaria nostra, si Paludanus aut alter Mendicans, aliusve monachus, rebus nostris apud nos praeponeretur. Asseverans etiam Sanctae memoriae Sasboldum [350]) Coloniae, et Rovenium Aldenzaliae et Grollis, rebus nostris superintendisse ; Antverpiam esse magis accessibilem et perquam vicinam. Cleri esse, eligere vicarium, ut praxis docuit ; Regis Catholici esse confirmare. Ille, ut de Clero et Rege audivit, resiliit ; nec ab uno nec ab alio quid sperans pro Paludano. Non a nostris, quod monachus sit ; non a Rege, quod Mechliniensem offenderit per scriptionem suae *Apologiae*. Nec ac Romanis supplantationem nostrae personae obtinebit, confido, a quibus solis promotum Paludanum speraverat [351]).

La nouvelle, qui lui vient de Louvain, a donc intéressé au plus haut degré le coadjuteur. Immédiatement il a rendu visite à l'internonce et a écrit à son ancien ami, Fabio Chigi et à Albizzi, secrétaire de la commission spéciale des affaires de Hollande et surtout assesseur du Saint-Office, auteur de la bulle *In eminenti*, très lié avec les jésuites.

Ce ne sont pas, d'après notre lettre, les jésuites, les *Socii*, qui poussent la condidature de Paludanus. Celle-ci vient des *fratres*, des *monachi*. Parmi eux on distingue le nom du P. Chrétien Lupus, dont le P. Paludanus prépare, nous le savons, la réconciliation. D'autre part notre lettre décèle chez le coadjuteur certaines tendances déconcertantes [352]), mais qui ne nous intéressent pas ici.

La seconde lettre, datée de dix semaines plus tard, le 5 février 1652, et adressée à Fred. van der Borre, c'est-à-dire Baudouin Cats [353]), était ainsi libellée :

Tardius respondeo gratis vestris die 29 Decembris datis. Dila-

[350]) Sasbout Vosmeer avait été le prédécesseur de Philippe Rovenius au vicariat apostolique. Le P. Gerlach, O. M. Cap. a consacré, dernièrement, plusieurs études fort documentées à Sasbout Vosmeer et à sa famille ; entre autres *Familie en jeugdjaren van Sasbout Rosmeer*, dans *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 72 (1952) 1-52.

[351]) J. C. ERCKELIUS, *Defensio ecclesiae ultrajectinae*, Amsterdam 1728, 456-57.

[352]) Il y a par exemple une allusion à l'intervention du clergé et du roi dans la nomination du vicaire apostolique que semble favorable prétentions du chapitre d'Utrecht. Un autre détail étrange est que lui, antijanséniste, fasse faire ses amitiés à un janséniste comme Sinnich et à un ami des jansénistes comme Plemp.

[353]) Sur Baudouin Cats, voir *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*, IV, 405-407.

tationis vero ratio fecit quod maluerim ante resolvisse certo an hoc tempore excursum meum ad vos perficerem ; quem nunc differendum omnino, uti debuimus, resolvimus.

Praecipuae autem ratio quod ita debeamus, iam Amplitudini vestrae innotuerit e sororibus nostris. Neque enim nunc tuto accederem, cum nova in me inquirendi data fuerit non officiariis solum, sed et apparitoribus auctoritas.

Alia ex parte etiam non probaverat excursum nostrum Bonius ac Gamarra noster [354]) ; utroque ob pericula dissuadente ; sed et hoc urgente ut hic advigilem consultationi, quae prae foribus est super episcopatu Antverpiensi, pro quo obtinendo apparet etiam mihi spes aliqua, patrocinante Gamarra pro virili nobis adversus quoscumque concurrentes alios. Accedit quod cum retardaverim, Bonius ob instantem quadragesimam, rogarit me ordinandos ut iuvem, et suum cum nostro S. Oleum benedicam, quod haud incommode perficiam, dum simul tacite aliis advigilabo. Nec enim hiemali tempore nostrorum e Missione operariorum excursibus obruar.

Cubicula initio Antverpiae conduxeram ; sed moram hic trahere suadente Gamarra, iis renunciavi statim post. Animus vero summopere mihi fuit ad Vos excurrere, si plura non obstitissent. Furore Aquilonarium nonnihil sedato, dabitur, spero, tempus aliud, quo secretius votis nostris ac vestris fiat satis.

Interea etiam advigilavi conatibus P. Paludani, qui vere intendebat supplantare nos. Supponebat namque vicariatum annexum titulo Philippensi, et cessasse coadiutaoriam nostram, ex quo exilio sum damnatus. Deinde cum ex me audissent eius fautores me iam successisse, et de facto esse in defunctione muneris Vicariatus apostolici, nec fuisse solam Sanctam Sedem quae Vicarios deputavit in patriam nostram, sed penes clerum esse electionem, penes regem praesentationem, et penes Sanctam Sedem confirmationem, obstupuere multum ; nam de clero desperabant, nec de rege quid sibi audebant promittere, eo quod invisus sit Bonio Paludanus ob *Apologiam* suam scriptam ac editam adversus *Augustinum* Jansenii.

At et tunc coadiutoriam vicariatus nostri ambivit. A qua aequalem repulsam passus est, me urgente apud Internuntium. Nam eaedem quae supra rationes illum arcebant ab illa. Praeterquam quod inauditum esse dicebamus, coadiutorem dari seniorem coadiuto.

Dum vero haud satis fisus sum D. Internuncio, ego partibus meis minime defui. Sed operose satis et aliquot septimanis continuis pro re nostra sarta tecta tuenda adversus monachi istius machinamenta scripsi D. D. Albitio, illi ob praefatam *Apologiam*

[354]) *Bonius* n'est autre que Jacques Boonen, archevêque de Malines. Etienne de Gamarra, ambassadeur d'Espagne à La Haye, était apparenté à De la Torre; cf. BENNINCK JANSSONIUS, *Geschiedenis*, 112.

alioquin optime propenso, ac Chisio nostro [355]). Nec credere ausim illos aut illorum alterutrum quidquam ipsi permissuros in praeiudicium meum ac Cleri nostri. Mihi responsum interea nondum obtigit. Si quid communicatione dignum continuerit, submittere Amplitudini Vestrae non retardabo.

Monueram Mattium [356]) et per illum Brevordium [357]) et Gouzam [358]) de praefatis deliriis istius monachi. Et Brevordius iam rescripserat sese promptum etiam pessimo itinerandi hoc tempore excurrere illico ad congressum communem Amstelaedamum, quando res mereretur, aut comparere propterea etiam vacaret mihi.

Ego nunc Mattium et per illum Brevordium monui haud quidquam mereri, maxime cum nuperrime clarius edixerit D. Internuncius nihil nobis ista ex parte esse timendum. Quod ipsum ut occasione pima etiam significare Amplissimo nostro Gouzae dignemini rogo. Interea me eiusdem ac vestrae benevolentiae continuationi et devotioni necnon et Clarissimi Domini fratris ac confratrum aliorum istic vestrorum atque Vander Hoochii Hemeradii [359]) precibus commendo » [360]).

Depuis la lettre précédente six semaines se sont écoulées. De la Torre, n'ayant pas une entière confiance, il les a employées laborieusement « pro re nostra sarta tecta tuenda ». Aussi ses nouvelles sont-elles plus claires : son adversaire n'est autre que le P. Paludanus en personne. Ce sont les « conatus » de ce religieux qu'il a dû a surveiller, car « vere intenebat supplantare nos » ; c'est contre les « *machinamenta* », les « *deliria istius monachi* » qu'il se défend.

Ce concurrent dispose de deux flèches : avec l'une il menace de devenir vicaire apostolique, avec l'autre d'obtenir en toute hypothèse la coadjutorerie. Mais il a en face de lui un adversaire « vigilant » et intrépide, qui est appuyé par Etienne Gamara, ambassadeur d'Espagne, et par Chigi, oncle de l'internonce.

[355]) Cette phrase présente une anomalie, qu'on pourrait supprimer en insérant après *machinamenta* le mot *adlaboravi*, suivi de point et virgule.

[356]) Abraham Van der Matt, qui sera plus tard secrétaire de Jean Van Neercassel.

[357]) Pseudonyme de Jean Wachtelaer, un de ceux qui avaient signé en 1642 une approbation de l'*Augustinus*; cf. *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek*, IV, 1429-31.

[358]) Pseudonyme de Léonard Marius; un des approbateurs de l'*Augustinus* en 1642; cf. *ibid.*, VII, 839-40.

[359]) Je n'ai pas pu identifier ce Van der Hooch, membre du Conseil des « Polder » (*Heemsraad*).

[360]) ERCKELIUS, *Defenso*, 465-66.

Aussi, dès le début de février le danger est-il passé. Un mois plus tard, le 5 mars 1653, la Congrégation de la Propagande décida en faveur de Jacques de la Torre [361]). Une double chance d'obtenir la mitre avait échappé au P. Paludanus. Mais il lui restait une troisième, du côté de l'évêché de Bois-le-Duc. Jacques de la Torre y faisait déjà allusion dans sa première lettre: y résumant son entrevue avec l'internonce, il écrivait le 17 décembre 1651:

« Crediderim vero quod conamen instituetur ut Philippensis illi detur titulus et superioritas in dioecesim Buscoducensem ; quod per nos licet ».

Le plan cependant doit avoir remonté plus haut. Presque deux ans plus tôt, le 3 mars 1650, l'internonce avait écrit au cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat:

« di dodici chiese di questi Paesi Bassi, tre se ne trovano costà aspettando la confermatione... Due pendenti costà già molto tempo, ma forse non sollecitate delle parti come si dovrebbe, et sono quelle di Arras et Ipri et in oltre vi è il vescovado di Bolduch vacante et non so, se vi sarà provisto, stante la pace di Olanda, che riesce in gran danno di quelle anime. Si che di dodici restano sei soli vescovi et questi di si grave età, che alcuni non possono fare le functioni episcopali, con grande incommodo di questi popoli, che per l'amplezza delle diocesi et per le guerre hanno difficoltà di essere aiutati dalli vicini ».

L'internonce ajoute encore un détail qui présente un certain intérêt pour nous:

« Sua Altezza, con molta benignità continova ad escludere da ogni beneficio quelli, che io dichiaro non obbedienti alla S. Sede in materia del Jansenio » [362]).

Dans de telles circonstances, il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant si on ne parle plus de la nomination de Rivius à l'évêché de Bois-le-Duc faite par le roi en 1647, et si la provision est remise entièrement en question.

Six mois plus tard, le 27 juillet 1650, en transmettant au même cardinal-secrétaire le rapport sur le diocèse de Bois-le-Duc, rédigé par le vicaire général Henri van den Leemputte, Bichi souligne le misérable état du diocèse, et poursuit:

[361]) POST, *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 1.
[362]) CORNELISSEN, *Romeinse bronnen*, I, 817.

« ...Et in questi tempi haverebbono bisogno che si provedesse a quella diocesi di un buon prelato et zelante, come vedrà della medesima relatione.

Havevo già sentito parlare di divider quella diocesi et darne una parte al vescovado di Anversa et altra a quello di Ruremonda ; ma vedendo che questo vicario vi ha difficoltà et che più tosto desirarebbe che Nostro Signore *propria auctoritate* provedesse alla medesima di un buon vescovo, fa che io suspenda li miei offitii appresso del Signor arciduca, per aspettar di essere honorato della benignità di Vostra Eminenza di qualche cenno dell'intentione di Nostro Signore, quando la Santità di Nostro Signore vollesse provedervi, come si dice nella medesima [relatione] numero 17, et conferir questo vescovado, ardisco di rappresentare a Vostra Eminenza li meriti del Padre Maestro Paludano, agostiniano, quale è il più antico dottor di teologia dell' Università di Lovanio et obbediente alla S. Sede nella causa del Jansenio [363]), per le diligenze del quale il suo Ordine, che già era dichiarato per la dottrina del Jansenio, adesso è dichiarato per la obbedientia et sono superate tutte le difficoltà che vivevano in esso l'anno passato. Et essendo gran teologo, che ha professato fin ad hora teologia, potrebbe far molto bene in quelle parti ; et essendo già molti anni superiore delle missione di Olanda del suo Ordine, ha la pratica delli costumi di quei popoli, et arrivando a poche hore di camino della città di Lovanio la meglior parte della diocesi, nella quale resta libero l'essercitio cattolico, potrebbe conservarsi gli utili che ha nella Università di Lovanio, dove acquistarebbe autorità per sostenere li obbedienti, et con quelle poche rendite che potrebbe mantenere la dignità episcopale, come usano altri religiosi, parcamente [364]), mentre per adesso non si vede speranza che da Sua Maestà Cattolica le fusse dato altro sussidio, come hebbe Monsignor Bargagna che era Recolletto » [365]).

On ne peut qu'admirer ce plaidoyer en faveur de Paludanus.

[363]) Guillaume de Angelis, le dernier des trois « seniores », venait de mourir le 3 février 1649.

[364]) A Ambroise Capello, évêque d'Anvers, l'internonce reprochera plus tard d'être trop parcimonieux: « stimato troppo dedito alla parsimonia et all'economia di una signora che totalmente governa la sua casa... ; NF, 36, 307-308.

[365]) Ce document a été publié par *J. D. M. Cornelissen*, « *Relationes status* » *van het Bisdom 's Hertogenbosch*, dans *Bossche Bijdragen*, 9 (1928-29) 184-85. Sur la situation financiaire de Joseph de Bergaigne, voir une lettre de lui, du 6 février 1644, publiée dans J. PAQUAY, *Les rapports diocésains de la province ecclésiastique de Malines*, Tongres 1930, 68. L'évêque y dit: « sum quasi episcopus titularis, sine ulla potestate aut redditibus, ita ut cogitem... resignare etiam titulum et redire ad aliquod monasterium ordinis mei ». Cf. L. CEYSSENS, *Petrus van Hullegarde O. F. M., Kandidaat-bisschop*, dans *Franciscana*, 6 (1951) 36.

Tous les arguments y sont : le diocèse si mal situé a besoin d'un bon évêque ; Paludanus est l'homme qu'il faut : il est antijanséniste et grand théologien, il connaît la contrée et a la pratique du ministère, il possède déjà des moyens de subsistance. De plus il le mérite pour son action antijanséniste passée et, plus encore, pour la future, qui, grâce à l'éclat d'une mitre, deviendra plus importante.

Bichi ne voit pas d'autre solution. La division du diocèse de Bois-le-Duc entre ceux d'Anvers et de Ruremonde, proposée par certaines gens, ne lui plaît pas. Cependant il est peu probable que, comme il l'écrit, il ait pris cette attitude pour faire plaisir au vicaire général Vanden Leemputte. Ni auprès du gouvernement, ni même auprès de l'archiduc, il ne doit pas avoir eu de succès dans ses efforts pour faire nommer son candidat à Bois-le-Duc. Nous en verrons plus loin les raisons. Aussi, Bichi est-il content de cesser ses instances à Bruxelles et de proposer au nom de Vanden Leemputte une nomination directe par le Pape, naturellement en faveur, non pas de Vanden Leemputte, mais de son candidat à lui, Paludanus.

Sur les suites de cette démarche en vue d'une provision directe par Rome, nous sommes très mal renseignés. Elle y fut combattue par le cardinal Jean-Jacques-Théodore Trivulzio, ambassadeur d'Espagne, agissant au nom de son roi, qui était inspiré par ses ministres. Voici, d'après une analyse de J. Lefèvre, l'avis que Philippe IV reçut en cette affaire du Conseil d'Etat :

« Le Conseil veut satisfaire à l'ordre qui lui a été donné par le décret du Gouverneur et s'expliquer sur les diligences qu'on pourrait faire pour entraver la nomination d'un nouvel évêque de Bois-le-Duc. La Curie s'est disposée à cette nomination sur les instances de l'internonce résidant à Bruxelles. Celui-ci a proposé comme candidat le religieux Michel Paludanus. Le Conseil propose de déclarer au cardinal Trivulzio qu'il a fort bien fait de s'opposer à cette provision, puisqu'en vertu des concordats... cette nomination revient au roi et au gouverneur... Le Roi n'eût pas manqué de désigner un nouvel évêque de Bois-le-Duc, si le traité de paix, récemment conclu, n'avait cédé la Mairie aux Etats-Généraux. La conduite de l'internonce constitue un préjudice notable à l'autorité royale. En plus, les Etats-Généraux y verront un attentat à leur souveraineté. Ils ne permettront pas qu'il y ait un évêque titulaire pour un district qui est en leur possession en vertu d'un traité solennel. Le cardinal Trivulzio devrait agir auprès du Souverain-Pontife pour l'empêcher d'agir ainsi. On peut assurer le service

des fidèles par le procédé en usage actuellement, par les soins d'un vicaire général, résidant à Bois-le-Duc, ou de l'évêque d'Ephèse, qui est vicaire apostolique pour les Provinces-Unies. On pourrait les rattacher aux évêchés d'Anvers ou de Ruremonde. Il faut éviter une nomination nuisible à la fois à la cause du Roi et à celle de la paix. Les Etats-Généraux vont réagir de manière violente, ce qu'il vaut mieux prévenir » [366]).

On le voit, nos ministres font valoir contre la préconisation de Paludanus les motifs qui les ont autrefois conduits à considérer comme nulle la nomination royale de Rivius. Ils se prononcent si catégoriquement qu'ainsi la troisième voie d'accès à une mitre est également fermée pour le P. Paludanus.

Mais, entre temps, il s'en est déjà préparé une quatrième. On lit, en effet, dans une lettre adressée le 24 avril 1651 par la Congrégation de la Propagande à l'internonce :

« Essendo stata riferita in Congregazione de Propaganda fide la lettera di Vostra Signoria, nella quale propone l'istanze del P. Michele Paludano, agostiniano, circa il fare un vescovo in partibus, al quale si dia poi l'amministrazione della chiesa e diocese di Bolduch, si è considerato da questi Eminentissimi miei Signori, che l'istanza sia molto giusta e pia, ma restano con particolar desiderio di sentire da Vostra Signoria qual soggetto si proponga che possa sodisfare ai bisogni spirituali di quei popoli e dove potrà in ogni caso residere e di che havrà da vivere, perchè, subito recevute queste notitie, possino l'Eminenze Loro rappresentare alla Santità di N. S. un negozio, che tanto importa, con tutte le debite circostanze, ad effetto di riportarne alla Santità Sua una determinata risoluttione » [367]).

Dans une lettre à la Congrégation de la Propagande, l'internonce a donc inséré une idée lumineuse du P. Paludanus. Vu les difficultés qu'oppose la politique à la nomination d'un évêque de Bois-le-Duc soit par le roi d'Espagne, soit directement par Rome, notre Augustin suggère d'en venir à la solution que le Saint-Siège applique avec succès, depuis quelques dizaines d'années, dans les régions ou l'introduction ou la conservation de la hiérarchie s'avère difficile : soumettre cette région à la Congrégation de la Propagande, y créer non pas des diocèses mais des vicariats, y nommer non pas des évêques, mais des vicaires apostoliques. Le nouveau

[366]) LEFÈVRE, *Documents*, 216-17.

[367]) CORNELISSEN, *Romeinse bronnen*, I, 822.

procédé a été appliqué autrefois à la partie de la Hollande soumise au calvinisme depuis les grands troubles religieux. Pourquoi ne pas réduire au même régime la Mairie de Bois-le-Duc, occupée depuis 1629, incorporée définitivement depuis 1648 ?

Le projet, qui a plu à l'internonce, plaît également aux Cardinaux de la Propagande. Ceux-ci sont, dès le début, prêts à en venir à la décision. Une seule question leur reste à résoudre au préalable: à qui confier la nouvellle mitre ? Cependant la réponse était suggérée assez clairement par l'auteur du projet lui-même.

Mais précisément à cette époque, c'est-à-dire le 17 avril 1652, la mort, en frappant Paludanus [368]), détruisit tous ces espoirs ter-

[368]) Voici la notice mortuaire:

« 1652, 17 Aprilis obiit Adm. R. ac Eximius P. M. N. Michael Paludanus S. T. D. necnon S. Theologiae facultatis regens, conventus Gandavensis, aetatis 59, professionis 43, sacerdotii 35; vir ob scientiae et eloquii eminentiam, aliasque maximas animi dotes, quas in Academiae Lovanensis, sui sacri Ordinis ac universalis Ecclesiae splendorem indefessus impendit, non soli Belgio sed ipsi quoque Sedi Apostolicae totique Romanae Ecclesiae charissimus. Fuit Belgicae provinciae saepius definitor, capituli praesidens, studii Lovaniensis per plurimos annos vigilatissimus regens ac prior provincialis. Romae autem in comitiis generalibus actuum theologicorum supremus praeses et a Sacra Congregatione Eminentissimorum DD. Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide, missioni Hollandicae praefectus. Sepultus est in sacello S. Dionisii in sepulchro PP. Augemii et Theodori. Exequiae solemnes celebratae 5 Junii ». N. De Tombeur, *Annales Lovanienses*, t. II, pp. 898-899.

Au reçu de la nouvelle de ce décès, le général écrivit le 8 juin 1652 au provincial De Dijckere:

« Exprimere verbis non valemus quomodo ex animo doluerimus obitum P. Paludani, quamvis nonnimis sit quod eius causa doleamus, plurimum tamen est quod causa nostra lugeamus; nam tempore sublatus est quo eius fama adeo celebris erat ob *Apologiam* pro bulla Urbaniana ut dici nequit quantum gloriae nostro attulerit ordini, ut dignus galero a pluribus purpuratis aestimatus fuerit. Nihil enim hac tempestate pro honore Sedis apostolicae edi utilius ac gravius potuit; quare cum totus ille deditus esset pertractandis praesentibus controversiis, et ne tanti Patris pereat memoria mandamus ut eius scripta diligenter custodiantur atque tradantur alicui perito ac discreto ut illa recognoscantur, ut aliquando possint publicam lucem videre. Unde si quid pecuniae suo usui concessae repertum est pariter servetur ad effectum edendi libros eiusdem, praesertim vero Tractatum de peccato originali contra doctrinam Jansenii quem in *Apologia* Urbania incoepit quidem, sed coactus festinare non absolvit. Item materiae ad Jansenius spectantes »; ms. CC 14.

Chrétien Lupus, l'ancien disciple de Paludanus, reçut de son provincial l'ordre d'examiner les papiers laissés par le défunt. Mais, n'ayant pas réussi à gagner les bonnes grâces de l'internonce, celui-ci lui défendit de se livrer à ce

restres. Ainsi, en fin de compte, l'ancien janséniste, converti, vit la récompense lui échapper comme autrefois il avait échappé à la punition.

Lucien CEYSSENS, O. F. M.

travail délicat; ms. Angelica, 280, 142. Lupus avait été également chargé de prononcer l'oraison funèbre de Paludanus. Il est cependant peu probable qu'il ait pu le faire. Voici en effet ce qu'écrit de Bruxelles le 17 mai 1652 le Jésuite Dorothée Louffius, successeur de Crom dans la faveur de l'internonce:

« ... Tradidit etiam mihi D. Internuntius orationem, seu homiliam funebrem quam in exequiis P. Paludani dicturus erat P. Lupus, in qua cum videretur sic laudare P. Paludanum, ut tamen jansenistis assentiretur, idque annotationibus quibusdam scripto traditis observassem, tradidi eas D. Internuntio, qui easdem una cum oratione ipsa exhibuit Illustrissimo Cameracensi, cuius plane idem fuit iudicium cum meo... Imo etiam aperte dixerat D. Internuntio P. Lupus se non audere P. Paludanum laudare a studio promovendi obedientiam erga Sedem apostolicam, ne jansenianos offenderet, alioquin numquam sibi apertum fore aditum ad strictam facultatem »; ms. II, 1220, 151.

Der Grabstein des Augustinertheologen Hugolin von Orvieto († 1373)

Hugolin von Orvieto zählt zu den angesehensten Theologen des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. Aber auch als Mitbegründer der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Bologna und als General seines Ordens, wie auch als Patriarch von Konstantinopel und Bischof-Administrator der Diözese Rimini besitzt er zweifellos Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte seiner Zeit.

Als ich vor sechzehn Jahren ein Lebensbild dieses italienischen Augustiners veröffentlichte [1]), blieben mir über Ort und Zeit seines Todes ein paar Unklarheiten, die ich wegen der Ungunst der damaligen Zeitverhältnisse nicht weiter aufhellen konnte [2]). Nun hat der bekannte Patrologe P. Antonio Casamassa O. E. S. A. [3]), der

[1]) A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre*, Würzburg 1941, vor allem 25-103. — Seitdem sind noch folgende Veröffentlichungen über ihn erschienen: A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto O. E. S. A. († 1373) über Urstand und Sündenfall*, *Augustiniana* 3 (1953) 35-62, 165-193; 4 (1954) 25-46; A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto († 1373) über Prädestination, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst*, *Augustiniana* 4 (1954) 109-156; 5 (1955) 5-51; Fr. STEGMÜLLER, *Tractatus de Deo Trino Hugolini de Urbe Vetere*, herausgegeben in *Annali della Biblioteca Governativa di Cremona* VII, 1, 1955, 21-57. Vgl. auch D. TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, *Augustiana* 6 (1956) 146-274, vor allem 222 f. und 255-263: Hier wird überzeugend nachgewiesen, dass Simon von Cremona der « recollector Hugolini » ist.

[2]) Vgl. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre* S. 98 und Anm. 3. — Vor allem ergaben sich Differenzen zwischen den Angaben C. EUBELS (*Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi* I, Münster 1913, 107) und J. ROUSSETS (*Hugolin d'Orvieto. Une controverse à la faculté de théologie de Bologne au XIV^e siècle*, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 47 (1930) 63-91, S. 70 f.) hinsichtlich der Zeit des Todes unseres Augustiners. Auch konnte ich mich damals für Todes- und Begräbnisort Hugolins nur auf das späte Zeugnis des J. PAMPHILUS (*Chronica Ordinis Fr. Erem. S. Augustini*, Rom 1581, 59 f) stützen.

[3]) Siehe den Nachruf auf den Verstorbenen: P. PARENTE, *Il Padre Antonio Casamassa*, Rom 1955.



Grabstein des Hugolin von Orvieto O. E. S. A.
in der Pfarrkirche S. Giovenale zu Orvieto

· FRA · H'E · S · AUG¹ · PAT'ARCHE · RIE · F'RIS · VGOLINI · I · SAC · THEO[a] · DOCTORIS · EG'GII · P'ORIS · G'NAL · ORD · CO'STANTINOPOL [—?] OBIIT · A · DN · [—?] V · MS · I [—?] [—?] A · TT [—?] LLEDE · ME'O ·

am 8. März 1955 einem Schlaganfall erlag, im Herbst des Jahres 1953 den Grabstein Hugolins wiedergefunden. Dadurch fällt auch neues Licht auf das Lebensende dieses mittelalterlichen Augustiners. Leider war es P. Casamassa nicht mehr vergönnt, seine Entdeckung selbst zu publizieren.

Der Grabstein Hugolins befindet sich heute in der Pfarrkirche S. Giovenale zu Orvieto. Er ist dort zwischen den zwei vorderen Säulen, die das linke Seitenschiff vom Hauptschiff trennen, im Boden eingelassen. Es handelt sich um eine Steinplatte von 2 m Länge und 85 cm Breite. Sie zeigt in der oberen Hälfte einen durchgehenden Sprung. Auch ist auf der linken Seite ein grösseres Stück herausgebrochen, weshalb ein Teil der Inschrift, und zwar gerade die Zeitangabe des Todes, nicht mehr vorhanden ist. Auf dem Grabstein ist in Flachrelief die 1.80 m grosse Gestalt des Patriarchen eingemeisselt. Der Kopf ist mit der Mitra geschmückt und ruht auf einem Kissen. Ueber dem gotischen Messgewand trägt der Kirchenfürst das Pallium. Die linke Hand ruht auf der Brust und hält ein geschlossenes Buch. Die rechte Hand, die infolge der Beschädigung des Steines verschwunden ist, scheint ehedem das erzbischöfliche Doppelkreuz gehalten zu haben, welches zur Rechten der ruhenden Gestalt eingemeisselt ist, während sich zu ihrer Linken der bischöfliche Krummstab findet. Der Grabstein trägt in gotischer Majuskel folgende Umschrift [4]):

[Hic iacet corpus ?] collende (?) memorie fratris Ugolini in sacra theologia doctoris eggregii, prioris generalis ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, Patriarche Constantinopolitani, [qui ?] obiit anno domini [MCCCLXXIII ?] V (?) mensis J[ulii ?].

Unterhalb des Grabsteins hat man im letzten Jahrhundert eine kleine rote Marmorplatte angebracht mit der Inschrift: « TRANSLATUM · AB · ECCLESIA · S · AUGUSTINI · — EX · DECRETO · CIVIUM · — ID · FEB · AN · MDCCCLXXXIV ». Oberhalb fügte man auf einer gleichartigen roten Marmortafel das Familienwappen der Malabranca bei, weil man Hugolin nach einer

[4]) Dank schulde ich meinen hochwürdigen Mitbrüdern P. Dr. Felix Gössmann, P. Dr. Reinhold Schraml und P. Dr. Albericus de Meijer, Professoren am internationalen Kolleg des Augustinerordens zu Rom, die mir beim Entziffern der Inschrift behilflich waren.

in den älteren Urkunden freilich nicht begründeten Ueberlieferung für ein Mitglied dieses Adelsgeschlechts hielt [5]).

Wie diese Inschrift besagt, befanden sich Hugolins Grab und Epitaph ursprünglich in der Augustinerkirche von Orvieto, deren exsekriertes Gebäude in nächster Nähe der Pfarrkirche S. Giovenale noch heute zu sehen ist. Kloster und Kirche wurden im letzten Jahrhundert säkularisiert. Das Hauptgebäude des ehemaligen Klosters dient heute als Kaserne, die Kirche teils als Autoschlosserei, teils für Privatwohnungen. Ein anstossender, älterer Bau aus gotischer Zeit mit einer grossen, gewölbten Halle wird jetzt als Garage verwendet. Nur noch das schöne, gotische Portal der Kirche und eine kleine Augustinusstatue über der einstigen Klosterpforte erinnern an den früheren Zweck dieser Gebäude.

Die Frage, ob die Kirche S. Giovenale heutzutage nur das Epitaph oder auch die sterbliche Ueberreste Hugolins birgt, wurde noch von P. Casamassa selbst geklärt. Auf eine diesbezügliche Anfrage teilte das Staatsarchiv von Orvieto am 23. November 1953 mit, dass bei der Profanierung des Gotteshauses die in der Augustinerkirche bestatteten Toten laut Beschluss des Stadtrates vom 3. März 1886 auf den städtischen Friedhof überführt wurden. Von einer Uebertragung der Gebeine Hugolins in die Kirche S. Giovenale sei in den städtischen Akten nichts zu finden. Somit muss man annehmen, dass nur der Grabstein übertragen wurden.

Mit P. Casamassas Entdeckung hat die Mitteilung des Augustinerhistorikers J. Pamphilus aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, Hugolin sei in der Augustinerkirche von Orvieto beigesetzt worden, ihre Bestätigung erhalten. Man wird deshalb aber auch an der Zuverlässigkeit der Angaben, die Pamphilus über den Todesort des Patriarchen macht, nicht mehr zweifeln dürfen. Demnach starb Hugolin zu Aquula, dem heutigen Aquapendente, auf der Rückreise von Avignon [6]).

Hinsichtlich des Todestages unseres Augustiners gibt leider auch der Grabstein keine sichere Auskunft. Desto wichtiger schien

[5]) Vgl. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre* 30 und 40 Anm. 1.

[6]) J. Pamphilus berichtet: « Tandem Ugolinus veniens e Gallia, ubi Curia Romana residebat, Aquulae migrauit e vita, non enim viuus suam se in patriam recipere potuit. Eius corpus transuectum est Urbemveterem, et in D. Augustini templum reconditum ». — *Chronica Ordinis Fr. Erem. S. Aug.*, Rom 1581, fol. 59 f. — Vgl. ZUMKELLER, *l. c.* 29 Anm. 5.

es mir, die Registerbände des Vatikanischen Archivs aus jener Zeit einzusehen, um die Differenzen zwischen den diesbezüglichen Angaben C. Eubels und J. Roussets [7]) zu klären.

Aus den päpstlichen Registern ergibt sich einmal, dass Hugolin am 18. Januar 1373 noch am Leben war. An diesem Tage erhielt er nämlich von Papst Gregor XI. den Auftrag, dem mit seiner Familie zur Mutterkirche zurückgekehrten orthodoxen Priester Emmanuel Lascari für seinen grossen Neophyteneifer die Pfarrei St. Barbara de Chissamen auf der Insel Kreta zu übertragen [8]). Doch starb der Patriarch noch vor Ende dieses Jahres. Denn am 28. Dezember 1373 reservierte sich Papst Gregor XI. mit Bezugnahme auf das Ableben Hugolins (« bone memorie ») die Besetzung des Bischofstuhls von Rimini [9]). Und schon am 9. Januar erfolgte die Ernennung eines neuen Bischofs in der Person des Lialis Malatesta. Da das Ernennungsschreiben ausdrücklich betont, es handle sich um eine « provisio celeris », wird man annehmen müssen, dass die Nachricht von Hugolins Tod erst in den letzten Tagen des Jahres 1373 in Avignon eingetroffen war [10]). Somit starb er wohl erst in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahres [11]). Ein neuer Patriarch von Konstantinopel wurde erst zwei Jahre später, am 18. Januar 1376, in

[7]) Vgl. ZUMKELLER, *l. c.* 98 Anm. 3.

[8]) Reg. Vat. tom. 269 (Greg. XI. a. 3), fol. 4 r-v. — J. ROUSSET (*Hugolin d'Orvieto, Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 47 (1930) 70 f.) hat sich in der Errechnung des Jahres geirrt. Das Datum des Schriftstückes lautet: « Datum Auinion. XV. kal. Februarii Anno tercio ».

[9]) Reg. Vat. tom. 276 (Greg. XI. Bullae Camerarii a. 3), fol. 171 r. — Auch hier hat sich J. ROUSSET (*l. c.*) in der Festsetzung der Jahreszahl getäuscht. Die Datierung besagt: « sub data Auinion. V. kal. Januarij pont. Anno tercio ».

[10]) « ... et deinde nos ex certis rationabilibus causis ad id animum nostrum mouentibus dictam Ariminen. ecclesiam bone memorie Ugolino patriarche Constantinopolitan. preesset, per nostras litteras de dictorum fratrum nostrorum consilio auctoritate predicta concessimus incommendam, prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur. Cum autem postmodum dictus Ugolinus extra Roman. curiam diem clausit extremum dictamque Ariminen. ecclesiam secundum premissa vacauerit et vacare noscatur ad presens, nos ad prouisionem ipsius ecclesie celerem et felicem, ne ecclesia ipsa Ariminen. prolixe vacacionis exponeretur incommodis, ... te ad eandem Ariminen. ecclesiam predicta auctoritate apostolica transferimus ». — Reg. Vat. tom. 273 (Greg. XI. a. 4), fol. 54 v. — Das Datum heisst: « Datum Auinion. V. Id. Januar. Anno quarto » (fol. 55r). — Die Datierung auf den *10.* Januar 1374 bei C. EUBEL (*l. c.* I, 107) ist offenbar ein Versehen.

[11]) Die in der Grabinschrift erhaltenen Buchstaben « MS I » lassen an Juni oder Juli denken.

Jacobus de Itro ernannt ; auch hier nahm das Ernennungsschreiben ausdrücklich auf das erfolgte Ableben Hugolins Bezug [12]).

Als gesichertes Ergebnis steht somit fest, dass Hugolin von Orvieto im Laufe des Jahres 1373 zu Aquapendente starb und nach Orvieto überführt wurde, wo seine Mitbrüder ihm in ihrer Klosterkirche ein würdiges Epitaph schufen.

P. DDr. Adolar ZUMKELLER, O. E. S. A.

Würzburg.

[12]) « ... Postmodum vero prefata ecclesia per obitum eiusdem hugolini patriarche, qui extra Roman. Curiam diem clausit extremum, pastoris solacio destituta... ». — Reg. Vat. tom. 290 (Greg. XI. a. 6), fol. 98 r. — Die Datumzeile lautet: « Datum Auinion. XV. kal. februarii Anno sexto » (fol. 98v).

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[B. Capelle: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 50 (1955), 911-912].

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1281. SALMON (P.), Il testo e l'interpretazione dei Salmi al tempo di S. Agostino. — *Rivista Biblica* 2 (1954), 97-118. 193-219.
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1282. STEIERT (B.), Das Problem der Psalmen zur Zeit des hl. Hieronymus und Augustinus. Text und Interpretation. — *Schweizerische Kirchenzeitung* 123 (1955), 553-554. 567-568.

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1285. VACCARI (Alberto), Psalterium S. Augustini in monte Sinaï repertum. — *Biblica* 36 (1955), 260.

1286. VACCARI (Alberto), Saint Augustin, saint Ambroise et Aquila. — Augustinus Magister III, 471-482. Paris, 1955.
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1295. ROBERTS (David E.), The Earliest Writings. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 93-126. New York, 1955.

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1307. OUTLER (Albert C.), Augustine : Confessions and Enchiridion. (Library of Christian Classics VII). London, S. C. M. Press - Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1955. (424).

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1308. PRÉAUX (Jean-G.), Nouvelles approximations sur l'épisode augustinien du « tolle, lege ». — *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 33 (1955), 555-576.

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1310. VEGA (Angel Custodio), Obras de San Agustín, T. 2 : Las Confesiones. Traducción y notas. 3ª edición. (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 11). Madrid, La Editorial Católica, 1955. (732).

1311. S. Augustinus : Wyznania. [Confessiones]. Warszawa, Pax, 1954. (XXIII-379).

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1312. BURNABY (John), Augustine Later Works. Selected and translated with introd. The Trinity. The Spirit and the Letter. Ten Homilies on the First Epistle of St. John. (Library of Christian Classics VIII). Philadelphia, Westminster Press - London, S. C. M. Press, 1955. (359).

[J. Quinn: *New Scholasticism* 29 (1955), 345].

1313. MELLET (M.) - CAMELOT (Thomas) - HENDRIKX (Ephraem), Œuvres de saint Augustin 15. 2me série : Dieu et son œuvre. La Trinité (livres I-VII). I : Le mystère. Texte de l'édition bénédictine. Traduction et notes par M. Mellet et Th. Camelot. Introduction par E. Hendrikx. (Bibliothèque Augustinienne). Paris-Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer, 1955. (613).

1314. AGAËSSE (Paul) - MOINGT (J.), Œuvres de saint Augustin 16. 2me série : Dieu et son œuvre. La Trinité (livres VIII-XV). II : Les images. Texte de l'édition bénédictine. Traduction par P. Agaësse. Notes en collaboration avec J. Moingt. (Bibliothèque Augustinienne). Paris-Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer, 1955. (710).

[F. Van Steenberghen: *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 54 (1956), 149-150. J. Plagnieux: *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* I (1955), 290-292. P. Courcelle: *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 455-456. G. Jouassard: *Bulletin des Facultés Catholiques de Lyon* 77 (1955), 84-85. M. Nuttinck: *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 78 (1956), 437-438. O. García de la Fuente: *Le Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 137-142; 72 (1956), 156-157. S. Brounts: *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 17 (1955), 711. P. Fransen: *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 426].

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1315. DEFERRARI (Roy Joseph) - WILCOX (Charles) - HUEGELMEYER (Charles) - MCQUADE (John) - LIGUORI (Sr. M.) - RUSSELL (Robert) - LAEY (John) — BROWN (Ruth W.), Saint Augustine : Treatises on Marriage and other Subjects : The Good of Marriage, Adulterous Marriages, Holy Virginity, Faith and Works, The Creed, Faith and the Creed, The Care to be taken for the Dead, In Answer to the Jews, The Divination of Demons. (The Fathers of the Church 27). Transl. New York, Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1955. (456).

1316. ERCE (Gregorio), Virginidad y Castidad. Encíclica « Sacra Virginitas » de S. S. Pío XII, y Tratado de San Agustín « Sobre

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1319. ALVAREZ TURIENZO (Saturnino), La « Ciudad de Dios » en el cruce de dos edades. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 23-63.

1320. CHATILLON (François), Comment on met la main sur une leçon inconnue. (Aug. De Civ. Dei IX, 17). (Compte rendu de la séance du 17 décembre 1954. Groupe strasbourgeois). — *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 75-76.

1321. DALEZIOS (A.), Ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. I-V. μετάφρ. [Traduction du De Civitate Dei]. Athènes, 1954. (344).

1322. DOMBART (Bernardus) - KALB (Alphonsus), Sancti Aurelii Augustini : De Civitate Dei. Libri I-X, XI-XXII. Ad fidem quartae ed. Teubn. quam a. 1928-1929 cur. B. Dombart et A. Kalb, paucis emendatis mutatis additis. (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina XLVII-XLVIII. Aurelii Augustini Opera, Pars XIV, 1-2). Turnholti, Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1955. (XXII-XLV-889).

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1325. NÖRREGAARD (Jens), Augustins De civitate Dei. Et udkast. [A sketch]. Posthumous edition by Hal Koch and Christian Thodberg. Copenhagen, Schultz, 1954. (62).

1326. PACK (R.), St. Peter in Ammianus ? — *The Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954), 319-321.

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[J. Vives: *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 26 (1953), 345-346. J.-M. de Lestal: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 426-429].

1328. THIMME (Wilhelm), Aurelius Augustinus : Vom Gottesstaat. Bd. 1-2. Vollst. Ausg. Eingel. und übertr. (Werke des Augustinus 3-4. Die Bibliothek der Alten Welt. Reihe Antike und Christentum). Zürich, Artemis-Verlag, 1955. (571. 870).

1329. WILSING (Niels), Aurelius Augustinus : Gottesstaat. Auswahl. Anmerkungen. Stuttgart, Klett, [1955]. 2 vol. (56+24).

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1330. HOUT (M. P. J. VAN DEN), A propos de la nouvelle édition des Tractatus in Johannis Evangelium de saint Augustin dans le Corpus Christianorum. — *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 296-308.

1331. PRIETO (Teófilo), Obras de San Agustín, T. 13 : Tratados sobre el Evangelio de San Juan (1-35). Edición en latín y castellano. Versión, introducción y notas. (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 139). Madrid, La Editorial Católica, 1955. (VII-799).
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1332. KOPP (Sebastian) - ZUMKELLER (Adolar), Aurelius Augustinus : Schriften gegen die Semipelagianer. Lateinisch-deutsch. Gnade und freier Wille ; Zurechtweisung und Gnade ; übertragen und erläutert von P. Dr. Sebastian Kopp O. E. S. A. Die Vorherbestimmung der Heiligen ; Die Gabe der Beharrlichkeit ; übertragen und erläutert von P. DDr. Adolar Zumkeller O. E. S. A. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1955. (516).
[O. Schaffner: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 135 (1955), 237-238. E. Hendrikx: *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 544-547. R. Lorenz: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 81 (1956), 449-450].

1333. LEHMANN (Paul), The Anti-Pelagian Writings. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 203-234. New York, 1955.

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1334. COURCELLE (Pierre), Sur la correspondance entre saint Augustin et saint Paulin de Nole. — *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1950-1951, 204.

Voir n° 194. Reconstruction de la correspondance échangée entre Augustin et Paulin. A cette correspondance, il faut ajouter une lettre conservée d'Augustin et seize lettres perdues (10 de Paulin et 6 d'Augustin). 38 lettres échelonnées sur 26 ans (395-421).

1335. FOLLIET (Georges), « Nonnulli putaverunt... » (De opere monachorum XI, 12). — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 401.

Ce passage concernant la controverse entre saint Jérôme et saint Augustin, au sujet de la dissimulation de saint Paul, permet de dater la *lettre* 40 d'Augustin vers 399.

Voir aussi les n^{os} 1276. 1431. 1515. 1593.

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1336. CASAMASSA (Antonio), Due sermoni inediti di S. Agostino. — Scritti Patristici, Vol. I, 119-124. Lateranum, Nova Series an. XXI, n. 1-4. Romae, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1955.

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1337. CASAMASSA (Antonio), La felice scoperta di quattro sermoni inediti di S. Agostino. — Scritti Patristici, Vol. I, 139-144. Lateranum, Nova Series an. XXI, n. 1-4. Romae, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1955.

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1338. CASAMASSA (Antonio), Un nuovo sermone inedito di S. Agostino. — Scritti Patristici, Vol. I, 133-138. Lateranum, Nova Series an. XXI, n. 1-4. Romae, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1955.

Réimpression de l'article paru dans *L'Osservatore Romano*, des 27-28 août 1928.

1339. LAMBOT (Cyrille), Le sermon de Saint Augustin sur la femme forte du Livre des Proverbes. — *Revue Bénédictine* 65 (1955), 208-217.

Sermo 37, *in Basilica Novarum* à Carthage. La date demeure incertaine. Histoire de la tradition manuscrite. Il subsiste une bonne trentaine de manuscrits.

1340. O'Reilly (Marie Vianney), Sancti Aurelii Augustini De excidio urbis Romae sermo. A critical text and translation with introduction and commentary. (Patristic Studies 89). Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. (96).

1341. Weber (Hugo), Aurelius Augustinus, Die Auslegungen der Psalmen. Christus und sein mystischer Leib. Ausgew. u. übertr. (Deutsche Augustinus-Ausgabe). Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1955. (XII-275).

Voir aussi les n^{os} 1265. 1268.

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1342. Baron (Roger), Hugues de Saint-Victor est-il l'auteur d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin ? — *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955), 342-360.

Voir aussi les n^{os} 1246. 1260. 1262.

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1343. Marchi (Mario), Sant' Agostino parla. Antologia dalle opere di S. Agostino e traduzione dal latino. Roma, Tip. Scuola Salesiana del libro, 1954. (319).

1344. Tissot (Henri), Les Pères vous parlent de l'Evangile. T. I + II. Bruges, Apostolat Liturgique de l'Abbaye de Saint-André, 1953 + 1955.

Homélies du bréviaire avec leur contexte. Nombreuses homélies de saint Augustin.

Pseudo-Augustin

1345. Grosjean (Paul), Sur quelques exégètes irlandais du VII^{e} siècle. — *Sacris Erudiri* 7 (1955), 67-98.

Sur la dédicace du *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, ouvrage pseudo-augustinien.

1346. Lio (E.), Le obbligazioni verso i poveri in un testo di S. Cesario riportato da Graziano (Can. 66, C. XVI, q. 1) con falsa attribuzione a S. Agostino. — *Studia Patavina* 2 (1955), 18-44. Studia Gratiana III (Bologna) 1955, 51-81.

1347. MARTINS (Mario), As « Meditaçôes » do cód. alc. CCLXXI, VI, 212 e as suas fontes augustinianas e biblicas. — *Brotéria* (Lisbôa) 60 (1955), 520-527.

1348. STRÄSSLE (E.), Die Sonntagsheiligung in der Väterpredigt. — *Heiliger Dienst* 6 (1952), 49-52.

Traduction allemande d'un sermon attribué à saint Augustin mais qui, en réalité, est pseudo-augustinien.

Voir pareillement les n^os^ 1255. 1265. 1274. 1276.

IV. DOCTRINE

Etudes générales

1349. ALVAREZ TURIENZO (Saturnino), La cuestión agustiniana. [Impresión de últimas lecturas sobre tema agustiniano]. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 257-272.

L'auteur traite de la grande question Augustinisme ou Thomisme. Sur l'autorité et l'actualité de saint Augustin. Il faut distinguer l'augustinisme au sens large de l'augustinisme dans le sens de la doctrine de saint Augustin.

1350. BEUMER (Johannes), Theologie als Glaubensverständnis. Würzburg, Echter-Verlag, 1952. (250).

Sur l'opposition entre *intelligentia fidei* et *scientia fidei*. La pensée de saint Augustin est présentée (pp. 47-55) comme une des conceptions les plus complètes du « Glaubensverständnis ».

1351. BORTOLASO (G.), Sant' Agostino e lo spiritualismo cristiano. — *La Civiltà Cattolica* 106 (1955), 408-417.

1352. MARROU (Henri-Irénée) - LA BONNARDIÈRE (Anne-Marie), Saint Augustin et l'augustinisme. (Coll. « Maîtres spirituels » 2). Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1955. (192, avec nombreuses illustr.).

Très bonne introduction à la vie, l'œuvre et la personnalité de saint Augustin, suivie d'un florilège de textes (pp. 83-146). L'autre partie du livre est consacrée à l'augustinisme depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XVIII^e^ siècle. [H. Rondet: *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 44 (1956), 156. J. Oroz: *Augustinus* I (1956), 120-121. S. Alvarez Turienzo: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 414-415].

1353. OROZ DE LA CONSOLACIÓN (José), Introducción a una « Theologia » agustino-varroniana, vista desde la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 459-473.

1354. RIESCO (Gabriel), Retorno a San Agustín. Buenos Aires, Editorial Poblet, 1954. (257).

[U. Alvarez: *La Ciudad de Dios* 72 (1956), 165-166].

1355. Sciacca (Michele Federico), San Agustín. Versión española del R. P. Ulpiano Alvarez Díez. (Biblioteca filosófica 9). Barcelona, Luis Miracle, 1955. (495).
[A. López Navarro: *Augustinus* I (1956), 115-116. R. Flórez: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 439-440].

1356. Sciacca (Michele Federico), Sant' Agostino. — Grande Antologia Filosofica, diretta da U. A. Padovani, coordinata da A. M. Moschetti. II : Il pensiero cristiano V, III, 253-266 ; Bibliografia, 267-278 ; Testi, 279-357. Milano, C. Marzorati, 1954.

1357. Vielhauer (P.), Urchristentum und Christentum in der Sicht W. Kamlahs. — *Evangelische Theologie* 15 (1955), 307-333.
Voir n° 236.

1358. Zaragüeta (Juan), ¿ Agustinismo o Escolasticismo ? — *Revista de Filosofía* 14 (1955), 177-204.
Contre un retour à la philosophie des Pères et pour une réintégration de celle-ci dans la doctrine scolastique.

Voir encore les n^{os} 1214. 1245.

Ecriture Sainte

1359. Itterzon (G. P. van), Augustinus en de Heilige Schrift. (Studies uit de 's-Gravenhaagse Bijbelvereniging 9). 's-Gravenhage, Boekencentrum N. V., s. d. [1955]. (24).
Aperçu populaire, non sans valeur, sur l'attitude de saint Augustin envers l'Ecriture Sainte, saint Augustin et saint Paul, la Révélation et la raison, l'autorité, le texte et le contenu de l'Ecriture, la prédication biblique et l'influence d'Augustin sur la Réformation.

1360. Polman (A. D. R.), Het Woord Gods bij Augustinus. (De Theologie van Augustinus. Dogmahistorische Studies). Kampen, J. H. Kok, 1955. (256).
Cette étude d'histoire des dogmes traite principalement de l'attitude de saint Augustin envers l'Ecriture Sainte. L'auteur ne touche qu'incidemment les questions christologiques. Livre qui suscite bien des problèmes qui restent discutables entre catholiques et protestants. [R. Bakker: *Kerk en Theologie* 7 (1956), 193. J. S. S.: *Vox Theologica* 26 (1956), 191-192].

1361. Schultz (Samuel J.), Augustine and the Old Testament Canon. — *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Dallas) 112 (1955), 225-234.

1362. Strauss (G.), Schriftgebrauch, Schriftauslegung und Schriftbeweis bei Augustin. Dissert., Göttingen, 1953. [Dactyl.].
Cf. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 (1954), 179-180.

1363. Zarb (Seraphim M.), Saint Augustine. The Biblical Scholar. — *Scientia* 21 (1955), 129-144.

Exégèse et Typologie

1364. BAYET (J.), Le symbolisme du cerf et du Centaure à la Porte Rouge de Notre-Dame de Paris. — *Revue Archéologique* 44 (1954), 21-68.

Les deux registres supérieurs de la Porte Rouge offrent le développement plastique du commentaire augustinien sur le *Psaume* 41.

1365. BRUNNER (Peter), Charismatische und methodische Schriftauslegung nach Augustins Prolog zu « De doctrina christiana ». — *Kerygma und Dogma* 1 (1955), 59-69. 85-103.

1366. CANTALOUP (Paul), L'harmonie des deux Testaments dans le Contra Faustum Manichaeum de saint Augustin. Thèse de doctorat, Fac. de Théologie de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse, 1955. (229).

1367. CLAMER (Albert), La Sainte Bible. Texte latin et traduction française. Tome I, 1re partie : Genèse. Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1953. (513).

Accorde une place assez importante à l'exégèse de saint Augustin.

1368. COLUNGA (Alberto), San Agustín, expositor de las profecías en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 401-415.

1369. FUGIER (Huguette), L'image de Dieu — Centre dans les Confessions de saint Augustin. Valeur historique et valeur psychologique d'une image augustinienne. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 379-395.

Les images des Confessions collaborent à fournir la vision d'un univers où Dieu, foyer de vie, est figuré comme un point central, qu'encercle une zone désertique. Sources de cette image: la géographie antique et la cosmologie.

1370. GALLUS (Tiburtius), Principia exegetica S. Augustini ad Gen. 3, 15 applicata. — *Verbum Domini* 32 (1954), 129-141.

1371. GARCÍA DE LA FUENTE (Olegario), Interpretación exegética del Génesis en la « Ciudad de Dios ». Apreciaciones críticas. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 353-400.

1372. LA BONNARDIÈRE (Anne-Marie), Les commentaires simultanés de Mat. 6, 12 et de 1 Jo. 1, 8 dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 129-147.

Avec une liste des références *Mat.* 6, 12 dans les œuvres de saint Augustin et un tableau comparatif des commentaires parallèles dans les œuvres de Cyprien, Optat de Milève, Tychonius, Ambroise, Jérôme ainsi que dans les œuvres du Docteur d'Hippone. Ce verset du *Pater* prouve que tous les hommes sont pécheurs. Les Pères, pré-

décesseurs ou contemporains d'Augustin, interprètent de même le *Pater* et offrent déjà les mêmes groupes de textes scripturaires. Cette doctrine du *Pater* n'était qu'un écho de la catéchèse quadragésimale.

1373. La Bonnardière (Anne-Marie), Le Cantique des Cantiques dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin. (Biblia Augustiniana. Ancien Testament. Fascicule 18). — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* I (1955), 225-237.

Aucun commentaire d'ensemble; 174 citations seulement réparties en deux catégories: les versets inspirés de la liturgie baptismale et les versets discutés entre catholiques et donatistes. Un point demeure inchangé: le symbolisme nuptial appliqué au Christ et à l'Eglise.

1374. Ladner (Gerhart B.), St. Gregorgy of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the Symbolism of the Cross. — Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in honour of Albert Mathias Friend Jr. edited by Kurt Weitzmann, 88-95. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1955.

1375. Luneau (Auguste), Moïse et les Pères latins. — Moïse, l'homme de l'Alliance, 283-303. (Cahiers Sioniens 2-3-4, 1954). Paris-Tournai-Rome-New York, Desclée & Cie, 1955.

L'auteur se borne aux idées de Moïse conducteur de peuple, l'homme de Dieu, précurseur et type du Christ chez Tertullien, Cyprien, Ambroise, Jérôme, Augustin, Zénon de Vérone et Grégoire d'Elvire.

1376. Penna (A.), Il De consensu Evangelistarum ed i « canoni eusebiani ». — *Biblica* 36 (1955), 1-19.

1377. Potterie (I. de la), De punctuatie en de exegese van Joh. 1, 3. 4 in de traditie. — *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 117-134. (Sommaire en français, 134-135).

1378. Prete (Benedetto), I principi esegetici di S. Agostino. — *Sapienza* 8 (1955), 552-594.

1379. Rondet (Henri), Thèmes bibliques. Exégèse augustinienne. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 231-246. Paris, 1955.

Voir également les n^{os} 1280. 1281. 1282. 1359. 1361. 1362. 1363. 1415. 1599.

Apostolat et Catéchèse

1380. Bernardin (Joseph B.), St. Augustine as Pastor. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 57-89. New York, 1955.

1381. Druilhe (M.), La catéchèse eucharistique de saint Augustin. Thèse présentée à l'Université de la Sorbonne. Paris, 1955.

1382. Flórez (Ramiro), Condiciones y sentido de la Teología mi-

sionera en San Agustín. — Semanas Misionológicas... Contribución española a una Misionología agustiniana, 128-139. Burgos, 1955.

1383. LERCARO (Giacomo), S. Agostino Pastore d'anime. — *Sapienza* 8 (1955), 543-551.

1384. MEER (Frits VAN DER), Saint Augustin Pasteur d'âmes. Traduit du néerlandais par E. Viale, M. Jourjon, F. Darcy et M. Blondet. 2 vols. Paris-Colmar, Edit. Alsatia, 1955. (496 et 568, 32 pl.).

Voir les n[os] 147 et 501. [H. Rondet: *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955), 304-306. J. Oroz: *Augustinus* I (1956), 627-628].

1385. RODRIGUEZ (Isacio), El Catecumenado en la disciplina de Africa según San Agustín. — Semanas Misionológicas... Contribución española a una Misionología agustiniana, 160-174. Burgos, 1955.

1386. SCOTT-CRAIG (T. S. K.), On Christian Instruction. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 127-147. New York, 1955.

1387. TOUTON (Georges), Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem catéchiste. Extrait d'une thèse pour le doctorat en théologie. Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth. Roma, 1955. (51).

Un chapitre de la thèse intégrale consacré à l'étude comparée des méthodes catéchétiques de Cyrille, de Théodore de Mopsueste et d'Augustin. Dépourvu de tout appareil scientifique.

Voir aussi les n[os] 1250. 1372.

Apologétique

1388. DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL (Ursicino), El martirio, argumento apologético en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 527-542.

1389. GONZÁLEZ (Leonardo), Valor apologético del milagro en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 543-570.

1390. STAKEMEIER (Eduard), Civitas Dei. Die Geschichtstheologie des heiligen Augustinus als Apologie der Kirche. Paderborn, Verlag F. Schöningh, 1955. (44).

[V. Masino: *Augustinus* I (1956), 272. R. Lorenz: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 81 (1956), 107-108. J. Kaup: *Franziskanische Studien* 38 (1956), 226-227].

Dieu — Trinité

1391. Cayré (Fulbert), Saint Augustin précurseur de saint Thomas dans la preuve de l'existence de Dieu. — *Doctor Communis* [Supplementum ad Acta III Congr. Thomistici Internationalis] 4 (1951), 95-100.

1392. Christian (William A.), The Creation of the World. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 315-342. New York, 1955.

1393. Bigelow (S.), Mirror of the Trinity. — *Priestly Stds* 24 (1955), 20-44.

1394. Boyer (Carlo), Come S. Agostino ha trovato Dio. — Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 97-110. Napoli, 1955.

1395. Giannini (Giorgio), L'implicazione della prova di Dio agostiniana nelle « Vie » tomistiche. — *Doctor Communis* 8 (1955), 52-58.

1396. Heyke (J.), God in het diepst van de gedachte. De imago-Deileer van Sint Augustinus. — *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 357-376. (Sommaire en français, 376-377).

1397. Maranini (Letizia), Problematicità e contraddizione nella teodicea cristiana di S. Agostino. — *Rivista Critica di Storia della Filosofia* 10 (1955), 24-45.

1398. Martins (Diamantino), Deus no Sistema de Santo Agostinho. — *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955), 177-189.

1399. Mascia (G.), La teoria della relazione nel De Trinitate di S. Agostino. (Studio Introduttorio). Napoli, Studio Teologico S. Lucia al Monte, 1955. (87).

1400. Mendonca (A. de), To God through self, or St. Augustine's Proof for the Existence of God. — *Philosophical Quarterly* (Amalner) 26 (1953), 1-17.

1401. Richardson (Cyril C.), The Enigma of the Trinity. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 235-256. New York, 1955.

1402. Simonetti (Manlio), La processione dello Spirito Santo nei padri latini. — *Maia* 4 (1955), 308-324.

1403. Tremblay (Richard), La théorie psychologique de la Trinité chez Saint Augustin. Pars dissertationis in Facultate S. Theologiae apud Pontificium Institutum « Angelicum » de Urbe. Ottawa-Hull, 1954. (66).

Voir aussi les n^os^ 1313. 1314. 1369. 1421. 1438. 1517. 1531. 1542.

Christologie

1404. COCAGNAC (A.-M.), Petite philocalie de la splendeur du Christ. — *La Vie Spirituelle* 37 (1955), 16-40.
Florilège de textes patristiques grecs, de saint Augustin (pp. 28-33) et de saint Bonaventure.

1405. FAVARA (Gaspare), Il cristocentrismo nella vita e nel pensiero di Sant' Agostino. — *La Civiltà Cattolica* 106 (1955), 65-71.
A propos de l'ouvrage de E. Scano: Il cristocentrismo... Voir n° 255.

1406. OUTLER (Albert C.), The Person and Work of Christ. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 343-370. New York, 1955.

1407. PHILIPS (Gérard), Le mystère du Christ. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 213-229. Paris, 1955.

1408. SKELLY (John J.), Saint Augustine and the Love of Christ. — *Noverim* 1 (1955), 43-54.

Voir pareillement les n^{os} 1341. 1360. 1373. 1375. 1415. 1420. 1525. 1526. 1611. 1619.

Mariologie

1409. BOYER (Charles), La controverse sur l'opinion de Saint Augustin touchant la conception de la Vierge. — Virgo Immaculata. Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Romae Anno MCMLIV celebrati. Vol. IV, 48-60. Roma, Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1955.

1410. CAPELLE (Bernard), Le thème de la Nouvelle Eve chez les anciens docteurs latins. — Etudes Mariales. La Nouvelle Eve I. Bulletin de la Société Française d'Etudes Mariales. Congrès de Lyon, 12 (1954), 55-76. Paris, Lethielleux, 1955.
Saint Ambroise insiste sur la maternité virginale de Marie; saint Jérôme voit en Eve le type de l'Eglise; saint Augustin applique le thème d'Eve à l'Eglise, beaucoup plus rarement à Marie.

1411. CULHANE (Robert), St. Augustine on the Immaculate Conception. — *Irish Theological Quarterly* 22 (1955), 350-354.

1412. DIETZ (Ildefons Maria), Ist die Hl. Jungfrau nach Augustinus « Immaculata ab initio » ? Eine neue Untersuchung zum Marianischen Jahr. — Virgo Immaculata. Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Romae Anno MCMLIV celebrati. Vol. IV, 61-112. Roma, Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1955.
Voir n° 924.

1413. FERNÁNDEZ (D.), El pensamiento de San Agustín sobre la In-

maculada. — Analecta Baetica. Estudios teológicos sobre la Inmaculada por los PP. Profesores del Colegio Máximo de Zafra, de los Misioneros Hijos del Corazón de María, 13-63. Zafra (Badajoz), 1954.

D'une analyse exhaustive et minutieuse des textes, l'auteur conclut fermement que saint Augustin a exclu l'Immaculée Conception de Marie.

1414. González (E. R.), Fe implícita y controversias escolásticas en torno a la Inmaculada. — *Miscelánea Comillas* 23 (1955), 157-261.

Saint Augustin, saint Anselme, Eadmer, saint Bernard, Alexandre de Halès, saint Bonaventure, saint Thomas d'Aquin et J. Duns Scot.

1415. Laurentin (R.), L'histoire de l'interprétation du Protévangile jusqu'au XII^e siècle. — Etudes Mariales. La Nouvelle Eve I. Bulletin de la Société Française d'Etudes Mariales. Congrès de Lyon. 12 (1954), 77-156. Paris, Lethielleux, 1955.

Le texte du Protévangile « descendance de la femme » est interprété dans un sens collectif par saint Justin; le sens christo-marial est présenté par saint Irénée; saint Augustin adopte une interprétation morale. Jusqu'au XI^e siècle, le sens à la fois moral et marial reste prédominant.

1416. Rosa (Giuseppe de), L'immacolato concepimento di Maria negli scritti di S. Agostino. — Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 203-226. Napoli, 1955.

1417. Schückler (G.), Maria im Geheimnis der Kirche. Köln, Wort und Werk, 1955. (161).

Nombre de textes patristiques, avant tout de saint Ambroise et de saint Augustin, sur le mystère de Marie dans le mystère de l'Eglise.

Ecclésiologie — Cité de Dieu

1418. Balthasar (Hans-Urs von), Augustinus. Das Antlitz der Kirche. Auswahl und Uebertr. 2. Aufl. (Menschen der Kirche in Zeugnis und Urkunde I). Einsiedeln-Zürich-Köln, Benziger Verlag, 1955. (364).

1419. Brunet (Robert), Charité et Communion des Saints chez S. Augustin. — *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 31 (1955), 386-398.

Réalisme avec lequel saint Augustin comprend l'unité qui groupe les chrétiens.

1420. Piolanti (Antonio), Il mistero del « Cristo totale » in S. Agostino. — Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi, 157-179. Città del Vaticano, Società Amici delle Catacombe, 1954. Augustinus Magister III, 453-469. Paris, 1955.

1421. Poppi (Angelico), Lo Spirito Santo e l'unità del Corpo Mistico in S. Agostino. — *Miscellanea Francescana* 54 (1954), 345-398.

1422. Refoulé (François-Raymond), Situation des Pécheurs dans l'Eglise d'après saint Augustin. — *Studia Theologica* 8 (1955), 86-102.

1423. Roberts (Rufus Putnam), St. Augustine on the Church. — *American Ecclesiastical Review* 132 (1955), 373-377.

Voir aussi les n[os] 1341. 1373. 1417. 1564.

Sacrements

1424. Jetter (Werner), Studien zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Tauflehre von Augustin bis zum jungen Luther. Diss. Tübingen, 1952. (412+256). [Dactyl.].

Cf. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 (1954), 52.

1425. Jetter (Werner), Die Taufe beim jungen Luther. Eine Untersuchung über das Werden der reformatorischen Sakraments- und Taufanschauung. (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 18). Tübingen, Mohr, 1954. (x-372).

Le développement de la doctrine du baptême de saint Augustin à Gabriel Biel (pp. 1-108). Influence de saint Augustin, qui pourtant dépersonnalise déjà la grâce.

Voir aussi les n[os] 1248. 1381. 1633.

Grâce et Péché

1426. Arias (Luis), San Agustín, doctor de la gracia. — *Salmanticensis* 2 (1955), 3-41.

1427. Boyer (Charles), Concupiscence et nature innocente. (Réponse à des objections). — Augustinus Magister III, 309-316. Paris, 1955.

1428. Broglie (Guy de), Pour une meilleure intelligence du « De Correptione et Gratia ». — Augustinus Magister III, 317-337. Paris, 1955.

1429. Casamassa (Antonio), Il pensiero di Sant' Agostino nel 396-397, i « Tractatores divinorum eloquiorum » di Retract. I, 23, 1 e l'Ambrosiastro. — Scritti Patristici, Vol. I, 41-66. Lateranum, Nova Series an. XXI, n. 1-4. Roma, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1955.

Réimpression de la brochure parue chez Desclée & Cie à Rome en 1919.

1430. DEMAN (Thomas), La théologie de la grâce. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 247-263. Paris, 1955.

1431. GAVIGAN (John J.), Una carta del Doctor de la Gracia. [La Carta 217]. — *Noverim* 1 (1955), 23-28.

1432. LA BONNARDIÈRE (Anne-Marie), « Etiam peccata » et saint Augustin. — *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 132-134.

1433. LEBOURLIER (Jean), Essai sur la responsabilité du pécheur dans la réflexion de saint Augustin. — Augustinus Magister III, 287-300. Paris, 1955.

1434. LEBOURLIER (Jean), Misère morale originelle et responsabilité du pécheur. — Augustinus Magister III, 301-307. Paris, 1955.

1435. LUBAC (Henri DE), Note sur saint Augustin « De libero arbitrio III, 20, 56 ». — Augustinus Magister III, 279-286. Paris, 1955.

1436. PLINVAL (Georges DE), Aspects du déterminisme et de la liberté dans la doctrine de saint Augustin. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 345-378.

Le concept d'une volonté maîtresse de ses efforts s'efface entre 385-400 devant l'intuition d'une faculté actualisée par la grâce. Entre 412-421, Augustin tend à porter au maximum l'importance de la grâce, mais ses *Enarrationes* et ses *Tractatus* montrent qu'il reconnaît toujours une valeur propre aux réactions du sujet. Entre 421-429, Augustin conçoit la prédestination comme un dessein infaillible de Dieu, mais qui ne laisse pas de comporter une flexibilité due à la considération des contingences historiques et surtout de l'efficacité des prières de l'Eglise.

1437. STROHM (Martin), Der Begriff der « natura vitiata » bei Augustin. — *Theologische Quartalschrift* 135 (1955), 184-203.

1438. TURRADO (Argimiro), El platonismo de San Agustín y su doctrina acerca de la inhabitación del Espíritu Santo. — *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 471-486.

1439. VACA (César), El pecado y los pecados en las Confesiones de San Agustín. — *Revista Calasancia* 1 (1955), 67-72.

1440. VANDENBERGHE (Bruno H.), [Saint Augustine]. Saint for Sinners. — *Cross and Crown* 7 (1955), 251-275.

Voir aussi les n[os] 1246. 1249. 1372. 1422. 1425. 1512. 1578. 1592. 1593. 1605. 1613.

Doctrine morale — Ascèse

1441. ADNÈS (Pierre), L'humilité à l'école de Saint Augustin. — *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 31 (1955), 28-46.

1442. ALCORTA (José Ignacio DE), El mensaje agustiniano del amor. — Augustinus Magister III, 357-364. Paris, 1955.

1443. ARMAS (Gregorio), La moral de San Agustín. Madrid, Difusora del libro, Bailén 19, 1955. (1181).

Vaste florilège de textes augustiniens (en latin avec traduction espagnole) touchant la doctrine morale. [O. García de la Fuente: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 148-154. L. Cilleruelo: *Religión y Cultura* I (1956), 159-161. A. Muñoz Alonso: *Augustinus* I (1956), 115].

1444. AUER (A.), Reformation aus dem Ewigen. Augustinus, Franz von Assisi, Bonaventura, Luther. Salzburg, Otto Müller, 1955. (190).

L'expérience mystique de Dieu est le fondement de toute connaissance, même naturelle. L'éthique augustinienne consiste à tendre à la *reformatio* pour obtenir la pureté du cœur. L'idéal de saint Augustin est un idéal de sagesse, une spéculation sur le *Logos*. L'auteur souligne fortement l'inspiration néoplatonicienne. Les autres chapitres montrent l'influence augustinienne.

1445. BAUER (J.), Augustin und die Liebe. — *Seelsorger* 25 (1954-1955), 241-248.

1446. BIGHAM (Thomas J.) - MOLLEGEN (Albert T.), The Christian Ethic. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 317-397. New York, 1955.

1447. BORGHINI (B.), L'obbedienza secondo S. Agostino. — *Vita Cristiana* 23 (1954), 453-478.

1448. CAPÁNAGA (Victorino), S. Agustín y la espiritualidad moderna. — *Revista de Espiritualidad* 14 (1955), 156-169.

1449. CARY-ELWES (Columba), Peace in the « City of God ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 417-430. (Resumen en español, 430-431).

1450. CIOLINI (G.), Verità di Dio, vanità della creatura. Un tema fondamentale della « Città di Dio ». — *Vita Cristiana* 25 (1955), 303-314.

1451. DELHAYE (Philippe), S. Augustin et les valeurs humaines. — *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 12 (1955), 121-138.

Pour Augustin point de bonheur en dehors de la vision de Dieu. Mais les biens secondaires sont aussi des « valeurs réelles », surtout la paix de la cité. Le bien de la cité terrestre est une image de la béatitude de la cité céleste.

1452. DUINKERKEN (Anton VAN), Sint Augustinus over het Gelukkige leven. — Mensen en Meningen, 113-131. 's-Gravenhage, Uitgeversmij. Pax, 1951.

1453. FLÜCKIGER (F.), Geschichte des Naturrechts. Bd. I : Altertum

und Frühmittelalter. Zollikon-Zürich, Evangelischer Verlag, 1954. (475).

L'auteur s'attache aussi aux idées de saint Ambroise et de saint Augustin par qui la morale de l'Eglise s'assimila les doctrines du stoïcisme et du néoplatonisme.

1454. FOURURE (G.), Malheur et Châtiment. Histoire d'une Controverse et Réflexions théologiques. Thèse de doctorat en théol. morale, Fac. de Théologie de Lille, 1955. (655). [Polycop.].

Cf. *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 12 (1955), 211-212. Une petite partie est consacrée à la doctrine des Pères. Le jansénisme ne peut s'abriter derrière l'autorité de saint Augustin.

1455. GALÁN Y GUTIÉRREZ (E.), Jus naturae. (Lecciones de cátedra). Valladolid, Meseta, 1954. (XVI-652).

Histoire des théories du droit naturel depuis l'antiquité grecque jusqu'au XVI^e siècle espagnol. Un long chapitre est consacré à saint Augustin: la transcendance de la loi éternelle, l'immutabilité de la loi naturelle et la variabilité nécessaire de la loi positive.

1456. GALLAY (Jacques), Dilige et quod vis fac. Notes d'exégèse augustinienne. — *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955), 545-555.

L'axiome de saint Augustin est une justification des mesures de répression contre les Donatistes. La charité doit aller parfois jusqu'à la rigueur. Mais l'immanence de l'amour fraternel donne au chrétien une souveraine aisance dans l'action.

1457. GALLAY (Jacques), La Conscience de la Charité Fraternelle d'après les « Tractatus in Primam Joannis » de saint Augustin. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 1-20.

Comment reconnaître la vraie charité ? Les œuvres constituent un critique équivoque. C'est l'attitude intérieure qui inspire les œuvres. Si nous trouvons la charité dans notre cœur, nous pouvons être en sécurité et avoir confiance, car elle est présence en nous du Saint-Esprit. Cette confiance, fruit de la charité, n'est pas à identifier avec la confiance — foi de Luther.

1458. GARCÍA TUDURÍ (Mercedes), Ideas pedagógicas de San Agustín. — *Noverim* 1 (1955), 55-64.

1459. GAUTHIER (R.-A.), Magnanimité, l'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne. (Bibliothèque thomiste XXVIII). Paris, J. Vrin, 1951. (522).

Traite également de saint Augustin. Pour le contenu, voir *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 444-445.

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1480. VANWORMER (Giles), St. Augustine on Friendship. — *Cross and Crown* 7 (1955), 422-436.

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Les organismes vivants se développent à partir d'éléments préexistants. Pour saint Thomas, les organismes doivent leur existence à une intervention extérieure sur une semence sans vie. Pour saint Augustin, ils la doivent à un développement interne, de semences vivantes, activé et dirigé par la force de la raison séminale qui préexiste dans la semence. A la suite d'une substitution aristotélicienne à la signification originale de raison séminale, l'originalité propre de la doctrine d'Augustin tomba dans l'oubli.

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1515. Fortin (Ernest), Saint Augustin et la doctrine néoplatonicienne de l'âme (Ep. 137, 11). — Augustinus Magister III, 371-380. Paris, 1955.

1516. Fortin (Ernest), La structure des traités de l'âme à la fin de l'antiquité : une tradition scolaire. Mémoire présenté à l'Université de la Sorbonne. Paris, 1955.

1517. Gonzalo Casas (Manuel), Dios y el alma en la Filosofía de San Agustín. — *Revista de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* (Tucumán) 4 (1955), 151-163.

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1521. Riesco (Gabriel), El hombre en San Agustín. Madrid, Edic. Religión y Cultura, 1955. (266).

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1527. STEFANINI (Luigi), Il problema della persona in S. Agostino e nel pensiero contemporaneo. (Relazione tenuta al Congresso Nazionale Agostiniano, svoltosi in Roma nei giorni 20-23 ottobre 1954). — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 55-68.

Pour saint Augustin, la raison ne se pose jamais dans l'abstrait, sans se personnifier dans l'acte de pensée spirituelle. La personne non plus n'est jamais posée en dehors du verbe mental dans lequel elle se possède. Ainsi l'on trouve le fondement du réalisme chrétien selon lequel l'« Idée » en se réalisant en Dieu et dans l'homme, fonde le caractère substantiel de l'être personnel.

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La mémoire retient, selon saint Augustin, le glissement vers le rien. En elle, le passé reste présent par la réviviscence; l'avenir est déjà réel par l'attente et le projet. Quant au présent, par l'attention où l'âme se fixe, il fait l'unité de ce qui passe, de sorte que les événements successifs participent, dans la mémoire, à la stabilité de l'âme, qui est à son tour une participation à l'éternité.

1539. MULLIGAN (Robert W.), Ratio superior and ratio inferior : the historical background. — *New Scholasticism* 29 (1955), 1-32.

1540. MUÑOZ ALONSO (Adolfo), El conocimiento sensible en la doctrina de San Agustín. — *Revista de Filosofía* 14 (1955), 33-49.

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1542. NOGUEZ (L.), L'ascension vers Dieu selon saint Augustin. — *Divus Thomas* (Plac.) 58 (1955), 181-182.

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1543. PINA (António Ambrósio DE), Teoria Augustiniana do conhecimento. — *Filosofia* (Lisboa) 2 (1955), 111-116.

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1545. THONNARD (François-Joseph), Science et sagesse dans la « Cité de Dieu ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 511-524. (Resumen en español, 524-525).

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Cité terrestre, Temps et Théologie de l'histoire

1546. ARQUILLÈRE (Henri-Xavier), L'Augustinisme politique. Essai sur la formation des théories politiques du moyen âge. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Paris, J. Vrin, 1955. (208).

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1548. BREZZI (Paolo), Il carattere ed il significato della storia nel pensiero di S. Agostino. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* I (1955), 149-160. Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 159-173. Napoli, 1955.

L'intérêt primordial de saint Augustin se portait à éclairer le sens de l'histoire, le pourquoi du temps. A ce propos, on ne peut pas dire qu'il était pessimiste. Il y découvrit une valeur positive: la construction d'une réalité qui resterait pour l'éternité. Cela n'est possible que parce que le Christ est entré dans l'histoire et lui a conféré une valeur supérieure.

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1550. FERRABINO (Aldo), Le vie della storia. Firenze, Sansoni, 1955. (234).

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1551. FLÓREZ (Ramiro), Temporalidad y tiempo en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 169-185.

1552. GIANCOLA (L.), Giustificazione del potere nell' umanesimo politico di S. Tommaso d'Aquino. (Collana di studi sociali 4). Roma, A. Belardetti, 1952. (X-175).

De la page 17 à la page 60, l'auteur traite le problème de l'origine du pouvoir dans l'*Epître aux Romains*, chez saint Augustin, Suarez et les scolastiques.

1553. HARDY (Edward R., Jr.), The City of God. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 257-283. New York, 1955.

1554. IVÁNKA (Endre VON), Römische Ideologie in der « Civitas Dei ». — Augustinus Magister III, 411-417. Paris, 1955.

1555. LAURAS (Antoine), Deux cités, Jérusalem et Babylone. Formation et évolution d'un thème central du « De Civitate Dei ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 117-150. (Resumen en español, 151-152).

1556. MARIANI (Ugo), Lo stato nella concezione di S. Agostino. — Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 175-190. Napoli, 1955.

1557. MARROU (Henri-Irénée), La théologie de l'histoire. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 193-212. Paris, 1955.

1558. OBERSTEINER (Jakob), Augustins « Civitas Dei » und die Geschichtstheologie der Bibel. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 313-350. (Resumen en español, 350-352).

1559. PARKER (Thomas M.), Christianity and the State in the Light of History. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1955. (VIII-178).

1560. RIESCO (Gabriel), San Agustín, padre de la filosofía de la historia. — *Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana* 20 (1954), 3-12.

1561. RUBY (J. E.), The Ambivalence of St. Thomas Aquinas' View of the Relationship of Divine Law to Human Law. — *The Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955), 101-128.

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1562. SARAIVA (M. M.), O tempo e a história em Santo Agostinho. — *Filosofia* (Lisboa) 2 (1955), 1-19.

1563. SCARPELLINI (Costante), Logica della storia in S. Agostino. — *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 47 (1955), 257-259.

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1564. SCHMIDT (Martin Anton), Augustins « Bürgerschaft Gottes ». (Akademischer Vortrag, gehalten am 30. November 1954 in der Universität Basel). — *Theologische Zeitschrift* 11 (1955), 45-67.

La théologie politique de saint Augustin telle qu'elle se dégage du *De Civitate Dei*.

1565. SCIACCA (Michele Federico), Il concetto di storia in S. Agostino. Il suo culmine nei due amori della « Città di Dio ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 187-204. (Resumen en español, 205-206).

1566. SPÖRL (J.), Augustinus, Schöpfer einer Staatslehre ? — *Historisches Jahrbuch* 74 (1955), 62-78.

1567. STRAUB (Johannes), Die geschichtliche Stunde des hl. Augustinus. Heilsgeschehen und Weltgeschichte in dem « Gottesstaate ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 571-587. (Resumen en español, 587-588).

1568. WYTZES (J.), Augustinus en Rome (II). — *Hermeneus* 26 (1954), 68-73.

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V. SOURCES ET RELATIONS

1570. ALAND (Kurt), Augustin und der Montanismus. — Augustinus Magister III, 339-355. Paris, 1955.

1571. ARNALDI (Francesco), Sant' Agostino nella storia della cultura antica. — Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 37-44. Napoli, 1955.

1572. BOLGAR (R. R.), The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries. Cambridge, University Press, 1594. (VIII-592).

Au chapitre premier, l'auteur s'occupe de l'attitude d'un Clément d'Alexandrie, d'un Tertullien, d'un Jérôme, d'un Augustin et d'un Basile envers les écrits classiques.

1573. CANOVA (Elena), Tracee dei commenti ambrosiani al « De Paradiso », « De Cain et Abel », « De Noe » in S. Agostino. Thèse de doctorat, Fac. des Lettres de Torino, 1955.

1574. CASAMASSA (Antonio), Le fonti della filosofia di S. Agostino. — Scritti Patristici, Vol. I, 175-184. Lateranum, Nova Series an. XXI, n. 1-4. Romae, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1955.

Réimpression de l'article déjà paru dans les Acta hebdomadae Augustinianae Thomisticae, Torino, 1931, 88-96.

1575. CHIRAT (Henri), Augustin et la patristique grecque. (Compte rendu de la séance du 17 décembre 1954. Groupe strasbourgeois). — *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 76-77.

1576. GÓMEZ (I.), El perdido comentario de Ticonio al Apocalipsis. — Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach. (Scripta et Documenta I), 387-412. Montserrat, 1953.

1577. GONZÁLEZ (José Ignacio), San Agustín y la crisis de la cultura antigua. — *Univ. de Antioquia* (Medellín) 30 (1954), 594-602.

1578. GROSS (J.), Theodor von Mopsuestia, ein Gegner der Erbsündenlehre. — *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1953-1954), 1-15.

Comme tous les Pères grecs, Théodore n'a pas admis la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel.

1579. JONKERS (E. J.), Acta et symbola conciliorum quae saeculo

quarto habita sunt. (Textus minores in usum academicum editi, 19). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954. (140).

A l'usage de l'enseignement supérieur. L'auteur ne donne pas de nouveau texte critique, mais simplement un guide pratique pour étudiants.

1580. Martínez Morán (Felipe), El espíritu virgiliano en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 433-457.

1581. Pellegrino (Michele), Le problème des sources. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 51-63. Paris, 1955.

1582. Quacquarelli (Antonio), La concezione della storia nei Padri prima di Sant' Agostino. Parte Prima. Roma, Ediz. Scientifiche Romane, 1955. (199).

Justin, Tertullien, Minucius Felix, Lactance, Jérôme, Tychonius, Irénée, Cyprien et Ambroise. [G. di Napoli: *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 47 (1955), 275-276. G. de Plinval: *Latomus* 14 (1955), 477-478. C. Schneider: *Gnomon* 28 (1956), 156-157].

1583. Russell (Robert), Some Ambrosian Influences in the Life and Teachings of St. Augustine. — *Scientia* 21 (1955), 105-113.

1584. Vaz de Carvalho (J.), Dependerá S. Agostinho de Paulo Orósio ? — *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955), 142-153.

Voir aussi les n^{os} 1225. 1239. 1253. 1286. 1308. 1334. 1353. 1369. 1372. 1374. 1375. 1410. 1429. 1464. 1544. 1627.

En ce qui concerne le Donatisme, consultez les n^{os} 1296. 1324. 1373. 1456. 1464.

Néoplatonisme

1585. Geourgoules (C.), Ἡ παρ' Αὐγουστίνῳ τριὰς esse-intelligere-vivere καὶ αἱ ἑλληνικαὶ τῆς πηγαί. — *Platon* 6 (1954), 341-349.

Recherche sur les origines aristotéliciennes et néoplatoniciennes de l'association de ces trois concepts chez saint Augustin.

1586. Pincherle (Alberto), Les sources platoniciennes de l'augustinisme. (Rapport et discussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 71-102. Paris, 1955.

1587. Trouillard (Jean), La procession plotinienne. (Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine). Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. (103).

1588. Trouillard (Jean), La purification plotinienne. (Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine). Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. (245).

Voir également les n^{os} 1212. 1438. 1444. 1453. 1494. 1515. 1539.

Manichéisme

1589. CILLERUELO (Lope), La oculta presencia del maniqueísmo en la « Ciudad de Dios ». — *La Ciudad de Dios* 167 (1955), 475-509.

1590. COURCELLE (Pierre), Saint Augustin manichéen à Milan ? — *Orpheus* 1 (1954), 81-83.

Sans être manichéen au sens strict, Augustin ne s'était pas encore débarrassé de la tournure d'esprit manichéenne.

1591. GRONDIJS (L. H.), Analyse du manichéisme numidien au IV^e^ siècle. — Augustinus Magister III, 391-410. Paris, 1955.

Voir encore les n^os^ 1297. 1366.

Pélagianisme

1592. CHADWICK (Nora K.), Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul. London, Bowes and Bowes, 1955. (342).

Traite de tous les grands personnages de la Gaule du V^e^ siècle. L'auteur donne également un tableau du pélagianisme et des réactions de saint Augustin.

1593. CHÉNÉ (Jean), Le semipélagianisme du midi de la Gaule d'après les lettres de Prosper d'Aquitaine et d'Hilaire à saint Augustin. — *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955), 321-341.

Les deux groupes d'opposants à saint Augustin comprennent d'une part les antiaugustiniens qui protestent contre une conception trop rigide de la prédestination et d'autre part les semipélagiens, dont l'erreur dépasse celle leur attribuée aujourd'hui. Ils entendaient par *initium fidei* le pouvoir même de croire.

Voir pareillement les n^os^ 1312. 1324. 1332. 1333.

VI. INFLUENCE ET SURVIE

1594. BENDISCIOLI (Mario), L'agostinismo dei riformatori protestanti. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 203-224. Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 227-257. Napoli, 1955.

Il existait dans la théologie médiévale une doctrine scolastique augustinienne, cultivée dans les écoles de l'Ordre des Ermites de saint Augustin en référence spéciale aux problèmes de la nature déchue et de la grâce. L'augustinisme des Réformateurs (Luther, Calvin, les confessions de foi luthériennes) est un augustinisme unilatéral qui n'offre pas toute la richesse de la doctrine de saint Augustin.

1595. Bonifacio (E.), Gilberto di Tournai : De modo addiscendi. Introduzione e testo inedito. (Pubblicazioni del Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano, I : Testi e Studi sul pensiero medioevale, 1). Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1953. (320).

Ses sources principales sont: Cicéron, Sénèque, saint Jérôme et saint Augustin.

1596. Cilleruelo (Lope), Influencia de San Agustín en la espiritualidad cristiana hasta la Edad Media. — *Revista de Espiritualidad* 14 (1955), 125-155.

1597. Courcelle (Pierre), A propos du titre « Augustinus Magister ». Le « maître » Augustin. — Augustinus Magister III, 9-11. Paris, 1955.

1598. Delhaye (Ph.), Florilegium morale Oxoniense. Ms. Bodl. 633. Prima pars : Flores Philosophorum. Texte publié et commenté. (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 5). Louvain, E. Nauwelaerts, 1955. (130).

L'auteur confronte les idées de ce florilège anonyme avec celles de Pierre Abélard, Jean de Salisbury, saint Augustin, Platon et Cicéron.

1599. Desjardins (R.), Iconographie de l'Ascension au portail sud de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse. — *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 56 (1955), 180-182.

La place centrale est occupée, non par Marie, mais par la clef de saint Pierre. On est passé de Marie, symbole de l'Eglise, à Pierre qui personnifie l'Eglise. Doit-on voir ici l'influence de saint Augustin (*Serm.* 295, 2) ou le désir des chanoines de rendre hommage à la papauté ?

1600. Domínguez - Del Val (Ursicino), Eutropio de Valencia y sus fuentes de información. — *Revista Española de Teología* 14 (1954), 369-392.

Ses sources: la Bible et saint Augustin.

1601. Foerster (Friedrich Wilhelm), Erlebte Weltgeschichte 1869-1953. Memoiren. Nürnberg, Glock und Lutz, 1953. (725).

Influence de saint Augustin sur la conversion de Foerster, pp. 162-164.

1602. Fortin (Ernest), Christianisme et culture philosophique en Gaule au V^e^ siècle. Le « De statu animae » de Claudien Mamert. Thèse de doctorat présentée à l'Université de la Sorbonne. Paris, 1955.

1603. Giovanni (Giuseppe de), L'attualità di S. Agostino. — Augustiniana. Napoli a S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della nascita, 259-270. Napoli, 1955.

1604. Guitton (Jean), Actualité de saint Augustin. Paris, B. Grasset, 1955. (153).

L'auteur traite de l'influence augustinienne, latente ou directe, sur Freud, Proust, Gide, Sartre, Hegel, Newman et de la situation de saint Augustin dans l'histoire de l'Europe.

1605. HERVÉ DE L'INCARNATION (P.), La grâce dans l'œuvre de S. Léon le Grand. — *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 22 (1955), 17-55. 193-212.

Recherche sur le sort de l'enseignement de saint Augustin sur la grâce et la prédestination au cours des décades qui suivirent la mort de l'évêque d'Hippone.

1606. HIRSCH (Emmanuel), Lutherstudien. Tome I. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1954. (232).

Concernant le traitement pastoral des consciences, l'auteur étudie saint Augustin, saint Bernard, saint Bonaventure, Gerson et Tauler.

1607. HONAN (Ugo), Agostino, Tommaso, Rosmini. (Collana di Studi filosofici Rosminiani, T. VI). Milano-Domodossola, Sodalitas, 1955. (165).

1608. HUNT (R. W.), Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste. — *The Bodleian Library Record* 4 (1953), 241-255.

Les sigles employés par Grosseteste attestent l'intérêt des études de Grosseteste et d'Adam Marsh pour la lecture de l'Ecriture et des Pères, spécialement de saint Augustin.

1609. IZU (Sofronio), San Agustín y los tiempos presentes. Logroño, Editorial « Ochoa », 1955. (160).

[J. OROZ: *Augustinus* I (1956), 641].

1610. LEFÈVRE (Y.), L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires. Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au moyen âge. (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 180). Paris, E. de Boccard, 1954. (543).

Parmi les sources de cette sorte de catéchisme médiéval, saint Augustin, saint Grégoire et saint Jérôme viennent au premier rang.

1611. MADOZ (José), Los Excerpta Vincentii Lirinensis en la controversia adopcionista. — *Revista Española de Teología* 13 (1953), 475-483.

Les textes attribués à Elipandus, archevêque de Tolède, dérivent directement de la somme augustinienne que constituent les *Excerpta* de Vincent de Lérins.

1612. MAGALHÂES (A. DE), A actualidade de Santo Agostinho. — *Brotéria* (Lisboa) 60 (1955), 5-14.

1613. MATHON (Gérard), L'utilisation des textes de saint Augustin par Jean Scot Erigène dans son « De Predestinatione ». — Augustinus Magister III, 419-428. Paris, 1955.

1614. MORSE (J. M.), Alcuin on Signs. — *Classical Philology* 49 (1954), 253-254.

Influence de saint Augustin (*De Magistro* VIII, 22-24).

1615. MORSE (J. M.), Augustine, Ayenbite and Ulysses. — *Modern Language Association of America Publications* 70 (1955), 1143-1159.

1616. PARENT (J.-M.), La signification du Credere in Deum chez saint Thomas. — *Etudes et Recherches* 9 (1955), 149-154.

Interprétation thomiste de la formule augustinienne.

1617. PEMÁN (José María), El Agustinismo del pensamiento contemporáneo. Madrid, Ateneo, 1955. (49).

1618. RIESCO (Gabriel), Mensaje actual de San Agustín. Buenos Aires, Editorial Poblet, 1954. (78).

1619. ROHOF (J.), La sainteté substantielle du Christ dans la Théologie scolastique. Histoire du problème. (Studia Friburgensia, nouv. sér. 5). Fribourg (S.), Editions S. Paul, 1952. (XV-129).

1620. SANDERLIN (G.), St. Augustine and the twentieth Century. — *The Classical Journal* 49 (1953-1954), 132-135.

1621. SIMONE (Ludovico DE), S. Agostino e l'agostinismo medievale. — *Sapienza* 8 (1955), 5-17.

1622. TALBOT (C. H.), Ailred of Rievaux : De anima. Edited. (Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Supplement 1). London, Warburg Institute, 1952. (164).

Dans une longue introduction, T. démontre que cet ouvrage est une synthèse de la doctrine augustinienne. Ses sources sont: l'Ecriture, saint Augustin, saint Bernard et les recueils contemporains de Sentences.

1623. THONNARD (François-Joseph), Saint Augustin et les Grands Courants de la Philosophie Contemporaine. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 69-80.

On observe deux courants dans la philosophie contemporaine: un courant scientifique et un courant préoccupé de l'existence et de l'esprit. En ce dernier, l'influence augustinienne est principalement manifeste: Sciacca, Lavelle, Stefaníni, Le Senne, Scheler, Heidegger, Jaspers, Kierkegaard, Fabro et Carlini.

1624. VEGA (Angel Custodio), El retorno a San Agustín y la idea de una Filosofía Nueva. — *Revista de Filosofía* 14 (1955), 51-121.

1625. VIGNAUX (Paul), Influence augustinienne. (Rapport et discuscussion). — Augustinus Magister III, 265-273. Paris, 1955.

1626. WILLIAMS (Daniel D.), The Significance of St. Augustine To-

day. — A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, 3-14. New York, 1955.

Voir pareillement les n^{os} 1210. 1238. 1244. 1267. 1303. 1319. 1342. 1346. 1347. 1349. 1352. 1359. 1364. 1391. 1395. 1414. 1415. 1424. 1425. 1428. 1454. 1463. 1465. 1473. 1474. 1475. 1481. 1483. 1501. 1502. 1507. 1516. 1527. 1546. 1547. 1549. 1552. 1561.

VII. AFRIQUE DU NORD

1627. BARDY (Gustave), Conciles d'Hippone au temps de saint Augustin. — *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 441-458.

1628. BRISSON (Jean-Paul), Autonomisme et christianisme dans la province d'Afrique de Septime-Sévère à l'invasion vandale. Thèse de doctorat ès lettres. (non dép.). Paris, Sorbonne, 1955.

1629. COURTOIS (Christian), Les Vandales et l'Afrique du Nord. (Thèse de doctorat). Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, Service des Antiquités. Paris, Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1955. (455, 12 pl., 23 fig.).

[M. Aubert: *Bulletin Monumental* 113 (1955), 140-141. R. Lantier: *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 475-477].

1630. COURTOIS (Christian), Victor de Vita et son œuvre. Alger, Imprimerie Officielle du Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, Service des Antiquités, 1954. (112).

1631. FREND (William H. C.), North Africa and Europe in the Early Middle Ages. — *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1955), 66-80 et carte.

1632. LEGLAY (Marcel), L'archéologie Algérienne en 1954. — *Libyca* (Série Archéologie et Epigraphie) 3 (1955), 183-206.

1633. LUIKS (Albert Gerard), Cathedra en mensa. De plaats van preekstoel en Avondmaalstafel in het oudchristelijk kerkgebouw volgens de opgravingen in Noord Afrika. (Dissertatie aan de Vrije Univ. te Amsterdam). Franeker, T. Wever, 1955. (182. geïllustr. 2 uitsl. blz.).

Dissertation sur la place de la cathèdre et de la table eucharistique dans les anciennes églises d'après les fouilles entreprises en Afrique du Nord. [E. Hendrikx: *Het Schild* 33 (1956), 89-95].

1634. MAREC (Erwan), Epitaphe chrétienne d'époque byzantine trouvée aux environs d'Hippone. — *Libyca* (Série Archéologie et Epigraphie) 3 (1955), 163-166.

1635. MAZARD (J.), Corpus nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque. Paris, Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1955. (233. 28 pl.).

1636. PALLASSE (M.), Les « Tablettes Albertini » intéressent-elles le colonat romain du Bas-Empire ? — *Revue Historique de Droit français et étranger* 33 (1955), 267-281.

1637. PERLER (Othmar), L'église principale et les autres sanctuaires chrétiens d'Hippone-la-Royale d'après les textes de saint Augustin. — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 1 (1955), 299-343.

Dans cet article, l'auteur avait conclu que l'on pourrait identifier avec probabilité la basilique de saint Léonce avec l'Ancienne Eglise et la basilique de la Paix avec la basilique Majeure. Quant à la basilique donatiste, il n'est pas prouvé par les textes qu'elle se trouvait à proximité de l'église catholique. Comme l'auteur me l'a fait savoir, il reprendra à base de nouvelles découvertes cette question pour établir que la basilique de Léonce est à identifier avec la basilique Majeure.

1638. RICHÉ (Pierre), Les invasions barbares. (Que sais-je ? Fasc. 556). Paris, Presses universitaires, 1953. (128).

1639. SALIN (E.) - CHOUX (J.), Une survivance romaine en matière de bornage à l'époque mérovingienne en Lorraine. — *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques* 1946-1949 [1953], 815-820.

Le fait d'une grosse pierre reposant sur un épais lit de cendres provenant d'un sacrifice, est déjà signalé par saint Augustin (*De Civitate Dei* XXI, 4, 3).

Voir aussi les n^os^ 1223. 1231. 1289. 1385.

VIII. COMPTES RENDUS D'OUVRAGES PARUS AVANT 1955

AMARI (Giuseppe), Il concetto di storia in Sant' Agostino. 1951. [F. Díaz de Cerio: *Razon y Fe* 151 (1955), 319-320]. Voir les n^os^ 1563 et 61.

AUGUSTINIANA. Sexto decimo exacto saeculo a die natali S. Aurelii Augustini. Fasc. 3-4, 1954. [L. Renwart: *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 77 (1955), 983-984. R. Lorenz: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 81 (1956), 167-169].

AUGUSTINUS. Groningen, 1954. [E. v. E.: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 50 (1955), 1113-1114. P. Smulders: *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 428]. Voir n° 708.

AUGUSTINUS MAGISTER I-II. Paris, 1954. [M. D. P.: *Rivista Critica di Storia della Filosofia* 9 (1954), 530-531. G. G. Meersseman: *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 2 (1955), 245-247. G. Widmer: *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 5 (1955), 65. O. R.: *Irénikon* 28 (1955), 117-118. A. Solignac: *Archives de Philosophie* 19 (1955-1956), 88-115. (Analyse détaillée des travaux philologiques et philosophiques du récent Congrès]. Voir n° 704.

BAVEL (Tarsicius J. van), Recherches sur la Christologie de saint Augustin. 1954. [H.-I. Marrou: *Revue des Etudes Latines* 33 (1955), 427-429. J. Burnaby: *The*

Journal of Theological Studies 6 (1955), 299-301. E. Evans: *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 547-549. J. Barbel: *Theologische Revue* 51 (1955), 158-159. J. Galot: *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 77 (1955), 982-983. P. Smulders: *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 429-430. A. A(mpe): *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 29 (1955), 430-431. H. Diepen: *Speculator* 4 (1955), 59-60. O. García de la Fuente: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 142-148. J.-G. Préaux: *Latomus* 15 (1956), 263. Chr. Mohrmann: *Vigiliae Christianae* 10 (1956), 57-60. G.: *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 78 (1956), 129. A. Grillmeier: *Scholastik* 31 (1956), 261-263]. Voir les nos 1198 et 914.

BLAISE (Albert), Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens. 1954. [B. Botte: *Revue Bénédictine* 65 (1955), 266-270]. Voir n° 769.

BOYER (Charles), Christianisme et Néo-platonisme dans la formation de saint Augustin. 1953. [E. Boularand: *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 55 (1954), 118. L. Sartori: *Studia Patavina* 1 (1954), 129-130. B. M. Xiberta: *Revista Española de Teología* 14 (1954), 450-452. A Solignac: *Archives de Philosophie* 19 (1955-1956), 140-141]. Voir n° 582.

CAPÁNAGA (Victorino), San Agustín. 1954. [A. Baños: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 227. A. López Navarro: *Crisis* 2 (1955), 128. A. López Navarro: *Augustinus* 1 (1956), 123-124. R. Flórez: *Religión y Cultura* 1 (1956), 340]. Voir n° 716.

CATURELLI (Alberto), La doctrina Agustiniana sobre el maestro. 1954. [S. Alvarez Turienzo: *La Ciudad de Dios* 70 (1954), 438-439. L. Craveiro: *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955), 210]. Voir n° 1053.

CAYRÉ (Fulbert), Dieu présent dans la vie de l'esprit. 1951. [J. I.: *Razon y Fe* 148 (1953), 405. A. Martins Pinheiro: *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 10 (1954), 330-331]. Voir les nos 1542 et 219.

CAYRÉ (Fulbert), La contemplation augustinienne. 1954. [L. Craveiro: *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955), 209-210. A. Vandenbunder: *Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses* 1 (1955), 135. S. Alvarez Turienzo: *La Ciudad de Dios* 71 (1955), 407-409. P. Courcelle: *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 57 (1955), 420-421]. Voir n° 868.

DIESNER (Hans-Joachim), Studien zur Gesellschaftslehre und sozialen Haltung Augustins. 1954. [P. Nober: *Verbum Domini* 34 (1956), 189. W. H. C. Frend: *The Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1956), 139-141. R. Lorenz: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 81 (1956), 45-47]. Voir n° 1075.

DORENKEMPER (Mark), The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles. 1953. [T. van Bavel: *Augustiniana* 5 (1955), 319-320]. Voir n° 1132.

DURKIN (Eugene F.), The Theological Distinction of Sins in the Writings of St. Augustine. 1952. [L. Macali: *Miscellanea Francescana* 53 (1953), 513-514. P. Smulders: *Bijdragen* 16 (1955), 92-93. L. B. G.: *Angelicum* 32 (1955), 192]. Voir n° 597.

ETUDES AUGUSTINIENNES. 1953. [J. Bésineau: *Sciences Ecclésiastiques* 6 (1954), 182. P. J. Sily: *Ciencia y Fe* 10 (1954), 105-107. L. Craveiro: *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955), 208-209. L. Malevez: *Nouvelle Revue Téologique* 77 (1955), 983]. Voir n° 598.

EVANS (Ernest), Saint Augustine's Enchiridion. 1953. [J. H. S. Burleigh: *The Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955), 223. C. S. C. Williams: *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955), 134-135]. Voir n° 555.

FEMIANO (Salvatore Beniamino), Riflessioni critiche sulla conversione di S. Agostino. 1951. [H. Bettini: *Antonianum* 30 (1955), 84-85]. Voir n° 141.

FREND (William H. C.), The Donatist Church. 1952. [S. L. Greenslade: *The Classical Review* 4 (1954), 154-156. A. Pincherle: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954), 138-139]. Voir n° 474.

FUCHS (Harald) - MÜLLER (Hans-Peter), Selbstgespräche über Gott und die Unsterblichkeit der Seele. 1954. [H.-I. Marrou: *L'Antiquité Classique* 24 (1955), 503-504]. Voir n° 797.

GILSON (Etienne), Les métamorphoses de la Cité de Dieu. 1952. [L. Febvre: *Annales, Economics, Sociétés, Civilisations* 9 (1954), 371-374. T. M. Garrett: *The New Scholasticism* 28 (1954), 491-493. D. Mulligan: *Philosophical Studies* 4 (1954), 103-104. D.: *La Ciencia Tomista* 81 (1954), 329. P. Hayoit: *Revue Diocésaine de Tournai* 10 (1955), 92]. Voir n° 402.

GRABOWSKI (Stanislaus J.), The All-present God. A Study in St. Augustine. 1954. [F. L. Roszály: *Classical Bulletin* 31 (1955), 47. J. A. Mara: *Theological Studies* 16 (1955), 455-458. A. H. Armstrong: *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955), 298-299. J. Oroz: *Augustinus* 1 (1956), 121-123. V. J. Bourke: *The Modern Schoolman* 33 (1956), 288]. Voir n° 609.

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Tarsicius van Bavel, O. E. S. A.

Recensiones

Evodius Braem et Norbertus Teeuwen, *Augustiniana Belgica Illustrata. Septimo exacto saeculo a Magna Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Unione MCCLVI-MCMLVI.* Institutum Historicum Augustinianum Lovanii, 1956. (207 pp., 150 planches, hors commerce. Texte néerlandais et français).

Augustiniana Belgica Illustrata représente un ouvrage scientifique et artistique de haute valeur, édité à l'occasion du septième centenaire de la Grande Union de l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin par les soins de l'Institutum Historicum Augustinianum de Louvain. Les auteurs donnent d'abord un aperçu historique général où ils retracent, à grands traits, l'histoire glorieuse de l'Ordre augustinien en Belgique depuis le siècle de la Grande Union, avant laquelle plusieurs cloîtres existaient déjà, jusqu'à nos jours. Par Grande Union,

on entend l'unification des différentes congrégations d'ermites de par la bulle *Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae* d'Alexandre IV. Dans la deuxième partie, consacrée aux principales fondations, ils nous parlent des couvents de Hasselt (1236), Louvain, Malines (1242), Bruges, Enghien (1255), Maastricht, Ypres (1263), Gand (1295), Tournai, Liège, Bruxelles (1589), Bouillon, Anvers (1608), Herenthals, Huy, Bouvignes, Tirlemont (1615), Termonde, Roulers, Brée et Binche (1727) le dernier en date. Le tout est illustré par de nombreuses — pas moins de 150 ! — planches. L'architecture, la sculpture et l'iconographie augustinienne ainsi que les sceaux constituent les chapitres III et IV. Après avoir donné une idée de l'état actuel des Augustins en Belgique, le volume s'achève sur une bibliographie intéressante. Quiconque porte intérêt à l'histoire fera connaissance avec cette œuvre. Nous la recommandons chaudement aussi à l'historien, à l'archiviste, au folkloriste et à l'architecte. Délices pour les yeux et régal pour l'esprit, ce livre est sorti des presses de l'imprimerie J. De Backer dont l'éloge ne peut être passé sous silence.

T. VAN BAVEL, O. E. S. A. et J.-M. BASILIDE, O. E. S. A.

P. IANUARIUS FERNANDEZ DE S. CORDE IESU O. R. S. A., *Bullarium Ordinis Recollectorum S. Augustini et Diplomatica officialis.* Vol. I (1570-1623). Romae, [Proc. Gen. O. R. S. A., Via Sistina 11], 1954. In-8°, XIV + 606 p.

Le P. Fernandez, auteur de l'ouvrage *De figura iuridica Ordinis Recollectorum S. Augustini* (Rome, 1938), a recueilli dans les archives romaines et espagnoles les nombreux documents officiels des deux premiers siècles de l'existence des Augustins Récollets d'Espagne. En quatre tomes, le compilateur veut publier, avec l'appareil critique nécessaire, cette riche collection de sources qui constituera sans aucun doute une importante contribution à l'histoire de la vie religieuse en Espagne. Dans le premier tome, il publie les documents de 1570 à 1623, lesquels éclairent de manière toute spéciale les origines et la première expansion des Récollets espagnols. Il ne se limite pas aux actes officiels du Saint-Siège (brefs pontificaux, décrets des Congrégations romaines, lettres des nonces en Espagne), mais il édite également les documents complémentaires sous le terme de *Diplomatica officialis,* parmi lesquels les actes des prieurs généraux, les suppliques adressées au Saint-Siège par les procureurs généraux, les lettres des rois catholiques et de leurs représentants à Rome. Il est manifeste que la publication de ces sources est d'une grande importance pour l'histoire de l'Ordre des Récollets de St. Augustin. Le bullaire sera, pour les historiens de cet Ordre, un instrument de travail indispensable ainsi que pour l'histoire de l'Ordre des Augustins en Espagne, spécialement de la province de Castille, une source très riche de renseignements. Le mouvement réformateur des Récollets naquit dans la province de Castille. La base juridique en fut

jetée au chapitre provincial de Tolède en 1588. Chargé par ce chapitre, l'augustin espagnol bien connu Fray Luis de León élabora les premières normes de vie des Récollets. L'édition des documents est très soignée. Il ne manque que la description diplomatique des chartes les plus importantes et de leurs sceaux. Il est regrettable que la qualité du papier employé ne réponde pas à la valeur éminente de cette édition. Nous tenons à louer les excellentes tables détaillées qui facilitent grandement la maniabilité de cet ouvrage. Nous espérons que les trois autres tomes paraîtront sans retard.

N. TEEUWEN, O. E. S. A.

Gregorii Ariminensis O. E. S. A. Super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum. Reprint of the 1522 Edition. (Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series No. 7. Ed. by E. M. Buytaert O. F. M.). Saint-Bonaventure (N. Y.), The Franciscan Institute ; Louvain, Nauwelaerts ; Paderborn, Ferd. Schöningh, 1955. In-8°, 654 p., $ 7.50.

Deze publikatie van het Sint-Bonaventura-Instituut is een anastatische herdruk van de grote uitgave, welke Augustinus van Montefalco O. E. S. A. in 1522 te Venetië op de persen van L. De Giunta liet verschijnen. De fotografische reproduktie, verzorgd door de uitgeverij Ferdinand Schöningh te Paderborn, is tot stand gekomen in samenwerking met de uitgevers van de bekende Cassiciacumreeks (*Studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order*, Vol. IV, American Series). De oorspronkelijke uitgave, die uit twee delen bestaat, heeft men tot één volume herleid. Daar het formaat eveneens verkleind werd, is de reproduktie vanuit praktisch oogpunt gezien een vooruitgang. Alleen is het jammer dat de leesbaarheid van de tekst eronder geleden heeft. Gedeeltelijk is dit ook te wijten aan het feit dat de fotografische reproduktie het lettertype enigszins te zwaar heeft weergegeven. De belangrijkheid van deze herdruk kan niet betwijfeld worden. Gregorius van Rimini is tot heden te weinig bestudeerd. Nochtans is hij een der voornaamste vertegenwoordigers van de augustijnse stroming uit de veertiende eeuw. Ofschoon leerling van Aegidius Romanus, wijkt hij in vele punten van zijn leermeester af. Meestal tracht hij zijn opvattingen met de leer van St. Augustinus te verbinden. Of hij op wijsgerig gebied werkelijk een der voornaamste baanbrekers van de nominalistische stroming is geweest, zoals tot nu toe algemeen aanvaard werd, wordt ernstig betwijfeld in een recente studie van D. Trapp over de augustijnse teologie van de veertiende eeuw (zie *Augustiniana*, VI (1956), p. 182 vv.). Hoewel wij zijn invloed hoofdzakelijk binnen de Augustijnenorde moeten situeren, is hij ook buiten de Orde tamelijk groot geweest. Deze uitgave stelt ons in staat dit nader te preciseren.

L. J. VAN DER LINDEN, O. E. S. A.

JOHN OF ST THOMAS, *Outlines of formal logic*. Translated from the Latin with an Introduction by Francis C. Wade. Milwaukee-Wisconsin, Marquette University Press, 1955, 136 p.

Le contenu de ce traité offre au lecteur un bon aperçu sur la logique formelle de la philosophie aristotélicienne-thomiste traditionnelle. Puisque celle-ci a conservé en majeure partie sa valeur, il va de soi que cette traduction a son utilité. Bien que la logique formelle soit plus importante que la matérielle, nous ne comprenons pas bien pourquoi cette traduction se limite à cette partie. L'aperçu très sommaire de la vie et des œuvres de l'auteur aurait pu franchement être omise. De grande importance toutefois sont les quelques remarques consacrées au rapport entre la logique traditionnelle et la logistique, surtout parce que la logistique est aujourd'hui en vogue.

L. J. VAN DER LINDEN, O. E. S. A.

SAINT AUGUSTIN, *Dialogues Philosophiques: Contre les Académiciens, Le Bonheur, De l'Ordre* (Traduction et notes de R. Jolivet) ; *Soliloques, L'Immortalité de l'Ame, La Grandeur de l'Ame* (Traduction et notes de P. de Labriolle) ; *Le Maître, Le Libre Arbitre, La Musique* (l. VI) (Traduction et notes de F.-J. Thonnard). Préface d'Etienne Gilson. (Bibliothèque Augustinienne). Paris-Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer, 1955, 17 × 11 cm., 749 p.

Comme le titre nous l'indique, nous ne devons pas nous attendre à avoir devant nous un nouvel ouvrage, mais bien une réédition de la traduction française des tomes 4-5-6-7 de la *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* déjà parus auparavant (le dernier n'y est qu'en partie). Nous estimons que la valeur de cette édition française est suffisamment connue. L'omission du texte latin ne sera certainement pas un grief grave pour le public auquel est destinée cette traduction. Mais nous doutons que le texte de ces dialogues philosophiques difficiles puisse être suffisamment compris sans les notes explicatives qui, cette fois, furent omises. L'édition est pourvue d'une préface par E. Gilson traitant du rôle actuel de la philosophie de saint Augustin, ainsi que d'une introduction tant soit peu plus étendue sur le complexe des Dialogues.

T. VAN BAVEL, O. E. S. A.

Josef HEMMERLE, *Archiv des ehemaligen Augustinerklosters München*. (Bayerische Archivinventare, Heft 4). München, Karl Zink Verlag, 1956, 20,5 × 14,5 cm., VIII + 179 p. DM 5.

Une bonne part des archives de l'ancien couvent des Augustins de Münich se trouvent maintenant aux *Hauptstaatsarchiv* et *Kreisarchiv* de Münich. Le diligent archiviste du *Hauptstaatsarchiv* de

Münich, l'éminent Dr. J. Hemmerle, nous en donne dans la série des *Bayerische Archivinventare* un remarquable inventaire. Dans l'introduction (p. I-VIII), l'auteur rapporte en un bref aperçu l'histoire de cet important couvent et trace les péripéties de ses archives, qui furent dispersées à l'époque de la Sécularisation. L'inventaire se divise en trois parties dont la première est la plus étendue et la plus importante. Elle comprend les régestes minutieux de 277 chartes datant de 1254 à 1785 (p. 1-122). Les archives conventuelles intègres comptaient pour le moins 897 chartes, mais il n'y en a que 277 de conservées à l'*Hauptstaatsarchiv* de Münich. Les mêmes archives conservent encore une série de 23 *Klosterliteralien* qui sont mentionnées dans la seconde partie de cet inventaire (p. 123). Douze de celles-ci proviennent des archives de la province augustinienne de Bavière (L 12-23). Elles étaient également conservées au couvent de Münich. Le fonds du *Kreisarchiv* est décrit dans la troisième partie (p. 124-136). Nous tenons à signaler à ce sujet le catalogue des manuscrits de l'ancienne bibliothèque conventuelle (1789). Des registres recherchés de personnes, lieux et matières (p. 137-177), terminent cet inventaire qui, indubitablement, fournira de précieux services.

N. Teeuwen, O. E. S. A.

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