

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—; *EM-POLI* = *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 Alania... anno domini M^oCCC^oXXXIII ».

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 Superiors 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 1334⁹⁾. 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 relics¹⁰⁾. 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 1331¹¹⁾. 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 Papiæ* 1 (Papiæ 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 lifetime¹²). 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 Capitulum 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 Henry's 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.* I. 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 continues²⁰⁾:

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 Henry²¹⁾ 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 Florence²³⁾. The note, entitled *Unde ordo heremitarum beati Augustini initium habuerit*, reads (f. 62^v):

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

What follows next in Henry's text²⁴⁾ 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 I. 54 f.; 61-66; 4, 34 f.; 80 f.

²³⁾ Cod. Plut. 90 sup. 48 (written shortly before June 12, 1470; cf. f. 63^v).

²⁴⁾ FRIEMAR I. 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 text²⁶⁾, 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 Milan³⁰⁾. 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 I. 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 I. 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 with 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. 9^r. 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 solemnitas et antiqua, stilo venusto more veterum compilata a quodam, qui Philippum se nominat, circa finem eiusdem legendae sic dicens: 'Elegant 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 above⁴⁵⁾. 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 quae-rebat 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 religiosas 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^o *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^o *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^o *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 Centumcellae⁴⁷⁾. The pope confirmed the grant in the following year⁴⁸⁾, 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 discussion⁴⁹⁾ 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^o, no. 323, f. 54 (ed. E. BERGER, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* [Bibl. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 2^e série] 1, Paris 1884, p. 57, no. 325).

⁴⁸⁾ « Iustis petentium », 30. Mart. 1244: Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1^o, 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 and 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

Quod evidenter patet ex tribus. Primo, quia in principio

Tractatus

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. Tercio, 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 flagrant, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu ipsa

capio 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 flagrant, 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 producantur, 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 innuntur, 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 emphatically⁵⁹) 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 1484⁶⁶). 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. Augustine⁶⁷). 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 wrote⁶⁸):

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 canoniorum 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 Spelonca », adding that he established a great number of other hermitages while occupying the office of Prior General « tempore... Alexandri III ⁷⁴⁾ anno MCLXXX^o » 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 III ».

⁷⁵⁾ F. 60^r. 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. 60^r. 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 *Vitas fratrum* 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 Faenza 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 Vrmaria 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. *Faenza*.

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 Aitutus 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 MCLXXX.

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 indiscriminately 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 place¹⁰⁷). 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. Augustine¹⁰⁸). Similar legends concerning the foundation of their Orders were told by medieval Franciscan and Dominican historians¹⁰⁹). Nor were Henry of Friemar¹¹⁰) and the Augustinian Hermits the only ones who discovered in Joachim of Flora their « prophet ». The same claim was made by the Franciscans¹¹¹) and the Dominicans¹¹²). 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 that 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 miracles¹⁴³). 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 follows¹⁴⁴):

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 *Vitas fratrum*, 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 from 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 Zanonini. 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 eye-witness, 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 « *lis 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 (HERRERA, *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 Lyonesse 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 registrarit (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 1912¹⁷¹). 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 1345¹⁷²), 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 impossibile 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: « Quantum [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 Alania, 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^oCCC^oXXXIII^o. 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^o 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 notitiam de praefatis. Scripsit Durandus de Aln. Quia nonnulli ignorant... ». 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^oXXXIII^o, 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 Almania, sacrae paginae professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M^oCCC^oIII^o » 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 Almaniam, sacrae theologiae dignissimum professorem, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M^oCCC^oXXXVIII, 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^oCCC^oXXX^o 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. Papiiani 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^oCCC^oXXXIII. 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.

10 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 eremite 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 per² *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
 30 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
 35 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.
 40 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
 45 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
 50 sanctum baptismum 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 Alipio 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 Mediolani 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 ultimatē 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 dicitur): 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.

5 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 descriptionem (?) 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

[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.

- 10 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 deformi-
15 mitatis 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
20 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
25 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 mundi V hic et deinceps Anselmum 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 Anselmum WM signat M iugem] ingentem A 28-29 domini M

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

35 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 carita-
 tem, quae caput animae, id est mentem, cooperit et praeservat
 a defectibus culpabilibus. Haec superius debet esse lata quoad
 40 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 in-
 centivis vitiorum. Sed iste clipeus signanter tenetur in dorso ad
 45 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
 50 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 pro-
 tenditur] protrahitur P designatur W significat A 32-33 perseverantia W
 34 in] ad PA 35 autem om. R cooperit 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 ra-
 tionabiliter videtur sanctus Augustinus assumpsisse W sumpsisse M 49-50
 propter multa om. M 51 Primo om. M 52 assumeret et om. M et doc-
 trinis om. M doctrinae P

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

55 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.

60 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, pau-
65 pertatis 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
70 tumultu 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
75 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... col-
laudarent 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 po-
tissime... 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
in¹] 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 ip-
semet M Augustinusmet PA beatus add. W 74 in om. P nono] libro add. W
in libro *Confessionum* nono M Adiunctus] inde add. A 75 ymptorum 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
80 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.
85 Quibus etiam regulam et modum vivendi tradidit, quam ipse tamquam in disciplina fidei iam proventus composuit: quod ex antiquis legendis non abbreviatis colligitur. Non autem hoc facere decuit, cum staret in Mediolano penes sanctum Simpli-
cianum, quia ibi existens tamquam in fide neophitus magis
90 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
95 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 re-
100 cessit 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 re-
cense (sic) W 96 ipse] beatus add. W 97 Augustinus om. P libro om. A
98 Et¹ om. WPA 100 Mediolanis W

ligitur. Nam certum est, quod tempore sui baptismi erat triginta
 105 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.

110 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 ardentem insistere desideraret, in quadam villa sil-
 115 vestri sibi horticellum dedit, ut sic ab hominum conversatione
 semotus in illo loco solitario quietius studio, orationi et contem-
 plationi 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,
 120 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 in-
 flammatus, et timens, ne sua persona in alio loco pro episcopo
 125 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 in² *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 Wale-
 rium M 112 Yponensem VRWMP Iponensem A Quo agnito A 113-114
 quod... desideraret *om.* M 114 consideraret P 115 orticellum *codd.* ho-
 minibus 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 Vale-
 rianus 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]
 praemittitur 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
5 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 coercionis nobis humanus oculus quam divinus inducit? Quomodo laudabiles eremitaе extra mundum nos esse credimus, si per vitia pra-
15 varum 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
20 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 pugnan-
25 dum 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 coercionis VRP cohabitationis WA 13 Quomodo] Quoniam W 14 eremita 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'] 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.

35 Primo quidem ex iure communi, in quo nulli ordini ascribitur titulus *Augustini* nisi huic soli, quamvis plures ordines suae regulae innituntur. Quod sic est videre. Nam ubicumque in iure fit mentio de canonicis regularibus vel de fratribus praedicatoribus aut de quibuscumque aliis regulam Augustini 40 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 45 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 50 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 inveniuntur A Quod... videre om. M ubique W 38 iure] communi add. RWMPA vel] et P de² 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... Extra² om. A 43-45 Extra² ... similibus iuris om. in interstitio P 44 praelatorum] privil. V et] item R religiosis] religione W 45 Religionum] libro VI^o 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 dicere² *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 et¹] 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 authenticæ, immo antonomastice appropriatus.

Patet etiam ex prædictis, 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.

85 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
90 eiusdem propositi collegit, ut patet ex tertio articulo auctoritate Possidii ; in quo etiam monasterio extra civitatem Hippo-
nensem beatus Augustinus creditur spiritum exhalasse et coram prædictis fratribus vigilantibus et orantibus feliciter obdormisse. Et hoc, prout audivi a quodam viro authentico, fuit in publico
95 consistorio coram sanctissimo patre domino Johanne XXII et omnibus cardinalibus declaratum, cui sententiæ etiam ipse dominus Johannes prædictus dicitur consensisse, inducens pro

78 etiam om. R nobis om. P assignatus] insignitus RWPA et add. WPA
79 immo] et add. R antonomastice] anthonomastice RA anthonomastice W
antonomastice P nobis add. P 81 Patet... prædictis] Rursus ex prædictis claret R
etiam] ergo P om. M 81-82 secundum... eremitis] tripliciter secundum tripli-
cem 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 civi-
tatem Hipponensem om. M Yponensem VPA Yponem R Yponam W 92
beatus] sanctus M exhalasse scripsimus exhalasse 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 con-
sistorio papæ Johannis 22 P 95 patre] papa M Johanne] papa add. R
XXII] vicesimo M 95-96 et aliis dominis cardinalibus omnibus W 96 om-
nibus] 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, prior et propriissimus R et proprius om. P est om. RWPA 100 prius om. A quam servamus om. M quam²] 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] requirit 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 ordo² 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 sollemnitate 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
120 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 habi-
125 tantes, 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 gene-
130 ralis in eremo remanentibus, muniens eos privilegiis et gratiis
tali statui congruentibus. In qua quidem visione beatus Augus-
tinus aperte ostendit se esse verum caput et verum patrem huius
ordinis et per consequens ipsos fratres esse veros filios et vera
membra ipsius.

135 Praedictum autem ordinem fratrum eremitarum dominus
Gregorius papa IX confirmavit anno domini millesimo ducente-
simo 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
140 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 prae-
dicti 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 verum¹] horum P caput et verum om. W verum² om. P 133
filios] suos add. W 133-134 veros esse suos filios et membra eius P 135 fra-
trum 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, 145 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 150 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 155 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 160 episcopus ordinatus; in quo etiam loco tunc potissime manere solebat, quando praedicationi et doctrinae salutare insistere volebat.

Hoc idem patet tertio ex gestis sanctissimi patris et domini 165 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 sole-
bat] 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 genera-
 latus sui officii sacro approbante collegio dominorum cardinalium
 locum et custodiam venerabilis corporis sanctissimi patris et
 patroni nostri beati Augustini in perpetuum nostro ordini com-
 170 mendavit, 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 militan-
 tibus uniretur ». Ex quo patet evidenter, quod sancta mater
 175 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,
 180 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 con-
 versionis nostrum habitum assumpserit personaliter et portaverit,
 5 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 Guillelmi A 167 approbante... cardinalium] appro-
 bante consilio cardinalium ac toto consistorio P dominorum om. R 168 ve-
 nerabilis 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 recog-
 noscit om. A huius] dicti P 177 eius²] 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 elicetur videlicet R Prima veritas est W 4 assumpsit
 P portavit WP 5 per] beatum add. W Quod] Et P 7 et² om. P
 8 innitebatur P octavo] libro add. W 9 ipse om. P dicit] ait P

10 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 15 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 20 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 25 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 30 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 35 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 mo-
 nasterium] 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
 40 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
 45 *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
 50 et per consequens citius praecipitentur, 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,
 55 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 ex¹ 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 a¹] maxime a M et A a²] 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

60 qui loquens contra manichaeos, qui propter aliquorum christia-
 norum defectibilitatem totam communitatem fidelium calumnia-
 bantur, 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 tem-
 65 porum intervalla confertur, et aqua contenti terras desertissimas
 incolunt, perfruentes colloquio divino, cui puris mentibus in-
 haeserunt, et eius pulchritudinis contemplatione beatissimi sunt ?
 Videntur enim nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteat dese-
 ruisse, non intelligentibus, quantum nobis eorum devotio in ora-
 70 tione 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 flagrantés,
 ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili con-
 temptu etiam ipsa solitudo delectet. Ieiunia quoque prorsus in-
 75 credibilia 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 sae-
 pissime ducere sine cibo et potu ».

Et quia virtute radicis rami in longum et altum naturaliter
 80 producantur, ideo virtute sanctitatis talium patrum, qui fuerunt
 sanctitatis eximiae et nostri ordinis primarii fundatores, verisi-
 militer 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 qui¹⁾ 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 fra-
 grantes 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 creden-
 dum add. R et om. P 83 copiosa] divina W 83-84 quod utique... reve-
 latum] sicut beato Joachim abbati in spiritu revelatum est M

85 in *expositione super apocalypsim* sic dicit: « Surget ordo, qui videtur novus et non est. Induti nigris vestibus et accincti de-
super 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 aemu-
90 lantium 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
95 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 fra-
100 trum 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
105 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 in-
ceperint, ut patet ex additione domini Joannis Andreae, Libro
110 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
115 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
120 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 aedifi-
125 catione 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 Andrae 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 sumpsit W 114
eremita] et beato Antonio quorum successoribus in Centumcellis per beatum
Augustinum <regula> traditur circa annos domini CCCXVIII (*sic add.* M In-
nocentium] papam *add.* W registratur *om. in interstitio* P 115 regula]
beati *add.* WP ordo] fratrum *add.* M 116 nuncupatur V 116-117 mil-
lesimo ducentesimo quinto decimo] M^oCC^oXXV^o RWMA *om.* P (M^oCC^oXV^o *corr.*
V ex M^oCC^oXXV^o) — *Hic* M *addit*: sub Innocentio III. Post hoc Gregorius IX
eundem ordinem confirmavit et specialibus gratiis communivit anno domini
M^oCC^oXXX^o. 117 Sed postmodum anno domini *om.* P 118 eremo M 119
habitantium 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 habitan-
dum 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 solemnias 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 inremediabili morbo languere. 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 impleret, tantam aquae illi, quae sacras con-

2 quadringentesimo tricesimo scripsimus CCCC^oXLII^o 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 consummato 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.

40 [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.

45 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 artiore vitam
50 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 Inno-
55 centius 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 subtelaribus 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 con-
tinere 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
60 Alexandro in visione apparuit grandis quidem capite sed mem-
bris exilis. Ex qua visione tamquam divino oraculo dictus papa
commonitus univit fratribus eremitis plures alios ordines simi-
liter in eremis habitantes.

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

70 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
75 gratiosus, per quem deus multa miracula ostendit in capitulo
generali Ratisbonae celebrato me praesente.

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

Quintus iterum fuit frater Clemens de Marchia praefatus,
80 vir magnae sanctitatis, qui tam in vita quam in morte in prae-
sentia 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 Lanfrancus 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 gene-
ralis 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 Quin-
tus] 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, asse-
 85 rens 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 ten-
 90 dentem ad locum fratrum ampliare, ut sic populo liberior ac-
 cessus 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
 95 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 pro-
 100 fessor 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 grand-
 aevus et omni reverentia dignus.

Octavus fuit frater Augustinus de Tarano, vir magnae sanc-
 105 titatis 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 irrue-
 bat] in tantum add. R irruebant M quod] et P 88 propter om. W com-
 munitates R 89 effringere 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 gene-
 ralis 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
 110 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
 115 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
 120 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
 125 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 in²] 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 informatum 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] Bimenantana 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 defectivos R vitiosos] niconsos M 127 praedictus om. R venerabilis] vir M 129 tanti patris om. M

130 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 offen-
derim, dico meam culpam deo et vobis et paratus sum emen-
135 dare ». Ad quod responsum tantae humilitatis et reverentiae
omnes fratres stupefacti et medullitus emendati, animus prae-
dicti patris fratris Augustini totaliter conquievit.

Ob hoc autem praedicta recensenda iudicavi, ut et prae-
sentes et posterius ex hoc sumant aedificationis exempla, cum
140 quanta auctoritate patres nostri primitivi personas quantum-
cumque 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
145 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 sanc-
tissimae tantum aspirabat redire ad suum eremitorium, quod
150 generale capitulum Neapoli celebratum per annum unum prae-
venit; 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 et² 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 futurum W sustinuerint] Unde add. R sustinuerit W 144-146 In hoc...
exemplo] et non piget digressionem a proposito fecisse M 145 digressionem
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 capsula [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
 155 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
 160 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 capsula decenti ossa sua reponi fecit et ea in
 165 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
 170 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.
 175

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 Orto 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 180 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 im- 185 possibile videbatur, divino oraculo ipsum confortante ad perseverandum, prout ab eius ore audiui, a sanctissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Johanne papa XXII gratiose impe- travit. 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, 5 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 Gwillhelmus 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 impe- travit P 184 prorsus *om.* M 184-185 impossibile] incredibile V 185 vide- batur] 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 pri- morum 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] audiui W adnotare R 6 primus *om.* M

in Caesena fecit artissimam paenitentiam, vir maximae sanctitatis.

Secundus fuit frater Vitus de Hungaria.

- 10 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
15 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
20 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 Ro-
25 manae 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
30 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.

- 35 Tertius fuit frater Hartmutus 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 Ungaria 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 visi-
tandi] 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.

- 40 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.

- 45 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.

- 50 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.

- 55 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
65 *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.

- 70 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.

- 75 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.

- 80 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.

- 85 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.

- 90 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

- 95 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* I (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): « Perrexī 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 autumnus 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 Datus, episcopus Mediolanensis, in capite decimo libri primi chronicae suae, unde eam hausit Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis* l. 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 Bénédictine* 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 praecinimus, 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. CLUNIAE. 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* l. 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.* l. 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 eadem [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 evangeliiis dominicalibus et in praecipuis festiuitatibus 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 patrum 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 abbreviatæ » ab Henrico laudatæ, 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* l. 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.

Legendæ ab Henrico laudatæ periisse videntur. Auctor autem anonymus *Vitæ s. Augustini*, quæ 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. 7^r) : « In partibus Tusciae in desertis marinis invenerunt [Augustinus eiusque socii] de eremitis sequentibus Pauli et Antonii vestigia, quorum aliqui exequiis matris Augustini interfuerunt, quæ 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, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diacono cardinali, apostolicæ sedis legato, mandavit, ut inspecta re, si conveniret, priori et fratribus eremi Sanctæ Trinitatis de Centumcellis pauperibus ecclesiam S. Severæ penitus derelictam concederet (« Pium est », Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1^o, n^o 323, f. 54 : ed. E. BERGER, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* [Bibl. des Ecoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 2^e série] 1, Paris 1884, p. 57, n^o 325). Alia bulla « iustis petentium » die 30. mensis Martii anni 1244 idem papa priorem et fratres eremi Sanctæ Trinitatis sub protectione apostolica suscepit ecclesiamque S. Severæ ad Romanam ecclesiam immediate spectantem, quam Rainerus de ipsius pontificis mandato illis contulerat, eis confirmavit (Reg. Vat., Innoc. IV, an. 1^o, n^o 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.* (I. 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 expectationem 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, exultabat 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 spuris 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 Lugdunensem.

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 (l. 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 « lis 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 Bricinis 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 Briclinis 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 Briclini 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 initiatorum 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 saepa 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* I (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 Papiæ* I (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 tumultum 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 eremitaе*, 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 capituli 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 Lyonesse 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 MCLXXX^o, prior eremitarum sancti Augustini erat frater Johannes, fundator loci de Spelunca. Hic merito suae vitae deo gratus 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 MCLXXX... 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, ubi 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 (*Garfagnana 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 (*Garfagnana 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^r: « Insuper tempore Alexandri IV erat prior praedicti ordinis frater Philippus de Parana, 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 fratrum. 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 [2^a 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 (Tarano-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 episcopaliū 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 coevus, *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 Melfensem 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 praeivum* 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. I, 928-931 ; 3^a 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 compositionis 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.* I. 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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