

The registers of Giles of Viterbo

A source on the reform before the Reformation, 1506-1518

THE Dd REGISTERS

The core of the Augustinian General Archives in Rome is composed of the Dd registers¹⁾. The series was begun before the end of the thirteenth century so that there might be a continuous, and sometimes a day to day, record of the decisions of the priors general concerning the affairs of the order²⁾. Although a number of the volumes have been lost — the earliest extant register dates from the year 1357 — the series has been continued up to the present day. There are 271 registers available for inspection, covering from the year 1357 to 1900³⁾.

¹⁾ For general information on the Dd registers see F. X. MARTIN and A. DE MEIJER in *Archivium Hibernicum*, XIX (1956) 61-4; N. TEEUWEN and A. DE MEIJER in *Augustiniana*, IX (1959) 203-5. No detailed study of the Augustinian General Archives, or of the Dd registers, has yet been published, but see the useful guide by B. A. L. VAN LUIJK, 'Sources italiennes pour l'histoire générale de l'Ordre des Augustins: les archives générales de l'Ordre', *ibid.*, VIII (1958) 397-424.

²⁾ A decree of the general chapter at Regensburg in 1290 provided for provincial archives — 'Diffinimus quod in qualibet provincia per provincialem et diffinitorem provincialis capituli ordinetur locus et arca in qua papales lictere, ad ipsam provinciam pertinentes, conserventur; et hoc facere debeant usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis, alioquin eos vestimentorum provisione privamus', in *Anal. Aug.*, II (1907-8) 295. One may therefore presume that central archives for the order had already been established in Rome.

The priors general were keeping registers (the present Dd series) before the end of the thirteenth century. The acts of the general chapter held at Siena in 1295 refer to entries 'in registro Fratris Egidii archiepiscopi, olim generalis prioris', *ibid.*, II, 374. Aegidius Romanus, elected prior general in 1292, was appointed archbishop of Bourges in 1295.

³⁾ The present organization of the general archives can be traced back to the prior general, Filippo Visconti. In his register, under the date 23 Dec. 1649, it is stated, 'Coepimus archivum Ordinis in ordinem redigere, adiectis capsulis et

The surprising fact is not that some of the volumes have perished or been mislaid but that so many have survived and have been preserved together in one collection. The wonder grows when one recalls that in medieval times the Augustinian general and his curia often followed the papal court on its prolonged travels around Italy, and settled with it at whatever Italian city became the temporary residence of the pope. The change of the papal court to Avignon for seventy years (1309-76) did little to assist the maintenance of central archives, though a register for part of this period (Sept. 1357 - July 1360) has survived ⁴⁾. The Great Schism (1378-1417) which divided the order into Roman and Avignon obediences, as it did the Church in general, has left a further gap (Jan. 1394 - Aug. 1419) in the Dd series ⁵⁾. Add to these unsettling events the disastrous Sack of Rome by the Imperial troops in 1527, when archives were pillaged and manuscripts littered the streets of the city ⁶⁾; the exile of the vicar general, Rotelli, by Napoleon in May 1810, and the transport of the general archives to Paris ⁷⁾; and finally, as a consequence of the occupation of

auctis libris de rebus Religionis et praecipue ibi reposuimus Registrum [Dd 1] sapientissimi Magistri Generalis Gregorii Ariminensis, quod nuper Ianuae reperi-
tum erat, et quaedam alia, quae in indice eiusdem archivi describentur', A. G. A.,
Dd 84, 405. This was the register of Gregory of Rimini which Giles of Viterbo
had ordered to be bought at Cesena in March 1509, see *infra*, n. 12; it was sub-
sequently mislaid but was re-discovered at Genoa in 1649 by the Augustinian
historian, Torelli, see L. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, II (Bologna 1667), *praefatio*,
f. [Iv], VII (Bologna 1682) 604. In June 1652 Visconti was responsible for having
a copy, Ff 1(B), made of one of Giles's registers, Ff 1, see *infra*, nn. 24, 31.

⁴⁾ This is Dd 1. The section concerning the prior generalship of Gregory
of Rimini (Sept. 1357 - Nov. 1358) has been prepared for publication by Rev.
Alberic de Meijer, O. E. S. A.

⁵⁾ For the general state of the order in this period see F. ROTH, 'The Great
Schism and the Augustinian Order', in *Augustiniana*, VIII (1958) 281-298.

⁶⁾ For the general destruction and pillaging in the city see L. PASTOR, *History
of the Popes*, trans. R. F. Kerr, IX (London 1950) 388-423; for the damage
inflicted on libraries and archives, *ibid.*, 414-415. Giles's personal library was
heavily pillaged, see Filateo to Contarini, Pavia 8 Aug. 1527, in *Philaltei libri
tres epistolarum* (Pavia 1564), 41r-42v; also Filateo to Giles, 5 April 1530,
ibid. 92v.

⁷⁾ See entry of 24 May 1810, describing the exiling of Rotelli and the forcible
despatch of the general archives to Paris, in Dd 244, Part IV, 13v. I am indebted
to Rev. Stanislaus Roche, O. S. A., for this reference. For documentation con-
cerning the transport of the registers to Paris and their later restitution to the
Augustinians, see VAN LUIJK cit. in *Augustiniana*, VIII, 424.

Rome by Victor Emmanuel in 1870, the confiscation of the monastery of Sant' Agostino where the general archives had been re-assembled ⁸⁾).

GILES OF VITERBO AND THE HISTORY OF THE ORDER

Looking back over the centuries one cannot but admire the fidelity with which the registers of the order were continued despite the personal vicissitudes of individual priors general and the upheavals and injuries which the order as a body had to sustain. It is a tribute to the historical sense of the priors general that they tenaciously guarded the registers not merely because they were useful reference records for administrative purposes, but because they were an essential source for the history of the order. Of few can this be said with greater truth than of Giles of Viterbo. He was a historian in his own right, and had all the intense interest of the Renaissance scholar in the men of the past ⁹⁾. He had a particular devotion to St Augustine as founder of the Augustinian order. Giles relates with sorrow that when he was travelling by sea to Naples with Mariano da Genazzano in 1497 a violent storm arose, so that all their luggage had to be jettisoned, including a manuscript history of the house at Lecceto from its supposed foundation in the time of Augustine up to the Great Union of 1256 ¹⁰⁾.

Giles was appointed vicar general of the order by a papal brief of 27 June 1506, and was elected prior general in May 1507 ¹¹⁾. During his terms of office (June 1506 - January 1518) he was on the alert for records of the Augustinian past, despite his manifold preoccupations with the affairs of the order and the papacy. His

⁸⁾ See the documents of the years 1871-1884 in *Anal. Aug.*, XIV (1931-2) 26-32.

⁹⁾ See L.-G. PÉLISSIER, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis* (Montpellier 1896); MARTIN *cit.* in *Augustiniana*, X (1960) 46-7.

¹⁰⁾ Giles in an unpublished work of his now lost, *Panegyricus pro Monasterio Ilicetano*, mentioned the storm at sea, and described the manuscript history as 'Liber grandis rerum gestarum ab Ilicetanis a fundatione coenobii usque ad Unionem Generalem, praelo tradendus (proh dolor!) amissus est', cited in A. LANDUCCI, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva, sive origo et chronicon breve coenobii et congregationis de Iliceto*, *Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini in Tuscia* (Siena 1653), 29.

¹¹⁾ Papal brief of appointment as vicar general, 27 June 1506, in *Anal. Aug.*, IX (1921-2) 17; papal brief confirming his election as prior general, 7 Oct. 1507, *ibid.* 18-19.

most important acquisition is mentioned in his register under 9 March 1509, when he directed that the register of Gregory of Rimini, which had come to light at Cesena apparently in the hands of other than Augustinians, was to be bought for the order¹²). We are thus indebted to Giles for what is today the oldest register in the general archives. He appears to have placed no limit on the sum of money to be expended on the purchase.

While Giles showed himself well pleased over the news from Cesena he grew positively excited over the discoveries which he witnessed at Orvieto in August 1508. There he was shown registers and letters belonging to several priors general, in particular of Ugolino da Orvieto who ruled the order from 1368 to 1371. Yet, it is a measure of Giles's limitations as a historian that his greater joy was expressed because of manuscripts discovered at the same time and in the same place, giving an account of St Augustine and of the history of the order from 387 to 1256¹³). We read with

¹²) 'Die 9 Mart. 1509 ... Emeri jubetur liber Gregorii Ariminensis de Actis Ordinis, qui Caesenae esse ferebatur', in Tombeur MSS, Augustinian Archives, Ghent, VI, 455. This and other entries in Giles's first register, now lost, were copied at Rome during the years 1638-1640 by Augustin de Backere († Antwerp, 13 Oct. 1654); for de Backere and the Tombeur MSS see N. TEEUWEN, 'Nicolaus de Tombeur, O. E. S. A. (1657-1736) en zijn « Provincia Belgica »', in *Augustiniana*, VI (1956) 659-93, especially p. 683; also N. TEEUWEN and A. DE MEIJER *ibid.*, IX (1959) 205. I am deeply indebted to Fr. N. Teeuwen who generously made me a complete copy of all the extracts of Giles's registers in the Tombeur MSS. For the importance of these extracts see *infra*, pp. 152-153. For other references by Giles of Viterbo, under the date 11 March 1509, to the discovery of the register of Gregory of Rimini, see Dd II, f. lv.

¹³) 'Die 2 Augusti [1508]:

Cum ante hunc diem, diu, multumque, per universae Religionis domos, Religionis monumenta vestigata essent, nihil inventum est clarius de rerum et Ordinis Eremitarum antiquitatum certitudine et veritate, quam hoc die inter multa librorum volumina Urbevetani monasterii inventum est. Praeter libros et epistolas multorum Generalium, et praecipue Magistri Ugolini Urbevetani, Constantinopolitani Patriarchae, libri quidam obtulerunt sese, alta vetustate venerandi, in quis multa, et lecta, et cognita sunt, de D. Parentis Augustini conversione, de suscepto cum zona habitu, de tesquis, silvisque petitis, de eremitica institutione, de sodalibus, de discipulis, de morte, de haeredibus ad eremum colendam substitutis; de his, qui in demortui locum suffecti sunt, ac de multis, quae usque ad Alexandri [IV] Pontificis Unionem intercessere, ubi septingentorum fere annorum successus quam brevissime, et colligi, et cognosci potuit. Et si suae quemquam reipublicae delectat, et claritas, et antiquitas, cuiusque eremitae interesse constat, eam historiam manibus versare, patrum sanctissimorum exempla condiscere, illos

dismay how these manuscripts, as well apparently as all the registers and letters discovered at Orvieto, were lost at sea while on their way to Felice da Puglia, who as historiographer of the order was to have used these sources for the compilation of annals of the Augustinians ¹⁴).

There is other substantial evidence of the exertions made by Giles to gather together documents on the history of the order ¹⁵), but we shall here confine our attention to the question of the registers which record the events of his rule as general.

It is pointed out elsewhere that a distorted picture of Giles has been commonly accepted by historians ¹⁶). This inaccurate image of Giles was transmitted to the historians by the writers of Giles's own day. Humanists such as Pontano, Bembo, Sadoleto, were interested in Giles primarily in so far as he was a polished

sibi imitatores proponere, dareque operam, ut quales illi se patres exhibuere, tales se filios, et nepotes inveniant', cited by TORELLI *cit.*, II, *praefatio*, f. [1v] from the first volume of Giles's register, now lost. Nothing appears to be known about these registers and letters of Ugolino da Orvieto, see A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre* (Wuerzburg 1941) 93.

¹⁴) TORELLI, *cit.* II, *praefatio*, f. [1r]. Felice da Puglia, founder of the Observant Congregation of Puglia, is mentioned in the Dd registers in the years 1487, 1491, and 1521, but the year of his death is unknown, see T. DE HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, (Madrid 1644), I, 226. Torelli, whose second volume was published in 1667, gives 'fama costante' as his source for the story of the loss of the manuscripts at sea. Was this oral tradition a convenient excuse to explain the loss of the precious registers and letters? The temporary disappearance of Dd I after Giles's term of office, and its re-discovery in 1649 (see *supra*, n. 3), suggests that plain negligence may have been the reason for the loss of the registers and letters discovered in August 1508.

¹⁵) For example: 'Die 9 Julii [1509]: Magistro Gregorio Cornetano ut libros duos ad nos mittat quos Corneti esse audimus de rebus ordinis', in Dd II, 15v.

'Die 16 Oct. [1512]: Scripsimus patentes litteras provinciali provinciae Angliae ut mitteret collectas ad nos nec non pecunias quas ordinis tenebat... etiam quod curaret perquiri in universa provincia sua summa solertia an in ea quicquid inveniat ad decorem religionis pertinens tam de privilegiis, quam de contractibus, quod etiam de historiis antiquis quilibetcumque nosque de omni redderet certiores ac mitteret ad nos fidelissime quicquid de his rebus inveniretur, quod si ageret foret nobis quam gratissimus', *ibid.*, 82v. Similar letters were sent to ten provinces outside Italy. We are in the dark about the response to the appeal, and what happened to the documents sent to Giles. Perhaps they were destroyed during the Sack of Rome in May 1527.

¹⁶) F. X. MARTIN, 'The problem of Giles of Viterbo: a historiographical survey', in *Augustiniana*, IX (1959) 357-79, X (1960) 43-60.

orator, a delicate stylist, a renowned orientalist, an engaging conversationalist. Giles filled all these roles but he was before all else a reformer; a reformer in theology, in biblical studies, in his efforts through preaching to improve the daily religious lives of the people. However, his principal efforts at reform were for twelve years during the prime of his life devoted to the Augustinians. Yet this is the aspect of his life which has been overlooked even by the historians of his own order¹⁷). Apart from the inaccurate image created by the humanists, an obvious reason for this defective view of Giles's life and work had been the assumption by Catholic historians that there must have been some radical shortcomings in the condition of the order, and in Giles's government of it, to have allowed the appearance of Martin Luther. Nobody has yet published a study of the order as it was in the three decades immediately preceding that fateful hour on 31 October 1517 when Luther affixed his placard with its list of ninety five theses to the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg. In reality there are two problems for the historian: that of Luther, and that of his order. The problem of Luther is obviously too complicated to discuss here, but the importance of the Augustinian aspect of his life is indicated by the fact that in 1505 he joined the Observant Congregation of Germany, one of the strict or reformed branches of the order¹⁸).

GILES'S REGISTERS

The answer to the second problem lies principally in the registers and letters of Giles. Here a host of difficulties present themselves. An examination of the Augustinian General Archives leads to the disheartening conclusion that they include only a minor section of Giles's records. There is one complete register, Dd 12, covering from May 1514 to April 1518, merely a third of his period as general, and in some ways the less important years from the viewpoint of reform. There is another register, Dd 11, a rough

¹⁷) *Ibid.*, IX, 368-75.

¹⁸) For the most recent information on Luther's part in the Observant-Conventual dispute and in the negotiations with Giles of Viterbo see R. WEIJENBORG, O. F. M., 'Neuentdeckte Dokumente im Zusammenhang mit Luthers Romreise', in *Antonianum*, XXXII (1957) 147-202; IDEM, 'Luther et les cinquante et un augustins d'Erfurt', in *Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés.*, LV (1960) 819-75.

incomplete copy, covering from March 1509 to June 1513. The authenticity of this register was challenged in 1921 by a German scholar, Mueller. In consequence a major source for the history of Giles and the Augustinians was scored with a question mark. Finally, none of Giles's correspondence as prior general survives in the general archives. There are, as we shall see, fragments and sections of the missing records in various libraries and archives, but since they differ in several instances where they should be identical one may understand why historians have fought shy of the problem. Let us now attempt to sort out the pieces into a logical pattern.

Today there are two Egidian registers in the Augustinian General Archives, Dd 11 and Dd 12. There is also a volume, Ff 1, comprising extracts from Dd 12 and a register now lost. Dd 12 demands no special investigation. It is the original register, a large volume of which 157 folios concern Giles, and cover his terms of office from May 1514 to January 1518. The remainder of the volume deals with Giles's successor, Gabriele Della Volta.

THE PROBLEM — Dd 11.

The crux arises over Dd 11. Indeed, the title 'Dd 11' is a misnomer. The present volume is the rough draft, and not even the complete rough draft, on which the official Dd 11 (now missing) was based. For convenience sake we shall accept Dd 11 as the title of the register now in the general archives, and refer to the missing official Dd volume as Dd 11(A).

Dd 11 is composed of 155 folios, and five quires. Three different hands appear successively in the compilation. As a record of Giles's decisions it is incomplete : it does not begin until March 1509, whereas Giles was elected prior general in May 1506, having already acted as vicar general since June 1506. It runs from March 1509 to December 1510. There is then a gap until June 1512, and it continues on to June 1513. This is followed by a further gap since Dd 12 does not begin until May 1514.

The scribbled and at times almost indecipherable appearance of the entries in Dd 11, compared with those in the other Dd registers, shows that it is no more than the rough draft on which

the official Dd was based ¹⁹⁾. The nature of the entries, so laconic when compared with the rounded sentences in the extracts which have survived from Dd 11(A), confirms that it was an aide-mémoire for the compilation of the official register. Not merely is there a gap of fifteen months between the two surviving parts of Dd 11, but within those parts there are important omissions ²⁰⁾. This shows that Dd 11 was not the complete draft for Dd 11(A). The very appearance of Dd 11 — it is an unusually tall narrow volume with paper of poor quality — completes the impression of a notebook or jotter.

In 1921 Alphons V. Mueller published his short but searching analysis of the German Observant movement, and discussed the quotations from Dd 11 cited in Heinrich Boehmer's study of Luther's visit to Rome ²¹⁾. Mueller pointed out that some of the entries were mis-dated by a year, and he came to the conclusion that the register was unreliable. This naturally undermined confidence in Giles's records as a whole. However, the question was re-opened by Dr Hubert Jedin in 1928, who made a masterly examination of Dd 11, and completely vindicated it as an authentic and reliable source ²²⁾. He pointed out that while Mueller's arguments were logical they were based on the evidence supplied by Boehmer from Dd 11. Boehmer, who had conducted a rather hurried examination of the register, was led astray by dates which had been added

¹⁹⁾ Those who wish to study Dd 11 have their task substantially lightened by the thorough index of the register compiled by Rev. Reinhold Schraml, O. E. S. A. A typescript copy of the index is in the Augustinian General Archives.

²⁰⁾ E. g., Dd 11, f. 70v, includes entries for 14 July 1512, but it omits to mention the establishment of the province of Sardinia, which is referred to thus in Ff 1, f. 5v, under 14 July 1512: 'Sardiniam de per se provinciam facimus, cuius caput sit conventus Succursus de Valentia, et membra septem conventus etc. cum privilegiis aliarum provinciarum'. Dd 11, 70v, under 14 July 1512, does however mention the letters sent to the seven houses, and names the houses.

²¹⁾ A. V. MUELLER, 'Der Augustiner-Observantismus und die Kritik und Psychologie Luthers', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XVIII (1921) 1-34 at 18-21. H. BOEHMER, *Luthers Romfahrt* (Leipzig 1914) 36-75, devotes a chapter to 'Egidio Canisio und der Unionstreit'. «Canisio» is a mistaken surname for Giles of Viterbo, see G. SIGNORELLI, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo* (Florence 1929), 1, 119-120.

²²⁾ H. JEDIN, 'Die römischen Augustiner-Quellen zu Luthers Frühzeit', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXV (1928) 256-70 at 256-61.

at the head of certain pages by a different hand and at a later date to the entries in the register ²³).

It would seem that Giles did not begin a separate register until he was elected prior general in May 1507. During the previous eleven months, when he was in charge of the order as vicar general, he apparently recorded his activities and decisions in Dd 9, the register which had served for the three previous generals, Mariano da Genazzano (1495-8), Graziano Ventura (1498-1504), and Agostino Faccioni (1504-6). This register is now lost.

The Dd series therefore lacks the records for Giles's terms in office, June 1506 - March 1509, January 1511 - June 1512, and July 1513 - May 1514. Nevertheless, the gaps can be filled to an appreciable extent by copies of parts of the missing register Dd 11(A). Sometime, perhaps in 1518 when Giles relinquished the government of the order, a two-volume copy was made of Dd 11(A) and Dd 12. We shall refer to these volumes as Ff 1(A) and Ff 1. While Ff 1 (A) was a full copy of Giles's register for the years 1507-11, Ff 1 was merely a selection of what were believed to be the most important entries in Dd 11(A) after the year 1511 and in Dd 12. Ff 1(A) is now lost, but Ff 1 is in the Augustinian General Archives. The latter is a slim volume of 52 folios, containing extracts from Dd 11(A) and Dd 12. It is an official compilation in so far as it was copied by Francesco Gambassio, the scribe of Dd 12 for the years 1516-17 ²⁴). The year 1511 marked the end of Giles's first period as prior general and his re-election but there is no clear reason why a full copy should have been made of the events for the years 1507-11, and merely a synopsis for the years 1511-18. It is true, however, that after the year 1511 the increasing press of business obliged Giles to revert to the traditionally concise type of entries in the registers of the previous priors general. For this reason the events mentioned after 1511 were described with less detail and colour than those between 1507 and 1511, and so proved less attractive to those seeking information on his years as general of the order.

²³) *Ibid.*, 257. BOEHMER, *Luthers Romfahrt*, 27 n. 1, mentions that he had only six hours at his disposal to examine Dd 11, his eyes were tired from studying the Vatican registers, and he had to work in an ill-lighted room. The scribbled script in Dd 11 did not ease his task. See Boehmer's extracts from, and comments on, the Dd registers, *ibid.*, 26-9.

²⁴) Jedin *cit.*, 263-4, discusses Ff 1.

HERRERA : DE BACKERE : TORELLI : NORIS

Herrera, a Spanish Augustinian historian (1585-1654), when gathering materials for his work in Rome during the years 1630-33, was unlucky in his quest for documents illustrating Giles's career as prior general. The extracts which he made from Giles's records are now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 8435, and Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS 1118. These extracts show that the only register to which he had access, apart from Dd 12, was a 'Compendium Registri, 1511-19', that is Ff 1, the synopsis covering the better documented part of Giles's activities ²⁵).

It is uncertain at what stage Giles's first register, namely Dd 11(A), disappeared. It was not available for Herrera when he was at work in the general archives during 1630-33, nor did he see Ff 1(A) which was a copy of the major part of Dd 11(A). Yet, five years later when the Belgian Augustinian, de Backere, visited Rome he copied substantial parts of Ff 1(A) ²⁶). How account for the appearance of this volume between 1633 and 1638? Why was it not made available for Herrera, a friar of no small influence in Augustinian and clerical circles? The solution may simply be that Ff 1(A) lay unnoticed in the Biblioteca Angelica until the interest aroused by Herrera in the records of the priors general resulted in its being brought to the light of day once again, after Herrera's departure from Rome. On the evidence at present available it is fruitless to speculate further.

Happily we know that Ff 1(B) was copied from Ff 1 in June 1652 at the behest of the prior general, Filippo Visconti (1649-55) ²⁷). More important still, Visconti's own marginalia on the copy of Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, in the Biblioteca Angelica,

²⁵) For a bio-bibliographical account of Herrera see G. DE SANTIAGO VELA in *Ensayo de una biblioteca Ibero-Americana de San Agustín*, III (Madrid 1917) 590-631; F. ROTH, 'Augustinian historians of the XVIIIth century', in *Augustiniana*, VI (1956) 639-41. For Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 8435, see SANTIAGO VELA *cit.*, 610-16; for Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS 1118, *ibid.*, 623-4. For Herrera's use of Giles's registers see *ibid.*, 612, 616.

²⁶) The de Backere transcript is in the Tombeur MSS, Augustinian Provincial Archives, Ghent, VI, 453-6, 478-9. For de Backere and the Tombeur MSS see *supra*, n. 12.

²⁷) JEDIN, *cit.*, 263. For the inscription of Ff 1(B) see *infra*, p. 153.

Rome, prove that he consulted Ff 1(A)²⁸. Torelli, in the seventh and eight volumes of his *Secoli Agostiniani*, published respectively in 1682 and 1686, drew frequently on Ff 1(A), and to a lesser extent on Ff 1(B)²⁹. It was about this time also that Enrico Noris (1631-1704), a distinguished Italian theologian and historian, assembled materials for a life of Giles. He took copious notes and extracts from a register which can hardly have been other than Ff 1(A)³⁰. It is strange that Noris did not also make use of the records for Giles's years as prior general, 1511-18.

The importance of the de Backere and Noris transcripts is evident. They contain the only known copies of the earlier entries in Giles's first register, and thus help to bridge the gap from May 1507 to March 1509. By means of Ff 1(A) de Backere and Noris were also able to supply entries additional to Dd 11 for the period March 1509 - January 1511. As between the de Backere and Noris transcripts the extracts by de Backere may be considered the more valuable since he invariably quotes verbatim from Giles's registers, whereas Noris sometimes synopsis the entries, sometimes gives them obliquely, sometimes verbatim. Yet, it would be foolish to underestimate the value of the Noris MS. The two transcripts supplement one another. For example, the Noris MS mentions facts

²⁸) This copy of Herrera bears the library number T. 15.8. An interleaved note in tome I, p. 41, has an excerpt from Giles's first register, p. 33. A note on this copy of Herrera by David Perini, O. S. A., states that the marginalia are by Visconti not Marcolini. For the copy of Herrera with Marcolini's marginalia see *infra* n. 35.

²⁹) Verbatim quotations from Giles's registers are given in L. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VII (Bologna 1682), 576, 582, 592, 594, 594-5, 596-7, 602, 604, 615, 617, 623; VIII (Bologna 1686) 19; also II (Bologna 1667) *praefatio* [Iv]. Torelli, discussing Giles, refers in VII, 576, 'nel tomo primo del suo Registro'; and in VIII, 19, he mentions 'nel tomo secondo del suo registro generale'. It would seem from TORELLI, *cit.* VIII, 4, that he did not use Dd 12.

³⁰) 'Vita et epistolae Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis', now Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, MS 210 (formerly Ashburnham 287-219). Edited by L. PÉLISSIER, 'Pour la biographie du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe: extraits des registres de Gilles de Viterbe', in *Miscellanea di studi critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf* (Bergamo 1903) 789-815. For comments on Péliissier's edition see MARTIN *cit.* in *Augustiniana*, X (1960) 45-8. For Noris see D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, III (Florence 1935) 20-27. *Miscellanea di studi critici cit.* is a rare work; there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but none in the British Museum Library, the Cambridge University Library, or the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

not recorded in the de Backere MS about the Augustinian general chapter at Naples in May 1507, about the message which Giles sent in September 1508 to Cardinal Ximenes who was setting off with an army against the Moors in North Africa, about the near-fatal illness which laid Giles low in the hermitage on Cimino in August 1510. On the other hand the de Backere MS has information not found in the Noris MS, for example on the efforts which Giles made during October and November 1507 to ensure that the papal sacristan would always be an Augustinian, on the French friar, Claude Catalina de Stella, who had been procurator general of the order in the 1460's and met Giles early in 1508, on the proposal mentioned in 1508 that Giles be sent to the Near East to negotiate an alliance between one of the princes there and the christian powers in Europe.

THE REGISTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Ff 1(A) and Ff 1(B) were available for consultation in the Biblioteca Angelica where they were seen by J. C. Amadutio as late as 1781. He gives the titles as follows ³¹):

Ff 1(A): 'Incipiunt Acta Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini an. MDVII Maio m. tempore magistratus supremi Aegidii Viterbiensis, usque ad ann. MDXI'.

Ff 1(B): 'Registrum Aegidii Viterbien. ab ann. MDXI usque ad MDIX a P. Francisco Gambasita Ord. secret. iussu eiusdem Aegidii, ac de mandato Rm̃i. P. M. Philippi Vicecomitis Gen. Ord. hic transcriptum ann. MDCLII. men. lun.'.

Between the years 1728-1730 a German Augustinian, Fulgentius Mayr, had a series of extracts concerning the German, Polish, and Hungarian provinces copied from these two volumes ³²). The extracts are few but useful. The same made be said of the extracts

³¹) J. C. Amadutio, ed., L. GRANA, *Oratio in funere Aegidii Canisii Card. Viterbiensis* (Rome 1781), 5 n(a).

³²) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8423, see *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II, pt 1 (Munich 1874) 26 (206). For further information see *infra*, p. 160.

made by the German scholar, Friederich Muenther, during a stay in Rome ³³). His interest in Giles's registers was confined to what concerned the German provinces and the dispute of the German Conventuals with the Observants.

An Italian friar, Tommaso Bonasoli, who drew up an index of the general archives in 1780, listed a register of Giles, Dd 10, covering the years 1507-18 ³⁴). He did not refer to Ff 1(A) and Ff 1(B) in the Biblioteca Angelica. The Dd 10 register, now lost, was a conflation of extracts from Dd 11(A) or Ff 1(A) and Dd 12. Another Italian friar, Daniele Marcolini (1716-1794), a contemporary of Bonasoli, also made use of a register of Giles for events of the years 1507-9. His references to the registers are found in his marginalia in a copy of Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, now in the Irish Augustinian Provincial Archives ³⁵). Marcolini, first as assistant general, and later as procurator general of the order, had access to the general archives as well as the run of the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Angelica. It is uncertain whether the register of Giles he consulted was Dd 10 or Ff 1(A).

³³) Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ital. Fol. 173, see *Mitteilungen aus der königlichen Bibliothek*, IV (Berlin 1918) 77. For further information see *infra*, p. 159.

³⁴) The index is edited by B. VAN LUIJK *cit.* in *Augustiniana*, VIII (1958) 397-424; for Dd 10 see *ibid.*, 411. For Bonasoli (1734-1801) see PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, *cit.*, I, 136.

³⁵) It has an inscription on the fly-leaf, 'This work I give to V. Rev. John Hutchinson, O. S. A. for the use of the Novitiate [at Orlagh, co. Dublin]. I give it with the condition that it shall be always kept in the Irish Province. It is a most valuable work, and I believe this is the only copy of the work now in Ireland.

John St. Convent
Dec. 29, 1874

Martin Crane, O. S. A.,
Bishop of Sandhurst'.

For Martin Crane see S. ROCHE, O. S. A., 'Dr Crane, O. S. A., first bishop of Sandhurst (1874-1901)', in *Good Counsel* (Dublin), II (1940) 977-81, 990. For John Hutchinson see E. A. FORAN, O. S. A., 'The Right Rev. J. Hutchinson, O. S. A., Vicar-Apostolic of Cooktown, Australia (1887-97)', in *Good Counsel College Annual* (New Ross), 1926, 12-15.

On another fly-leaf is the inscription, 'Adnotationes quae extant ad calcem paginarum sunt de manu Danielis Marcolini'. In his 'Autobiographia', now in the Biblioteca Angelica, Marcolini states, 'Feci pure più di dugento e trenta note nell'Alfabeto Agostiniano dell'Herrera di mio carattere, che spero non saranno inutili: è il libro segnato T. 15.8', see PERINI, *cit.* II (1931) 177. The copy of Herrera in the Irish Augustinian Provincial Archives has the library number T. 15.8 on a fly-leaf; see also *supra*, n. 28. For Marcolini see PERINI *cit.*, II, 176-7.

We can do no more than guess as to the subsequent fate of Dd 10. It may have been lost during the transport of the archives by Napoleon to Paris in 1810, or during the journey back to Rome. It is even more likely that the loss is due to some Augustinian who took the register on loan in order to study the history of the order in the period immediately previous to the Reformation. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Ff 1(A) and Ff 1(B), the copies in the Biblioteca Angelica of Giles's two registers, are also now missing, though as already remarked they were there for examination by Amadutio in 1781. However, the loss of Dd 10, Dd 11(A) and Ff 1(A) is compensated for to an appreciable extent by Dd 11 and by the extracts which survive in the de Backere, Noris, Berlin, Madrid and Munich copies, as well as in the seventh and eight volumes of Torelli's *Secoli Agostiniani*. Ff 1(B) is lost but Ff 1, the original from which it was copied, is still in the general archives.

THE SIENA MS

There remains a gap for the eleven months, June 1506 to May 1507, when Giles was vicar general of the order. This period was not covered by Ff 1(A) nor apparently by Dd 11(A). The gap can be bridged to some extent by a volume of Giles's letters in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena ³⁶). This collection of 249 letters is concerned almost entirely with the period 1506-1511, and 50 of the letters were written while he was vicar general. They were copied from a larger collection, probably from Giles's volumes of prior general's letters. The loss of his first register, Dd 11(A), is also made good in part by the copies, which survive in the Biblioteca Angelica, of 66 letters written between 1507-1518 concerning the affairs of the order ³⁷). Many more of his letters survive, but they are personal and literary ³⁸).

³⁶) Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS G. X. 26; see LORENZO DA ILARI, *La biblioteca pubblica di Siena*, I (Siena 1847) 108.

³⁷) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1170; see E. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Angelica praeter graecas et orientales*, I (Rome 1893) 489-90.

³⁸) Apart from the volume of letters in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, the four main collections of letters are in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MSS 688,

THE CHARACTER OF GILES'S REGISTERS

Apart from the fact that Giles's registers cover an exciting period of Augustinian history his range of interests in religious affairs, literature, and politics, means that the registers touch on a rich variety of topics. In addition he had a gift for pungent expression in his letters and even in his registers ³⁹).

A French historian, Pélissier, once accused Giles of being a place-hunter and a fawner upon the great ⁴⁰). Although Pélissier subsequently eat his own words on this point it is stimulating to meet such a challenge when examining Giles's registers. There is no doubt that in his sermons and orations before popes, kings and princes, Giles could flatter as expertly as any Renaissance artist. Yet, his real scale of values can be judged from those entries in the registers which were never intended for the public eye. For example, the visit of the bellicose Pope Julius II to the Augustinian church of Santa Maria del Popolo on 2 February 1510, with the college of cardinal and Giles in his train, receives bare mention ⁴¹). In contrast there is the eulogy of a holy lay-brother, Bernardo da Novara, of the Perugian Congregation, entered in the register under 27 April 1508 ⁴²).

762, 1001, and 1170, described in NARDUCCI, *cit.*, 292, 316, 416-18, 489-90, and L.-G. PÉLISSIER, 'Manuscripts de Gilles de Viterbe à la Bibliothèque Angélique', in *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 228-40.

³⁹) See the examples quoted by PÉLISSIER in *Miscellanea di studi critici*, *cit.*, 801, n. 2. One in particular deserves mention, revealing Giles's hard-headed attitude towards past glories as contrasted with the need for present reform, 'Cum aliquis veteres suos laudaret, [Aegidius] dixit: « Miserum esse antiqua laudare si praesentia nihil habeant quod sit laude dignum »'.

⁴⁰) See MARTIN *cit.* in *Augustiniana*, X (1960) 47-8.

⁴¹) '2 Feb. [1510]: Itur ad Aedem D. Mariae de Populo, ubi Pontifex Iulius luminaria cardinalium collegio populoque distribuit', in TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VII, 617. The same event is mentioned as briefly but in a different form in Dd II, 34r — 'Celebrata sunt solemnia hac die in Sancta Maria de Populo, S. D. N., assistente cum universo collegio'.

⁴²) '27 Aprilis [1508]: Reditus ad conventum Sanctae Mariae Novellae concessus est fratri Bernardo Novariensi, qui conventum Sancti Felicis multorum annorum labore ingentique industria opulentissimum fecit. Hic quamquam ignarus litterarum esset, nec ullum unquam sacrorum Ordinum suscepisset, tanta tamen sanctitatis opinione vixit, ut nonnulli Generalium nostrorum suam illi auctoritatem relinquerint, voluerintque tantam apud hunc hominem esse auctoritatem,

A PROPOSAL : AN EDITION OF Dd 11(A)

When the publication of the *Monumenta Historica Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* is eventually undertaken pride of place will be given in the series to the Dd registers. Among the registers those which concern the government of Giles of Viterbo merit special attention. A practicable proposition would be to re-construct and publish the missing Dd 11(A) from the various parts which now remain — Dd 11, Ff 1, the extracts in the de Backere, Noris, Berlin, Madrid, and Munich manuscripts, as well as in Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*. The result would undoubtedly resemble a patchwork quilt, but like many a patchwork quilt it would be both attractive and effective. *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant* ! Giles's letters and the extracts from his registers taken together form a solid body of material on his activities as general of the order.

GILES AS REFORMER

Giles's efforts as reformer of the Augustinians date from July 1506, and continued throughout his eleven months as vicar general. After he was elected prior general in May 1507 he launched out with confidence on his programme to rejuvenate the order. The fever of impatience which consumed him during these years is well expressed in a letter of 3 October 1508 ⁴³ :

'Day and night we are busy with reform. All our concern, thoughts, and actions have this one aim : that we obey the pope and cardinal protector by restoring the order to its former glory from its present state of decay. Otherwise we cannot satisfy God, man, or our own conscience'.

quantam penes Congregationis Vicarium esse noluerunt. Testatumque reliquerunt posteris eo exemplo semper vitae integritatem doctrinarum claritati esse anteponendam: hanc semper salutem mereri, illam plenumque saluti repugnare', TORELLI, *cit.*, VII, 592.

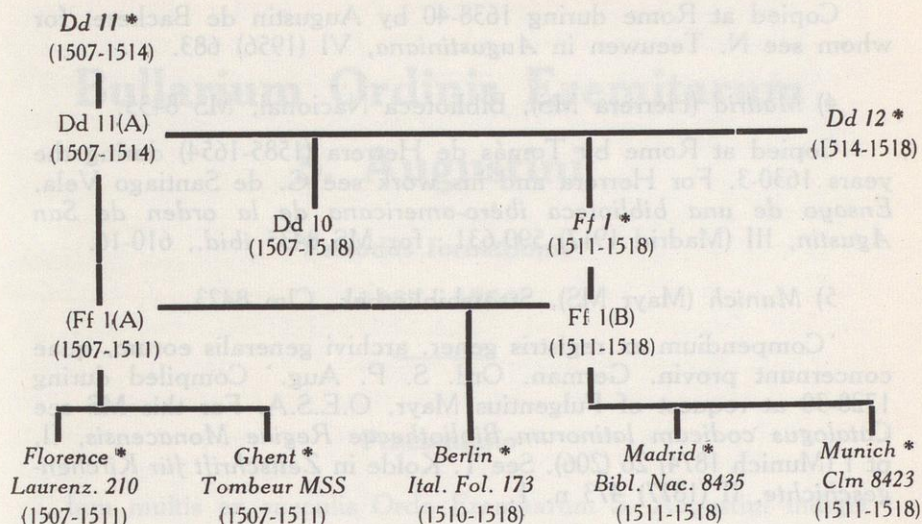
⁴³) 'Sumus die noctuque in labore reformandi, nihilque alius agimus, inspicimus, cogitemus, nisi ut iubente et pontifice et protectore collapsa nostra res publica faciem recuperet antiquae maiestatis, ne Deo, ne hominibus, ne nostrae ipsorum conscientiae adversarii simus', Giles to Fra Stefano Zoalio at Genoa, Rome 3 Oct. 1508, in Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1170, 21v.

Since many other letters in this strain could be quoted, one will be pardoned inquiring whether Giles was exaggerating about his efforts. The answer is written on every page of his registers. The words 'reformatio' and 'vita communis' form the untiring refrain which he continued to repeat in his exhortations and directives to houses, provinces, and individual friars. He did not hesitate to threaten even the elected heads of the provinces; as for example in November 1509 when he warned the Hungarian provincial, Martin of Pecs, that unless he reformed the province he would be superseded by a nominee sent from Rome ⁴⁴). Nor were these hollow threats. For example, in May 1509 the vicar general of the Pugliese Observants was deposed on the score that he was a man of evil repute and had been elected at a chapter held without Giles's permission ⁴⁵). These instances are typical of the pattern of Giles's reform programme, and applied to all countries where there were Augustinian houses. A study of his registers and letters will thus enable us for the first time to see what was the condition of the order on the eve of the Reformation, what were his efforts for reform, and how successful were they. Until these sources are published an unnecessary fog-bank will continue to obscure a most controverted period of Augustinian history.

⁴⁴) '4 Nov. [1509]: Ad provincialem Ungarum, M. Martinum de Quinque Ecclesiis, ut omnino provinciam reformet, quod nisi ipse fecerit mitemus aliquem id facturum', Dd 11, 26r.

⁴⁵) '14 Maii [1509]: Privatur vicarius congregationis Illici de Apulia, eo quod sine litteris nostris et praesentia vicarii capitulum celebrarunt, et virum elegerunt exulem et malae famae. Instituimus autem vicarium Fratrem Simonem de Roccha Montis Ragoni. Priores vero factos confirmamus et de novo creamus. Et visitatores instituimus Fratrem Felicem et Fratrem Augustinum de Esculo', *ibid.*, 7v.

GILES'S REGISTERS AND THEIR COPIES



I. Those with an asterisk are still available.

II. Dd 11 is incomplete in its present form. The original draft must have run from May 1507 - May 1514.

- 1) *Berlin* (Muenter MS), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Ital. Fol. 173.

'Collectanea ad historian Reformationis ex bibliothecis Romanis'. Compiled in the 18th century by Friederich Muenter. Described in *Mitteilungen aus der königlichen Bibliothek*, IV (Berlin 1918) 77. Formerly in the Philipps collection, no. 14260, see *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliotheca D. Thomae Philipps*, A. D. 1837-, p. 270.

Edited by G. Kawerau, 'Aus den Actis Generalatus Aegidii Viterbiensis', in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXII (1911) 603-6.

- 2) *Florence* (Noris MS), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS 210.

'Vita et epistolae Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis'. Compiled by Enrico Noris (1631-1704), for whom see Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, III, 20-7.

Edited by L.-G. Péliissier in *Miscellanea di studi critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf* (Bergamo 1903) 789-815.

- 3) *Ghent* (de Backere MS), Archives O.E.S.A., Tombeur MSS, VI.

Copied at Rome during 1638-40 by Augustin de Backere, for whom see N. Teeuwen in *Augustiniana*, VI (1956) 683.

- 4) *Madrid* (Herrera MS), Biblioteca Nacional, MS 8435.

Copied at Rome by Tomás de Herrera (1585-1654) during the years 1630-3. For Herrera and his work see G. de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de San Agustín*, III (Madrid 1917) 590-631 ; for MS 8435 *ibid.*, 610-16.

- 5) *Munich* (Mayr MS), Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8423.

'Compendium ex registris gener. archivi generalis eorum, quae concernunt provin. German. Ord. S. P. Aug.' Compiled during 1728-30 at request of Fulgentius Mayr, O.E.S.A. For this MS see *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II, pt 1 (Munich 1874) 26 (206). See T. Kolde in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, II (1877) 473 n. 1.

- 6) *Rome*

- a) Archivum Generale O.E.S.A.

Dd 11. See Jedin in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXV (1928) 256-61.

Ff 1. *Ibid.* 263-4.

Dd 12.

- b) Biblioteca Angelica.

MS 1118. See Santiago Vela *cit.* 623-4.

- 7) Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, II (Bologna 1167) *praeformatio*, [v] ; VII (Bologna 1682) 576, 582, 592, 594, 594-5, 596-7, 602, 604, 615, 617, 623 ; VIII (Bologna 1686) 19.

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